

The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



I

1 9 6 8

CONTENTS

50th ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE PROCLAMATION	2
THE CHORNOVIL AFFAIR	3
Anatol Bedriy, M.A.: SPOKESMEN OF NATIONAL AND MORAL RE-AWAKENING	5
UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN USSR. (Dedicated to the 20th Anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.)	11
Ivan Franko: THE SPIRIT OF REVOLT. Transl. by Vera Rich	25
DOCUMENTS OF PROTEST CIRCULATING IN UKRAINE:	
I. KARAVANSKYI'S PETITION TO THE SOVIET OF NATIONALITIES	26
II. S. Karavanskyi: ABOUT A POLITICAL MISTAKE	32
III. "THE HIGHSOUNDING ARTICLES OF SOVIET LAWS ARE MERE FICTION." Letter to the Editors of <i>Pravda</i> from the political prisoner Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi	37
IV. "STATEMENT" BY YURII SHUKHEVYCH-BEREZYNSKYI TO THE CHAIRMAN OF THE PRESIDUM OF THE SUPREME SOVIET OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR	40
V. LETTER OF UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM A SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMP	44
MEMORANDUM SUBMITTED TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS BY THE WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS, NOVEMBER 16-19, 1967	48
Theodore Mackiw, Ph.D.: PEACE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK (1918-1968)	56
Valentyna Woropay, M.A. (London): THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1917-1918 (Continuation — 3)	61
Archbishop Andrey Sheptytskyi: ON THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK. The Speech delivered in the Upper House in Vienna on 28th February, 1918	73
Heinz Gerull: "MAN IS THE HIGHEST..." A Personal Report	78
V. Davydenko: THE SOCIAL DISEASE OF OUR TIME	93

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
 "The Ukrainian Review",
 200 Liverpool Road,
 London, N.1.

Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration),
 c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
 49 Linden Gardens,
 London, W.2.

Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
 P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation,
 140 Bathurst Street, Toronto 2B, Ont.

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XV No. 1

Spring 1968

A Quarterly Magazine

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Professor Dr. Vasyl Oreletzkyj
Chairman of the Board

Mrs. Slava Stetzko, M.A.
Editor

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk, B.A., B.Litt.
Executive Editor

Professor Lew Shankowsky
Associate Editor

Michael Sosnowsky, B.A., B.L.S.
Associate Editor

Professor Nicolas Chirovsky
Associate Editor

Anatol Bedriy, M.A.
Associate Editor

Price: 7s 6d a single copy	
Annual Subscription: £1.10.0	\$6.00
Six Months	15.0 \$3.00

Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. (U.S.A)
and
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.

50th Anniversary of Independence Proclamation

Half a century ago the Ukrainian Central Council proclaimed Ukraine a sovereign and independent National Republic. And though the Ukrainian independent State was crushed by the Russian invaders masking themselves as Communist internationalists, the Act of Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence, known as the "Fourth Universal" of the Ukrainian Central Council, has remained a living inspiration to generations of Ukrainian freedom fighters.

THE FOURTH UNIVERSAL OF THE UKRAINIAN CENTRAL COUNCIL OF JANUARY 22, 1918

PEOPLE OF UKRAINE,

THROUGH YOUR EFFORTS, WILL AND WORD, A FREE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC HAS BEEN ESTABLISHED ON UKRAINIAN SOIL. AT LONG LAST THE VISIONARY DREAM OF YOUR FATHERS, FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS, HAS BEEN REALISED. But the freedom of Ukraine was born in a very difficult hour. Four years of war have weakened our nation, factories are not working, production has slowed down, communications are damaged, currency is being devalued — we stand on the brink of famine...

Meanwhile the Soviet of People's Commissars, the Petrograd Government, in order to destroy the free Ukrainian Republic, has declared war on Ukraine, and is sending troops to our land... The same Petrograd Government of People's Commissars is purposely delaying the peace; moreover, it is calling for a new war, defining it as a "holy war"...

We, the Ukrainian Central Council, cannot agree to that, and will not support any wars, for the Ukrainian people want peace, and a democratic peace should come as soon as possible.

In order that neither the Russians nor any other Government should hinder Ukraine in its task of establishing the desired peace, in order that the country may be brought back to normal, to creative work, we, the Ukrainian Central Council, proclaim to the citizens of Ukraine the following:

AS FROM TODAY THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC BECOMES AN INDEPENDENT, FREE AND SOVEREIGN STATE OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE.

We want to live in peace and friendship with all the neighbouring States, such as Russia, Poland, Austria, Romania, Turkey and others. But none of these States may interfere with the affairs of the free Ukrainian Republic... In the free Ukrainian National Republic all the nationalities shall enjoy the privilege of personal autonomy granted to them by the Law of January 9, 1918...

Kyiv, January 22, 1918.

UKRAINIAN CENTRAL COUNCIL

**Dedicated to the 20th Anniversary of the UN Declaration
of Human Rights**

THE CHORNOVIL AFFAIR

It is learned from reliable sources that the Soviet juridical organs have sentenced the Ukrainian journalist, Vyacheslav Chornovil, to three years' hard labour in strict regime camps. Chornovil was accused of anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation aimed at undermining or weakening the Soviet regime.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, a 29-year old Ukrainian journalist and co-worker of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, came out in defence of Ukrainian fellow-intellectuals who were arrested and sentenced at secret trials in 1966 for opposition to Russification policy in Ukraine. He wrote an open letter to the Chief Prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR, Hlukhov, to the Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR, to the Head of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, Nikitchenko, and to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Shelest.

As a result of his civic courage, Chornovil was arrested on August 5th, 1967, and a trial was held at the end of November, 1967, in Lviv, the capital of Western Ukraine.

Vyacheslav Maksymovych Chornovil was born on 24th December, 1937 in the village of Yerky, Zvenyhorodka district, Cherkassy region, in a family of a village teacher. In 1946 he started school, which he finished in 1955 with a gold medal and the same year he entered Kiev University for the Faculty of Journalism. In 1960 he graduated with distinction. From July 1960 until May 1963 he was employed at the Lviv television centre as a senior editor of broadcasts for young people. From May 1963 he worked at the construction of the Kiev Hydraulic Power Station as a Komsomol organiser, and from Jan. 1964 as editor of the works radio newspaper. From Sept. 1964 he worked in the editorial office of the newspaper *Moloda Hvardiia* (The Young Guards). In 1963-64 he grad-

uated with distinction from the Faculty of Philology at the Kiev University. He cherished the intention of continuing his postgraduate study of Ukrainian literature under Prof. Pilhuk. "Chornovil was particularly successful with his articles on art and literary criticism", states a reference from his place of work. However, in connection with the protests against the arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965, Chornovil was not allowed to begin his postgraduate studies and was discharged from the editorial office of *Moloda Hvardiia*. After an interval he joined the editorial office of the newspaper *Druh Chytacha* (The Reader's Friend) as a literary worker. On 16th April, 1966, he was called as a witness at the closed trial in Lviv of brothers Mykhailo and Bohdan Horyn, Mykhailo Osadchyi and Myroslava Zvarychevs'ka. Chornovil refused to testify justifying his refusal by the fact that a closed trial was *unlawful*.

The prosecutor Antonenko and the judge Rudyk announced a decision about calling Chornovil to judicial responsibility in accordance with Article 172 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (refusal to testify), and on 19th April changed that decision and decided to call Chornovil to responsibility in accordance with Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, under which all the cultural workers had been tried (agitation or propaganda aiming at the undermining or weakening the Soviet regime).

In April 1966, he was sentenced to three months of forced labour and was discharged from work. In May

1966, the Supreme Court of Justice of the Ukrainian SSR quashed this decision of the Lviv regional court as unfounded.

Shortly afterwards V. Chornovil addressed a letter to the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Petro Yukhymovych Shelest. In this letter V. Chornovil addressed Shelest not as an ordinary journalist, but as "a Soviet citizen another citizen, as a Ukrainian another Ukrainian." Chornovil stated:

"The secret letter of the Central Committee of the CPU which is read at meetings of organisations of writers and artists, speaks about the repentance of those arrested. But why does it not say anything how Mykhailo Horyn, Valentyna Moroz, Mykhailo Masiutko, Panas Zalyvakha behaved in court (and not in the "isolated prisons" of the K.G.B.)?.. I have decided to send you my notes about the gross violations of the norms of socialist legality, which I have sent to the Head of the KGB (at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR) comrade Nikitchenko and the Chief Prosecutor of the Ukrainian SSR, comrade Hlukhov, two weeks ago... I had to resort to the pen when I experienced on my own person how lieutenants and captains of the K.G.B. and some judges and prosecutors understand legality."

"When I made notes (of the trials — Editor's note) I had in mind only one aim: to warn against a repetition (under other labels) of the terror of the 1930's which bled white the Ukrainian people and reduced Soviet Ukrainian statehood to a fiction. I have not been put behind bars (at the time of writing — Editor's note) because the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR annulled the decision of the Lviv regional court. However, realising how wide are the powers which the notorious Article 62 (of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR — Editor's note) gives to the K.G.B. organs and the court, can I and my family be guaranteed that I will not be dealt with in such a short shrift manner on account of the fact that I had dared to write about the arbitrariness and lawlessness? Therefore I ask

you, and in your person the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, to protect me from possible reprisals."

The letter was written on 22nd May, 1966. It is widespread (in manuscript copies — Editor's note) in Ukraine.

Chornovil found a job then in Kiev as inspector of Kiev book trade corporation. In the Spring of 1967, as a result of the termination of his temporary residence permit at Vyshhorod near Kiev, he moved to Lviv to live with his family which moved there in 1966. In Lviv he was generally refused any employment. Finally he settled as instructor of the Society for the Protection of Nature. In the course of all this time he was engaged in scientific research on questions of Ukrainian language and history of literature, and lately on questions of law and jurisprudence. He wrote letters to the government authorities pointing out the infringements of Soviet laws by the organs of the prosecution, by the State Security Committee (KGB) and law courts during the arrests and trials of Ukrainian intellectuals in 1965-1966. He compiled documents about the innocently condemned people in two typewritten collections: "Recidivism of Terror or Justice" (250 pages) and "Portraits of Twenty Criminals" (or "Woe from Wit"). A copy of the latter reached the West and was published in Paris in November, 1967. This is a book of 335 printed pages.

The letter was also published in the Ukrainian press in the free world (e.g. *Vyzvol'nyi Shliakh*, London, No. 2, 1968, pp. 228-273). Articles about it appeared in the Western press. Writing in the *Observer* (11th Feb. 1968), Edward Crankshaw described it as "the boldest, the most scathing, the most able indictment of the abuse of authority that has come out of the Soviet Union."

Anatol BEDRIY, M.A.

SPOKESMEN OF NATIONAL AND MORAL RE-AWAKENING

The renowned Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko (1841-1861), had forecast that no imperialist will ever succeed in destroying the Ukrainian nation. This truism is being confirmed today, when the Russian colonialists have set out to destroy the Ukrainian nation, have perpetuated horrible genocidal crimes upon the Ukrainian people, have murdered many millions of the population and have systematically liquidated its national elite, particularly during the past 50 years. Yet, the Ukrainian nation exists as a separate conscious national being and shows signs of growing vitality as a separate cultural and political entity.

Several recent writings of leading Ukrainians prove the above contention, in particular the letter of the Kyiv journalist Viacheslav Chornovil to P. I. Shelest (First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine) of May 22, 1966; the letter of V. Chornovil to the Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R.; the letter of three journalists from Kyiv (V. Chornovil, V. Skochok, L. Sheremetieva) of September 27, 1966, to the periodical "*Perets*" and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, the speech of Ivan Dziuba, commemorating the 25th anniversary of the Nazi massacre of the Jews at Babyn Yar, as well as many other documents recently smuggled out of Ukraine.

Chornovil turns to Shelest as "a Ukrainian to a Ukrainian." The feeling of national relationship and national consciousness is quite noticeable. He reminds Shelest of "the terror of the thirties which bled white the Ukrainian people and made Ukrainian Soviet statehood fictitious." Terror was directed against the Ukrainian people as a whole and not against any one class. It was a policy of national genocide.

Chornovil perceives keenly the national tragedy of Ukraine. He also comes to the conclusion that Ukraine really does not possess her own state because, as the result of Moscow's policy, the Ukrainian Soviet statehood is such in name only. He, V. Chornovil, would like to see Ukraine as a sovereign state.

The letter of the three journalists mentions Ivan Dziuba's (Ukrainian literary critic and publicist) treatise on "Internationalism or Russification?", which to date has been published only in part in the West. The title itself reveals the presence of Russification in Ukraine and Dziuba's opposition to it. Evidently, a strong opposition to Russification exists in Ukraine coupled with the defence of the right of Ukrainian national culture to be on equal footing with other national cultures. The three authors call this work "an acutely painful appeal of the soul in defence of the drowned principles of Leninist nationality policy, on behalf of humaneness and justice..." The three journalists state that in the Soviet Union there is a battle going on between the onslaught of Russification and the defence of the national cultures of the non-Russian peoples.

They say: "The legal status of Ukraine... is appallingly incompatible with her actual status." Ukraine does not enjoy equal status with other nations. There exists national discrimination. The authors prophesy: "Tomorrow there will be more people who think the same way, if, of course, a reawakening from the forced thirty year long lethargic sleep will not be stopped by reprisals (but, are they an answer?). Then maybe you will call all of them frogs and morons, or, perhaps, you are going to label the entire Ukrainian people, feeble-minded?" By this the authors are trying to say that they profess the Ukrainian nation as everliving and that they are very conscious of the wholeness and uniqueness of the phenomenon, "the Ukrainian people." They state: "...centralization and de-nationalization... for decades stifled the national dignity in Ukraine and the sprouts of national thought." Authors ask: "Do you notice the broken souls and the dented hearts caused by the ruthless machine of de-nationalization?" They acutely perceive the harm done by the wrong artificial policy of "centralism and de-nationalization." Moscow's policy has been adverse to human nature and is leading to "broken souls and dented hearts."

The letter indicates that each nation should have freedom to foster and develop its own culture, and to take her own cultural road best suited to her conditions and situations. Culture should not be enforced from outside the nation for this then becomes cultural imperialism.

A certain Telnova is mentioned who "in her militant [Russian] chauvinism did not hesitate to desecrate a monument to the "Kobzar" (the national poet of Ukraine, Taras Shevchenko, 1814-1861). De-nationalization is equalled to chauvinism and evidently it is approved and furthered by the Communist Party and the Soviet government. The authors are against chauvinism, which they consider as an attempt by one national culture to dominate over and to destroy another national culture. They complain that, on orders of the oppressing nation, the Ukrainian "language is mutilated", because "the rulers everywhere and always ignore the 'state' language of the

'sovereign republic'." Obviously, a campaign is conducted by the Russians to exterminate the Ukrainian language, but in Ukraine people prefer it to the Russian. Doubt is expressed that the Ukrainian government is sovereign. They make fun of the "theory of two native languages" propagated by Moscow and suggesting that Russian is another "native" language of the Ukrainians.

The authors further complain about the persecution of the Ukrainian cultural workers. They mention I. M. Dziuba, the prominent publicist and literary critic, who must earn his living in the Institute of Biochemistry upon the orders of the rulers. They protest that "many" scholars, journalists, educators, writers, etc. are either unemployed or have to take occasional jobs, since they do not work in a profession, "only because someone did not like their opinions or speeches." Ukrainian cultural workers are persecuted for their *Ukrainian* views. The letter reminds us of "the wave of political arrests and trials all over Ukraine two years ago, as the result of which scholars, lecturers, artists, and students found themselves in camps of severe regime." Many other Ukrainians protested against "illegal secret trials."

The letter disputes the value and the necessity to "copy the 'elder brother' in economics, culture, education, etc." But it goes on to say: "if so, let us compare the attitude of the Russian rulers towards the Russian emigrants. Attacks against the Russian emigrés will never be found in the Soviet press. What's more, the Russian press has given a forum to the white-emigré Shulgin to write articles with a strongly detectable chauvinistic flavour." In addition, the authors remark that in exile there are many of those who are in favour of the Russian domination over other nations ("yedinonedelimtsy").

The authors complain that Lviv has 40% of Russian inhabitants, although in 1939 there were a dozen Russians. This proves large scale Russian colonization of Ukraine even though Western Ukraine is overpopulated, and therefore "Ukrainians from Halychyna are forced to emigrate to Russia, where they are faced by an inevitable Russification because they will not receive any native education, will be in want of their own cultural institutions and printed word." In short the current policy of Moscow toward Ukraine amounts to genocide, simple and direct.

The authors grieve for "the type of national life which began to be introduced by us in the twenties and which later was burned out with red-hot iron by the "leader of peoples." Today, the people are prosecuted just for reading the Ukrainian press from abroad, (for this "crime" brothers Horyn, Moroz, Osadchyi, Zalyvakha and many others were sentenced) while our newspapers can be freely obtained there."

In his speech on the tragedy at the Babyn Yar, Ivan Dziuba said: "I wish to turn to you, Jews, as a member of the Ukrainian nation

to which I belong with pride." The acuteness of national consciousness is striking as well as the perception of the pulsating life of the Ukrainian nation. Dziuba deliberates about two nations, the Ukrainian and the Jewish: "The history of our two peoples is so alike in its tragedy that in the biblical motives of his 'Moisei' (Moses), Franko recreated the road of the Ukrainian people in the robes of a Jewish legend..." Mentioning a Jewish politician of the 19th century, Volodymyr Zhabotynskyi, Dziuba said: "He took up the cause of the Ukrainian people in its struggle against the Russian liberation movement and the Ukrainian culture." The argumentation follows along national and anti-colonial lines. He proudly proclaimed: "Jews have the right to be Jews; Ukrainians have the right to be Ukrainians in the fullest and the deepest — not only in the formal sense of these words... Let the Ukrainians know the Ukrainian history, culture, language and let them be proud of it."

The letter of Chornovil to the Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R. also reveals the relations between nations existing in the Soviet Union. In it he explains why his indictment had been changed from "crimes" under Paragraph 172 to those under Paragraph 62 of the Criminal Code: "From the top the signal did not come yet to imprison the next party of 'anti-Soviet agitators and propagandists'." It shows the utterly political nature of Soviet law, which to a Ukrainian is incomprehensible, because he believes in eternal truth and constant natural rules of law.

Chornovil and many others protested against secret trials which were held because the "judges were afraid that the defendants would tell the truth in public (even after previous careful checking)... the judges were afraid that the scantiness of accusations and the infamous methods of conducting investigations, the methods of psychological terror would come out into the light of day." The described procedures are typically non-Ukrainian ways of rendering justice. At one open trial the government found itself accused: "Valentyn Moroz talked at Luts'k about Russification, about the inequality of right in our 'sovereign' republic... and that he wanted for Ukraine the same rights as her Socialist sisters have — Russia, Czechoslovakia, Poland..." Thus, tyranny, lack of national sovereignty and Russification of the Ukrainian culture are the three main problems facing the Ukrainian people.

Chornovil points to the "grounds which nourish such disposition and lead up to activities, defined by the Criminal Code as criminal..." In short, it is the national ground. If this ground did not exist, "in the countryside everyone would be pleased with the fate of the passportless life-long serf in the Kolkhoz. In the cities, Ukrainians would be proud that they have become renegades without kin and name. Nobody would blush for democracy while placing unread papers in the ballot box with names determined in Oblast Committees or County Committees... we would call Russification internationalism

and would be peacefully pleased by the achievements of such 'internationalism'..."

The author of the letter complains that Ukraine is isolated from Western ideas. He then asks: "And how about the Marxist thesis that social existence (and not hostile books) defines the consciousness?" In turn, the materials which are sent abroad are unavailable in USSR because "they contain specialized truth — only for export." Chornovil concludes his "open letter" thus: "What does Paragraph 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. teach the citizens? It teaches to walk blindly and exactly in the steps of the most recent newspaper norms; it teaches the bureaucratic morality of the philistines: to be afraid and not to look back."

All four quoted documents are imbued with the highest moral standards. Chornovil is very conscious of what can happen to him for "daring to write about the high-handedness and the lawlessness" of the KGB. Nevertheless, he criticises the system openly. Such a move requires tremendous courage and conviction in his own righteousness.

The three journalists spoke out against the widely used character assassination in the Bolshevik system. They opposed "anger and abuse" in journalism "regardless if it is used by the crone Paraska or the highly placed Jupiter." They are aware of what can happen to them for criticising the moral standards of the officials in the Soviet Union. They believe that "lie and talent do not go in one harness." They argued: "Let us turn to facts which gave one the right to pour dirt upon a man, as if such right existed at all." The perception of moral standards is extraordinary!

Dziuba's pamphlet "Internationalism or Russification?", is described as an "acutely painful appeal of the soul... in defence of the nationality policy, on behalf of humaneness and justice." To them the moral posture is of prime importance. The authors stand up in defence of "the strangled national dignity" and feel duty-bound to do something on behalf of the "broken souls and dented hearts." They complain about many "Soviet" publicists who "prefer to throw mud at the individuals who speak out courageously." They criticize the trend toward old Stalinist immoral practices. "We are sorry for the style, for the tone, you are using in criticism... If two crones, quarreling about the furrow, run out of phrases, they can bravely enrich their vocabulary by subscribing to *Perets* or *Literaturna Ukraïna*... with abuses you try to compensate lack of arguments." They also take this occasion to defend the Ukrainian emigrants: "You are calling people who never killed nor murdered anyone — cut-throats and bandits."

Then, the authors summarize: "We are however not as naïve as to believe that the calumniator will be prosecuted. Nevertheless, there is another court — a court of conscience; there is a sentence more severe than any possible sentence — human contempt."

The acuteness of moral problems in Ukraine is crucial and striking. Nowhere in the Western societies has it reached such magnificent heights. And the solutions to moral problems, proposed by these people, are the most imaginable. Western man may and should try to learn much from them.

Ivan Dziuba in his speech on Ukrainian-Jewish relations touched also upon some of the most important moral problems. He stated that he was proud and honoured to belong to his colonially enslaved nation. He continued: "Fascism begins with the disrespect of the human being and ends with the destruction of the human being."

This is the best definition of totalitarianism one can find anywhere. Respect for an individual — this is what the Ukrainian people fail to receive from the government which rules over them. His moral is: "Do not resign yourself and conform to others, but be yourself and respect others... This is hard to achieve, but it is better to strive for it than to drop the hand apathetically and to float with the tide of assimilation, from which no benefit was ever derived, but rather caddishness, profanity and hidden hatred of humanity." Dziuba proves to be a man of courage with a character of the highest quality; he is an individualist in the full sense of the world.

The conclusion at the end of Chornovil's letter to the Prosecutor of the Ukrainian S.S.R. is also noteworthy. Chornovil opposes the morality of "newspaper norms", of bureaucratic morality. His message is: "be a real human being!"

Read

Read

ABN Correspondence

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67, Germany

Annual subscription: 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, 6 Dollars in U.S.A., DM 12.- in Germany, and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries.

Dedicated to the 20th Anniversary of UN

Declaration of Human Rights

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS IN USSR

The following are brief data on a number of Ukrainian political prisoners presently incarcerated in the Soviet Union. This information is based on letters and documents smuggled out of the U.S.S.R. recently, above all on a manuscript collection of various materials about the prisoners, compiled by a Ukrainian journalist, Viacheslav Chornovil, himself arrested as a result and sentenced to 3 years hard labour in November, 1967. His White Book has recently been published in Ukrainian in Paris under the title "Lykho z rozumu" ("Woe from Wit").

Many prisoners were condemned on the grounds of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR which states:

"Any agitation or propaganda with the intent to undermine or subvert the Soviet regime, participation in certain specific and particularly dangerous crimes against the State, dissemination with the same intent of slanderous inventions against the Soviet State and its social system, as well as distribution, preparation or possession with the above aim of literature with such content are punishable by the deprivation 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 for crimes committed in time of war, are punishable by imprisonment for terms from three to ten years."

Some of these prisoners have been mentioned in the Western press. Most of them are students, writers, lecturers and Ukrainian cultural leaders, who have been tried by the regime for "anti-Soviet activities", such as the reading and distributing of books and magazines published in the Western countries, the addresses of the late Pope John XXIII, former President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko monument in Washington in 1964, and demanding recognition of Ukrainian language and culture in Ukraine, true equality for the Ukrainian nation in international relations, real sovereignty and independence of Ukraine.

I. RECENT UKRAINIAN PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE IN USSR

1. Viacheslav M. Chornovil

Born in the village of Yerky in Cherkasy region, Ukraine, on December 24, 1937, journalist, literary critic and associate of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In 1960 he graduated with honours from the University of Kiev with a degree in journalism. He is the author of many articles and scientific works. He also wrote two major books concerned with the imprisonment of fellow writers in Ukraine: "Recidivism of Terrorism or Justice" and "Woe from Wit" ("Lykho z rozumu"). The latter book was smuggled out of Ukraine and published by the "La Parole Ukrainienne" Publishing House in Paris. Having refused to act as a witness for the state at the closed trials of fellow writers, he defended them by writing letters and tracts on their behalf to the Soviet government. On August 3rd, 1967, the Secret Police made a search of Chornovil's apartment taking away several old books, personal letters and notes. On August 5th, he was arrested by KGB and has since been kept in isolation. In late November, 1967, V. Chornovil was sentenced at a closed trial to 3 years of hard labour.

Viacheslav Chornovil is married and has a three year old son, Taras. His wife, Olena, practises medicine.

II. UKRAINIAN PRISONERS OF CONSCIENCE CONDEMNED IN 1966

1. Yaroslav B. Hevrych

Born in the village of Ostapye, Ternopol region, Ukraine, on November 28, 1937, student at Kiev Medical Institute. He was arrested in August 1965, tried and sentenced on March 11, 1966, at a closed trial in Kiev, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda and agitation." His sentence was reduced to 3 years after he appealed to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR. He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 17-a, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

2. Ivan A. Hel

Born in the village of Klitsko, Lviv region, Ukraine, locksmith and a student at the Evening School of the University of Lviv. He is married and has a 4 year old daughter. He was arrested on August 24, 1965, and sentenced at a closed trial on March 25, 1966, in Lviv, to 3 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

3. Bohdan M. Horyn'

Born in the village of Kniseli, Lviv region, Ukraine, on February

10, 1936, literary and art critic. In 1959, he graduated in Philology from the University of Lviv. He worked as a research associate of the Lviv Museum of Ukrainian Art and wrote many articles on art and literature. He was arrested on August 26, 1965, and sentenced on April 18, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to 4 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda." He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR, where he contracted an illness of the eyes threatening the loss of his sight.

4. Mykhailo M. Horyn'

Born in the village of Kniseli, Lviv region, Ukraine, on June 20, 1930, psychologist, brother of Bohdan Horyn'. He graduated from the University of Lviv and worked as a psychologist in a laboratory of industrial psychology. He is the author of several works on psychology and literature and a participant in professional conferences. He is married and has a three year old daughter. He was arrested on August 26, 1965, and sentenced on April 18, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to six years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 1 and 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. In December, 1966, he was imprisoned in the camp jail for "writing and distributing anti-Soviet literature and speeches", and in 1967 all visiting privileges were denied him.

5. Dmytro P. Ivashchenko

Member of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, lecturer of Ukrainian literature, candidate of philological science. He worked as a lecturer of Ukrainian literature at the Lutsk Pedagogic Institute (Volynia, West Ukraine). He is married and has several children. He was arrested in August 1965, and sentenced in January 1966, by Volynia Region Court to 2 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda and agitation." He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR, where he is suffering from rheumatism.

6. Sviatoslav J. Karavanskyi

Born in Odessa, Ukraine, on December 24, 1920, poet, linguist, journalist and translator. During World War II, he served in the Red Army. After his unit was encircled and routed by the Germans he escaped to Odessa. There he cooperated illegally with the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and was persecuted by the Rumanian security police. After the recapture of Odessa by the Soviet Russian army he was arrested and tried on February 7, 1944, by a Soviet military court and sentenced to 25 years of hard labour for "connections with the Ukrainian underground." Upon being freed from the Soviet concentration camp in December 1960, he returned to Odessa where he worked on translation of various books from English into Ukrainian. He translated the well-known novel "Jane Eyre" by Charlotte Bronte." On March 4, 1965, Karavanskyi's

apartment was searched. He protested against this invasion of privacy and also against the various arrests of fellow writers. He presented a memorandum to the Polish and Czecho-Slovak Consuls in Kiev in which he protested against the Soviet nationality policy in Ukraine and arrests of Ukrainian intellectuals. On November 13, 1965, Karavanskyi was re-arrested in Odessa and sentenced by the Prosecutor-General of the USSR, M. Rudenko, without any trial, to 8 years and 7 months of hard labour, that is to serve the rest of the previous 25 year sentence. He was incarcerated, on two occasions, in solitary confinement for periods up to ten days, for writing letters from the concentration camp to various Soviet authorities protesting against his arrest and imprisonment without trial. On October 8, 1966, he was imprisoned in the camp jail for a period of 6 months. During his imprisonment, Karavanskyi went on hunger strike 5 times, each time up to 10 days duration. In 1967, all visiting privileges were denied him. He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

7. Eugenia F. Kuznetsova

Born in Shostka, Sumy region, Ukraine, on November 28, 1913, chemist. She was a research worker in the chemical laboratory of the University of Kiev. She was arrested on August 25, 1965, and sentenced on March 25, 1966, at a closed trial in Kiev, to 4 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." She is married and has children. She is presently severely ill, serving her sentence in Camp 6, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

8. Olexander E. Martynenko

Born in Nova Horlivka, Donetsk region, Ukraine, engineer. He worked at Kiev Geological Institute. He was arrested on August 28, 1965, and sentenced on March 25, 1966, at a closed trial in Kiev, to 3 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda." He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

9. Mykhailo S. Masiutko

Born in Chaplynka, Kherson region, Ukraine, on November 18, 1918, poet, literary critic, teacher. In 1937, at the age of nineteen, he was arrested and sentenced to 5 years of hard labour for "counter-revolutionary activities." In 1940, he was released and vindicated. He served in the Soviet Army during World War II and was awarded a medal. He is married and had to support his 73 year old mother. He was arrested on September 4, 1965, in Feodosia, Crimea, Ukraine, and sentenced on March 23, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to 6 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda." In camp he has been severely ill and operated. Forced to work immediately after the operation, his sutures came apart. In December 1966, Masiutko was put into the camp jail for a period of 6 month for "writing and distributing anti-Soviet articles" in the camp. He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

10. Valentyn Y. Moroz

Born in Kholoniv, Volynia region, Ukraine, on April 15, 1936, historian. He was a lecturer of modern history at Ivano-Frankivsk (Stanyslaviv) Pedagogic Institute (West Ukraine). He is married and has a 5 year old son. He was arrested in August 1965, and sentenced in January, 1966, in the Volynia Region Court, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda." He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. In December 1966, he was put into the camp jail for a period of six months.

11. Mykhailo D. Ozernyi

Born in Verkhnie Synievydne (Synevids'ko Vyzhnie), Lviv region, Ukraine, in 1929, teacher, translator. He was teacher of German language and Ukrainian language and literature in Ripyanka, Ivano-Frankivsk region. He is married and has two small children. He was arrested in August 1965, and sentenced on February 7, 1966, in Ivano-Frankivsk, to 6 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda." His sentence was reduced to 3 years by the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR. He was serving his sentence in the early part of 1967 in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. At present his whereabouts are unknown.

12. Mykhailo H. Osadchyi

Born in Kurmany, Sumy region, Ukraine, on March 22, 1936, journalist, poet, literary critic, lecturer and translator. He was a member of the Communist Party since January 1962, also a member of the Journalists' Union of Ukraine. He worked as Associate Professor in Journalism at the University of Lviv and was an editor of the University paper. He is married and has one son. He was arrested on August 28, 1965, and sentenced on April 18, 1966, at a closed trial in Lviv, to 2 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet agitation." A collection of M. Osadchyi's poetry entitled "Moon Fields" was published in Lviv in 1965, but was confiscated and destroyed by the KGB. M. Osadchyi is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. In camp, authorities removed a collection of poetry that he was translating into Ukrainian — poems of Garcia Lorca and Baltic poets.

13. Anatol O. Shevchuk

Born in Zhytomyr, Ukraine, on February 6, 1937, writer. He worked as a linotypist in Zhytomyr. He is married and has a 6 year old daughter. He suffers from a heart ailment and acute rheumatism. He was arrested on May 23, 1966, and sentenced on September 7, 1966, at a closed trial, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

14. Opanas E. Zalyvakha

Born in Husynka, Kharkiv region, Ukraine, on November 26, 1925,

artist. In 1960, he graduated from Leningrad Art Institute. He was arrested in August 1965, in Ivano-Frankivsk and sentenced in March 1966, at a closed trial, to 5 years of hard labour for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation." He is presently serving his sentence in Camp 11, in Yavas, Mordovian ASSR, USSR. The camp authorities have confiscated his paints and have refused him the right to paint in his free time.

III. UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS SENTENCED DURING 1944-1964

1. Kateryna Zarytska — born in 1914, wife of M. Soroka.

An organiser and worker of the Ukrainian Red Cross during World War II. She was sentenced in 1947 to 25 years of imprisonment. Presently she is detained in the Vladimir prison (east of Moscow).

2. Odarka Husiak — born in 1924, arrested in 1950 for membership in the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (acting as courier). She was sentenced in 1950 to 25 years of imprisonment. Presently she is detained in the Vladimir prison.

3. Halyna Didyk — born in 1912.

An organiser and worker of the Ukrainian Red Cross during World War II. She was sentenced in 1950 to 25 years of imprisonment. She is presently serving her sentence in the Vladimir prison.

4. Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi

A Ukrainian lawyer, citizen of Czecho-Slovakia, was sentenced in 1947 without a trial of any kind and imprisoned merely on "special order" of the Soviet Russian secret police. The main accusation levelled against Dr. Horbovyi was his activity as a defence lawyer prior to World War II in former Poland. He defended before Polish courts Ukrainian nationalist leaders, Stepan Bandera, Jaroslav Stetzko, and others.

A few years ago, while in No. 5 concentration camp, in Lепley, Mordovian ASSR, Dr. Horbovyi wrote a letter to Khrushchev, pointing out that the USSR was violating UN Declaration on Human Rights in imprisoning him without a trial. Dr. Horbovyi also censured the USSR's breach of the United Nations Charter and of other international standards. He defended the rights of Ukrainian political prisoners in Soviet concentration camps. However, he received no answer either from Khrushchev or his successors, Brezhnev and Kosygin. The KGB sent him several times to Kiev and Moscow to be interrogated by KGB chiefs. There he was promised his freedom and life in comfort if he would renounce his Ukrainian patriotic views, but he preferred imprisonment in honour. The KGB went even so far as to compel his wife to publish a letter denouncing her husband and the ideas he stood for. Dr. Horbovyi is serving now his 20th year of incarceration and hard labour in the camps of the Dubravno Camp Administration in the Mordovian ASSR.

5. Yuriy Shukhevych

Son of Lieut.-General Taras Chuprynka (*nom-de-guerre* of Roman Shukhevych), Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which fought both against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia during the last war, and carried on a guerilla warfare against the renewed occupation of Ukraine by Communist Russia for several years after the World War II ended. Yuriy Shukhevych was born in 1933, arrested in 1948, at the age of 15, and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment for "connections with Ukrainian underground." In the spring of 1956, he was released. In the autumn of the same year Y. Shukhevych was again arrested and at the request of the Prosecutor General of the USSR. M. Rudenko, he was sentenced to 2 years in prison. On the day of release from prison in 1958, he was re-arrested for "anti-Soviet propaganda" in prison cells and sentenced to additional 10 years of hard labour. He is serving his sentence in the Camp No. 17 of the Dubravno Concentration Camps Administration in the Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

6. Mykhailo Soroka

He was arrested in 1940, and sentenced to 8 years in prison. After his release in 1949, Soroka returned to Lviv where he was arrested and exiled to Krasnoyarsk region in Siberia for the same "crime." Upon return to Lviv in 1951, he was vindicated for the 1940 sentence. In 1952, M. Soroka was arrested again on grounds of belonging to subversive organisations which allegedly existed in the forced labour camps and again sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment. Altogether this Ukrainian patriot spent 7 years in Polish and 24 years in Soviet Russian prisons. At present imprisoned in Camp No. 17 in Mordovia.

7. V. Duzhynskyi

An artist, sentenced in 1957, to 10 years for hanging the flag of the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks, who fought for Ukrainian independence in the XVI-XVIII century, in the Lviv theatre. He is presently serving his sentence in Dubravno system of camps in the Mordovian ASSR, USSR.

8. Stepan M. Virun

Presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps, Mordovian ASSR, for organising the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv, which tried to formulate a programme for more political and social freedom for Ukraine within the framework of the Soviet Constitution. He was sentenced in 1961 to 11 years of hard labour. Born in 1932 in Lviv region, Communist Party propagandist.

9. Levko H. Lukyanenko

Presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps, Mordovian ASSR, for organising the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv. He was sentenced in 1961, to 15 years of hard labour. Born in 1927 in the village of Khrypivka, Chernihiv region, in Ukraine,

graduate of the Faculty of Laws of Moscow University, Communist party propagandist, expelled from the CPSU in connection with this case.

10. Ivan O. Kandyba

Born in 1930, in the village of Stolno, Volodava district, Pidliashia region of West Ukraine, presently in Poland, graduate of the Faculty of Laws of the Lviv University, a lawyer. Sentenced in 1961, to 15 years of hard labour for attempting to organise the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv, which tried to formulate a programme for more political and social freedom for Ukraine within the framework of the Soviet Constitution. Presently serving his sentence in Camp No. 17, Mordovian ASSR.

11. Oleksander S. Libovych

Born in 1935 in Hlidno, Berezhiv district, Lemky region (presently in Poland), Ukrainian agriculturist, graduate of Lviv Agricultural Institute, sentenced in 1961 to 10 years of hard labour for organising the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv. Present whereabouts unknown.

12. Vasyl S. Lutskiv

Born in 1935, in the village of Pavliv, Radekhiv district, Lviv region, Ukraine, manager of the village club of Pavliv. Sentenced in 1961 to 10 years hard labour for organising Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in Lviv. Present whereabouts unknown.

13. Yosyp Y. Borovnytskyi

Born in 1932, in Sianik (Sanok), Lemky region (presently in Poland), graduate of the Faculty of Laws of the University of Lviv, member of the CPSU (expelled from the Party in connection with this case), prosecution investigator in Peremyshliany district, Lviv region, Ukraine. Sentenced in 1961 to 10 (later reduced to 7) years of hard labour for participation in the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union which had as its final aim the achievement of Ukrainian independence by legal means. Presently incarcerated in Mordovian ASSR forced labour camps.

14. Ivan Z. Kipysh

Born in 1923, in the village of Hlidno, Berezhiv district, Lemky region (at present in Poland), Ukrainian, militiaman from Lviv. Sentenced in 1961 to 10 (later reduced to 7) years of hard labour for participation in Ukrainian Workers' and Pesants' Union. Presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

15. Bohdan Harmatiuk

Born in 1939, construction engineer. Sentenced in March 1959 to 10 years of imprisonment for participation in the "United Party for Liberation of Ukraine" in Stanyslaviv, West Ukraine. Presently in Mordovian camps.

16. Yarema S. Tkachuk

Born in 1933, turner. Case as above.

17. Bohdan I. Tymkiv

Born in 1935, student of Lviv Forestry Institute. Case as above.

18. Myron Ploshchak

Born in 1932, worker. Case as above.

19. Ivan V. Strutynskyi

Born in 1937, secondary education, conductor of a factory's amateur chorus. Case as above. Recently released.

20. Mykola Yurchyk

Born in 1933, worker. Sentenced in March 1959 to 7 years hard labour in the same case as the above prisoners. Recently released.

21. Ivan Konevych

Born in 1930, worker. Case as above. Recently released.

22. Ivan Teodorovych Koval — young worker from Lviv. Sentenced in December 1961 to be shot for the formation of the organisation under the name of "Ukrainian National Committee" (UNK), whose aim was independence of Ukraine. The sentence was carried out.

23. Bohdan Hrytsyna — young worker from Lviv. Sentenced in December 1961 to be shot, together with I. Koval, in the case of the "Ukrainian National Committee." The sentence was carried out.

24. Volodymyr Hnot — locksmith from Lviv. Sentenced to be shot in December 1961. The sentence was later commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. Presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps (sentenced in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case).

25. Roman Hurnyi — born in 1924, worker at the secret factory in Lviv, P.O. Box 47, sentenced in December 1961 to be shot (the case of the "Ukrainian National Committee.") The sentence was commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. Presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

26. Hryhoriy Zelman — b. 1936, collective farmer, Lviv region, sentenced in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961 to 15 years of imprisonment. At present in Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

27. Oleksiy Zelman — collective farmer, brother of Hryhoriy, sentenced in "Ukrainian National Committee" case in Lviv in 1961 to 12 years of imprisonment. At present in Mordovian camps.

28. Mykola Melekh — b. 1924, a philologist, graduate of Lviv University, sentenced in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case to 15 years of imprisonment. Serving his sentence in Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

29. Vasyl Kindrat — young boy, sentenced in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in Lviv to 13 years of imprisonment, after which he lost his mind.

30. M. Kurylo — sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

31. Mykola Mashtalir — b. 1925, Lviv region, sentenced to death in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case. Sentence later commuted to 15 years of imprisonment. Presently in Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

32. Stepan Soroka — b. 1932, worker, sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case. Presently in Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

33. M. Pokora — worker, sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

34. Myroslav Iovchyk — sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961. Presently in Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR, from where he has written 268 complaints to authorities.

35. Myn'ko — sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

36. O. Tyhlyvets — sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in 1961 in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case.

37. Mykola Melnychuk — sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961 in Lviv.

38. O. Khomiakevych — sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment in the "Ukrainian National Committee" case in 1961.

39. Bohdan Skira — from Lviv region, serving his sentence in the Mordovian concentration camps. Details unknown.

40. Dmytro Verkholiak — medical student. Imprisoned in Mordovian concentration camps.

41. V. Levkovych — imprisonment in Mordovian concentration camps. Some time ago he was released but immediately afterwards arrested again on KGB request.

42. A. Hubych — imprisoned in Mordovian concentration camps.

43. A. Novozhyts'kyi — imprisoned in Mordovian concentration camps.

44. Y. Dolishnyi — presently serving his sentence in Dubravno camps of the Mordovian ASSR. He was sentenced for demanding, together with other Ukrainian intellectuals from Karaganda, Kazakhstan, a Ukrainian school for their children. His colleagues were also sentenced along with him.

45. M. P. Lytsyk — sentenced at a closed trial of Lviv region court on 12th April 1961, and presently serving sentence in the Mordovian camps.

46. **O. V. Volodyniuk** — sentenced at a closed trial of Lviv region court on 12th April, 1961, and presently serving his sentence in the Mordovian camps.

47. **Yu. Sachuk** — sentenced at a closed trial of Volynia region court in Lutsk on 10. 9. 1963 to 5 years hard labour, and presently serving his sentence in Mordovian camps.

48. **Omelian Polevyi** — b. 1913, Ternopil region, sentenced in 1945 to 25 years of imprisonment. — Imprisoned in camp 17 in Mordovia.

49. **Hryhor Pryshliak** — b. 1912, Lviv region, sentenced in 1946 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

50. **Mykola Kostiv** — b. 1915, Stanyslaviv region, sentenced to death in 1945. Sentence later commuted to 20 years of imprisonment. In 1952 sentenced again to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

51. **Yevhen Pryshliak** — b. 1913, Lviv region, sentenced in 1952 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

52. **Ivan Il'chuk** — b. 1925, Lutsk region (Volynia), sentenced in 1948 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

53. **Volodymyr Yurkiv** — b. 1928, Ternopil region, sentenced in 1947 to 25 years of imprisonment. In 1952 sentenced to death. Sentence later commuted to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

54. **Yevhen Hladkovskyi** — b. 1930, Lviv region, sentenced in 1953 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

55. **Vasyl Soroka** — b. 1912, Rivne region (Volynia), sentenced in 1952 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

56. **Mykola Martsias** — b. 1938, Ternopil region, sentenced in 1962 to 10 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

57. **Stepan Tyshkivskyi** — b. 1914, Stanyslaviv region, sentenced in 1952 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

58. **Volodymyr Leoniuk** — b. 1932 in Berestya (Brest) region. Sentenced in 1951 to 25 and in 1960 to 12 years of imprisonment. At present in Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

59. **Vasyl Melnyk** — b. 1923, Rivne region (Volynia), sentenced in 1952 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

60. **Hnat Kuzyk** — b. 1933, Lviv region, sentenced in 1961 to 15 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

61. **Vasyl Pirus** — b. 1921, Ternopil region. Sentenced in 1946 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 in Mordovia.

62. **Denys Lukashevych** — probably Ukrainian Catholic priest from Soroky-Lvivski, Lviv region, sentenced in 1949 to 25 years imprisonment for harbouring Ukrainian underground fighters who killed the Communist pamphleteer and traitor of the Ukrainian

people, Yaroslav Halan. At present imprisoned in Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

63. Bohdan Khrystynych — b. 1929, Ternopil region. Sentenced in 1959 to 10 years of imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda." Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

64. Yaroslav Hasiuk — b. 1925, Stanyslaviv region, twice sentenced; the last time in 1960, to 12 years of imprisonment. Camp 17 Mordovian ASSR.

65. Mykhailo Orel — b. 1924, Cherkasy region. Sentenced in 1947 to 25 years of imprisonment. In 1952 sentenced again to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

66. Mykhailo Levytskyi — b. 1922, Lviv region. Sentenced in 1951 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

67. Oleksa Shekman — b. 1928, Stanyslaviv region. Sentenced in 1955 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17. Mordovian ASSR.

68. Stepan Yankevych — b. 1922, Lviv region. Sentenced in 1954 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17. Mordovian ASSR.

69. Hryhor Demchuk — b. 1930, Rivne region. Sentenced in 1958 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

70. Mykola Marusiak — b. 1925, Stanyslaviv region. Sentenced in 1948 to 25 years of imprisonment. Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

71. Mykola Pidhorodnyi — b. 1926, Lviv region. Sentenced in 1949 to 5 (or 25?) years of imprisonment and in 1962 to 7 years of imprisonment. Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

72. R. Zaborovskyi — convicted for connections with Ukrainian national liberation movement. Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

73. F. Kovalyk — convicted for connections with Ukrainian national liberation movement. Camp 17, Mordovian ASSR.

74. Andrii Turyk — from Dnipropetrovsk region, sentenced in 1957 to execution by shooting for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation". Sentence later commuted to 15 years of imprisonment.

75. Borys Kyian — from Luhansk region, sentenced in 1958 to 10 years of imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation".

76. Ihor Kychak — from Dnipropetrovsk region, sentenced in 1958 to 10 years of imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation".

77. Petro Strus — from Ternopil region, sentenced in 1960 to 10 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

78. Tykhyi — sentenced in 1960 in Kiev to 10 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

79. Tykhyi — brother of the above, sentenced in 1960 in Kiev to 10 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

80. **Volodymyr Savchenko** — from Zaporizhia, sentenced in 1962 to 6 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

81. **Valerii Ryshkovenko** — from Zaporizhia, sentenced in 1962 to 6 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

82. **Yurii Pokrasenko** — from Zaporizhia, sentenced in 1962 to 6 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

83. **Dmytro Kovalchuk** — from Chernivtsi (Bukovyna), sentenced in 1962 to 10 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

84. **Shershen'** — from Chernivtsi, sentenced in 1962 to 6 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

85. **Klymchak** — from Lviv region, sentenced in 1962 to 15 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

86. **Mykhailo Protsiv** — from Khodoriv, Lviv region. Sentenced in 1962 to 15 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda." His relative, Mykola Protsiv, was executed.

87. **Drop** — from Khodoriv, Lviv region. Sentenced in 1962 to 15 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

88. **Khanas** — Khodoriv, Lviv region. Sentenced in 1962 to 12 years of imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

89. **Yosyp Nahrobnyi** — from Khodoriv, Lviv region. Sentenced in 1962 to 12 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

90. **Kapitonenko** — from Khodoriv, Lviv region. Sentenced in 1962 to 8 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

91. **Bulbyskyi** — from Donetsk region, convicted in 1963 for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

92. **Rybych** — from Donetsk region, convicted in 1963 for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

93. **Trasiuk** — from Donetsk region, convicted in 1963 for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

95. **R. Koshelyk** — from Lviv region, sentenced in 1964 to 6 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet propaganda."

96. **Bohdan Hohus'** — from Ternopil region, convicted in 1962 to execution by shooting (later commuted to 15 years imprisonment — 5 years in prison and 10 years in severe regime camps) for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

97. **Hryhorii Kovalyshyn** — from Ternopil region, convicted in 1962 to 10 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

98. **Volodymyr Kulikovskiy** — from Ternopil region, convicted in 1962 to 15 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

99. Stepan Kuryliak — from Rivne region (Volynia), convicted in 1963 to 6 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

100. Shust — from Lutsk region (Volynia), convicted in 1962 to an unknown term of imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

101. Romaniuk — Lutsk region, convicted in 1962 for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

102. Danylo Shumuk — from Lutsk region (Volynia), convicted in 1957 to 10 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

103. Hryhorii Hayovyi — journalist, convicted in 1961 in Donetsk at the head of a group of people to 6 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

104. Prymachenko — from Chernihiv region, convicted in 1963 to 4 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

105. Volodymyr Zatvarskyi — sentenced in Kiev in 1960 to 7 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

106. Yaroslav Kobyletskyi — sentenced in Kiev in 1960 to 5 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

107. Pavlo Kul'ko — sentenced in Kiev in 1958 to 10 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

108. Pavlo Pundyk — from Ternopil region, sentenced in 1962 to 5 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

109. Palykhata — from Ternopil region, sentenced in 1962 to 4 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

110. Vasyi Kobrynychuk — from Rivne region (Volynia), sentenced in 1957 to 10 years imprisonment for "Ukrainian nationalist anti-Soviet propaganda."

Note: The above list is by far not comprehensive, as names of hundreds and thousands of other Ukrainian political prisoners are not known at present. Thus, the assertions of Soviet Russian leaders that "in the Soviet Union at present there are no facts of trials for political offences" (see Khrushchev's speech at the 21st Congress of the CPSU, *Pravda* 28. 1. 1959) do not correspond with the truth.

Letters and parcels (up to 22 lbs. in weight) with food articles may be sent to the prisoners in the Mordovian camps from abroad at the following address:

СССР, Москва, п/я 5110/1 ЖХ

USSR, Moscow, p/ya. 5110/1 Zh Kh, (followed by the prisoner's name).

Ivan FRANKO
(1856-1916)

THE SPIRIT OF REVOLT (ВІЧНИЙ РЕВОЛЮЦІОНЕР)

The spirit of revolt abides,
Spirit which spurs flesh to endeavour,
To fight for freedom, progress, ever
Lives with us still, it has not died.
No tortures of the inquisition,
Nor strong-built walls of Tsarist prison,
Neither armies strongly mustered
Nor cannon primed, around it clustered,
Nor the spy's art can seal its doom,
Nor force it down into the tomb.

It does not die, lives with us still,
Though born a thousand years back, coddled
Till yesterday, but now, unswaddled,
Forward it strides by its own will.
Ever more powerful, stronger growing,
Thither it speeds where dawn is glowing,
Its word of power, like a reveille,
Calls millions forth, with it to rally,
And millions follow and rejoice,
Led onwards by the spirit's voice.

The spirit's voice is heard far round,
In hen-coop homes of peasant wretches,
Among the workers' factory benches,
Through tears and sorrow it resounds.
And where that voice is heard, there vanish
Away their tears, misfortune, anguish,
Courage and strength are born within them,
To cease their grief, strive onward, winning,
If not for self, a better life
Then for their children, in the strife.

The spirit of revolt abides;
Spirit, knowledge, thought and freedom
Shall never yield, and the impeding
Darkness shall never stay its tide.
Evil in ruins fell around us
The avalanche sped rolling downwards;
Where in this world such mighty forces
To halt its ever-onward courses,
Or, like a fire, to quench away
The sparks of its unfolding day?

Translated by Vera Rich

DOCUMENTS OF PROTEST CIRCULATING IN UKRAINE

I.

KARAVANSKYI'S PETITION TO SOVIET OF NATIONALITIES

To the Chairman of the Soviet of the Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR
from the poet and translator, KARAVANS'KYI Sviatoslav Yosypovych, condemned without trial and investigation to 8 years 7 months imprisonment on charges of making accusations of discriminatory practices of enrolment at higher educational establishments of the Ukrainian S.S.R.

P E T I T I O N

The question of mutual relations between nationalities are such as should above all interest the Soviet of Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR.

However, in the course of the last 30 years the Soviet of Nationalities dealt with very few pressing nationality problems. The activities of the Soviet of Nationalities, up to 1953, when all the Soviet State organs were personally represented by General Secretary Stalin, must not, of course, be either criticised or condemned. This was a period when the Soviet of Nationalities existed purely *pro forma* and in reality did not exercise any State function. But, unfortunately, this inertia of inactivity is still weighing heavily on the Soviet of Nationalities which should be occupied with overcoming a whole range of the vestiges of the cult of Stalin's personality, which even now continue to hamper and undermine the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

The friendship of the peoples of the USSR will be able to develop and grow in strength successfully when all the nations and peoples of the USSR have equal rights in all the domains of social and political life.

This is an axiom which there is no need to prove. It is precisely this fact that compels me to address this petition to the Soviet of Nationalities asking it to take measures to do away with outrageous remnants of national discrimination which still have place in our life.

In the first instance I am drawing your attention to the discrimination with regard to the Jewish population. In the first instance for this reason that attitude towards the Jewish population is that litmus-paper which testifies to the degree of international consciousness of a given society. The closing down of Jewish cultural institutions: newspapers, schools, theatres, publishing houses; the shootings of Jewish cultural leaders, the discriminatory practice of enrolment of Jews at higher and secondary special educational establishments — all of them are phenomena that flourished abundantly during the period of Stalin's personality cult. It might seem that the condemnation of the cult should have put an end to these discriminatory phenomena. But, unfortunately, this did not happen. N. S. Khrushchov in order to satisfy public opinion abroad (he paid little

attention to public opinion at home) was compelled to rehabilitate Jewish cultural leaders who had been shot and innocently condemned. This was all he did. And where are Jewish theatres, newspapers, publishing houses, schools? In Odessa, with its Jewish population of 150,000, there is not even one Jewish school. And the practice of enrolment at higher educational establishments? Again in Odessa with its 25% Jewish population, only 3-5% of students at higher educational establishments are Jews. This is the norm which unofficially regulates the enrolment at higher educational establishments. Jewish youths who submit applications for admission to higher educational establishments in other cities of the Soviet Union, usually receive the answer: "After all there is a similar college in Odessa — why don't you enrol at "your own" college?" And this happens at a time when young people from the Urals, Siberia, Moscow, Tula, Saratov study at higher educational establishments of Odessa — they are provided with hostels specially built for this purpose, and the local Jewish (just as the Ukrainian and Moldavian) students enjoy very limited rights to education.

Surely, these facts cannot further the friendship of the peoples.

To the contrary, these facts tend to shape the awareness among the Jews that they are an inferior, underprivileged nationality, and push them onto the path of Zionism. And it must be admitted that never before had the ideas of Zionism such popularity among the Jewish population as they have at present. This is a result of discrimination of the Jewish minority.

No less outrageous examples of national discrimination are the facts of general deportation of the Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans beyond the

frontiers of their respective Republics and the liquidation of their statehood.

The expulsion of the Tatars from the Crimea is an act of crying injustice and no arguments in its defence can justify it. How is it possible that in the 20th century a society, which wishes to build the most just system in the world, deports a 900,000 strong people from its historic land for "treason to the Fatherland" by some of its representatives? Who has the right in the 20th century to drag out of the archives of imperialistic relations such arguments as that, allegedly, "historically" these territories were not Tatar, but Russian? If one is to be consistent in arguments of this kind, then the Khabarovsk and Maritime territories and the Amur region should immediately be transferred to the Chinese People's Republic because these territories had been taken away from the Chinese people by the Russian imperialist tsars.

Surely, the destruction of the statehood of the Crimean Tatars, their dispersal over the expanses of Kazakhstan and Siberia, the depriving them of their schools, newspapers and theatres in their own native language, does not further a *rapprochement* between the peoples, or does it?

And the Volga Germans? How can they be guilty before society for Hitler's crimes? Is this a Marxist approach to the solution of complex problems: to measure people not with a social but with a national yardstick? Does the slogan, "Proletarians of all countries, unite!", not apply to the Jews, Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans? After all there are no bourgeois Jews, capitalist Tatars and German estate owners in the Soviet Union. There are only working people.

How can young people be brought up in the spirit of internationalism when, in front of their eyes, entire nationalities are deprived of their

rights to national autonomy and the rights to education both in their native and not native tongues? What "rapprochement" can there be between a person who has been expelled from his own home and his country, and a person who has occupied that home and that country?

In the same series of facts there are also mistakes that have been committed in the practice of the restoration of the national statehood of the Chechens, Ingushes, Kalmucks, Karachais and other peoples. This act of justice with regard to the small nationalities did not pass without omissions which make it doubly clear to the small peoples that they are not completely equal. In accordance with the established order, the families of the unjustly deported nationalities are not given back their immovable property: buildings, houses, cottages, and they, upon their return to their native land, have to buy premises from the local government authorities, or to build themselves new homes. Why should it be like that? After all, those people had been deported unjustly. Consequently, in granting them the right of return, the decree of the Supreme Soviet failed to assure the means for its implementation. In result, many Chechens, Ingushes, and representatives of other nationalities, do not return home. Does such a practice of return contribute to the friendship of the peoples? It is as if a man was given an expensive cake from which all chocolate had been eaten out. Can such a gift be received as a gift?

During the period of the personality cult a series of crying injustices had been committed with regard to the Baltic peoples.

Among such cases of injustice is the general deportation of the Estonian population from the frontier areas of Estonia to Siberia. Their only guilt was that they lived in the

frontier locality. After all, one could have resettled this population in another district of the Estonian Republic. But no, the population of the town of Sillamäe was deported to Siberia.

In 1940, as is known, the Latvian Republic voluntarily joined the Soviet Union. Therefore one should not have expected any reprisals against the military personnel of the Latvian army. However, strange as it may be, in 1941 officers of the Latvian army were invited to a tactical exercise from which they never returned; they were interned and their subsequent fate is unknown. The fact remains that not a living soul from among these officers returned home, as did not those thousands of Latvians who had been groundlessly arrested and deported in the years 1940-1941. The suspicion arises that during the period of Beria's arbitrary rule these Soviet citizens may have been annihilated in various ways in the camps. This crime, which in itself is a crime against humanity, cannot contribute to the strengthening of the friendship of the peoples, and in order not to allow such facts to occur in the future, it is time now to carry out an investigation, and if necessary, to carry out appropriate excavations and exhumation of corpses, and to bring to justice those guilty of the deaths of thousands of Soviet citizens of Latvian nationality.

The friendship of the peoples has been greatly harmed and is being harmed by the distortions of the nationality policy in one of the biggest republics of the USSR — in Ukraine. Russification of higher educational establishments carried out in Ukraine since 1937 has been condemned and partially revised — in Western Ukraine, while in Eastern Ukraine higher education is still Russified even today. Such a policy is based on the arguments that a difference, allegedly,

exists between the Eastern and Western Ukraine. If this be so, then why has the Ukrainian people been reunited in one Ukrainian Soviet State? Evidently, in order that the entire Ukrainian people, deprived of its own statehood in the past, be educated and develop as one national organism. But, in spite of it, as far as education is concerned, one Republic is divided into two parts. Such a practice not only does not further the friendship of the peoples, but, to the contrary, splits one nation into two peoples, just as one nationality, the Ossetians, had been split into two Republics: the South and North Ossetian ASSR, and Buryat-Mongols have been divided into the Buryat-Mongol ASSR and the Ust-Ordynsk and Aginsk National Areas. Such a splitting up of one nationality into parts does not further friendship among the peoples, but divides them.

The friendship of the peoples is also greatly harmed by the absence of an amnesty for the participants in the popular uprising in Ukraine, Latvia and Estonia between 1943-1949, directed against the cult of Stalin's personality and Beria's terror. Even at present, great conglomerations of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, live in the Komi ASSR (Vorkuta, Inta, Pechora), in Siberia (Irkutsk, Kemerovo regions and Krasnoyarsk territory), in Kazakhstan and in the Kolyma basin. They had been deported there on suspicion of participation in the uprisings against the personality cult in the years 1943-1949.

It is no secret to anyone that unjust acts against the Ukrainian people: execution by shooting of Ukrainian leaders, — Chubar, Kosior, Zatons'kyi, Liubchenko, the execution by shooting of the writers — Mykytenko, Vlyz'ko, Falkivs'kyi and scores of others, unjustified expulsion of the Communist Party of Western Ukraine from the Comintern, the

annihilation and deportation of the Ukrainian intellectuals from the city of Lviv during the years 1939-1953, the compulsory mass deportation of Ukrainians to Siberia, forced Russification of Ukrainians in the Kuban, Bilhorod (Belgorod) and Starodub areas — all these facts could not fail to provoke indignation among the people which expressed itself in the popular uprising between 1943-1949. The majority of its participants and simply witnesses (and there are more of the latter) of this uprising are still living beyond the frontiers of their Republics. In order to ensure a genuine friendship of the peoples of the USSR based on the forgetting of old quarrels, these victims of Stalin's personality cult should be returned to the territories of their Republics.

A true friendship of the peoples also demands a wide amnesty to all those prisoners who even today (for 15, 18 and 20 years) are rotting in the prisons and camps for their participation in the protests against the cult of Stalin's personality and Beria's terror. If the friendship of the peoples of the USSR be a genuine friendship, then it must be based on humane, friendly relations among the peoples and not on national hatred and fratricide. A score of years after the events of 1943-1949 the camps and prisons of the USSR are still packed full with prisoners, participants in the uprising. It is precisely in order not to permit a release of those people that the barbarous 25-year term of punishment has been retained in the USSR. This term is at present served predominantly by the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Belorussians, Moldavians. Why is there no pardon for them? After all, those who played a part in the mass annihilations of Soviet citizens in 1937-1939, are now being magnanimously forgiven, because, allegedly, it was such a bad time, those people are not guilty, for they merely

fulfilled instructions from above. Why is there no such forgiveness for the Ukrainian women, Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak, sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment? Is it permissible to keep for 18 to 20 years in Vladimir prison the women: Kateryna Zarytska — since 1947, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak — since 1950? Some time ago N. S. Khrushchev condemned the inhuman shooting of a pregnant revolutionary in Albania, but can one, from the positions of this condemnation, approve of the imprisonment of women for 18 and more years in a stony grave?

A contradiction to the true friendship of the peoples is also the practice of settling Russian population in the towns of the national republics. Thus, in the Ukrainian SSR, the Russian population is systematically, year-in year-out, increasing, while the Ukrainian population is decreasing. Similar national migrations are taking place in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Belorussia, Moldavia, Kazakhstan, Kirghizia and other national republics. Such a colonisation runs contrary to the friendship of the peoples. For instance, the appearance of great masses of Russian population in Ukraine (retired officers, retired KGB functionaries, and other privileged categories of citizens) who settle down in the towns and get all the comfortable posts, jobs and professions, has the result that the indigenous Ukrainian population is pushed down to lower paid jobs of unskilled labour, medical orderlies, caretakers, loaders, building and farm workers. Such an unceremonious colonisation of ancient Ukrainian territories does not promise anything but national hostility. Let us recall the bloodshed among the peoples of the Caucasus and Central Asia in 1917-1920. And the year 1958, when the Russian population of the city of Grozny welcomed the Chechens and Ingushes, who

returned to their native land, with the slogans: "Away with the Chechens and Ingushes from the Caucasus!", "Long live Stalin's nationality policy!" Is this not a purely colonialist attitude towards the inhabitants of those places since antiquity, towards the lawful masters of the territory in question? Is this not a shameful expression of the enmity between the nations? Is this not a clear proof that the policy of colonisation of the national republics is leading not towards friendship, but towards enmity between nations? One cannot argue for the friendship of the peoples, and at the same time defend the policy of intermingling the nations and of dividing the social functions of production and leadership among them. Consequently, from the positions of a true friendship of the peoples, the policy of transhipment of national minorities to Siberia and of settling the national republics with an alien, mostly Russian or Russified population, must be re-examined.

No less outrageous vestige of the cult of personality, which has a direct bearing on the relations between the nationalities, is also the so-called system of passport registration of residence permits which exists in the Soviet Union.

In accordance with this system a person must live only where he/she is permitted to by the militia organs and has no right of free movement in the country, or, rather, has the right to move to Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, but has no right to live in the so-called "controlled" (Ukr. "rezhymni") towns. Thus an inhabitant of Ukraine has no right to settle down freely in Kiev, Odessa, Lviv, an inhabitant of Lithuania — in Vilnius and Kaunas, and an inhabitant of Latvia — in Riga. Why? In what way is the security of the communist society threatened, if Ukrainians live in Kiev? The Soviet Union has, after all, signed in 1948 an

international convention on the rights of man, which contains an article about the freedom of unrestricted movement within a country, but in fact there is no such freedom, because inhabitants of the national republics have no right to settle down in the cities of their republics. The discriminatory system of residence permits as existing at present, opens the way to the colonisation of the towns of the national republics with an alien, predominantly Russian, population. Such a practice calls forth antagonism between the indigenous population and the Russified population of the towns. Such an antagonism makes itself felt in all the national republics.

Discrimination against certain nationalities is further manifest in the "errors" made in designating the borders of the national republics. Thus large areas populated with Belorussians in the Smolensk and Bryansk regions have not been included in the Belorussian SSR; while the Krasnodar territory, and parts of the Voronezh and Belgorod regions, and the Taganrog district of the Rostov region, were not included in the Ukrainian SSR. Areas populated by Moldavians in Odessa region have been excluded from the Moldavian SSR. The Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region has been excluded from the Armenian SSR.

But, as regards the autonomous republics, the division of the territories has been carried out in the fashion of the lion from Aesop's fable. A part of Penza region and the town of Penza itself, populated by Mordovians, have not been included in the Mordovian ASSR, large territories of the Ulyanovsk and Orenburg regions, populated by the Tatars, have been excluded from the Tatar ASSR. The homeland of Musa Djalil (a Tatar poet — Ed.) remains in Orenburg region. A part of Kirov region, populated by Udmurts, has not been included in the Udmurt ASSR. And

on what grounds was Vyborg excluded from the Karelian ASSR, or Komi people artificially split into two republics — the Komi ASSR and the Komi-Permyak National Area, as was also done to Ossetia and Buryat-Mongolia?

The development and strengthening of the friendship of the peoples of the USSR demand that these questions be considered within the shortest possible time and solved in the most just way.

On my part I propose that the following measures be taken:

1. To cease all kinds of national discrimination with regard to the Jewish population.
2. To restore the statehood of the Crimean Tatars and Volga Germans.
3. To return property to the families of the unjustly deported and presently repatriated peoples.
4. To bring back to their homelands representatives of the peoples of the Baltic countries, Western Ukraine and Western Belorussia, as well as Moldavia, unjustly deported to Siberia.
5. To carry out an investigation into the traceless disappearance of the Latvian military personnel.
6. To implement a wide amnesty for all victims of Stalin's personality cult.
7. To release women martyrs: Kateryna Zarytska, Halyna Didyk and Odarka Husiak.
8. To consider the question of the position of the Ukrainian population of the Kuban, Belgorod and Starodub areas which is subject to discrimination, and to take measures to abolish it.
9. To remove all elements of discrimination with regard to the nationalities in the field of public education in Ukraine, Belorussia, Moldavia and other republics.
10. To condemn the practice of the resettlement of the population of the national republics to Siberia and their colonisation with Russian population.

11. To review the system of passport restrictions and to condemn passport discrimination which runs counter to the international convention and undermines the friendship of the peoples.

12. To revise the frontiers of the national republics with the aim of establishing exact ethnographic frontiers.

13. To carry out a wide discussion in the press on all the problems mentioned above.

10th April, 1966.

II.

S. KARAVANSKYI

ABOUT A POLITICAL MISTAKE

According to the Decree 'On the ties between school and life', adopted in 1959, the teaching of a national (non-Russian — Ed.) language to pupils in junior or secondary schools where Russian is the language of instruction is no longer compulsory and is only given on the request of the parents. That is what Article 9 of this Decree states.

The inclusion of this discriminatory Article in the Decree can only be explained by the personality cult of the person of Khrushchev. Looking at it in relation to Ukraine, the Article is anti-Leninist and is in direct contradiction to Lenin's statement about the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian schools in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR.

As long ago as 1919, Lenin wrote: "Because of the fact that the Ukrainian culture (language, schools, etc) has for centuries been oppressed by Tsarism and the exploiting classes of Russia, the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party makes it incumbent on all Party members to assist in every way in eliminating all impediments for the free development of the Ukrainian language and culture. Recognising that because of centuries-old oppression, nationalistic tendencies can be observed amongst

the Ukrainian masses, Russian Communist Party members are obliged to show great tolerance and discretion, and to counter these tendencies with words of comradely explanation regarding the identity of interests of the working masses of Ukraine and Russia. Russian Communist Party members in the territory of Ukraine are in fact obliged to implement the rights of the working people; to study and converse with them in their native language in all Soviet institutions, counteracting in every possible way all attempts to relegate the Ukrainian language to a subsidiary role by artificial means; and by contrast, striving to transform the Ukrainian language into an instrument of communist education of the working masses. Measures must immediately be taken to ensure that there are sufficient numbers of Ukrainian-speaking officials in all Soviet Institutions and in future, all officials should be able to speak Ukrainian." (Lenin's Collected Works, Vol. 39, pp. 334-337.)

In this way, Lenin envisaged that the entire social and political life of the territory of the Ukrainian Republic would be carried on in Ukrainian language. Undoubtedly, in these circumstances, knowledge of the

Ukrainian language for those who study in the territory of the Ukrainian SSR would be compulsory.

From a judicial point of view, Article 9 of the Decree 'On the ties between school and life' is unconstitutional because it contradicts the conditions of the Constitution of the USSR and those of Soviet Republics. The Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR states: "Equality of the citizens of the Ukrainian SSR, regardless of their nationality and race, in all fields of economic, cultural and social-political life, is an unalterable law. Any direct or indirect limitation of the rights, or, on the other hand, establishment of direct or indirect advantages for citizens depending on their racial and national origin, as well as any preaching of national exclusiveness, hatred and contempt are punishable by law." (Article 103.)

The language of a nationality is the vivid expression of its individuality. How can one speak of equality of nations when the language of one nationality is a compulsory subject in schools, while the language of another nationality, and in this case the native population of the Republic, is only taught if the parents request it?

Article 9 of the Decree is discriminatory, because it puts the language of the Republic into a subordinate position. It humiliates the dignity of the citizens of the Republic who speak their own national language.

The ending of obligatory study of the national language in the schools of the Ukrainian Republic is erroneous from the international communist view of bringing up children. The reluctance of the parents, resident in the Republic, to have their children taught the language of the Republic whose bread they eat, engrafts upon the children, from an early age, chauvinistic ideas unworthy of the Soviet people about some exceptional quality of their nationality, and is also a direct devia-

tion from international communist upbringing.

From the academic point of view, Article 9 is absolutely erroneous. In the practice of Soviet education, there has never yet been a precedent when a subject was studied only after a decision by the parents. To transfer to the parents the question of the study by the children of this or that subject is profoundly unacademic. Parents rarely realise the benefits (or harm) inflicted upon their children by their decision of this or that kind. And yet here one of the most responsible fields of internationalist education has been handed over to the parents for decision. Such a 'democratic' solution of this particular question could be justified only if the question of the language of instruction in higher secondary and special educational establishments were decided in a similarly democratic fashion. For it is particularly in this field of public education that throughout the decades (during the period of the personality cult of Stalin and Khrushchev) teaching was conducted in Russian and knowledge of Russian was required for all entrance examinations. Therefore, to leave the question of the study of the language after decades of such discriminatory methods against the Ukrainian language for decision by the parents is extremely strange and impolitic.

This method could be justified if the question of wage rates for the various classes of workmen and employees was submitted for decision to the public. After all, the public is no less interested in the question of just distribution of the material goods in this country, the more so as the features of Communism should already be discernible in this very distribution.

As a result of adoption of Article 9, the number of Ukrainian schools in Ukraine has been reduced. For

example, in Odessa and the Odessa region, in the 1962-63 academic year, there was a total of 821 Ukrainian schools, whereas in the 1963-64 academic year, the number was reduced to 693 and in 1964-65 it fell to 603.

In Odessa itself, over the same years, there were ten, eight and six schools respectively with Ukrainian as the language of instruction. The total number of schools in Odessa is 104. The few Ukrainian schools which have survived are threatened with closure. All this is the result of the anti-Leninist discriminatory Article 9 of the Decree 'On the ties between school and life.'

How is the closure of the Ukrainian schools taking place? Because of the elimination of Ukrainian language from the higher and special secondary educational establishments in Odessa, the parents, even prior to the issue of the decree, were reluctant to send their children to Ukrainian schools, justifying this on the fact that further education after leaving the Ukrainian schools was impossible. This argument was forced upon them by the incorrect, chauvinistic policy towards the organisation of higher and secondary special education in Ukraine. Indeed, graduates of Ukrainian schools going on to higher and secondary special educational establishments in Odessa constitute only a small percentage of the students in these establishments.

The system of enrolment which existed until recently and which still exists in some places, gave advantage to graduates of Russian schools at their enrolment. Therefore, parents who were previously reluctant to send their children to Ukrainian schools, have now, after the issue of the discriminatory Article 9, begun to demand a changeover for the Ukrainian schools to Russian as the language of instruction. At first Russian classes appear in the Ukra-

inian schools. Their number gradually increases until finally the schools become entirely Russian. Ukrainian parents, who speak Ukrainian themselves, come to the schools demanding that their children be transferred to the Russian classes.

Such petitions on the part of the parents are not dictated by scorn for their mother tongue, but by the discriminatory barriers which for decades have barred the path to higher education for graduates of Ukrainian schools and which are still in existence in many places even today.

A typical example was the petition of a village woman from Kryva Balka, citizen Balok, to transfer her child to a Russian school. In conversation with me, citizen Balok said she wanted her child to study in a Russian school because she herself had finished seven classes in the Ukrainian school and later had continued her studies in Odessa, where, because of the fact that she spoke in Ukrainian, her classmates were always poking fun at her. As a result, citizen Balok had to discontinue her education; so, for her daughter, she wants her to be educated in such a way that she is not ridiculed.

Such confessions cannot be listened to without emotion. How could such discriminatory practices — which have compelled the child of honest working people to abandon her education and to beg to enrol her daughter in a Russian school in order that in the future she will not become the victim of national discrimination — how could they have penetrated the milieu of the Soviet people — militant internationalists as they are by their outlook on the world? It is mainly such a thought that must have guided many Ukrainian parents who have insisted, and still insist, that their children should be educated in Russian schools.

It is no longer a secret that in Odessa, and in many other Ukrainian cities including Kiev, it has become very popular amongst certain chauvinistically-minded sections of the population to jeer at and ridicule the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian nationality. Such incidents have been seen in buses, institutions, libraries, educational establishments and so on. For instance, the history lecturer of the Odessa Party School, Melnyk, stated in the presence of students that she did not like the Ukrainian language and did not wish to use it. A statement such as this, by a teacher of the Ukrainian masses, is more than typical. All this testifies to the fact that during the period of the personality cult of Stalin, discriminatory tendencies developed in Ukraine. These tendencies have, in the past few years, been intensified by the Decree 'On the ties between school and life', as a result of which the number of Ukrainian schools in Odessa region, as well as in the rest of Ukraine, has fallen catastrophically. The number of Moldavian schools has also been reduced in the Odessa region. Alongside this, pupils in Russian schools refuse on a mass scale to study the Ukrainian language.

Thus, in the schools of the Bolgrad district of the Odessa region, in the town of Izmail and Izmail district, Ukrainian language is not studied at all. Thus, Article 9 of the Decree 'On the ties between school and life' is aimed against the teaching of the Ukrainian language in schools.

Could any true internationalist be disturbed by the fact that his child was studying the language of a brotherly nation? Only chauvinistically-minded elements could confine their children within the narrow national framework, covering themselves with theories about the exceptional character of their nationality. It is precisely Article 9 that has given trump cards to all

chauvinistic survivals in the consciousness of people, that has inflamed chauvinistic moods amongst parents and teachers. Thus, the director of the No. 125 Ukrainian school in Odessa, O. I. Kryuchkov, instigates the teachers and the parents to demand a changeover for the school to Russian as the language of instruction. Without any permission from anyone, he twice summoned meetings of the parents and the parents committee decided by vote in favour of the changeover. Instead of trying to improve the academic work, and to master the Ukrainian language which, as a matter of fact he does not know, and to obtain even by a correspondence course, academic knowledge which he does not possess either, this "propagator of enlightenment" does all in his power to bring about a changeover in the school to Russian as the language of instruction.

This decree also develops unworthy tendencies amongst the students. As a result of the Decree, pupils in schools with Russian as the language of instruction have been divided into two categories: 'those who study the Ukrainian language' and 'those who do not.' In this way, instead of the school levelling the national differences between pupils, it, on the contrary, magnifies and emphasises them. The division of the children into two categories provokes undesirable discriminatory phenomena. For example, in the Odessa schools, the appearance of such names as "Khokhol" (derogatory name for a Ukrainian) and "Katsap" (a derogatory name for a Russian), unworthy of the environment of Soviet children, has been noticed. In children whose parents have refused to have their children taught Ukrainian language, there appears a contemptuous, chauvinistic attitude towards the Ukrainian language and nationality. In children who study the Ukrainian language, there emerges a feeling of

inferiority, inequality of their nationality, whose language is not a compulsory subject for all pupils; and which may be jeered at with impunity by the chauvinistically-minded elements.

No less painfully does this decree influence the teaching process and the lecturers of Ukrainian language. For the lecturer constantly fears that his pupil might refuse to learn the Ukrainian language, and therefore he avoids at all costs, giving him low marks. After all, the subject is not compulsory. When he gets a low mark, the student asks his parents to exempt him from the study of the language. Such incidents are frequent. In this way, the decree has placed the entire category of Soviet teachers into impossible conditions: the normal process of teaching the subject has been upset.

All the facts set out above testify that the adoption of the discriminatory decree during the time of the personality cult of Khrushchev has created impossible conditions for the normal functioning of the Ukrainian school system. The decree humiliates the national dignity of the citizens of Ukrainian nationality and deals a blow at internationalist Communist education thus preparing the ground for an aggravation of national hostility. It contradicts Lenin's behests, and being fundamentally discriminatory, it encroaches on the friendship of the peoples of the USSR.

One would dearly wish that wide public circles would express themselves on account of the above-mentioned facts. For, after all, it is not terrible to make a mistake but far more terrible to be afraid to correct a mistake. It is precisely the desire to correct this mistake that has forced me into writing this article.

I would propose that:

1. Article 9 of the Decree 'On the ties between school and life' be

immediately reconsidered;

2. That education in higher and secondary special educational establishments of the Ukrainian SSR be switched over to Ukrainian as the language of instruction in order to make easier the path to education for the wide masses of Ukrainian people;
3. To create a coordinating committee between the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian SSR and the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education of the Ukrainian SSR in order to ensure normal conditions for graduates of higher educational establishments and technical schools of the Republic.
4. To discharge all chauvinistically-minded teachers from the cadres of public education.
5. To apply resolute measures against the discriminatory tricks on the part of chauvinistic elements with regard to the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian nationality.
6. To select people for the staff of Ukrainian schools who would inculcate in children a love for their mother tongue and their native culture.
7. To discontinue the erroneous teaching practice of creating Russian classes in national schools which leads to Russification of national schools.
8. In order to ensure true internationalist upbringing of the national minorities, to introduce into the system of public education schools with Jewish, Armenian and other languages of instruction.
9. To devote particular attention to the education of national cadres in higher educational establishments which train teachers and see to it that groups and courses are set up which will train qualified staffs for national schools.
10. To inform wide public circles about all the measures that are being taken.

Only the implementation of these points will make possible, in actual fact and according to Lenin's concep-

tions, the removal of all obstacles in the path of the normal development of the Ukrainian school system.

S. Karavanskyi

III.

"THE HIGHSOUNDING ARTICLES OF SOVIET LAWS ARE MERE FICTION"

**Letter to the Editors of Pravda from the political prisoner
Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi (Mordovian ASSR, st. Pot'ma, p/o Yavas,
p/s 385/8).**

Mankind constantly strives towards improvement of the standards of moral behaviour of people, of their attitude to society and to other people. In different periods of time, mankind revered different ideals. Plato idealised goodness, Aristotle — social virtues, Copernicus — meekness, Buddha — humility, Christ — love of one's neighbour, Feuerbach — general love, Heidegger — freedom, and Marx — the will of the proletariat. They all tried to defend human dignity.

It would appear that, in accordance with the provisions of the Declaration of Human Rights, Soviet law fully guarantees all human rights. Soviet practice, however, denies and rejects these achievements of the civilised world and practises something quite different. All my life I have lived in accordance with the spirit and letter of the law. This came easily to me because nature itself equipped me with an awareness of social usefulness. As a lawyer, I have always treated jurisprudence seriously. Never in my life have I committed any crime. My only mistake was that I lightheartedly trusted Soviet propaganda and remained within reach of the KGB (Ministry of State Secur-

ity — Ed.) Before the war I was a member of the Council of Advocates in Lviv. During the war I was a Judge at the Polish Court of Appeal in Cracow, and after the war I worked as legal adviser to the Ministry of Agriculture in Czechoslovakia.

On the basis of a false denunciation, Poland denounced me as a war criminal for alleged collaboration with the Germans. It demanded my extradition and announced that I would be brought to trial. As a result, the Czechoslovakian authorities arrested me on August 1st, 1948 and extradited me to Poland. For a year investigations went on in Warsaw. They revealed the complete baselessness of the accusation. In fact, I proved that I held a critical view of Hitler's political course and was imprisoned as a result. It was easy for me to prove that the material evidence was false because it had been done in a crude and unskillful manner. Poland found itself in an embarrassing position. But, instead of sending me back to Czechoslovakia as a Czechoslovakian citizen, the Polish authorities sent me under escort to the Soviet Union. At the same time, their former falsifications, in a new, corrected version, were also handed

over. It must be taken into account that, according to Polish law, the Polish court was entitled to put me on trial. Nevertheless, the Polish judiciary did not allow itself to be led astray. It managed to maintain its dignity and did not wish to condemn an innocent person. This was done by the Soviet authorities. Another year of investigation passed without any results.

It is well known how Soviet methods of investigation looked like in those times. The accused was considered a criminal by the very fact that he was brought to criminal responsibility. There existed only a one-sided method of investigation of criminal cases, essentially that of accusation. Nevertheless, I managed to survive all the horrors of police torture and rejected all libellous insinuations. Owing to the absence of evidence to substantiate the accusations I was not handed over for trial by a court, but was sent to forced labour camps for a term of 25 years on the basis of a decision by the Minister of the Interior of the Soviet Union of 16th July, 1948 No. 2906-49, in accordance with Article 54-22k (of Criminal Code of the USSR — Ed.) Thus my guilt was settled in an administrative, i. e. police manner. As is known, the courts do not administer and the administration does not dispense justice. After all, this is the basis of the Soviet Constitution, criminal law and international law, valid in the Soviet Union.

Moreover, the 20th Congress of the CPSU clearly determined that the OSO (Special Council) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs was not a lawful organ of justice. Of course, I have knowledge of these matters. Contrary to the established principles of law, I have already been languishing in prison for 20 years, without trial, without sentence and without an opportunity to defend myself.

A comparison of the humane

principles of Soviet jurisprudence with existing Soviet reality brings one inevitably to the conclusion that all the high-sounding articles of Soviet laws are generally and totally a mere fiction and serve a purely propagandist purpose. The practice is in striking contradiction to all the camouflaging tricks of Soviet official juggling and proves conclusively that lawlessness and arbitrariness are an organic and inalienable part of the Soviet system. Thus, though the Soviet Constitution and Soviet laws have been raised to the level of present-day civilisation, it is unfortunate that the executive organs are unable to rise to the level demanded by their tasks. For instance, they cannot understand that in the civilised world, places of imprisonment exist only for the criminal world and they do not wish to take into account the moral state of the citizen who happens to fall into that vicious circle. There arises a sorry paradox: the clique violates the laws in full awareness and enjoys freedom of movement with impunity, while honest people are suffering imprisonment, although true social morality demands the contrary.

It should be pointed out that I have been deprived of the right of correspondence and of receiving parcels. I am also unable to order and receive medicines and orthopedic instruments prescribed for me by a Soviet doctor. I must also state that I behave correctly, for I cannot behave otherwise. The severe regime applied to me has no legal basis. The determination of the regime is essentially the determination of the punishment. Normally, the proper organ to determine the punishment is only a court and not the administration. The latter is only an executive and not a determining organ. It is also worth noting that it is only robbers, thieves and hooligans who enjoy the general and slightly stricter regime in the Soviet Union, while decent people are

punished with the severe or the especially severe regime.

I happen to look through the pages of the Soviet press. The Governments of Spain, Portugal and other countries are often condemned there. Soviet leaders are indignant at the inhuman and unlawful imprisonment of people without trial. These leaders demand that human rights be applied to the inhabitants of Africa and Asia. What is all this idle talk worth when compared with Soviet reality? Do these leaders realise that the world is diligently studying Soviet law and knows that many innocent people are languishing in prisons and forced labour camps here, without trial, without sentence and without opportunity to defend themselves?

It seems that to violate the rights of a black person is bad, while to do the same thing to our people is good. What sort of ethic is this? One hears a lot of idle talk about overcoming the 'cult of personality' and restoring legality. What is the value of all this chatter when reality contradicts such twaddle? Essentially, nothing has changed. More refined forms of mockery of human dignity have replaced the old ones.

What has been said above bears witness to the fact that the restoration of legality in this country is an intimate, spontaneous need of the citizen and he must be helped. I cannot do it, because I have met my fate as a martyr in the Soviet Union. I can only watch with sadness and

breath in the evaporations of Soviet reality. It is the press in the first place, as the tribune of public opinion, that is called upon to uncover and reveal the shortcomings in the work of the security establishments of the state and to help society to rise to a higher level. The press calls the tune of the moral behaviour of the citizen and at the same time strengthens respect for his rights and dignity. In cases of violation of legality it takes measures to bring it back to a healthy state. Of course, this can only be achieved by the chief organ of the country, of the Central Committee of the CPSU. For this reason, to send this letter to the Prosecutor's office would be tantamount to burying the questions touched upon in it. One can realistically reckon on the restoration of legality in the Soviet Union only if your organ takes up a position on its behalf and presses for its implementation. History has not recorded an unending mockery over the dignity and the rights of man, because it is an essential attribute of human nature to strive towards goodness, truth and self-preservation.

Undoubtedly, this urge reigns on Slavonic soil too. The press can, to a considerable extent, contribute to the acceleration of this process. This is a demand, not only of true journalistic morality, but also of historical responsibility.

Dubrovlag, Spring 1967.

Volodymyr Horbovyi

IV.

STATEMENT BY YURII SHUKHEVYCH

**To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet
of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic**
from the political prisoner Yuri Shukhevych-Berezyns'kyi
28th July, 1967.

S T A T E M E N T

In September, 1963 I was transported under escort through halting places, from the Mordovian concentration camps where I had been imprisoned, to Kyiv [Kiev] into the prison of the KGB [i.e. State Security Committee — Ed.] at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR.

I was not notified by anyone about the reason for my transfer into the investigation prison. And only from the fact that from time to time I was taken by officials of the KGB to theatres, museums, factories in Kiev, and also conducted to Zaporizhia, Kakhovka, Kherson, and Kaniv, was I able to surmise the real reasons and demands which I would have to face later.

This really did happen in July, 1964, when the officials of the KGB, Colonel Kalash, and Captains Lytvyn and Merkatanenko put to me a demand that I write something which could be published in the Soviet press and which would make it evident that I was breaking with the nationalistic ideas. When I asked whether this should be a declaration that I would refrain from any anti-Soviet activity whatsoever, the answer was that this would not be enough. I should write something where I would condemn nationalism in general, condemn the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, quote some facts that would compromise Ukrainian na-

tionalists, as well as condemn my father, Roman Shukhevych, who in the years 1944-1950 headed the underground resistance movement in Ukraine.

Upon my refusal to write (or to broadcast any statement of such contents), they proposed to me to describe at least my journey through Ukraine, so that it could be published in the press. When I also rejected this proposal, Col. Kalash stated that I ought to do it, for then the KGB would initiate proceedings towards obtaining a free pardon for me.

Since I do not consider myself guilty in any way, I could not write such a petition, and this I declared, presenting my motives in a written form. These are as follows:

1. As far back as 1956, the Prosecutor General protested the decision of the court at Vladimir [i.e. Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma, east of Moscow — Ed.] by which I was released from imprisonment, on the basis of the decree from April 24, 1954, as having been arrested as a minor, motivating his action by the allegation that I had tried to contact centres of Ukrainian nationalists abroad (without producing any evidence at all) and that my father was the leader of the underground movement of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (which I cannot deny).

2. On the August 21, 1958, the day when I was to have been released

after ten years' imprisonment on the basis of the decision of the OSO (Osoboye Soveshchaniye — Special Council — Ed.) of the MGB (Ministry of State Security — Ed.) of the USSR I was handed a new warrant for my arrest, motivated by the absolutely false accusation of anti-Soviet agitation among the prisoners of the Vladimir jail.

3. The indictment was based on the false testimonies by two agents of the KGB, both ordinary criminals, especially trained by Senior Lieut. Halsky (now Colonel Halsky) for that kind of witnessing, for which they were promised special privileges (which they later received).

4. The above-mentioned witnesses (Burkov and Fomchenko) gave false evidence, contradicting one another, or sometimes even negating their previous testimonies.

5. It was put to me as a crime (and as one of the main counts) that I was interested in the details of the death of my father, Roman Shukhevych, who was killed on March 5, 1950 in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv [West Ukraine — Ed.]

6. During my arrest on August 21, 1958, several poems by Olga Ilkiv were found among my possessions and confiscated. The poems were purely lyrical. Nevertheless they were enclosed with my case and held against me on the grounds that Olga Ilkiv had been convicted for membership in the OUN [Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists — Ed.] and for illegal activities, and also because her poems had at one time been printed in underground publications, about which I learned only during the investigation.

7. The literary expertise (the experts were Lesyn and Kozachuk) was conducted not only in an unsatisfactory, but extraordinarily unscrupulous manner. It classified the poems found in my possession and confiscated from

me as "nationalistic", which bears no relation to reality.

8. Disregarding the fact that the "crime" was committed at Vladimir-on-the-Klyazma (Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic) and that, consequently, in accordance with the existing law, the case should have been heard by the Vladimir Region Court, I was transported to the KGB prison in Lviv [i.e. in the Ukrainian Republic — Ed.] where the investigation was continued, and where I was sentenced by the Lviv Region Court.

9. Although the KGB organs camouflage all their activities with idle talk about the "interest of the people", my trial on December 1, 1958 was conducted behind closed doors, contrary to existing laws. This proves that I was kept hidden from the sight of the people for fear lest the unattractive machinations of the Lviv KGB became known.

10. During the trial the judges did not aim at an unprejudiced consideration of all the details but at executing the instructions of the KGB, to have me convicted at any price.

11. The appointed defence lawyer (Smirnova) acquainted herself with my case only immediately before the court session. Having realised that I could not rely upon any objective defence, I refused the services of a lawyer, but the court ignored my request to conduct my defence myself, wishing thus to cover up all the abuses of the juridical norms on their side.

12. The experts of the court literary expertise, during the questioning, allowed themselves very often to transgress the limits of their competence, as defined by law, and put to me provocative questions (with the permission of the court) which referred more to my personal views than to the matter of the case.

13. During the trial only the witnesses of the prosecution were heard (Fomchenko and Burkov),

while the court did not find it necessary to hear the testimonies of twelve witnesses who could have refuted the evidence by Burkov and Fomchenko.

14. Being afraid that even at a trial behind closed doors I would be able by my questions to reveal the falsity of the testimonies by the witnesses for the prosecution, the court did not allow me to ask them questions, which could have unmasked them as the agents of the KGB who were giving evidence according to the instructions received from Halsky.

15. Although it was clear from the first glance that the witnesses were spurious, that their testimonies were false, the court ruled that only they were trustworthy, refusing to accept any other explanations or evidence, declaring that it was the right of the court to give preference to these or other testimonies as deserving trust.

16. When, however, the witnesses proved themselves incapable of fulfilling their tasks, namely to prove logically my guilt, the members of the court and the prosecutor came to their rescue and directly suggested to them what they ought to answer. Especially eager in this direction proved himself the prosecutor Kolyasnikov who supported the accusation.

17. The members of the court and the prosecutor were more interested in my views, as if these were punishable, than in the details of the case, and they persisted in putting a stress on them as well as on whose son I was.

As the result of such irregularities, I was sentenced, according to the wishes of the KGB, to ten years of imprisonment. Although I had previously guessed the reasons for such a sentence, yet shortly afterwards I found out that my premonitions had been well founded. Thus, still during the

preliminary investigation, the investigator Vinogradov told me that the investigation was only the beginning and that later the officers of the security organs would have a lot to talk about with me.

His words came true shortly after the sentence was passed by the court. Within a few weeks I was called to see Senior Lieut. Halsky, and during the interview, he admitted, without any reservations, that the sentence had been passed on the basis of false evidence and that it was without foundations, but — and here I quote his words — “with your views and your persuasions we cannot let you go free.” I ought to give a proof of my loyalty in the form of a press conference, an article, a pamphlet, or a broadcast in which I would condemn the OUN, my father, etc. “If we were sure that you would talk with us on this sort of subject, we would not have had to resort to such methods as arrest and court trial”, Halsky said in the end.

It became clear to me that my trial was inspired by the KGB with the intention of blackmail in order to force me to come out with the required public statement, and that it had nothing to do with justice. For an act of this kind I was promised a revision of the court sentence and release from prison. When, however, I refused to do it I was sent to the political concentration camps in Mordovia.

I explained all this in writing to Col. Kalash, and this made further talks on similar themes impossible.

But even afterwards the KGB did not leave me in peace, because already a year later, in July 1965, I was called in the concentration camp to see the local representative of the KGB, Capt. Kruf, who declared that I should write a petition for pardon to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. I refused to write

such a thing and agreed to write only a short statement in which I explained that I had been innocently sentenced, and that all my appeals to the juridical and prosecuting organs had been without any results, and therefore I was writing to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The KGB, however, were not satisfied with it and in a categorical form Capt. Krut' demanded from me a petition for pardon, which I refused to write. He then declared that the administration would submit such a petition themselves.

As became clear later, no such petition was ever sent, and my statement was not answered. From this I understood that it has not even been sent to the Presidium. And all this comedy was staged only in order that such a petition be attached to my file. For in this way the KGB would have shifted responsibility from itself, because a petition for pardon is tantamount to an admission of guilt. But my "case" was too obviously sown with white threads, as was confirmed by Capt. Lytvyn, who said that the fault of the Lviv KGB consisted in that they had been unable to prepare the case adequately.

Consequently, they are not troubled by the obvious injustice done, by the violation of legality, but by the incapability to fabricate skillfully the necessary evidence. Therefore this incapability had to be camouflaged by my petition for pardon which then would have wiped out all the traces of the flagrant abuse of the law, the traces of the crime.

Out of my 34 years of life I have spent 19 years in prison. For the first 10 years I was imprisoned on the basis of the order of the Special Council at the Ministry of State Security of the USSR. And although the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union declared the Special Council at the MGB an

illegal organ, its decisions have not been declared null and void, and therefore many people, myself included, have continued to suffer imprisonment, and some still do so. I received the additional 10 year sentence on direct instructions from the KGB on the basis of evidence fabricated by them. They continue to persecute my mother, Natalia Shukhevych-Berezyns'ka. And all this happens to resounding declarations about justice, legality, and so on.

No, I have long ago ceased to believe in the declared justice and legality, which I have never seen embodied in real life.

Therefore I turn to you now, when only one year is left before the second term of my imprisonment runs out, not because I have any illusions on your account, not because I hope that you are able to intervene and vindicate justice trampled under foot. No!

I turn to you because it may happen that in a few months' time a new crime will be perpetrated against me. They will again fabricate a new case to get me sentenced for the third time.

And if not, there is no one to guarantee that in a few months' time I shall not be killed from behind a street corner by hired assassins as was done with many a political prisoner after their release. I should like to mention just the cases of Lytvyn, Vartsabiuk, Bergs, Melnikans and others. Or I shall die a mysterious death.

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.

This is the reason that has prompted me to write to you, so that you

should know these things, and so that later, in the future, you would not be able to say that you had not been properly informed, that all this

was done without your knowledge, and that you bear no responsibility for such actions by the KGB.

Mordovia — Ozernyi
1st July, 1967.

V.

LETTER OF UKRAINIAN PRISONERS FROM A SOVIET CONCENTRATION CAMP

EDITOR'S NOTE: Ukrainian newspapers in Western Europe have published a letter from Ukrainian prisoners incarcerated in Camp No. 17 of the Dubravnoye regional administration of the corrective labour camps of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. This letter was sent in a clandestine manner to the West.

Among the prisoners in the Mordovian camps there are some of the 70 Ukrainian intellectuals arrested and sentenced in Ukraine in 1966, as well as the two Russian writers Daniel and Siniavsky.

The letter proves once again that concentration camps continue to exist in the USSR and their inmates are often political prisoners serving long term sentences, people who were made invalids and cripples by long and hard imprisonment. Even if people serve short sentences, the conditions are so severe that they become physically broken after a comparatively short time. The letter proves the continuance of persecution of religion and its adherents. It also proves that the spirit of resistance among Ukrainian patriots remains unbroken.

LETTER FROM UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM No. 17 CONCENTRATION CAMP IN MORDOVIA

"The No. 17 camp branch of the Dubravnoye camp administration is situated in the village of Ozernoye in the Zubova Polyana district of the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. It is divided into two zones: in the first, the main one, there are about 700 women convicted for ordinary crimes, and in the other

there are 276 male political prisoners. Captain Novikov is camp commandant, Captain Annenkov is commandant of the No. 17-A camp section, i.e. of the male zone, Senior-Lieutenant Zabaykin is head of the health department, Captain Ivan Romanovich Krut' is plenipotentiary of the State Security Committee (KGB) for No. 17 camp.

The majority of the male prisoners are invalids. There are 208 invalids of the second degree and 51 third degree invalids. There are only two cold and overcrowded barracks in the male zone, with poor ventilation. Food is brought from the female zone and though a prisoner's ration is poor to start with, he does not even receive this meagre ration fully. Bread is sour, poorly baked, inedible even for a healthy person, not to speak of sick people who make up a majority of the camp inmates. Medical assistance is in fact absent, which can be seen from the following example: On January 7th, 1967, the prisoner Mykhailo Soroka who spent 31 years in Polish and Soviet prisons (24 of them in Soviet prisons) fell seriously ill. As became evident, he had a heart attack. In such cases qualified medical assistance is urgently necessary. However a free medical assistant appeared only after 4 days had passed. Only on the seventh day the sick man was taken to the sick room (until then he was in the barrack). All this time he (Soroka) was under the care of medical assistant Mykola Yevdokimov, a fellow prisoner, experienced but powerless in these circumstances when there are no medicaments or instruments.

No Medicines

In the sick room there are only 7 beds (for 225 invalids, a majority of whom are aged and seriously ill). There are no medicines and the prisoners have no right to receive them from their relatives (even vitamins, though food is so miserably poor). A dentist is unheard of. Theoretically, those seriously ill should be sent to the central hospital of the Dubravnoye camp administration (No. 3 camp branch in the village of Barashevo). But this is not always possible, as in Soroka's case, when the sick person cannot be transported (particularly on these terrible roads).

Often, too, dispatch to the central hospital is useless. Thus there have been several cases when doctors sent a prisoner to the central hospital having diagnosed a cancer disease,

and doctors from the central hospital instead of freeing the prisoner on the grounds of ill-health (which they are entitled to do), sent him back to the camp with the diagnosis — acute gastritis. And only death and dissection of the body of the deceased confirmed the correctness of the former diagnosis. People are released only in such cases when death comes a few days after release. What better can be expected of people who do not make one step without the instructions of the KGB and the Operational Department.

Decisive voice in the No. 3 camp (central hospital) has the head of the regime, Captain Kitsayev, who discharged Dr. Horbovyi* from the hospital and sent him back to the camp, although his treatment was far from completed. Similar cases are not rare. The head of the health department Yermeyeva stated in No. 11 camp, during Karavanskyi's** hunger strike, that she knew about the hunger strike, but was not able to do anything because there had been no instructions from the Operational Department. The prisoner Ivan Maksym applied for medical treatment to the surgeon in No. 11 camp, but the latter refused even to talk to him, calling him a simulant. This resulted in the prisoner's death. Medical personnel from among the prisoners. Only people who are in the service of the KGB and Operational Department are taken there. Neither medical education nor knowledge play any role whatsoever. For example, the following medical students prisoners as Yaroslav Hevrych, Dmytro Verkholiak were dismissed from work in the health department and transferred to general work in a workshop, although there is a shortage of medical workers. At the same time individuals who have never had any relations to medicine, as for example Malykhin and others who are in good books of the KGB and Operational Department are still working as medical assistants. If there is an experienced and conscientious senior medical assistant in the No. 17 camp branch, this is so only because,

while working at the central hospital, he was disliked by some of those who have no relation to medicine, and they sent him here to the No. 17 camp.

Punitive Camp

Altogether No. 17 camp has been created as a punitive camp. Administration does not try to cover it up in conversations, although, officially, it is not regarded as such. Apart from invalids, people who have not the slightest intention to submit to the so-called educational work among the prisoners and with their example can negatively influence the mass of the prisoners in this direction, have been gathered here. Therefore, a policy of reprisals with regard to the prisoners, is forcefully carried out here. Its aim is to undermine the health of the prisoners and to suppress the slightest symptom of the spirit of insubmission and protest. With this purpose in view the organised production (the sewing of gloves and construction) is based on a system of compulsion, arbitrary punishment and reprisals. Prisoners who work in construction have not been issued with warm special clothing (felt boots and padded clothing). The average temperature in the shop usually stays within the limits between +5° and +9° Centigrade. And on the floor the temperature is usually below the freezing point. Thus there cannot be any talk about normal work in conditions when one has to handle metallic parts of the machine. Nonetheless they demand fulfilment of work quotas from the prisoner, although they cannot be fulfilled even under normal conditions, not to speak of the present situation when equipment is broken, when the premises where the prisoners have to spend nine hours each day (given the 8-hour working day for the prisoners), are not heated.

One hour is allowed for the so-called lunch break and rest, but it is not only no rest, but additional punishment, because people are forced to spend an additional hour in a cold building. Lunch and supper are given

in insanitary conditions, on generally dirty premises, without tables, so that a prisoner is forced to eat at the place of work, i.e. by his machine. There are no facilities for washing one's hands, because one small wash-basin cannot provide enough water for everyone, and there is no water in the work zone, neither are there any towels. Smoking in the workshop and in the corridor is forbidden. And as there is no place provided where one could smoke, prisoners are compelled to smoke in a small corridor leading to the street, where doors are constantly opened and there is constant draught (with 30° Centigrade of frost).

Threats and Reprisals

The administration threatens constantly with reprisals against those who fail to fulfil the norms (and at present no one is able to fulfil the norm), and will carry out these threats as soon as the period of training ends (at the beginning of February 1967). As there is a shortage of manpower, because second degree invalids are entitled not to work, the administration openly declares that it will set up a local medical committee with the purpose of taking away the rights of invalids from the disabled persons and forcing them to work. Camp commandant, Capt. Annenkov, has said it openly.

The point is that up to now this was a camp for women political prisoners (until 29th December, 1966, i.e. to the date of our arrival), most of whom were women sentenced for their religious convictions, that is people who less than anyone else had been able to put up resistance to the arbitrariness of the camp administration, or even to protest against the oppression. It must also be added that — in an overwhelming majority — these were elderly women. As the overlookers say, they were exhausted beings, clad in rags, who were forced to work in cold premises where temperature rarely rose to 2-3 degrees above the freezing point, and often fell below the freezing point even. As the system of oppression

has become a tradition here, the administration has the intention to continue it in the future, too. No wonder that the overlookers are frankly saying that the more we complain against the infringement of our lawful rights by them, the more they are praised by their superiors for it, and vice versa.

Complaints Useless

Have the prisoners tried to complain against these numerous infringements, reprisals and injustice? They have, and have done so many a time, but without any effect. The camp commandant, Capt. Annenkov, replied with shouts that things would remain as they were. Chief engineer in reply to the complaint that we are compelled to consume our food in cold premises, in unhygienic conditions, stated that this was none of his concern and advised us to address similar questions to "Ivan the Wind." After many complaints, a medical inspector came from the sanitary department of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration, who, in the first place, did not believe that temperature in the shop was too low (he did not agree to its being measured on the spot), stating that "norms had always been fulfilled and overfulfilled here." After we mentioned that we had recently sent a number of complaints signed by the shift master (a free man), dealing with the temperature in the workshop, he merely enquired to whom these complaints were addressed, and was dissatisfied that they were addressed to General Attorney's Office and not to the Camp Administration.

As regards the complaint by the writer Daniel about the outrageous case of the sick man, M. Soroka, this medical inspector stated that this was no longer a topical question (the sick man did not die when he did not receive medical treatment) and tried to make Daniel recognise that everything in the camp was in order (which he needed for dismissing the matter), to which the latter did not agree. No wonder that when the prisoners demand what is due to them accord-

ing to the law, representatives of the administration do not bother to do anything and simply reply: "You can complain", because they know that no one will pay the slightest attention to our complaints. To whom is one to complain if our former "educators" sit in the offices of higher authority? The following fact may witness to their level of behaviour. For two or three years the former operational manager from camp No. 19 was acting as a doctor at the No. 7 camp. He was dismissed from his job in camp No. 19 for an attempt to violate a nurse. At present he is employed as a duty officer at the prison in the town of Ruzayevka in Mordovia. At present, Senior Lieutenant Nekrasov is in charge of the guard detachment at camp No. 1. Previously he was a medical assistant in the same camp. Supervision by attorneys is the same as that by doctors (attorneys very often change their seats from those of law officers to camp commandants, officials of the Administration, and vice versa, as happened with our present deputy head of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration, Nekachan).

Mention was made already of correspondence and parcels. I wish to add that permission to receive packets with printed matter — which we are lawfully permitted to receive — depends (just as letters) on the will of the KGB functionary (in the given case Capt. Krut), which makes our right illusory.

Ukrainians Most Numerous

Representatives of various nations of the Soviet Union are held in the camp. There are Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians and Russians. As could well be expected, there are a great many Ukrainians.

Who are they?

(There follows a list of Ukrainian prisoners whom the author (or the authors) of the letter segregates into the following groups: "participants in the national liberation struggle 1942-1954, as well as various clandestine groups of a similar character"; "those

sentenced for their religious convictions (Catholics, Baptists, Jehowa's Witnesses etc.)"; "those sentenced for the so-called anti-Soviet agitation, for an attempt to cross the frontier and similar crimes"; "for crimes committed during the war." The list gives: the prisoner's surname and name, region, year of birth, when arrested, sentence in years. There are altogether 114 names. Obviously this list does not contain all the Ukrainian prisoners of No. 17A camp, because at the end of some groups there is "and others").

Although all the listed Ukrainians were sentenced by the courts of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, they are held (and were always held) in the camps of Russia. This is another superfluous proof of the resignation of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic from its sovereignty — the carrying out of the sentences of its courts.

There are only 17 people of the working category, i.e. people able to work, in the camp.

The head of the Dubravnoye Camp Administration is Colonel Gromov, notorious from his arbitrariness in the 40's and 50's in Kamyshlag (Kemerovo region) (West Siberia — Ed.).

The head of the KGB Department at the Dubravnoye Camp Administration is Lieut.-Col. Blinov."

*) Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi — lawyer and prominent Ukrainian imprisoned by Soviet Russians since 1945.

**) Sviatoslav Karavanskyi — journalist, poet and translator. Sentenced to 25 years of penal servitude in 1944, released in 1956, rearrested in 1965.

MEMORANDUM

**SUBMITTED TO THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF
THE UNITED NATIONS
BY THE WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS**

November, 16-19, 1967

The Honorable
U Thant
Secretary General
United Nations
United Nations, N.Y.

Your Excellency:

It is our distinct honor to present to you this Appeal on behalf of the first World Congress of Free Ukrainians which is meeting in New York City, the seat of the United Nations, to plead the cause of freedom for the Ukrainian people who are now in the political bondage of Communist Russia.

The first World Congress of Free Ukrainians represents over three million Ukrainians and their descendants in the free world who have their own social, political, cultural, economic and religious organizations as well as their national representations in a number of countries outside Ukraine, namely: the United States, Canada, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, Chile, Venezuela, France, Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Austria, Italy, Spain, Australia, New Zealand, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Sweden. However, their native country, Ukraine, is a Union Republic of the USSR and a charter member of the United Nations since 1945.

The great majority of Ukrainian immigrants left their home country after World War I and World War II because they could not live under the regimes which were imposed by force upon the Ukrainian people by the occupiers of the Ukrainian lands. Some Ukrainians left their homeland under the stress of economic conditions, some were deported as slave-laborers during the second World War and did not wish to return thereafter to Ukraine, occupied by Soviet Russia. Therefore, the Ukrainian emigration in the free world is predominantly a political emigration; it is vitally interested in the political and social life of Ukrainians in their home country and is endeavoring to help them by all means at its disposal in achieving these ideals of freedom and independence for which they have been fighting with great sacrifices during the past fifty years.

In the overwhelming majority, the free Ukrainians in the diaspora subscribe to the political ideal of a **free, sovereign and independent Ukrainian state**, which was proclaimed by a series of historical acts at the time of the revolution fifty years ago and later — between the two World Wars and during the second World War, — and which fell a victim of aggression on the part of Soviet Russia. These acts were:

a) On November 20, 1917 the Ukrainian Central **Rada** (Council), by its Third **Universal**, established the Ukrainian National Republic which was recognized officially by Soviet Russia in a special note of December 17, 1917. Despite the recognition of Ukraine as an independent republic, Soviet Russia launched a military aggression against Ukraine and endeavored to convince the world that it was a "civil war" between the "bourgeois faction" and the partisans of the Soviet system in Ukraine;

b) On January 22, 1918 the Ukrainian Central **Rada** by its Fourth **Universal** proclaimed the full and unqualified independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. It maintained diplomatic relations with many countries, and was recognized **de facto** by France and Great Britain.

In the election to the All-Russian Constituent Assembly which took place in 1917, the political parties which supported the Ukrainian Central **Rada**, received 72 per cent of all votes in Ukraine, while the Bolsheviks gained a bare 10 per cent. Thus, almost three-fourths of

the total population of Ukraine supported the policies of the Ukrainian Central **Rada**, which was the revolutionary parliament of Ukraine.

On November 1, 1918 Western Ukraine, which was a part of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, was proclaimed as the Western Ukrainian National Republic, with its own National **Rada**, whose members were elected by secret ballot in general, direct and democratic elections. This Parliament of Western Ukraine, by its unanimous decision of January 4, 1919 voted to unite with the Ukrainian National Republic. The Western Ukrainian National Republic was forced to wage a defensive war against the newly-born Poland which coveted this Ukrainian ethnic territory as its "own." By the Act of Union on January 22, 1919 both republics of the Ukrainian people were united into one, sovereign and independent state of the Ukrainian people. The united Ukrainian National Republic encompassed all the Ukrainian ethnic lands which were part of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian empires prior to 1914.

The traditions of Ukrainian statehood have their roots in Kievan Rus-Ukraine, the Kingdom of Halych and Volhynia and the Hetman State. Ukrainian statehood in 1918-1920 had three distinct forms of government; the Ukrainian National Republic with the Ukrainian Central **Rada** as its parliamentary government; the Ukrainian State under the Hetman, and the Ukrainian National Republic under a Directorate.

To defend Ukraine against foreign aggression, the Ukrainians organized in 1917 a **regular Ukrainian army**, which by 1919 numbered over 150,000 men.

In a long and drawn-out war against the foreign aggressors, the Ukrainian Army had some brilliant military successes, but despite the heroic efforts and self-sacrifices of its fighting men, unaided and unsupported by any foreign state, it could not overcome the numerically superior forces of Soviet Russia, the White Russian Armies of Gen. A. Denikin, as well as those of Poland. Suffering from lack of medical supplies and equipment, this army was also exposed to a series of epidemics which heavily undermined its effectiveness and power.

In launching an unprovoked military aggression against the Ukrainian National Republic, the Russian Communists created a political fiction in the form of the "Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic", which they used as a counter-government against the legitimate Ukrainian government. In 1923 this Moscow-created Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, along with other non-Russian republics, entered into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Although many of the prerogatives of the Union Republics were taken over by the Soviet Union, nevertheless, the fiction that these republics are sovereign states is steadily maintained and supported by Moscow. In 1945, when Moscow believed it useful to expand these

prerogatives so as to make it appear that the Union Republics were truly independent, Ukraine and Byelorussia were introduced into the United Nations as charter members. Moreover, each of the Union Republics was accorded also a number of outward attributes of a sovereign state: a national coat-of-arms, flag and national anthem.

Yet, behind this facade, the reality is quite different. From the very beginning of its enslavement by Soviet Russia, Ukraine was not and is not an independent republic in the USSR, but a colony of Soviet Russia. In the present Soviet Russian colonial empire the Ukrainian people are suffering from an unrelenting social and national oppression.

The Soviet Russian colonial empire, known as the USSR, is a totalitarian state-empire in which unlimited power rests in the hands of the centralist Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This totalitarian monoparty, which directs all the Union Republics from one center in Moscow, is in essence a ruling class of the empire, exercising unlimited power which is shared with no other social class or political group. It is a totalitarian and anti-democratic system of government.

In the Ukrainian SSR, which claims to be a sovereign state, out of the 30 ministries 26 are subordinated to and directed by Moscow. Even the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev, formerly independent, became merely a branch of the "All-Union" Academy of Sciences.

In the economic field Ukraine is rigidly subordinated to the central planning in Moscow. All taxation taken from the Ukrainian people is directed toward imperialistic expansion of Soviet Russian foreign policy and territorial aggrandizement. All industrial and agricultural products of Ukraine are destined either for other parts of the USSR or for foreign imports, primarily for competition with the United States, while Ukraine receives little in return. Special economic policies of the Kremlin compel the Ukrainian population to seek employment outside its homeland; hundreds of thousands of Ukrainian specialists and technicians are taken away from Ukraine, while their place is taken by the alien Russian manpower. By special discriminatory measures the Soviet government is trying to keep the Ukrainian rural population from settling in urban areas, thus providing for the alarming growth of the Russian element in Ukrainian cities.

The enslavement of the Ukrainian people in the Russian colonial empire has assumed some of the most terrible and intolerable forms. The Soviet regime is engaged systematically in the destruction of the Ukrainian national substance through perennial genocide, deportations and man-made famines, thus trying to reduce the Ukrainian people, once a powerful dynamic people, to a static ethnographic entity.

Thus, in 1914 the population of Ukraine amounted to 38.1 million people. The last Soviet population census of 1959 revealed that Ukraine had only 41.9 million people. Ukrainian demographers estimate that in the normal process of development the population of Ukraine should have increased by 1 million people a year. Consequently, the population of Ukraine should have increased by 45 million in the last 45 years, and in 1959 it should have been at least 83.1 million. Inasmuch as the population census of 1959 had shown only 41.9 million people, it means that Ukraine had lost almost the same amount of people which it had at the time of the census-taking. Of course, the decrease of the population of Ukraine was due also to two World Wars; but this decrease was a result mainly of special Russian genocidal policies in Ukraine, policies which are outlawed by the U.N. Charter and the U.N. Commission on Human Rights. The most outstanding phases of Russian genocide against the Ukrainian people are a matter of historical record:

1. Moscow has completely eradicated the two Churches in Ukraine: the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and the Ukrainian Catholic Church. In the 1930's the Kremlin liquidated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church by imprisoning its metropolitan and 36 archbishops and bishops, and hundreds of thousands of the faithful. This church was revived somewhat during World War II, but was again destroyed completely after 1945. There is only the Russian Orthodox Church in Ukraine today. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church exists only among Ukrainians in the free world, but not in Ukraine.

In 1946 Moscow destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine by arresting and exiling its metropolitan, bishops and over 2,500 Catholic priests, monks, nuns and thousands of Catholic laymen (of 12 Ukrainian Catholic bishops only one returned alive from the Soviet concentration camps: Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, who was released in 1963, after 18 years of imprisonment, upon intervention of the late Pope, John XXIII; he was made a cardinal in 1965 and now resides in Rome). The Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine exists in underground catacombs just as in the early era of Christianity. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has developed in the free world and at present there are 14 Ukrainian Catholic Sees in the diaspora.

The same fate befell the Ukrainian Evangelical-Reformed and Lutheran Church, while the still existing Baptist and Seventh-Day Adventists Churches are rigidly controlled by the Soviet government.

2. In 1932-33 the Kremlin willfully starved to death about 5 million Ukrainian peasants who resisted the forced collectivization introduced by Stalin against the will and welfare of the Ukrainian people. This man-made famine ensued when the Soviet authorities withdrew all supplies of foodstocks in order to force the farmers to become

collective slaves. Prior to the famine all wealthy Ukrainian farmers were also liquidated as "enemies of the state", their property confiscated and they themselves sent to slave labour camps.

3. One of the most concentrated drives by Moscow in Ukraine was and is against independent Ukrainian culture; thousands of Ukrainian scientists, writers, poets, literary critics, academicians and professors had perished during the many "purges" conducted by the Kremlin in Ukraine. After the death of Stalin a number of the so-called "rehabilitation trials" were held in Ukraine revealing how many hundreds of Ukrainian men of science and literature had perished without trials or any judicial proceedings. These "purges" encompassed not only the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists", but Ukrainian Communists as well. Among the intelligentsia were some of the greatest intellects of Ukraine.

4. Moscow has been relentless in persecuting all those Ukrainian patriots who are striving for Ukrainian independence, in particular members of the OUN and UPA, although the Soviet constitution itself guarantees the "full sovereignty and equality" of Ukraine. In fact, that constitution assures the right of Ukraine and other Union Republics "to freely secede" from the USSR and remain outside the Soviet Union. But in reality any manifestations toward true independence, even the application of the Soviet constitution, are considered high treason and are punishable severely. Ukrainian patriots and true lovers of their lands Moscow labels scornfully "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" and "enemies of the Soviet state." Significantly, the Kremlin does not persecute "Russian bourgeois nationalists"; on the contrary, Russian chauvinism is regarded as Soviet patriotism.

5. The Soviet government is systematically pressing Russification policies whereby it endeavours to Russify the Ukrainian people and thus weaken their national resistance. This Russification is pressed relentlessly in Ukrainian schools, especially Ukrainian universities, in administration and the armed forces. Moreover, the Soviet government is conducting population policies detrimental to the Ukrainians, who are either deported or sent to various administrative posts outside Ukraine, while ethnic Russians are being brought to Ukraine. For this Russian minority in Ukraine Moscow maintains Russian schools and a press, while millions of Ukrainians outside Ukraine — in the Russian SFSR above all — are deprived of Ukrainian schools, the Ukrainian press and books, and in general, of Ukrainian culture. By so doing, Moscow is implementing deliberate Russification policies for the purpose of increasing the Russian ethnic element in Ukraine and weakening at the same time the Ukrainian national entity.

6. During the whole period of occupation of Ukraine the Ukrainian people waged and are waging now an incessant struggle for their liberation, as demonstrated by the proclamation of independence of

Carpatho-Ukraine in 1939; the proclamation of Ukrainian Independence on June 30, 1941 in Lviv; and the activities of a series of Ukrainian underground organizations: the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU), the Association of Ukrainian Youth (SUM), the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The latter, under the command of General Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka) and the political leadership of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), waged a full-scale war against both the Nazis and Russian Communists in Ukraine during and after World War II.

The Kremlin's fear of the Ukrainian liberation movement is demonstrated by the wanton murders of Ukrainian leaders by the Soviet secret police operating in the free countries:

a) Simon Petlura, head of the Ukrainian government-in-exile, killed in Paris on May 25, 1926;

b) Col. Eugene Konovalets, head of the OUN, assassinated on May 23, 1938 in Rotterdam, Holland;

c) Dr. Lev R. Rebet, a Ukrainian nationalist writer, assassinated on October 12, 1957 in Munich, Germany;

d) Stepan Bandera, head of the OUN, assassinated on October 15, 1959 in Munich, Germany.

In 1965 and 1966 a number of Ukrainian writers, poets, literary critics and journalists were jailed and tried by Communist courts in Ukraine in the relentless drive of Moscow to suppress Ukrainian culture and make it an adjunct of the "superior" Soviet Russian culture.

Taking all this into consideration, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians states that the USSR, being a Russian colonial empire, practices genocide on a grandiose scale and destroys churches and the national cultures of the captive non-Russian nations. It constantly violates the Charter of the United Nations and fails to live up to the overall objectives of the United Nations.

The representation of the Ukrainian SSR in the United Nations is not a representation of the Ukrainian people but a representation of the alien occupying administration which enslaves the Ukrainian people. Its voice in the United Nations is but a servile replica of the Kremlin in the international forum of the United Nations.

The World Congress of Free Ukrainians, which fully supports the aspirations of the Ukrainian people as well as those of other captive peoples to freedom and national independence, is of the belief that the enslavement by Soviet Russian imperialism of a number of nations in Eastern Europe and in Asia is a warning for the whole world as to the true political nature of the USSR, a member of the United

Nations. The democratic nations of the world should unite and prevent the Soviet Union from continuing its political practices with respect to the captive nations, practices which are inconsistent with and contrary to the U.N. Charter.

Taking into consideration the present plight of the Ukrainian people under the domination of Soviet Russia, and desiring to bring effective moral and political assistance to the Ukrainian people in their aspirations to freedom and national statehood, the elected representatives of all Ukrainian national organizations in the free world, namely those in North America, South America, Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand, assembled on November 16-19, 1967 in the City of New York, the seat of the United Nations, for the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, have accepted a series of resolutions on ways and means to assist Ukraine, and have also decided to submit this Appeal to the United Nations.

Therefore, the World Congress of Free Ukrainians appeals to you, Your Excellency, for three considerations:

1. To establish a special Committee under the auspices of the United Nations which would investigate the situation of the captive nations in the USSR, and in the first place the colonial enslavement of Ukraine, with all its features of national and cultural genocide, destruction of human rights and religion, and violation of all basic human liberties.

2. To appeal to U.N. members to support the aspirations to freedom of all peoples, not only the colonial peoples of Africa and Asia. The captive non-Russian peoples in the USSR are entitled to freedom and national independence in the same degree and measure as are the peoples of Africa and Asia.

3. To allow the representatives of the Free Ukrainians in the world to participate in the various U.N. Committees on the basis of non-governmental organizations, where they could represent the interests of the captive Ukrainian people.

We take the liberty of enclosing with this Memorandum a documentary brief on the present situation of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and the USSR.

Theodore MACKIW
The University of Akron, U.S.A.

PEACE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK (1918-1968)

In 1968 the Ukrainian people commemorate the 50th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic, which took place in Kyïv, the capital of Ukraine on January 22, 1918, and the participation of the Ukrainian Delegation at Peace Conference in Brest Litovsk, where the Ukrainian National Republic, as an equal partner with equal rights, signed a Peace Treaty with the Central Powers on February 9, 1918. (The Peace Treaty with Soviet Russia was signed separately on March 3, 1918 also in Brest Litovsk.)

Both dates are connected with each other, and are of historical significance. It is not our purpose in this article to write the history of Ukraine; however, it is certain that those two dates did not appear as "deus ex machina", and their historical background had deeper roots (Kievan period, Cossack autonomous military Republic — Hetmanshchyna, 1648-1765, etc.) than the revolutionary events of 1917 only.

Immediately after the March Revolution in 1917 the Ukrainian people, exercising their right of self-determination, organized their own national organ of government known as the "Ukrainian Central Council" (*Ukraïnśka Tsentralna Rada*, or briefly, the *Rada*.) It was an assembly representing not only the Ukrainian political parties, social organizations, and professional associations, but also soldiers, workers, and peasants. The eminent Ukrainian historian, Prof. Mychailo Hrushevsky, was elected President of the *Rada*. After the "First Proclamation" (*Universal*) of June 23, 1917, the *Rada* elected on July 9, a "General Secretariat", a form of cabinet which became the Ukrainian National Administration. The *Rada* was recognized as the Ukrainian National Government by the Provisional Government in Petrograd on September 14, 1917.¹

¹) John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Brest-Litovsk, The Forgotten Peace*, (London-New York, 1956), pp. 54, cf. Theodor Kroeger, *Brest-Litovsk*, (Berlin, 1937), p. 170. M. S. Dimanstein, *Revolutsiya i natsionalnyi vopros. Dokumenty i materialy po istorii natsionalnogo voprosa v Rossii i SSSR v XX veke* (Moscow, 1930). Vol. I, p. 70.

By the end of 1917 the Ukrainian people were tired of chaos and anarchy, and even of the war with the Central Powers. The Provisional Government in Petrograd was unable to establish peace and order, and was overthrown by the Bolsheviks on November 7, 1917. Lenin realized that the further continuation of the war was impossible, and on November 26 offered armistice negotiations with the Central Powers without any notification or consultation with the *Rada* so that for example, General Shcherbachov, Commander-in-Chief of the Rumanian Front was compelled on his own initiative to negotiate with the Rumanians and Germans about the armistice. He also requested the *Rada* by wire to send its representatives to conclude formal negotiations, whereupon a Ukrainian Delegation was sent to the Rumanian Front on December 17, 1917.

It is interesting to note that on December 18, 1917, the representatives of the Allied Military Missions left the Headquarters (*Stavka*) of the Russian Army in Mohyliv and arrived in Kiev. The representative of the French Military Mission, General Tabouis, notified the *Rada* that his Government desired to establish diplomatic relations with the Ukrainian Republic, and on December 30th, 1917, he presented his credentials. At the same time the representative of Great Britain, Picton Bagge, notified "the President of the Council of Minister of the Ukrainian National Republic... that the Government of His Britannic Majesty has named me, by way of telegraph, the only way possible at the present time, as the Representative of Great Britain in the Ukraine."²

Meanwhile on December 15, 1917, the Soviet-Russian Delegation signed an armistice agreement with the Central Powers in Brest Litovsk. Since the Russian Federation was not formed at that time, the Government of the Ukrainian Republic announced on December 22, 1917, that the "power of the Council of People's Commissars (SOVNARKOM) does not extend over the territory of the Ukrainian Republic", and that a peace treaty would be valid for the Ukrainian Republic only when the Ukrainian Government would be a signatory. In addition, the *Rada* decided to send its own delegation to Brest Litovsk to negotiate with the Central Powers. This was answered on December 26, 1917, by an invitation from the Central Powers to participate in the negotiations. On December 30, the *Rada* delegates — M. Liubynsky, M. Levytsky and A. Sevriuk — left Kyiv, arriving in Brest Litovsk on January 7, 1918. V. Holubovych, President of the Council of Ministers and head of the delegation, arrived some time later.

The arrival of the Ukrainian Delegation caused considerable annoyance to Count O. Czernin, head of the Austrian Delegation.

²) O. S. Pidhainy, "Diplomatic Recognition of the Ukraine by France and Great Britain", *The New Review*, Vol. III, No. 1, (1963), pp. 5-6.

The Germans (R. von Kuehlmann and Gen. M. Hoffmann), on the other hand, did not mind the Ukrainians, realizing that their presence would help keep Czernin in step with themselves, and would furnish an additional weapon against Trotsky. "The Ukrainian Delegates, who had talked at first so freely of their general plans, were uncommunicative when it came to dealing with hard facts", Wheeler-Bennett^{2a} writes in his book. "...Despite their youthfulness", as Czernin remarked in his memoirs, "they proved to be mature and keen diplomats, ... who at one point do not want to talk with us, they dictate to us..."³ It was indeed unpleasant for Czernin to have to negotiate with the Ukrainians, who envisaged the annexation of Western Ukraine (Galicia) and Bukovina and the district of Kholm from Austria. This demand was strenuously opposed by Czernin, and only the mediation of German Gen. M. Hoffmann allowed a compromise to be reached, later signed as a secret amendment to the Peace Treaty of Brest Litovsk.

On January 10, 1918, the head of the Ukrainian Delegation, Vsevolod Holubovych, officially declared that according to the State Act of Proclamation (the Third *Universal*) of November 1917, the Ukrainian *Rada* was announcing the establishment of the Ukrainian Government, which was entitled to negotiate independently with all foreign countries on an equal basis. Consequently the Ukrainian Delegation was empowered to act as a wholly independent delegation. This declaration was recognized and accepted by the Central Powers and the Soviet Delegation as well at the plenary meeting on January 12, 1918, as can be seen from the official protocol of this meeting of all delegations at the *Haus, Hof und Staatsarchiv* in Vienna, PA, Pr — L., No. 325.⁴ Therefore, the accusation of Roman Dmowski, a Polish representative at the Peace Conference at Paris, that the Ukrainian Government and its delegation at Brest Litovsk was formed *ad hoc* by the Germans, is simply not true.

After long discussions between Trotsky and Kuehlmann, negotiations were adjourned on January 18, 1918, in order to enable Trotsky to go to Petrograd to obtain new instructions. The Ukrainian delegates also left Brest Litovsk for Kyiv.

On November 7, 1917, the Russian Provisional Government fell as the result of an uprising of the Bolsheviks in Petrograd; Lenin organized a new government, known as the Council of People's Commissars. It was hostile towards the *Rada*, because the latter

^{2a}) J. Wheeler-Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

³) T. Kroeger, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁴) *Proceedings of the Brest-Litovsk Conference*, (Department of State, Washington, D. C., 1918), pp. 56-59, 63-64, 88-89; *Mirnye peregovory v Brest-Litovske* (Peace Negotiations in Brest-Litovsk), (Moscow, 1920), pp. 44-48; Cf. J. Wheeler-Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 167, 208; T. Kroeger, *op. cit.*, pp. 170-171; Theophil Hornykiewicz, *Ereignisse in der Ukraine 1914-1922, deren Bedeutung und historische Hintergründe* (Horn, Philadelphia, 1967), pp. 65-79.

body refused to allow passage of Bolshevik troops through Ukraine to fight the Don Cossacks. Furthermore, the Bolsheviks accused the Ukrainian Government of being bourgeois and of counterrevolutionary activity and ended by physically attacking the Ukrainian Republic. Simultaneously, they called in Kyïv a convention of workers and peasants Soviets in the beginning of December, 1917. The Bolsheviks made an appeal at the convention for the establishment of a Soviet Government in Ukraine ("all power to the Soviets.") Contrary to the fond expectations of Lenin, of the 2,000 delegates at this Congress only a bare 80 responded. The remainder supported the *Rada*,⁵ whereupon the Communists retreated to Kharkiv (December 11/24, 1917), where they established a rival government supported by the Council of People's Commissars.

In such circumstances the *Rada*, in order to establish peace and tranquility in the country, decided to proclaim, on January 22, 1918, an Independent Ukrainian National Republic with its own formal government. Its representatives had authority to negotiate or conclude any treaties at any time.

In the meantime the Soviet Russian Delegation returned to Brest-Litovsk with their own Soviet-Ukrainian delegates. On January 30, 1918, Trotsky, as head of the Soviet Russian delegation, presented Yefim G. Medvedev, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Soviet Ukrainian Republic, together with his Commissar of War, Vasyl M. Shakhrai, and Volodymyr P. Zatonskyi, Commissar of Education, who, however, could not come because of some important work in Petrograd. At the same time he declared that Medvedev and Shakhrai were a part of the Soviet Russian delegation, and that they were the only ones qualified to represent the Ukrainian people at Brest Litovsk, since the Red Armed Forces defeated the troops of the *Rada*, which ceased to exist. Furthermore, Trotsky declared that the Soviet Ukrainian delegates did not consider themselves bound by any agreements of the delegates of the *Rada*, and that a peace treaty concluded with the *Rada*, could not be regarded as a treaty with Ukraine.

Thereupon M. Levytskyi, a member of the Delegation of the *Rada*, made a statement in which he suggested to postpone further discussion until the other members of his delegation would arrive from Kyïv. O. Czernin and R. von Kuehlmann also proposed to postpone further discussion, reminding Trotsky that he, as head of the Soviet Russian delegation, had recognized the delegates of the Ukrainian *Rada* as lawful representatives on January 12th. Trotsky was brazen enough to deny this, believing that the delegates of the *Rada* would not return to Brest Litovsk. To his chagrin, on January 31, the delegation returned in full force and on February 1st, the head of the Ukrainian Delegation of the *Rada* in Kyïv, A. Sevriuk, confirmed

⁵) J. Wheeler-Bunnnett, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

once more the complete independence of Ukraine from Soviet Russia.⁶ Trotsky and Medvedev protested, whereupon another delegate of the *Rada* — M. Liubynsky — delivered an hour-long speech, during which he said:

...The noisy declarations of the Bolsheviks regarding the complete freedom of the peoples of Russia is but the vulgar stuff of demagoguery. The Government of the Bolsheviks, which has broken up the Constituent Assembly, and which is supported by the bayonets of hired Red Guards, will never elect to apply in Russia the very just principle of self-determination, because they know only too well that not only the Republic of Ukraine, but also the Don, the Caucasus, Siberia and other regions, people do not regard them as their government, and that even the Russian people themselves will ultimately deny their right. Only because they are afraid of the development of a National Revolution do they declare here at the Peace Conference and within Russia, with a spirit of demagoguery peculiar to themselves, the right of self-determination of the peoples. They themselves are struggling against the realization of this principle and are resorting not only to hired bands of Red Guards, but also to meaner and even scurrilous methods. . .⁷

Despite Trotsky's protests, at the conclusion of the session Count Czernin declared on behalf of the Central Powers that they recognized "immediately the Ukrainian Republic (*Rada*) as an independent, free and sovereign State, able to enter into international agreements independently."⁸

After some interruptions and negotiations a peace treaty was finally signed between the Central Powers and the Ukrainian Republic on February 9, 1918 at 2:00 A.M.⁹

The peace treaty with the Central Powers was a necessity for the young Ukrainian Republic in order to halt chaos and anarchy.

Reflecting on the past fifty years, we may say that the Peace Treaty of Brest Litovsk was not of great service to the Ukrainian people. Having concluded this peace treaty Ukraine was later maliciously branded as an Austro-German invention, and consequently lost support from the Entente.

It is true that the Germans, instead of helping the young Ukrainian Republic in its struggle for existence, liquidated the *Rada* and began to treat Ukraine almost like a German colony.

⁶) T. Hornykiewicz, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 193-197.

⁷) J. Wheeler-Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 120; T. Kroeger, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-202; Hornykiewicz, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 201-206.

⁸) J. Wheeler-Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 211; T. Kroeger, *op. cit.*, p. 202; T. Hornykiewicz, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 207.

⁹) The original text of the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk is kept in the Austrian State Archives. The full text in English has been published by J. Wheeler-Bennett, *op. cit.*, pp. 392-402, T. Hornykiewicz published the German text, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 212-221.

It is to be said that although the *Rada* was recognized by England and France,¹⁰ it never received any assistance from them except promises. The *Rada* had two alternatives: either to continue to fight alone against Austro-German forces and in the end be defeated and invaded without having even minimum rights; or to conclude any peace treaty at that time in order to survive.

Undoubtedly, the "forgotten" Peace Treaty of Brest Litovsk, as J. Wheeler-Bennett has called it, is certainly one of the important events not only in Ukrainian, but also in European history. The Peace Treaty of Brest Litovsk not only signified the success of German arms in the Eastern Europe, but also saved the Soviet-Russia and preserved Communism. As for Ukraine, this peace treaty, after a long time, not only introduced the Ukrainian National Republic for almost one year on the European map as an independent state, but forced even Lenin to recognize this fact.

¹⁰) For details see: O. S. Pidhainy, "Diplomatic Recognition of the Ukraine by France and Great Britain", *The New Review*, Vol. III, No. 1, (1963), pp. 3-7; also his: *Formation of the Ukrainian Republic*, (Toronto: 1966).

Interested in Ukraine and its fight for freedom?
Get yourself a copy of

ANGLO-UKRAINIAN NEWS

A quarterly newspaper, organ of the
Anglo-Ukrainian Society

A single copy: 1/- . Annual subscription: 5/- (post free)

Order from: **Mr. J. R. Brown,**

9, Ribble Avenue, Littleborough, Lancs.
or: **Anglo-Ukrainian News**, 200 Liverpool Rd.,
London, N.1.

Valentyna WOROPAY, M.A. (London)

THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1917-1918

(Continuation — 3)

THE GERMANS IN UKRAINE

By March 1st 1918, German troops entered Ukraine and restored the Rada to Kiev. The Germans set up Field Marshal Eichhorn as the head of the occupation forces, Baron Mumm as the representative of the German Foreign Office, and General Groener as the Chief of Eichhorn's headquarters.

The situation in Ukraine made an unfavourable impression upon the Germans. A German report described it in the following words: "When the German forces entered Ukraine chaos ruled there... The central administration is absent... The whole country is split into separate provinces: sometimes consisting only of a district, a town or even a village. Different parties rule in various places and often the leader is one of the local political adventurers, robbers or dictators. One can see entrenchments around some villages which are fighting one another for the landowner's land.⁸³ The separate atamans are ruling in some districts which they subdued with the help of their handymen and hirelings. They have at their disposal sub-machine-guns, guns, and armed cars, and, as a rule, they have plenty of them to spare, for arms have been pilfered by the population.

"It wouldn't be right to say that the only supporters of the Bolsheviks are the soldiers of the Russian army which are still in Ukraine and the gangs from Great Russia, there are many Bolshevik supporters among the Ukrainians themselves... It is difficult to determine the attitude of the peasants. In the villages which endured the Bolshevik occupation with robbery and requisitions, the peasants are against the Bolsheviks. But in other places it seems that the Bolshevik propaganda has been successful."⁸⁴

"The main interest of the peasant is concentrated on the question of the partition of the land. The peasants will follow the Rada if it will give the landowners' land to them. But if the Rada changes anything in the text of its third and fourth Universals in which it proclaimed the free expropriation of the land in the peasants' favour,

⁸³) *Arkhiv Russkoy Revolyutsii*, "Doklad nachalniku operativnogo otdelenia..." by Kolin Ross. ("The report to the head of the operational department...") by Kolin Ross, Berlin, 1922, p. 288.

⁸⁴) *Ib.*, p. 288.

the peasants will support the Bolsheviks.⁸⁵ Although the Bolsheviks lost power in many places because of their policy of terror, their slogan 'take everything, all is yours', is too tempting to be resisted by the peasants.

"On the other hand the Ukrainians do not make one solid political group, but are divided into various socialist groups... The well-to-do circles, intelligentsia and officers are passive about the change of the Government. They will support any government which will be not too socialistic and which will defend their interests at least partly."⁸⁶

The Rada was now put in another unpleasant situation. The presence of German troops created discontent. Order had been restored but the Rada continued their policy of endless debate and found it difficult to agree on the legislation that was to be enacted. The old conflicts between the right and the left wings were intensified, although the Rada decided that they would maintain the social reforms instituted by the Third and Fourth Universals and also proceed to the holding of elections for a Constituent Assembly which would meet on July 12th, 1918.

The Rada failed to provide a strong administration. One felt the presence of the Ukrainian Government only in Kiev. But the provinces lived their own life. That struck the foreigner's eye and count Forgach, the ambassador of Austro-Hungary in Kiev, wrote in one of his reports to his government of "a complete isolation of the Ukrainian Government"⁸⁷ from its people.

A particularly difficult situation was created in Odessa where the local government did not to recognize the Ukrainian government of the Rada. General Kirbach — the Austrian — wrote to his headquarters: "...Odessa is a cosmopolitan town and it does not wish in any way to recognize that it belongs to the newly formed Ukrainian Republic; about 10% of the population here are Ukrainians ... Commissar Komorny, who was sent here by Kiev, does not receive any support from any party... The socialist party is the strongest one and its opinion should be taken into consideration. That party wish to make Odessa a free port, and perhaps even an independent Republic which will include the Southern part of Ukraine..."⁸⁸

Reports not unlike this one were sent from Odessa to Berlin by the German agents. The Germans wrote that "...Odessa has only 6% Ukrainian population..." and that "...everywhere one can hear Russian spoken..." Nevertheless "...the chairman of the town Duma reported that the population of Odessa was in favour of joining the Ukrainian territory. The only open question is on what conditions. Perhaps as a Union Republic..."⁸⁹

⁸⁵) *Ib.*, p. 289.

⁸⁶) *Ib.*, p. 289.

⁸⁷) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 7.

⁸⁸) *Ib.*, p. 7.

⁸⁹) *Ib.*, p. 8.

But not only in such cosmopolitan towns as Odessa was the situation unfavourable for the Rada. In the districts neighbouring Kiev such as Berdychiv, Vasyl'kiv, Bila Tserkva, and Zvenyhorodka, chaos and outrage prevailed. In the Berdychiv district the representative of the Rada, Myroniv informed his government that no organized protection existed there. No one paid any taxes...⁹⁰

The return of the Ukrainian Government did not put an end to the plunder and destruction of manor houses but on the other hand the occupation of the country by the German and Austro-Hungarian troops was the signal of agrarian reaction. Many owners whose interests had been damaged began to plan for the recovery of their losses. Although the Ukrainian Government in Kiev again proclaimed that the peasants would receive their landlords' land free, the lack of local administration allowed some of the landlords and well-to-do peasants to collect their lost property on their own or with the help of so-called "punitive expeditions." As a rule such an expedition included various kinds of adventurers for whom it made no difference whom they were going to punish so long as they did punish and rob someone.

The first to use the occupation troops for that purpose were the Polish landlords in the districts of Volyn' and Podolia, who wrote to the Austrian authorities asking them to occupy that part of Ukraine, to apply Austrian law to the territory and to make the peasants pay back or work back the losses they had caused to the landlords' estates.⁹¹

Their example was followed by some landlords whose estates were situated on the left bank of the Dnipro in the Southern Ukraine, who asked the officers of the occupation army to punish their peasants and to make them pay indemnities.⁹²

Perhaps the Rada hoped to get in future control of the situation in the whole country, relying upon land-socialisation to enlist the sympathy of the peasants.⁹³ But the Rada forgot what a decisive power they had themselves brought into the country — the German and Austro-Hungarian troops.

For the Austrians Ukraine was a place where they *had* to find corn for their starving country. For them as well as for the Germans, the peace treaty with Ukraine was "the bread treaty" ("Brotfrieden.") That was the main reason why the Germans and the Austrians were so much concerned with having in Ukraine a regime strong enough to fulfil its obligations towards the Central Powers, according to the peace treaty concluded at Brest-Litovsk. They were not much interested in the desires and aspirations of the Ukrainian peasants,

⁹⁰) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 8.

⁹¹) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 161.

⁹²) *Ib.*, p. 10.

⁹³) *Ib.*, p. 10.

but they were very anxious indeed that the Rada should make them bring forth bread.⁹⁴

The Austrians especially were in a hurry to implement the clauses of the treaty. The food situation in their own country was catastrophic and the helplessness of the Rada in the provinces irritated them very much. The attitude of the Austrians to the situation in Ukraine can be seen from the report to the Austrian Minister of Foreign Affairs entitled "Unsere Politik in der Ukraine" ("Our policy in Ukraine").⁹⁵

On the whole their report resembles that of the Germans made by Kolin Ross: the state of anarchy, the lack of proper administration, the fear that Ukraine will not fulfil its obligation towards Austria while such a government as the Rada remained in power. In future the Austrians planned to exercise a far more right-wing policy in Ukraine but at the same time to do their best not to irritate the peasants. "... The peasants keep everything in their hands now: all the land they took away from the landlords and all grain. To take the land away from them is impossible as it is impossible to make them supply us with grain by force. We have only one way in which to act: to interest the peasant in intensive agriculture and in sales of their produce to us. That could be achieved only by the recognition of their rights to the land as their private property and the right to profit by the harvest and sale of the grain."⁹⁶

The Austrians underestimated the influence of socialist theories on the peasants. They wrote: "...they (the peasants) became owners thanks to the revolution and do not have any aspirations to the Communist ideas, and, on the contrary, they strongly wish for the principle of private property to be revived..." And further: "... Owing to the Poles to whom so many estates in Ukraine belong, we have to pretend to be if not for the restoration of the old order then at least for land compensation..."⁹⁷ "... the peasants own the land now and their rights to it should be legalized but for some payment..."⁹⁸

If in Vienna Government circles planned to force the Rada to change their main principles and thus to improve the situation in Ukraine, the Austrian military circles in Ukraine were for changing the existing Ukrainian Government for another which "... would not offer any passive resistance..."⁹⁹

The Germans who, to start with supported the Rada quite sincerely and gave orders to their troops to behave themselves well in Ukraine and "... not to use the means of requisition..." soon discovered that

⁹⁴) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* II, p. 10.

⁹⁵) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* II, p. 11.

⁹⁶) *Ib.*, p. 12.

⁹⁷) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 12.

⁹⁸) *Ib.*, p. 13.

⁹⁹) *Ib.*, pp. 13-14.

it would be very difficult for them to see eye to eye with the Rada and far more difficult still to get foodstuffs from them.¹⁰⁰

The collection of supplies proceeded slowly. 1917 had been a disturbed year and the harvest had not been properly gathered. The peasants were not disposed to turn over their supplies to the Germans, even in return for money. At the same time the German military machine had no sympathy with and little understanding of the attempts of the Rada to proceed towards a democratic constitution.

Major-General Max Hoffmann wrote on March 12th, 1918, "The difficulty in Ukraine is simply that the Central Rada has only our rifles behind it... The cause of this weakness is the land problem. On the land question the more moderate Social-Democrats, who compose the Rada (It was not exactly true: only two of the Ministers were Social-Democrats, the rest of them were Social-Revolutionaries — the Author) are just as idiotic as the Bolsheviks — i. e. they also have confiscated the landed estates and given them to the peasants. Consequently the agricultural industry in Ukraine is ruined... Everyone is rolling in money — roubles are printed and almost given away. A cigar cost six roubles in Kiev, and a cup of tea with sugar five roubles, dinner twenty-four roubles, and so on."¹⁰¹

Meanwhile, in Ukraine a new power came to life, namely, an anti-socialist element among the Ukrainian peasants. The fact that foreign troops were present in the country gave some of the people a hope that perhaps it would be possible to influence the politicians of the Rada in such a way that they would renounce their policy of land socialization. They thought, says Doroshenko without being more specific, that the Rada would thereby find a practical solution to all questions of vital importance and would pacify the country.¹⁰²

The movement against the socialization of the land with the well-to-do classes appeared in the autumn of 1917 in the organization of the "Free Cossacks" units in the districts of Kiev, Poltava, Katerynoslav, Podillia, and Chernyhyv. This organization was not popular with the Rada.

P. Khrystiuk wrote that "the voluntary, half-military organization of the peasants, known under the name of 'The Free Cossacks,' appeared spontaneously, partly because of the need to defend the villages against the gangs of robbers and plunderers, which came into existence after the breakdown of the local pre-revolutionary security institutions, partly because the peasants realized that their economic interests had to be defended by arms, and partly thanks to romantic and historical traditions — the memory of former Cossacks."¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰) *Ib.*, p. 14.

¹⁰¹) See Major General Max Hoffmann, *War Diaries*, Vol. I, p. 209.

¹⁰²) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 15.

¹⁰³) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 187.

The idea of the units of "Free Cossacks" was popular among the workers as well. As an example one can name units of "Free Cossacks" among the young workers of Kiev under the leadership of engineer Kovenko. As a matter of fact they were the only troops which defended the Rada during the Bolshevik rising in Kiev in January 1918.¹⁰⁴

From the moment the Germans came to the country the movement spread from among these well-to-do elements amongst the Ukrainian peasants. Those peasants wanted to defend the right of private property which was threatened by the new land law of the Rada. The situation was very complicated because of the peculiarity of the attitude of the peasants to revolution. The peasant will fight in order to enlarge his plot at the expense of the landlord, but after having received the land, he does not want any more changes. At that point the revolutionary peasant becomes a counter-revolutionary.

This process was in progress in Ukraine in 1918. Peasants who had been well-to-do or had become so during the Revolution wanted now to have a say in the social and economic life of their country especially where the interests of land were concerned.

On March 25th, 1918, a conference of the *Khliboroby* (farmers) was held in the small town of Lubni. The conference was organized by the party of the Farmers Democrats (*Khliboroby-Demokraty*).

The party of Farmers Democrats was founded in the spring of 1917 in the district of Poltava. Its Constituent Assembly was held on May 20th, 1917 in Lubni where 1,500 delegates of the peasants and 20 of the landlords were present. Its agenda was: Independence of Ukraine; The rights to private property; Re-devision of the land for a remuneration.¹⁰⁵

There were present at the conference in Lubni over 2,000 deputies from the six northern districts of Poltava province. Resolutions were passed such as: the conference considered the land policy of the Rada destructive, where the interests of the Ukrainian State are concerned, and demanded the recognition of private property as a basis of the national economy; the conference urged the Rada for an immediate restoration of the rights of the owner to their estates and agricultural implements, drawing the attention of the Rada to the fact that live and dead stock were wasted in the hands of strangers; the conference demanded that the owners be given some right to a minimum amount of land and that the rest of it be handed over to the peasants with not enough arable land on tenants rights; the conference urged that the Ukrainian Government give equal rights to the socialist and non-socialist elements in the Ukrainian State; the conference also asked the Rada to admit deputies of the Farmers.

That conference elected 200 peasants to hand these resolutions

¹⁰⁴) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 15.

¹⁰⁵) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 157.

over to the Central Rada. Their delegation came to Kiev on March 26th, 1918 under the leadership of engineer Shemet. But although it had negotiations with some of the Ministers the delegation did not succeed in attaining their object.¹⁰⁶ On leaving Kiev they decided to call a conference of the deputies from the All-Ukrainian Farmers organisation in Kiev on April 28th.

Meanwhile, the relations between the Rada and the Central Powers in Ukraine, and especially the German headquarters, became tense. As General Hoffman wrote: "In Ukraine the situation is coming to a head. The government is making further difficulties, and I am afraid that we shall have to look for another..."¹⁰⁷ And further: "...There is the devil to pay in Ukraine. However, Eichhorn has the situation well in hand, so that I think we shall emerge from it without serious trouble..."¹⁰⁸

The first open conflict between the Rada and the Germans arose about the circular of the Ukrainian Minister of Jurisprudence, M. Tkachenko, which was issued on March 23rd and addressed to the procurators of the district law-courts. In it the Minister explained that German and Austrian court-martials were an interference with the rights of the Ukrainian legal authorities and that they therefore constituted an illegal action.¹⁰⁹

On March 26th the German headquarters made a protest to the Ukrainian Government against the tone of the circular, against its form as well as against the fact that the German authorities were not informed of its contents before it was issued.¹¹⁰

More serious was the next clash, on General Eichhorn's order to the Ukrainian peasants.

It was spring time and the Germans were anxious to sow the spring crops in order to secure a good harvest on which the realization of the Germans' future plans was dependant. But the peasants could not and were not going to till all the land which previously belonged to the landlords. A large amount of the land lay barren and the local land-committees prevented the landlords, in places where they survived, to work their land.

In this state of affairs General Eichhorn issued an order to the Ukrainian peasants without consulting the Rada or even notifying them. The main points of the order were: the harvest will belong to those who cultivate the land. They will receive cash payments for it at fixed rates; a peasant who acquires more land than he can cultivate thereby does harm to the Ukrainian state and people and is liable to punishment; if the peasants of a certain area are not in a position to till all the land, the landlord of the area will be required

¹⁰⁶) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 158-159.

¹⁰⁷) See M. Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, p. 214 (On April 26, 1918).

¹⁰⁸) *Ib.* p. 214.

¹⁰⁹) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 18.

¹¹⁰) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 18.

to attend to the sowing..., in which case the peasants must not interfere with the landlord's activities. The land committees must supply the landlord with the seeds, horses and machinery required for sowing and harvesting... Half of the harvest in such cases will belong to those who did the sowing, the other half — to the peasants; robberies and destruction of crops will be severely punished.¹¹¹

When that order became known — it was published in the newspaper *Kievskaya Mysl'* (*Kiev Thought*) it caused a storm in the Rada circles. The question was discussed at the sitting of the Small Rada on April 13th. At the discussion the Minister of Agriculture, M. Kovalevsky, explained that the appearance of the order coincided with visits to the Germans by delegations of Ukrainian groups hostile to the Rada and that the document was the product of certain propaganda concerning the land-law. These delegations — continued the Minister — were organized not without the active participation of the landlords. Things are not as bad as they are being represented and the land will be sown... But General Eichhorn's order will bring disturbances of the Ukrainian village...¹¹²

After the speech the Minister of Agriculture handed in his resignation.

After M. Kovalevsky's speech other members of the Rada bitterly criticized German policy in Ukraine and in particular this order of Eichhorn. Then a resolution was passed: German troops came to Ukraine only to help keep order in the country and that within limits designated by the Ukrainian Government; wilful interference of the German and Austro-Hungarian headquarters in the social, political or economic life of Ukraine is inadmissible; such interference as General Eichhorn's order will only disorganize the economy of Ukraine, complicate the social and political relations and thereby render impossible the fulfilment of an economic agreement between the U.N.R. and the Central Powers which the representatives of both sides are drawing up now.¹¹³

The resignation of the Minister of Agriculture was not accepted and he was instructed to announce to the population that the order issued by General Eichhorn should not be executed. The Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Premier were entrusted with sending the protest against the action of the German Headquarters in Ukraine to the German Government in Berlin.¹¹⁴

On April 18th Premier Holubovych gave an explanation of General Eichhorn's order. As he did not wish to sharpen the conflict he informed his listeners that the trouble was due to the fact that the newspaper *Kievskaya Mysl'* published the order incorrectly and that

¹¹¹) See V. Vynnychenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 165.

¹¹²) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 165.

¹¹³) See V. Vynnychenko, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 322-323; P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.* II, p. 165.

¹¹⁴) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 19.

the order did not contradict the policy of the Ukrainian Government it only elaborated the items which were contained in the circular of the Ministry of Agriculture.¹¹⁵

But the Germans thereby lost their faith in collaboration with the existing Ukrainian Government. They knew of the discontent spreading within certain groups of the population: the bourgeoisie peasants and, partly, the intelligentsia. The Germans also were aware of the numerous delegations, protests, and resolutions among the Ukrainians directed against the policy of the Rada. They knew also that in some Ukrainian circles, which were disappointed by the Rada's policy, the plan of an overthrow of the existing Government had matured. The Germans made contacts with those people.¹¹⁶

The Rada and the Secretariat had a presentiment of the approaching storm but were incapable of preventing it. At the beginning of April rumours were spread in Kiev about the preparation of a coup. Everybody was talking about it. But the Government did not take any essential action. Only one strange arrest was made. The banker Yuriy Dobryi was secretly arrested in Kiev and brought to Kharkiv. Because Dobryi was a member of the financial Commission which was conducting the negotiations about a commercial agreement with Germany, the Germans attached much importance to this arrest,¹¹⁷ and were even frightened by it. In Kiev rumours were circulating among the Germans that some mysterious organisation named "The Committee for the Salvation of Ukraine" planned to slaughter all German officers in one night.¹¹⁸ The Rada explained the arrest of Dobryi as follows: "...the intention was to arrest a few leading counter-revolutionaries simultaneously and quite openly. But for unknown reasons the Minister of Interior M. Tkachenko arrested the banker Dobryi only. What is more, he did it in an unusual way: the arrest was effected secretly in the name of some private organization. Thereby he placed the whole Government and particularly the Chairman of the Council of Ministers Holubovych in an awkward position."¹¹⁹

At first the Germans approached Holubovych on the subject of Dobryi's arrest but when he could not help them they made their own arrangements. First, on April 25th, General Eichhorn issued an order about the introduction of field-courts-martial in Ukraine.¹²⁰ Next the German authorities started an inquiry into the arrest of Dobryi and then on the night of 26-27 of April the Germans troops

¹¹⁵) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 19.

¹¹⁶) *Ib.* p. 19.

¹¹⁷) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.* II, p. 166. How much importance the Germans paid to the arrest of Dobryi can be seen from German archives. This subject goes through almost all correspondence for 1918. See microfilms of German Archives, Ukraine, 1918.

¹¹⁸) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 52.

¹¹⁹) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 166.

¹²⁰) *Ib.* p. 166.

disarmed the First Ukrainian division, the so-called Bluecoaters (the division consisted of Ukrainians, former prisoners of war in Germany and was then situated in Kiev.).¹²¹

All that, quite naturally, caused anxiety and indignation among the members of the Rada and its Government. On April 27th the sitting of the Small Rada took place where it was decided to examine the project of a Jewish and Russian Constituent Assembly in Ukraine along with the project of the Ukrainian Constitution. During that sitting a question was asked about the disarmament of the "Bluecoaters" by the Germans. The Minister of War, Zhukovskiy, answered that the War Ministry itself issued an order of dissolution of that division and the Second Division, the one which was in Kovel on its way home. He added that this was discussed with the Germans but the Germans disarmed the First Division quite suddenly at night. To the question of the Ukrainian authorities about it the Germans answered that it happened because of a misunderstanding and that it was done in order to save the Division's equipment.

Then the Prime-Minister took the floor. He said that the behaviour of the German authorities was caused by their inability to understand Ukrainian affairs, and, perhaps, even by their unwillingness to look into them. The Prime Minister informed his audience about the debates which took place in the Reichstag on 24th and 25th of April. The order of Eichhorn to the Ukrainian peasants — continued the Prime Minister — was discussed there and the actions of the General were bitterly criticized by such members as Erzberger, Ferenbach, Hocke, etc. The Premier proposed to send a note to the German Government and asked them to recall Eichhorn and other German representatives from Ukraine.¹²²

Next day, the 25th of April, the debates on this proposition began. In the middle of it German soldiers entered the building and a German officer order in Russian: "In the name of the German Government: Hands up!!!" Everybody who was present carried out the order but Prof. Hrushevskiy: he continued to sit at the table as he did before. After the command the officer asked somebody to point out to him the Minister of the Interior, Mr Tkachenko, the *Chef de Cabinet* of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Liubynsky, the Minister of War Zhukovsky, Hayevsky, the director of the administration of the Foreign Office, and Kovalevsky, the Minister of Agriculture. Only Liubynsky and Hayevsky were present and they named themselves to the officer. They were arrested and taken away. The Germans searched for arms and then allowed the assembly to disperse. Later Zhukovsky, the head of the town Militia P. Z. Bohatskyi, and the wife of the Minister of the Interior

¹²¹) *Ib.* p. 167.

¹²²) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 34. For the full account of this sitting of the Small Rada on April 27, see P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 167-173.

Tkachenko, — the Ukrainian author H. Romanovych-Tkachenko — were arrested. Liubynsky and Mrs. Tkachenko were soon freed.

On April 29th the last sitting of the Rada took place. In the course of it Prof. Hrushevskyi informed the gathering of his protest to the German authorities with regard to the behaviour of the German officer in the building of the Rada and to the arrests made there. After that the Small Rada approved the project of a Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic, passed a resolution about the alteration of the land law according to which land properties up to 30 desiatin should not be requisitioned and, lastly, elected Prof. Hrushevskyi the President of the U.N.R.¹²³

It was the last sitting of the Rada because on the same day, April 29th, P. P. Skoropadskyi was proclaimed Hetman of Ukraine. In the night of April 29-30 all the important state institutions were taken over and Ukraine was proclaimed to be not a National Republic but a Ukrainian State with the Hetman at the head.

The first signs of dissatisfaction with the policy of the Rada, observes Doroshenko, became apparent early in 1917. The revival of the Ukrainians as a nation at the beginning of 1917 embraced not only the democratic intelligentsia and poor peasants but also the whole mass of the Ukrainian toiling people in the broad sense of the word: the peasants, cossacks, and landowners — the descendants of old Ukrainian stock. All of them responded to the first call from Kiev without a difference of position and of social and economic status. But soon it became evident that the Central Rada limited the meaning of "Ukraine" only to landless peasants or peasants with not enough arable land, or, to be more precise, to people who called themselves "the representatives" of those peasants. The Ukrainian cause was identified with "socialisation." The Ukrainian revolutionary democrats claimed that they spoke in the name of the whole "toiling people" of Ukraine.

But now other elements of the Ukrainian people raised their voice. An attempt to organize the units of "Free Cossacks" showed that Ukrainian peasants and cossacks could be organized not only by the slogan "Take! Everything is yours", but in the name of law and order.¹²⁴

The government of the Central Rada demobilized two newly formed divisions of Serdiuks in the autumn of 1917 being afraid of their counter-revolutionary moods. Again it helped to demoralise the First Ukrainian Corps for the same reason. Whenever a new Ukrainian organization appeared which was not based on the Socialist, revolutionary and Democratic principles fear would seize the leaders

¹²³) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, II, p. 174.

¹²⁴) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 20.



Archbishop Andrey SHEPTYTSKYI

ON THE TREATY OF BREST-LITOVSK

The Speech of the Archbishop A. Sheptytskyi delivered in the Upper House at Vienna on 28th February 1918 at the ratification of the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. (The region of Kholm, an ancient Ukrainian territory, lies on the Western side of the river Bug, presently under Polish occupation.)

The question has been posed whether peace with the Ukrainian People's Republic would have been at all possible if the Ukrainian delegation had to give up the region of Kholm. The question has already been answered negatively and positively. As the views of the Ukrainians are well known to me and the region of Kholm belongs to my ecclesiastical province I think I ought to give the assembly an answer to this question from my standpoint.

The matter has been minutely discussed and explained from all angles, therefore it should also be examined closely from the Ukrainian viewpoint.

Unfortunately the Ukrainians are represented in this assembly by only three members and so a bishop must often speak even in purely political affairs. Of course I do not need to apologize for this. The idea that a bishop should not involve himself in purely political matters is fundamentally false and insulting to us. We have just as much as all other citizens the right and often the duty to discuss purely political questions.

The question whether peace with the Ukrainian People's Republic would have been at all possible without the solution of the Kholm problem is of the greatest importance with regard to the vote of confidence. If it is answered positively, Count Czernin could be accused of not having done everything to avoid the opposition of a stronger party; it could be said that he could have sacrificed the wishes of the Austrian Ukrainians for those of the Austrian Poles. It is absolutely clear to me however that peace would never have

← //

of the Rada. For instance: the division of Bluecoaters was met coldly in Kiev and its officers had difficulties in obtaining the order of the Minister of War for normal rations and quartering.¹²⁵

April 29th, 1918, was the time when these two ideological trends of the Ukrainians — for simplicity's sake we will call them the left and the right wings — came into open conflict.

(To be continued.)

¹²⁵ *Ib.*, p. 21.

come under other conditions and what is more could not. I shall not go into polemics and statistics but shall limit myself solely to generally known facts. It is certain that all Ukrainians consider Kholmnia as an old Ukrainian region which is not only ethnographically closely associated with Ukraine but for centuries was part of the Ukrainian state. I only mention the time of the Kiev Principality and the Kingdom of Halych and Volodymyr.

The finest cultural and historical traditions of the nation are connected with the province and the finest traditions of the province are the heroic sacrifices for the faith, the voluntary martyrdom of the Kholmians united with the Ukrainians are and will remain for a long time evidence of the centuries-old, inherent Ukrainian character of the province. That this holy martyrs' blood is also cherished and respected by the Orthodox Ukrainians can be of great importance for the strengthening of the occidental tradition in the whole "Ukrainian Peoples' Republic" as even our monarchy cannot remain indifferent to it.

When the representatives of our monarchy met the delegates of the Ukrainian People's Republic at the negotiations in Brest, we had to demand certain material advantages. Peace was indeed called "bread-peace." What could our monarchy sacrifice for these concessions? Certainly not recognition of the independent republic. This recognition could not become the subject of the negotiations because it was and had to be a precondition of negotiation.

Moreover this recognition alone would not have been a sufficient concession, especially as it had to be connected with the renunciation of the recognition already assured by the Entente. Furthermore the Ukrainians were already exposed, through the peace negotiations and still more so through the peace treaty, to the danger of a war with Russia, a danger which has, in fact, proved to be real. Had we also demanded the renunciation of a province in principle the conditions proposed by our side would have sounded like this: Give us bread, renounce a province and begin a war with Russia. How could such conditions be accepted? War with Russia was very dangerous for Ukraine; the continuation of the state of war with the Central Powers was not at all dangerous. An offensive against Ukraine was not expected. This would also have been a very great political error on the part of the Central Powers. The continuation of the state of war was for Ukraine almost synonymous with peace with the Central Powers. In this state of affairs it is clear that the fixing of the western borders according to the wishes of the Ukrainians was for them the only argument for peace. If one had to deal with two parties at the peace negotiations, one of which demanded almost everything and the other only one thing, what better could one have done than to give in to the latter and force the former to give up its demands? The Bolsheviks demanded everything. They simply wanted to press all their Bolshevik principles on the Central

Powers or rather on the people of the Central Powers. (*Applause*). They tried to make Austria-Hungary and Germany Bolshevist. The Ukrainians, on the other hand, only demanded the one thing, which from their point of view meant simply a renunciation of annexation. To fully utilise this state of affairs to bring about a general and honourable peace on the whole East Front and win the true friendship of the Ukrainian State was certainly a great aim. And although it was not easy we have attained it. It has indeed been said that peace with the Russians has been won by means of the German forces rather than the Peace Treaty of 9th February. This is partly true but nevertheless it is undeniable that Trotsky's decision to give up the negotiations for peace was a great success for diplomacy and was brought about by the Peace Treaty of 9th February.

It cannot be denied that this treaty meant an extremely fortunate and agreeable change for us on the whole East Front. It automatically led to the other two peace treaties and thus brings us much nearer to general peace. Peace with Rumania must follow sooner or later. This depends on our internal politics more than the external situation. Peace on the West Front too is much more probable now than a month ago. Nothing can prevent the consequences of historical events. But it is also true that these very indefatigable and relentless consequences of history sometimes neglect to take the aspirations of particular peoples into account. Of course one can never obtain all that one wishes. There is no solution in a conflict between individual interests, even between whole states with the great interests of mankind. One must submit to circumstances. The march of events usually passes us by. To understand, control and use these events is the whole art of the statesmen and politicians. Such conflicts are solved by history much more inconsiderately in cases where new fundamental principles for the organization and grouping of states must replace old obsolete ones.

In modern times a new principle struggles with the old theory, based on a slower historical development, that the boundaries of separate states were only created by diplomats. This new principle, breaking all the old international treaties, urges new groupings more suitable to the consciousness of the peoples. Needless to say this principle wins as it corresponds to the life and needs of the peoples. Now it is no longer a question of what has been decided at some peace conference or other but of what the ethnographically different peoples want. It is a question of ethnographic boundaries and the right to self-determination.

Formally nothing is mentioned in the Brest Treaty of rights to self-determination, but the main idea of the Brest Treaty was that the ethnographic boundaries of the region were going to be drawn.

In the commentary added later to the Treaty this idea came out even more clearly. In the mixed Commission to which the representatives of all the states interested are to be admitted and in its

working groups it is intended that, after the war, between the state nobody is to be the victor and the defeated, the ruler and the ruled and peace and harmony between the states must be assured.

That is also a great advantage of the theory of fixing boundaries ethnographically. The domination of one race by another is impossible under this theory. It does not occur to the representatives of this theory to want to dominate other states. They want to be free and to leave others in freedom. The readiness to make further concessions after the Peace Treaty insofar as the claims of the other states are justified is indication of how far the idea of oppressing the Poles is from the new Ukrainian state. Of course the principle of ethnographic boundaries cannot please the Poles who are accustomed to hegemony over others. Such a hegemony can no longer be maintained for it belongs to the obsolete misunderstandings of a past epoch. Perhaps that will become the greatest attainment of this war. There still certainly remains a field of activity for each nation and each culture in relation to other nations. For those nations for whom the new era of world history makes legal hegemony impossible, there remains however the possibility of exercising a vast influence on other ethnographically separate and independent nations through their genius and the power of their culture. It could be said that in this field every conquest and domination is possible if this cultural activity of nations is not a compulsory obligation, which every nation and every state owes to mankind. It is a duty of nations and states to be above all narrow and selfseeking egoism and to work and make sacrifices for the whole of mankind.

As a Catholic bishop I must welcome with the most sincere satisfaction all the efforts and endeavours which the noble father of Christianity Pope Benedict XV has made for general peace. With joy and pride I maintain that nobody else understands the idea of peace with his whole heart and embraces it as our generally loved monarch. Posterity here and in the whole world will certainly have to acknowledge with gratitude that he was not only an apostle of peace but that with his faithful allies he has, after long efforts already partly succeeded in realizing his idea of peace.

I consider it however fortunate for the Austro-Hungarian monarchy that His Majesty has found, in the person of Count Czernin, a man suitable to carry out this idea. (Applause) The right man in the right place. Our Minister of External Affairs has understood the spirit of modern world history and the future rights of states and peoples so well that he must, in my opinion, be called the greatest statesman not only of all those our monarchy has ever had but also of all those whom the warring states can produce today. (Applause).

That all the sincerest and noble efforts of the Pope for peace have been disregarded by our opponents, that the Entente Powers have not even replied to his peace-note, is to their shame. The secret agreements, by which these Powers have mutually bound one another

to prevent the Holy See from participating in the general peace conference through its representatives are also unworthy. (*Very true*). That the Entente Powers fail to appreciate the generous ideas of His Majesty is a sign of the shortsightedness of their statesmen and a guarantee that our Minister of External Affairs will succeed in returning to Vienna with the laurels of not only the Rumania peace but also of the general peace.

I should like to express my joy at the fact that the Ukrainian People's Republic was the first with which peace was made by all the states and nations at war with us. The actual though unexpressed agreement of ideas between the Ukrainian People's Republic and the noble ruler of Christianity may be a sign that this state which stands on the threshold of oriental and occidental culture will fully approach the holy centre of Christianity. (Applause).

300 years ago, in the same town, Brest-Litovsk, an ecclesiastical congress of the hierarchy of the whole Ukrainian Church met, by virtue of which the Ukrainian Church was united with the Apostolic See. At that time the great work only succeeded on a very small scale. Despite the most dreadful persecution by the Russian Church and State and many errors and much negligence committed by those who were called upon to carry out the work and did not do so, the mission remains alive. The bloody persecutions of our people in Kholm and the Russian invasion of Galicia seem to mean the latest vicissitudes in the history of the Union. We thought we were witnesses of the complete destruction of our church and the last representatives of this idea. A wonderful change by the will of the Almighty revives hopes of a wider future. The happy ending of the war on this Front brings new hope for us in Galicia too. After the war we shall have to break with so much pernicious tradition, with so many abuses and incongruities. (Approval).

At the time when the right to existence was officially denied to us in Russia we had in our Austro-Hungarian monarchy the possibility at least of preserving the life of our nation and church. We confidently expect that at last we shall be given the opportunity to develop all our national forces under the sceptre of the Habsburg dynasty. We need this! We cannot survive without our own educational system, our own government. (*Hear! Hear!*) Through the blood which our people shed abundantly on the battlefields, through the unjust slander and indescribable suffering which our people have borne with patience, which I do not wish to mention today, we have certainly won this right and we demand this right. The great sense of justice of our noble and beloved Emperor, his great benevolence for all his people constitute for us the perfect guarantee that our claims will be fulfilled! Therefore I too shall vote for the vote of confidence for Count Czernin. (*Lively applause. Speaker is congratulated.*).

"MAN IS THE HIGHEST..."

A PERSONAL REPORT BY HEINZ GERULL

(Conclusion.)

WE WILL BE FASTER

It is well known that underground work in the coalpits is one of the hardest and most dangerous of all occupations, and requires healthy, strong men. Such requirements are simply ignored in the slave camps of the Soviet Union. The Gorky quotation which is often used for purposes of propaganda is made a ridicule of *ad absurdum* in Soviet practice. It is not man that it the highest in the Soviet system, but the Politbureau of the Russian Communist Party. If production increase is felt to be imperative, then it becomes an irrevocable measure carried out with ruthless indifference to human consequences. In hard labour camps, uniformed doctors unscrupulously give certificates of health to men who are not at all fitted for work in the pits. The quotas of the economic plan come before everything else. That these prisoners have to be given sufficient nourishment for the work demanded from them, is a matter of secondary importance.

On one occasion, when the camp doctor was informed that the friends of the kitchen personel were profiting from the daily food provisions and that as a consequence the coalmine workers received 'considerably reduced rations, he answered characteristically that Vorkuta was not exactly a sanatorium.

Apart from this, if work in the pits was impeded owing to accompanying circumstances such as darkness, wetness or danger to life, then life in the pits became a torture. Alone the change into one's ragged working clothes, which were always filthy and damp, required an act of will. Accordingly, the number of accidents owing to slave-driving practices, insufficient safety precautions and reckless working of the mines, was high.

It was not until 1951, when the prisoners began to receive a small compensation for their work, and until 1953, when it became possible to shorten one's prison term by increased production, that some prisoners found a certain incentive in coalmining. Until that

time, every prisoner had his own methods of steering clear of the Moloch. Depending upon the degree of desperation, some inflicted wounds on their own bodies and others chopped off a finger or a hand. Still others smoked drugs or drank their own urine in order to produce attacks of fever, and thus be declared unfit for work. There were also some who were experts in simulating flegmone by drawing woollen threads soaked in excrement or gasoline underneath their skin. The most desperate drank the expectorations of prisoners diseased with tuberculosis. In that way they succeeded in spending months at a time in the dispensary. I know such "strategists" who carried on this game for years. Their success lay in their ability to subdue their natural feelings.

A young German prisoner had hit upon an unusual method of avoiding work. He knew how to engage the interest of the coalmine management with suggestions for improvement. He proposed, for instance, the construction of a machine for planting props. The foreman in charge of his pit freed him from underground work, furnished him with an office and supplied him with money and food. He even hoped for a premium. Whatever else he may have gotten from this original idea, he certainly succeeded in keeping himself out of the pits for a week.

Less original, yet all the more humiliating, were the antics of General von Bergen, commander of the former 4th anti-aircraft artillery. An invalid confined to quarters, his constant hunger drove him at each midday meal to make a headstand in the messhall for everybody's amusement. For this feat he received a thin cabbage soup from the young Ukrainian cook. The ex-General also darned the socks of the criminals for bread and tobacco. If only his "Fuehrer" had witnessed that...

With stupid regularity one day passed into another and added up to endless weeks, months and years. Sufficient opportunity to reflect upon the bitter fact that we were the victims of Russian tyranny and had become living corpses.

One day upon my return from work, I was sought out by the messenger boy of the head of the security police.

"The captain desires to speak to you."

"What does he want?"

"He'll tell you himself."

I was immediately ill at ease. To be summoned by the most hated officer of the camp administration, certainly did not promise anything good. What did he want with me of all people? My fellow prisoners also asked me that, giving me their good wishes as I left.

The young, blond captain was sitting at his desk with cold tranquillity as I closed the soundproof double door. To hold such a position as security officer at such a young age, that was no mean accomplishment and presupposed special confidence in his ability.

He had enough experience to perceive my real concern hidden beneath my façade of detachment. Following a number of unimportant questions, the answers to which he could just as well have looked up in my files, he stated:

"We have information to the effect that even here in camp you have not put a stop to your anti-Soviet agitation. The evidence is being investigated by operation headquarters. If you don't change your attitude, I'm going to have you put in prison.

"It's not your hope, by any chance, is it?" he continued ironically, "that the Americans will liberate you here?"

"Don't cherish any illusions — we will be faster."

What was meant by that I knew from my war experiences. When German troops advanced, the Soviet Russians simply shot the political prisoners confined in prisons and hard labour camps to preclude the possibility of their fighting with the enemy.

COMPARISON

I was overjoyed to have come out of this encounter so well, and I looked up my friend S., a Jew and former *Pravda* editor, who spoke fluent German. On charges of alleged anti-Soviet propaganda, he had already spent many years in prison and hoped to be released soon. We had become good friends, the so-called Fascist and the Jew. After work we often discussed problems of interest until the early hours of the morning. Apart from a Ukrainian who was also an intimate friend, he was the only person I could really rely upon, owing to the large number of informers in the camp.

"It would be best for you to realize that upon your arrest, you were caught in the snares of the devil", he stated.

"Just think of the position of a Jew, whose bestial mass extermination by the SS was not less abominable than the Bolshevik methods. The Nazis exterminated six million Jews. Under an humanitarian guise, the Soviet Russians are much more brutal to 20 million prisoners, whom they systematically ordain to death in long-term hard labour sentences.

"The Soviet Union pretends to be a multi-national state. Yet, anti-Semitism is to be encountered here more than in any other country. Moscow's principles regarding nationality do not accord the Jews an independent minority status. The law against religious propaganda also prohibits the use of the Hebrew language for purposes of prayer, as well as for teaching in everyday life.

"This hostility is also directed against Israel. The Soviet encyclopaedia designates Israel as a bourgeois state, governed by a capitalist dictatorship, a republic established by Washington and London, an Anglo-American base in the Near East."

He took a sip of his tea and continued: "One of Stalin's last acts was a skilfully contrived blow against the Jews. It was begun by no longer admitting Jews to the teaching staff of various universities; he also blocked their career as low and high-ranking officers.

"At that time, when an Israeli delegation visited the Soviet Union and proposed to the government that Jews living in the Soviet Union be given emigration permits, many cities posted registers and Jews desiring to leave the Soviet Union signed in. On the designated day of departure, they were packed off to Leningrad, where they were sentenced to 25 years' hard labour on charges of treason."

THE MOST REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALS — THE UKRAINIANS

If Stalin's death in March of 1953 created a state of uncertainty in the Soviet hierarchy, the subsequent affair centered about the all-powerful GPU chief, Beria, gave the dissatisfied elements of the population a sudden and unexpected impetus. These elements, whether workers reduced to a state of slavery, peasants groaning under the kolkhoz system or brutally treated prisoners, all hoped that this was a favourable turn of events which would lead to the collapse of the system.

This was a particularly hopeful moment for the inmates of hard labour camps. They form an army of workers, which is an important factor in the fulfilment of production quotas in industry. From the very beginning these camps were the reservoirs of dissatisfied elements of all categories.

The sudden change at the top and the instability which could be felt all along the line down to the most insignificant functionary, prompted the individual resistance groups to take the offensive. Something incomprehensible had taken place: Stalin had been denounced as an enemy of the people.

"An enemy of the people passed judgment on us — we demand that our sentences be rescinded!"

The Ukrainians, the most revolutionary of the nationals, played the leading role in this movement. Shortly before, a transport consisting of two thousand men, Ukrainians from the penal colony of Karaganda, was distributed throughout the Vorkuta camps. These Ukrainians were to become a nightmare for the governor of Vorkuta, General Derevyanko.

In all pits coal output suddenly diminished. The coal carts were returned to the surface empty with the inscription: "*First Freedom — then Coal!*"

Illegal strike committees composed of representatives of various nations were formed, slogans calling for the discontinuation of work

were posted everywhere, and proclamations listing prisoners' demands were published. A hopeful expectancy filled the air.

Things came to a head during the last week of July 1953 in pit No. 29 located in the north district of Vorkuta. The brigades of the day shift resolutely refused to go to work. All attempts at negotiation on the part of the camp administration came to nothing. The indispensable operations in coalmines had to be carried out by civilian residents.

The stopping of the wheels of the winding tower was the hopefully anticipated signal for the adjoining pits to declare their solidarity with their fellow prisoners of pit no. 29.

In those days of the strike, the camp suddenly became a community of peoples. There were neither "Ivans" nor "Fritzes" — a feeling of brotherhood took possession of everybody. Exemplary discipline marked the life of the camp. The instructions of the strike committee were strictly adhered to. Even the criminals followed suit. The desire to rebel against the slave-drivers gripped each and every prisoner.

In the meantime the strike committee of camp 29 had issued instructions that the camp was off limits to all personnel with the exception of the camp commander, the mess officer and the medical officer. Amazingly enough, this order was obeyed by the men in uniform.

On the very next day, however, several companies of soldiers were brought in — in the meantime, a total of eight pits having a daily output of approximately 1000 tons of coal at that time had struck. The soldiers took up positions around the barbed wire fence of the camp grounds and set up machine guns and trench mortars. A number of striking prisoners patrolled along the inside of the barbed wire enclosure to prevent weapons from being smuggled into the camp, for then the soldiers could claim they fired in self-defence.

Two days later General Derevyanko appeared and promised the prisoners some concessions if they would return to work. They merely laughed at him. Over long years of prison, these men had countless opportunities to learn just how empty Soviet promises were. Now they demanded tangible proof. In camp-pit No. 2 two kilometres away, the strikers had raised a blue-yellow flag on the roof of the messhall. Passengers of the train which ran past that location could recognize the slogan painted in large letters on the barrack roofs — "*Freedom or Death.*" As an expression of sympathy, the engineer sounded his steam whistle and the passengers waved.

When a large number of prisoners attempted to storm the prison to liberate the inmates, a squad of alerted soldiers under the command of a lieutenant appeared and set up a machine gun to hold back the defenceless crowd. *However, not a single soldier obeyed the*

order to fire. The officer had no other choice than to fire himself. Two prisoners were killed and a number were wounded by a volley.

In an improvised funeral service on the next day, the two murdered prisoners were paid last honours in an impressive procession by the entire camp.

One week passed — then a commission sent from Moscow arrived under leadership of General Maslennikov, at that time deputy Minister for State Security, member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and twice-over "Hero of the Soviet Union." (He has no longer appeared in public since then and at the following Party Congress he was not reelected.)

The Soviet prosecuting attorney Rudenko, who first became known to the West through his appearance at the Nuremberg trials, where he served as prosecuting attorney for the Soviet Union, was also a member of this commission.

Benches were set up in an open court of the camp and the prisoners were called together for a meeting. While General Derevyanko opened the meeting and presented the Minister, special members of the commission made films to be able later to identify the strikers for sentencing.

"Comrades!" the corpulent Soviet hero began, and unbuttoned his uniform for he was already perspiring. "Comrades" — what an insult!

He announced that far-reaching prison reforms were being worked out by the government. He, however, was not authorized to discuss the details. His empty words were lost in the derisive laughter of the two and half thousand prisoners who had assembled for this meeting.

Making a pretence to democratic practices, he unexpectedly let the prisoners have the floor. What high-ranking Kremlin officials now had to hear from several nations, would have caused astonishment even in a constitutional state.

"Long enough you have leeches us. We've had enough! We don't believe you. Only after you have reviewed our cases individually, will we go back to work", a Ukrainian threw in his teeth. On a given signal, the prisoners dispersed leaving the disconcerted negotiators behind.

Next day the strikers observed unusual operations on the other side of the barbed wire. Several fire engines from the Vorkuta fire department as well as ambulances with civilian doctors and nurses were driven up.

Shortly thereafter the overseers with their attendants appeared once again, backed up by a battalion of soldiers who encircled the camp. The deputy Minister for State Security was not present this time.

On the camp street the crowded together and penned in prisoners waited to see what would happen.

Suddenly, the large gates were opened and General Derevyanko's voice could be heard over a loudspeaker: "Comrade prisoners! We appeal to you for the last time to put an end to your strike. Those who are prepared to take up work again, are requested to come out of the camp. They will not be punished!"

Some twenty creatures timidly sneaked past their fellow sufferers out of the camp.

The mass of prisoners cried out: "*Freedom or Death!*"

Thereupon the Prosecutor-General of the USSR Rudenko stepped forward and fired a warning shot from his pistol. Immediately the soldiers opened fire and discharged aimed shots into the rows of prisoners. It was a macabre blood bath. Sixty-five prisoners were instantly killed. Thirty severely wounded died a short time later, among them three Germans. The number of slightly wounded could not be easily estimated.

While the fire department busied itself with washing away the pools of blood from the camp street, the soldiers cut through the outer barbed wire barricade and cudgelled the "comrades" out of the camp like a herd of animals.

In the central court several members of the commission had posted themselves on tables in the meantime. At their feet sat a number of camp informers, who separated their fellow prisoners into two groups, guilty and not-guilty, as they filed by. The first group received summary sentences ranging up to ten years and were immediately transported to heavily guarded special camps.

This organized mass murder was executed at a time when Stalin was already dead and his secret service chief, Beria, was awaiting his death sentence in prison. The order was given by the Prosecutor-General of the Soviet Union on instruction received from the government.

In my camp the strike was not pushed any further. *Nonetheless, one morning, together with 70 Ukrainian rebels, I, the only German among them, was pulled out of bed, loaded onto a truck and transported to a concentration camp.*

Guarded by machine guns set up on the outside, the strike leaders of various camps had been collected here. Without making any attempt to establish whether and to what degree we were guilty, everyone of us received "three years for active and passive participation in the strike in Vorkuta."

A few days later the news leaked out that the "Voice of America" had broadcast a report on the strike in Vorkuta.

Vorkuta was the last phase of a large strike wave, which had spread over from the Siberian and Asian deportation regions, where armed engagements had taken place. Casualties were heavy, even in women camps.

Khrushchov and Voroshilov had flown to these regions to negotiate a settlement.

It is not likely that reports of the second and more successful strike in Vorkuta in the summer of 1955 reached the outside world. But a comparison with the 1953 strike is instructive.

Again it was the Ukrainians, the most dynamic prisoner contingent, who instigated this strike. This time the demand was: free access to the outside of the camp and annulment of the arbitrary sentences received for alleged war crimes.

Whereas eight camp-pits took part in the 1953 strike, all the pits of Vorkuta joined in this strike. In contrast to the first strike, the tactics of the prisoners were more flexible this time. All prisoners reported to work in an orderly fashion — but no one did a stitch of work. This sort of passive resistance made it difficult for the hated authorities to deal with the situation.

This had a surprising effect. In camp-pit No. 7 the camp commandant complied with the first demand within a few hours and had the camp gates opened, giving the prisoners free access to the grounds outside the camp. The prisoners were suspect of this prompt compliance. They were inclined to look upon it as a trap. No one wanted to be the first to avail himself of this new freedom for fear that he would be shot in the back. Nothing of the sort happened. It later became known that the Central Committee had issued instructions that the strike was to be broken at all cost without endangering human life.

Moscow was not slow in adapting itself to the new tactics. A special battalion was flown in from Kirov. In the early morning hours the soldiers cut a passage through the barbed wire fence and cudgelled the drowsy strikers out of the camp — the wolfhounds which had been brought along did the rest. Only in the camp of pit No. 12, there were four casualties on both sides. The bruised and weary coalminers resolved to give up further action. Thus this mass strike was crushed after one week. (A short time later a number of prisoners who were guilty of political offences during the war were amnestied.)

THE UNRIVALLED COURAGE OF THE UKRAINIANS

After the first strike a special penal camp was erected in Vorkuta for political prisoners.

The small and especially heavily guarded camp, which engaged an alternating staff of some two hundred men, was subdivided into three restricted zones: the cell building, a zone in which barracks with barred windows had been erected and a general zone, in which the offices were also located. Depending upon the form of the offence, a prisoner was confined in one of these three zones for a period up to one year. Meals were more than miserable and the staff was a strange mixture. All those who even as prisoners took a defiant stand towards their tormentors, were confined here by the various security sections: leaders of illegal resistance groups, political vehmic murderers, saboteurs, etc. *Idealism, courage and an unbending stand towards their political antagonists, was especially characteristic of the Ukrainians. If we had more such patriots in Western Europe, then there would be no need to concern ourselves with Communist infiltration.*

Today I am grateful to my tormentors for my confinement in this camp; living together with these heroic Ukrainian freedom-fighters and experts on the Soviet system, was of great value to me.

For many weeks I was confined in a cell together with Colonel M., a serious Russian of about 50. During the war he had been a member of Marshal Rokossovsky's staff, and later was given a position in the Ministry for State Security; in 1948, he became a victim of a Stalinist purge and was sentenced to 25 years' hard labour.

When it became more and more apparent that foreign prisoners were to be repatriated, I asked Colonel M. to tell me about his experiences with Communism so that I might enlighten the West.

"I would most happy to give you pertinent information concerning the actual state of affairs in our country, but you must understand that I strongly desire to live in peace in the future", he declined. "A publication of my statements would very soon be known in Moscow."

Needless to say I understood his feelings. Nonetheless, I cannot desist from mentioning one of his accounts.

At the outbreak of the war, Major Rokossovsky, a former graduate of a Red Army military academy, was serving a five-year sentence in a camp located in the Pechora area. He was made use of as a messenger boy by the camp commander. The successes of the German army prompted Stalin to activate a unit consisting of volunteer prisoners.

If they showed their mettle at the front, they were promised amnesty; Konstantin Konstantinovich Rokossovsky was appointed their commander. The prisoners had nothing to lose and so they made a good show of themselves in action. It was their commander, however, who received all the credit. At the end of the war, those

who had managed to survive were shipped back to their penal camp in full armament. The former messenger boy had become a decorated Marshal of the Soviet Union.

By request of the Ukrainian inmates of the camp, a fellow countryman and I took it upon ourselves to see to the cleaning and heating of the administration barracks. This entitled us to live in one of the numerous rooms, and thus to observe and keep an eye on camp informers. One winter night we were roused out of sleep by a strong smell of smoke, which was oozing through the crack of the door.

"Fire!"

The gable was already in flames. The alerted fire department had great difficulty in subduing the blaze, for all the hydrants were frozen stiff. The property damage amounted to several thousand roubles.

In the cleaning up process a dagger was found still intact. On the following day three security officers initiated an investigation. The evidence pointed to arson. This was difficult to understand, especially in view of the fact that all barracks were barred at night; two Lithuanians who acted as fire-guards were the only persons who had liberty to move about the camp. When camp headquarters announced that all inmates could be taken to prison, *the Ukrainians* subjected the two fire-guards to a special hearing. Even for our standards, the outcome was startling. What was learned?

For many years these two fire-guards had served as camp informers for operation headquarters. Two days before the fire they had been summoned by a security officer and ordered to smuggle the weapon into the barrack at night and to set fire "over the sleeping quarters of the two Germans." For this they were promised amnesty.

This provocation was to serve as a pretext to have the rebels, who were particularly troublesome in the labour camps, isolated in a prison. The death by fire of two Germans would not have been too high a price to realize this aim. "Man is the highest..."

It wasn't until the first packages of the German Red Cross arrived that the German prisoners began to enjoy some respect. Until then, they were looked upon as fascists, without exception. The envy which Western gifts aroused in both guards and commanders alike, made amends for many indignities.

Unfortunately, their admiration did not stop at envy. The theft of packages increased. In the winter of 1954, a band of post office employees was arrested in Vorkuta. Their audacity knew no bounds: 4000 stolen packages within three months. In town, officers' wives had the affrontery to wear warm slippers which had not at all been intended for their use — they had been taken from German packages.

LIVING CEMETERY

Such matters were not to concern us much longer. That foreign prisoners were to be returned to their native countries, did not remain a secret very long. More and more our talk centred around our return to Germany. The misgivings of the superstitious prisoners were given fuel when, of all days, the first batch was hastily called together on the 13th day of the month. Rumour had become an exciting reality. As we sat in our prison train and watched the polar region disappear behind us and the new landscape begin to come to life, we exalted in the grotesque fact that we of all prisoners, inmates of a penal camp, were being shoved off before the others.

At Inta, a town 350 kilometres southwest of Vorkuta, a transit camp had been set up for the amnestied prisoners.

Two months later a transport train was put together from freight cars and a meal coach. Trucks brought provisions, straw-mattresses and luggage. At last, we started.

In fantasy everyone was already at home. What would it be like? How many disappointments would we experience after an absence of so many years? How would we be able to adjust to the new life? Long years of hard labour had already shattered the hopes and ambitions of many.

But these were secondary questions for the moment. One thing was sure: homecoming would be a rebirth. And suddenly, for the first time in many years, we began to laugh, joke and sing...

An unexpected layover in Potma, in the Mordovian Autonomous Soviet Republic, caused our spirits to sink precipitately. One never knew what to expect. We had more than one occasion to learn the precariousness of Soviet Russian intentions. So what, nichevo! The main thing is, we're out of that cursed polar region!

While all the others were transferred to a special camp for foreigners, I, together with several friends, was isolated in an invalid camp.

On entering this camp, I had the feeling that in the last phase of a prison term, which certainly had not been uneventful, I was not to be spared some last horror-ridden impression. This camp was one of Soviet Russia's living cemeteries. Of some seven hundred human wrecks, the youngest inmate was 50 and the oldest 96. During long periods of prison confinement, everyone of them had been inflicted with some serious infirmity: paralysis, loss of sight, amputation, etc.

If only the Communists of other countries and satellites of the Soviet Union could get a single glimpse of camp 8 of Potma! A living manifestation of how humanity is really practised must give

pause for thought. Morning after morning, under heavy guard, these old men make their way to work on primitively self-constructed artificial limbs. The policy employed is: "He who does not work, shall not eat." A heart-rending sight.

We appeared like fabulous beings to these poor souls. The small gifts which we had given to them from our packages, probably endeared us to them forever.

In such moments, though one does not have a feeling of hatred towards those who are responsible for the fate of these people, one wishes them a severe judgment, and one has the deep desire to make every effort to open the eyes of the free world to this inhumanity.

SECRETS

"Actually, I am a fellow countryman of yours", a cultivated man said to me in perfect German one day. Vladimir K. was employed as the director of the amateur theatre group.

Vladimir was regarded as a Russian emigrant. During the October Revolution his parents fled to France. He was born there. He appeared in vaudeville theatres throughout Europe.

In the winter of 1944, he was performing at the *Wintergarten* in Berlin. Several months later, when Soviet troops occupied Berlin, he was arrested as a Russian by the secret police. For the time being he was sent to Sachsenhausen, the concentration camp taken over from the Nazis; he was sentenced on charges of treason, though he had never seen this country.

In Sachsenhausen, K. fell in with the cultural group which had been organized by Heinrich George, who was also an inmate there. Allegedly, Vladimir was one of George's friends. In the autumn of 1946, Heinrich George died on suppuration of the appendix. On his death bed he disclosed a secret to his Russian colleague.

George told him that following the attempt on Hitler's life on July 20, 1944, he was summoned by Goebbels, who charged him to prepare a double of the "Fuehrer" as soon as possible. He complied with this order. Upon closer investigation, however, it appears more than likely that George's persuasion was illusionary.

"Make use of this information when you get back to Germany. Also tell them that this camp was once a prisoner-of-war camp, and that two kilometres from here there is a cemetery where eight thousand German prisoners of war are buried", he told me in parting.

DEPARTURE AND RETURN

I received many similar expressions of sympathy before finally departing for my native country.

Everyone of the old men who could move about to some extent, turned out for our departure. We were surrounded on all sides. A Latvian came up to me. "As an ally I want to give you a piece of information before separating. In the winter of 1945/46, my brother was the engineer of a freight train with firmly sealed 60 ton cars to Tula. The freight were corpses of German soldiers. Perhaps this information will help to bring certainty to many relatives", he added.

With tears in their eyes, these invalids embraced and congratulated us. "Tell them in the West that millions of people are praying for liberation — nor will the new policies of the government change anything. As a Russian saying has it: 'The wolf changes its hair, but it always remains what it is.'

What was it Maxim Gorky said...

Undoubtedly, the Soviet Union has many more faces than some other states. I got to know only one of them, that of the hard labour camp. But this face I came to know intimately. It can only be hoped that, despite the military regime, political prisoners will meet with more humanity under the reorganized collective leadership.

HIDIGEIGEI CAME ALONG FROM VORKUTA

Dear reader, you remember:

Ten years ago, thousands of repatriated German prisoners passed through the provisional reception camp *Friedland* near Goettingen; with hearts full of emotion they experienced a rebirth: men and women, ex-soldiers and patriots who had to pay for their convictions with long years of slavery behind barbed wire. Among them there were also prominent personalities, or those who thought they were.

If this term applies here, it applies in the truest sense of the word to Hidigeigei. He was neither a General nor a dignitary — only a young Siberian tom-cat...

It happened in a Soviet penal colony beyond the Arctic Circle. A handful of German prisoners were also among the inmates. Because they resolutely refused to take part in the arduous underground work of mining coal for the Leningrad armament industry, they were regarded as agitators and rigidly isolated under heavy guard from those who were willing to work.

Our life was taken up in resistance to the chicanery of our oppressors, until one winter day, we hit upon a touching idyll in a nook of a rundown barrack — a female cat with two kittens. Emaciated and shivering, she was making a futile effort to protect her younglings against the bitter cold.

It was a pathetic sight. Helpless creatures in a ruthless world

Followed by the concerned and suspicious mother, I tucked the two kittens under my jacket and carried them to my bunk where I affectionately went about preparing them a place to sleep.

For a few moments my ugly environment was forgotten. These forsaken creatures possessed all my concern and ingenuity. There was no doubt that our "protégés" were hungry. What was to be done? They didn't eat cabbage soup, they didn't smoke Machorka cigarettes — what else was there? What was to be done to keep them alive? With serious countenances, we discussed the matter.

The unusual situation took the men completely by surprise. Everyone rummaged among his utensils. The yield was pitiable: a bit of fat meat and fish. When our four-legged fellow creatures greedily fell upon this meagre fare, our faces brightened.

Little by little we had learned to cope with life in a penal camp, but how to deal with kittens was a completely new challenge. Thus we were all deeply pained when, shortly afterwards, notwithstanding our affectionate care, one of the younglings passed away. All sorts of medicine procured from the dispensary under the most impossible pretexts, failed to help our little patient. I had no regrets about my soiled blanket.

With increased devotion we dedicated ourselves to Hidigeigei, who was named after the novel, *Der Trompeter von Saeckingen*. He at least had to live. I made a collection among my fellow-prisoners of all nations to procure cereal on the black market. The responses of the prisoners were diverse and interesting. Some remained deaf to my appeal, while others were possessed by a mad devotion and squabbled among one another for the honour of being permitted to care for Hidigeigei. That they used their own spoon to feed the kitten, did not appear to matter.

Bleeding souls sought to regain their health and sanity through this creature. Finally, our efforts were crowned. He began to thrive, our favourite. He had already exchanged his cereal for mice. Long, sharp claws and temperament marked the Siberian descent. He remained faithful to his "cat-father", which I had become for my little comrade. His home after a successful hunt was beneath my blanket. His contented purring proved that he was no poor chooser.

I had grown so fond of him that I simply hadn't the heart to leave him to his fate when I was released. I wanted to buy him the choicest morsels in the free world! I also wanted to bring about his naturalization in West Berlin.

And so it came to pass, after manifold difficulties, that Hidigeigei and I reached Germany. Upon our arrival at the repatriation camp, he became the centre of attention in no time. Magazine photographers "snapped" their fingers half numb at the little fellow, who reacted to these unusual attacks by attempting to effect his escape.

It is not always exactly easy to become a prominent personality. Just how famous one he had become, is evidenced by the numerous letters received from all segments of the population following the appearance of his picture in various newspapers and magazines. The "cat-father" was offered honorary membership in the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and Hidgegei received touching material and monetary contributions.

Now he had them — his choice morsels; now he leads a contemplative emigrant existence.

His pretty cat eyes probably had no notion of the meaning of the tears which welled up in the eyes of his protector who was overwhelmed by so much sympathy.

Note. In the transit camp *Friedland*, the author gave a radio interview on the strikes in Vorkuta. Within a few weeks, his name appeared on the wanted list of the Soviet-zone security police for "endangerment of peace." Thus, the statements made in the preface were confirmed.

ONE AND A HALF YEARS LATER

The condition of the author's health, which had suffered under long years of prison life, had begun to improve and his efforts to make a new start were showing definite signs of success, when one day he was unexpectedly called in for questioning. The Bavarian legal authorities deemed it necessary to follow up the idle chatter of a repatriated prisoner, and to initiate legal proceedings against him and four companions on charges of attempted murder. He was accused of having staged an assault with intent to murder a German camp informer in a hard labour camp in Vorkuta.

In this comedy there was neither a corpse nor any other incriminating evidence. The fact that the author denied any form of complicity and also produced excellent character witnesses, was not enough to keep him from being detained for several weeks in solitary confinement in the Berlin-Moabit prison.

The wheels of legal machinery turn slowly... After almost two years the attorney-general in Nuremberg finally terminated the proceedings, which were being financed "by the exchequer." All those who had a hand in this matter were convinced and satisfied that they had done their duty. With the exception of those concerned.

For two years legal proceedings hung over their heads. Accused of a capital crime! Two valuable, wasted years full of impatience, during which all occupational possibilities were blocked until a clarification and decision had been reached in this case. And yet, apart from meaningless words of regret, no one was prepared to mitigate the grotesque injustice of these severely tested men.

It is not always an honour to live in a constitutional state.

V. DAVYDENKO

THE SOCIAL DISEASE OF OUR TIME

The constantly growing problem of juvenile delinquency and immorality which causes such unrest in Western society, is not restricted to the West only. This problem is a canker in the whole of the contemporary world, countries ruled by the Communists not excluded.

So also in the Soviet Union — a country in which Communist propaganda not all so long ago had announced with victorious fanfares that this problem was almost solved — this ringing note so sure of victory has been somewhat altered. It is no wonder therefore that even in the Soviet press, which certainly knows how to disguise reality in every possible way and to mask the shady side of life, a permanent column devoted to crimes was introduced.

But the nature of this Communist analysis of young people, we would like to consider somewhat more closely in the following lines.

In the Kyiv *Robitnycha hazeta* (*Workers' Newspaper*) we read, in the Sept. 8, 1965, edition: "Kremenchuk. Evening. Young married couple on their way home. Suddenly they were attacked by five youths, beaten without reason and stabbed with knives. On the very same evening the malefactors attacked two further people. Only after this were they arrested by the police"... I. Bondarenko, deputy Minister for Protection of Public Order in the Soviet Ukraine, who wrote this article, pointed out in it that similar instances also from the regions of Kyiv, Ternopil, Kharkiv, Chernihiv, existed in abundance.

In the semi-official organ of the Central Committee of the CPSU *Pravda*, dated 11 May 1965, an incident with a military doctor is described, who attempted in Rostov on the Don to defend a girl against young louts. "Vit'ka, hit him" shouted one of them and they all fell upon the doctor, threw him to the ground and trampled on him. A crowd of gaping spectators gathered round, following the

scene without doing or saying anything, as if a circus programme were taking place before their eyes. 'Help, comrades!' called the half-conscious doctor. 'Why are you fighting with children?' screamed a woman hysterically from the crowd."

In the very same *Pravda* dated 6 June, 1965, we read of an 18-year old youth, Sorokun, who in the street attacked and cruelly beat the Komsomol official, Tokarenko and the girl he was with; we read of a certain Sporykhin who completely in the open threatened a waitress in a restaurant with a knife; of a group of drivers, who formed a criminal gang and robbed passers-by...

The *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (No. 45) informs us: on July 8, 1965, L. Tsytsorin, K. Grishin, M. Lupadin and V. Ilnytskyi killed an engineer, A. Havrylchenko, in Kharkiv, in No. 39, Ordzonikidze Prospect, on the steps, about midnight. Reason: after he had seen the youths a little drunk, he would not let them enter the house next door, where he had hidden their terrified girl friend.

Not long ago one could read in the Soviet press a report, certainly not very clear, of an attack on a police-station by louts. In fact it wasn't an attack, but a siege which lasted some hours. It would seem clear that such an operation could hardly be carried out simply with a knife; but they were probably not "Teddy boys" but rather "Freedom fighters", who had been confused with deliberate evil intent with the term "Teddy boys."

In the newspaper *Molod Ukraïny* (*Youth of Ukraine*) we read of a young man, who had run away from his school and near Ivano-Frankiv'sk, on the banks of the Bystrytsia, organised in the forest a "centre", which later on performed all kinds of "merry pranks" in the whole district. In time this centre split into two feuding groups. What actually is meant by "merry pranks", is not mentioned by the newspaper.

It is interesting that the majority of comments on reports of this kind give boredom as the cause of these vicious actions. Thus one of the arrested members of Ivano-Frankiv'sk gang said to the examining judge: "Everything is terribly boring in our street." The author of the report on this gang ends with the words: "I tried a few dozen houses in Karl Marx street, in the Sovietskiy district of Moscow (What names! — author) and stood also in the squares, and everywhere I was met by this oppressive, grey boredom."¹

¹) Conditions are similar in the satellite countries. Not long ago a Warsaw broadcast came out with demand to the authorities to start concentration camps for young louts who attack passers-by in broad daylight and half kill them. "Imprisonment — so declared the speaker on this broadcast — doesn't help. They have to be put into work camps, where they will build roads and eat dry bread!". As the broadcaster confirmed, there are not a few sons of well-off and influential parents, among the young people who make themselves a nuisance.

Disillusion with life and people, lack of ideas, and spiritual emptiness are the characteristics of some letters to the editors of Soviet newspapers. Thus we read for example in the Moscow *Izvestia* of 16 June, 1965, in a letter from the 18-year old student Rai K. as follows: I am disgusted by all the talk about people with glorious souls. I just cannot believe in it any more. Indeed, are there such people at all? Once I did believe in the beautiful, in the bright and the pure, but whomever I meet, he is either a cynic or an egoist. I have even tried to do something useful for mankind. But I couldn't help seeing that none at all paid the slightest attention. Now I simply do not interest myself at all any more. I live like a hermit..."

In the same newspaper a young teacher from Kerch, whose name was not given, wrote on 13 May, 1965:

"Dear comrades! Listen to me! I cannot go on. I am one of the young pioneer leaders who were later active workers among the Communist youth and who believed that tomorrow Communism would arrive. I also tried to implant this conviction into my school children. Unfortunately many of them find my optimism completely incomprehensible and even for me it has become rather hard, after difficult and heated disputes, to keep it up. All that the school children say is right and they say a lot..."

This is no longer a case of a gang, of boredom, but the clear consequences of this vacuum of ideas, in which Communist youth finds itself today.

After the campaign carried out in the Soviet Union against the teddy-boys, under the slogan of "Make the ground under their feet hot!", "law-breakers are to be mercilessly punished!", among others, the attitude in the party has to all appearances been altered.

In July, 1965, the editor of the Kharkiv monthly *Prapor* (*The Banner*) organised a special conference, attended by the trustees, lawyers, representatives of Komsomol, police, writers, and teachers. The whole tone of this conference differed radically from the slogans under which the struggle against juvenile delinquency was carried on not so long before.

Although in the report in the *Prapor* there is no lack of hackneyed propaganda phrases directed against the West (e.g. "in the stone jungles of America every five minutes some murders, robberies and rapes take place"), against the cult of the "Golden Devil", "the difference between rich and poor", — the previous official explanation for juvenile delinquency in the USSR is rejected. "The juridical dogmatists" — we read in the journal — "have for a long time always claimed that crime in our state can be traced back to the last vestiges of surviving capitalism. The obvious nonsense of this claim is clear to see: a part of the malefactors is formed by young

people who know nothing at all of the spirit of capitalism; consequently they cannot be infected by its germ."

The Soviet authorities are now coming round to the view that "the causes of this anti-social behaviour are to be sought not only in the negative influences of the past or from abroad."

It was stated at the conference that such "crimes as vicious rowdiness, murder, rape occur even in the case of those with relatively high standards of living", and also in the case of children of the "New Class", about which Djilas has written. The lawyer Z. Drunin, who also took part in the conference, stated that during his 20 years as a lawyer "there were very few cases where the young delinquents came from the poor classes. What happened was the opposite: excessive wealth was in most cases to blame."

Among the causes of criminality mention was also made of the completely unsatisfactory housing conditions, the absence of sufficient numbers of youth-clubs, sports-grounds, divorced parents, the lack of care by parents in the upbringing of their children, the influence of criminal elements and the reason which was by far the most quoted — alcohol. The negative influence of criminal films was also mentioned.

"The severity of punishment alone" — it was stated at the conference — "will not put an end to the work of the criminal. What is necessary for this is not severe penalties but preventive measures, for evil cannot be driven away by evil. When in olden times criminals were put in public places with their hands chained, the infuriated crowds of people regarded the criminals with a flood of indignation. But today the death penalty is in force for acts of violence and yet these outrages are becoming more and more common..."

Uneasiness was caused at the conference by the general state of Soviet schools, especially the evening schools. "The evening schools", stated one of the speakers in the discussion, "are ceasing to be an organ of education..."

After long years of bitter experience the Soviet education experts came to the interesting conclusion: "Education here is directed towards masses. We lose in the mass the personality which must be brought up from the day of birth on. So a start must be made in the family."

Thus the circle of Soviet pedagogic thinking concerning the family has closed. It is the germ-cell from which the state organisation has to be developed.

The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



II

1 9 6 8

CONTENTS

<i>Jaroslav Stetzko</i> : IDEOLOGY AND PROGRAMME OF THE NEW UKRAINE	2
<i>Rostyslav Jendyk</i> : PETLURA AND KONOVALETS. In commemoration of the 42nd anniversary of the murder of Symon Petlura and 30th anniversary of the assassination of Evhen Konovalets by Moscow's agents	15
<i>R. Mlynovetsky</i> : UKRAINIAN-RUSSIAN RELATIONS	22
<i>Wolfgang Krahl</i> : THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH	38
LEGAL STATUS OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AFTER VATICAN II. Interview with Rev. George Maloney, S.J., by Dr. Nicholas D. Chubaty	51
MOCK TRIALS CONTINUE. OPEN LETTER FROM THE PRISONER M. HORYN TO THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE UKRAINIAN SSR, BILOKOLOS	56
<i>Professor Lew Shankowsky</i> : GERMAN SECURITY POLICE REPRISALS AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY O.U.N.	60
<i>Valentyna Woropay, M.A. (Lond.)</i> : THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1917-1918 (Continuation — 4)	67
<i>Dr. Stephan M. Horak</i> : THE PEACE TREATY WITH UKRAINE IN THE GERMAN PARLIAMENT	74
<i>Anatol W. Bedriy</i> : MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKYI — FIRST THEORETICIAN OF MODERN UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM. 2. The Writings of Mykola Mikhnovskyi (Continuation)	82
APPEAL OF THE ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIANS IN GREAT BRITAIN TO THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN TEHERAN	90

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
 "The Ukrainian Review",
 200 Liverpool Road,
 London, N.1.

Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration),
 c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
 49 Linden Gardens,
 London, W.2.

Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
 P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation,
 140 Bathurst Street, Toronto 2B, Ont.

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XV No. 2

Summer 1968

A Quarterly Magazine

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Professor Dr. Vasyl Oreletzkyj
Chairman of the Board

Mrs. Slava Stetzko, M.A.
Editor

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk, B.A., B.Litt.
Executive Editor

Professor Lew Shankowsky
Associate Editor

Michael Sosnowsky, B.A., B.L.S.
Associate Editor

Professor Nicolas Chirovsky
Associate Editor

Anatol Bedriy, M.A.
Associate Editor

Price: 7s 6d a single copy

Annual Subscription:	£1.10.0	\$6.00
Six Months	15.0	\$3.00

Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. (U.S.A)
and
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.

Jaroslav STETZKO

IDEOLOGY AND PROGRAMME OF THE NEW UKRAINE

Ukraine, a revolutionary problem of world importance

The Ukraine makes for revolution and radical changes in the system of world politics, both in the ideological and the geopolitical sense. The dynamic Ukrainian nation, fully conscious of its vocation, indomitable and invincible, full of spirited initiative and rich in economic resources, fulfils its historical mission in the fight against Bolshevism. Chronologically, Ukraine stands with the vanguard in the battle for the destruction of the Russian empire and the Communist system. In conjunction with the achievement of Ukrainian sovereignty in a state separated from Russia, following the disintegration of the Russian empire and the total destruction of Bolshevism as the synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, the political map of the whole world will undergo fundamental changes.

In view of the ideological, political, cultural and religious crises, as well as the crisis in the social institutions of the West and particularly of the Russian and communist world, it must be emphasized that the militant Ukraine is determined to bring back into currency idealistic human values and eternal divine truths, respect for the concepts of human dignity, fatherland, heroic humanism and liberating nationalism, to restore the ideals of full national sovereignty and independence, and to uphold the right to sovereignty of every nation of the world. At the same time, the militant Ukraine condemns a priori imperialism and colonialism as manifestations diametrically opposed to nationalism, and regards as the main purpose of every political and social measure that it should provide a real

guarantee for the universal rights of man and for the establishment of social justice, in accordance with the basic nationalist ideal of harmony and cooperation within and among nations.

This insistence on idealistic values in human life is at the centre of the Ukrainian struggle for a new world order. The Ukraine is fighting:

Against the false prophets of the alleged death of nationalism, patriotism, Christianity and religion in general, and of the end of an entire era of ethical systems based on religion.

Against the false prophets of the relativity of ethical values, of scepticism and nihilism, who deny God and the idea of a nation as such, and who undermine the family, the organic nucleus of the nation.

Against the false prophets who in the present epoch of dialectical and historical materialism talk about the dominant importance of the class struggle.

Against a dehumanised technology as the opposite to idealistic Christian philosophy, ideology, religion and national consciousness.

Against the false prophets of militant atheism or religious indifference; of internationalism as an alleged remedy for the enslaved. Against supra-national conceptions designed to supersede the national principle in organising the world. In opposition to all this the Ukraine stresses her belief in the eternal truths, her faith in traditional values, in idealism and heroism, in Man, the nation, and in God.

Against the Russian world of ideas, which is based on the negation of human rights, human individuality, human dignity and freedom, and which repudiates the principle of the nation, its sovereignty and independence.

Against the barbarization and complete de-Christianization of life in the West; against the worship of material things and the disavowal of the divine essence of human existence.

Against every form of Russian chauvinist messianism, typified by the forcible introduction of "Orthodoxy", Pan-Slavism and Proletarian World Revolution; by "anti-colonial wars of liberation this side of the Iron Curtain"; by hypocritical talk of a rebirth of Russian Christianity of the Berdyayev type, a Christianity alleged to have been purified through the very seriousness of the sin of mass murder, i.e. with devils turned angels; by the new myth of the Russian super-nation "organically grown out of a family of peoples and nations — a unique phenomenon" and by the concept of a "League of Eurasian Peoples" stretching from the Adriatic to the Pacific (see NTS Programme); and, ultimately, by the old, invariable messianic formula, prophetically expressed by Dostoyevsky as early as 1878: "All men

must become Russians, first and foremost. Because pan-humanity is a Russian national idea, everyone must first become a true Russian."

Against the traditional Russian maxim: "Rob what was robbed!"

Against the Russian world empire, the prison of nations and individuals.

Against genocide and inhumanity; against murderous conflicts between members of one nation, as a result of the diversionist activities of a Russian intent on spreading its Communist ideology throughout the world; and against imperialist wars of the Russian nation for the purpose of extending its sway over the entire globe.

Against totalitarianism, nationalisation and collectivisation with the object of gaining complete control over individuals and nations; against an economy geared to war and against the suppression of every liberalising move amongst people and nations deprived of the possibility of free and independent economic development, as well as against Russian social institutions.

Against the forcible introduction of the Russian way of life and Russian teleological views — from ontology to expropriation of private property — as a means towards the total subjugation of nations and individuals.

Against a deliberate policy of preventing the individual from creative work in the intellectual, cultural or social field, an activity that builds on tradition and human values, which it should be a duty to foster and cherish, since man has his spiritual, social and religious roots deep down in the traditions of his own nation and from them draws his vital strength.

The attitude adopted by Ukraine to these burning problems places her in the van of all the good, noble and creative forces and ideas in the world, which have grown from noble national traditions and whose aim it is to secure the rights of individuals and nations and to uphold justice in national and international affairs.

Ukraine is fighting for a truly spiritual and idealistic revolution of mankind which will sweep away materialism, internationalism and hedonism, and will ensure the triumph of a heroic conception of life. A moral victory of this kind is the prerequisite for the success of a political, military and insurgent offensive — supported by a revitalised Free World — against Russian and Communist tyranny, imperialism and colonialism, these anachronisms in the present era of new ideas and thermonuclear power, in which ideological controversy, insurgency, guerrilla fighting, liberation struggles and civil war are immanent.

Life in our time has been subjected to the barbarities of Bolshevism and Nazism as a result of the process of de-humanization and de-Christianization which in those two phenomena reached its climax.

We live in an age of cynicism and nihilism, of constant fear and the impending threat of total annihilation, an age in which for a number of people worship of the Golden Calf and pure hedonism constitute the sole purpose of life. At a time like this, the idea of willingly sacrificing one's life for a great cause, for eternal values, for freedom, justice, truth, honour, for fatherland and God, may to many appear paradoxical.

Yet, in spite of that, the Ukrainian people are firm in their determination to fight for these eternal, true values, to bring about the spiritual and moral regeneration of mankind, and to restore men's faith in God and fatherland. They are fighting for their belief in the divine essence of Man, for "true faith and homeland", for "honour and glory, and the liberation of our brothers" (Cossack maxims). They act true to the ancient saying of Prince Sviatoslav: "We shall not disgrace our Ukrainian land, but rather die here. The dead cannot be a shame to the country." This is an attitude in sharp contrast to the Russian "Rob what was robbed", the German demand for "Lebensraum", and the modern standard of value — the dollar.

"Let the Americas and Russias be silent when I am talking to you, my country!" (i.e. Ukraine; a line from a poem by Symonenko). What the world needs is an unshakeable faith in eternal values and truths; without it there can be no lasting human partnership.

What was true five hundred years ago, when the great European revolution drew its strength from the faith in the truths of the West and led to the discovery of new continents, the mutual acquaintance between races, cultures and religions, as well as to the reciprocal enrichment of the various nations, is equally true today: Without an ideology rooted in the belief in God and the fatherland, in heroic humanism and liberating nationalism, there is no human progress.

In her battles against Russia Ukraine has been inspired by the old, yet for ever valid world of ideas, which is a synthesis of the ancient Greek, Roman and Christian conception of life, diametrically opposed to the Russian view of human beings as members of a herd rather than individuals.

Moral courage, high ethical standards and the determination to fight to the last for the values of the true faith, for human rights and universal justice, these are the qualities urgently needed for the salvation not only of Ukraine alone.

Truth does not triumph by its virtue; it can only win through if its supporters are prepared to fight for it — to the death if need be — and are resolved to gain the victory.

An objective view of developments in the world, with its crumbling empires and the rise of independent nation states, confirms the

correctness of the subjective attitude of the Ukrainian nation, consistent with its character, and its determination to crush the Russian empire and to reestablish its own sovereignty. A sovereign united Ukrainian state will thus be wholly in line with progressive developments in the world.

The Ukrainian nation's accumulated wealth of ideas embraces the most progressive thought of our time. By contrast, the Russian empire has become the chief obstacle in the rightful process of the development of mankind as envisaged by all freedom-loving nations and individuals. This process of development makes for differentiation between peoples into sovereign nation states and not for compulsory incorporation in artificially constructed political combines of an anti-national, supranational or anational nature.

When moral values and virtues, which ought to strengthen and keep the spiritual side of man in proper balance with material progress, are corroded, then the quality of life is bound to deteriorate into barbarism and hedonism.

Modern technology and the discovery of the secrets of atomic energy prove in a deeper sense, and no less convincingly than the researches of natural philosophy in the past, the existence of the greatest of all mysteries of the universe: the absolute, i.e. God. For anyone with a belief in spiritual forces beyond the visible world, the fear of the all-destroying power of nuclear weapons becomes irrelevant, since it cannot be in God's design that those who heed His commandments should be destroyed or that the decision over the existence or non-existence of half a milliard of people should rest with criminals and mass murderers. The very attempt to solve the most complicated problems of life by the methods of pragmatism and empiricism is the main factor in the world crisis, and that at a time when technological and sociological advance have long ago broken through the narrow limits of pragmatic thinking. It is an attempt to use the fire brigade for fighting a by now uncontrollable world-wide conflagration — the world of ideas.

Without idealism the problems of mankind cannot be solved. A solution can only come from the new élite of ideologues, that is to say from that élite whose members combine clear ideological visions, not connected with exclusively earthly things, with a great faith and a willingness to die for the object of their faith. Besides, whoever denies idealistic values will also materially be the loser!

The main question facing mankind today is how to avoid nuclear war. This problem cannot be solved without a faith in higher things and absolute truth and the resolution even to lay down one's life for such convictions, knowing that in this way we fulfil our destiny on earth. Only a renewal of religious belief and obedience to its laws and a revival of true patriotism can prevent the world from plunging

into hedonism or despair. Only a spiritual revolution of this kind can provide a solution to the terrible problem of untamed nuclear energy in the hands of criminals.

The organization of the political, social and cultural life in our own state must, of course, take into account every aspect of the latest technological achievements, the results of human ingenuity and the discoveries in the world of science, and this is what we intend to do. But we shall have to bear in mind that even a most perfect and scientifically planned material culture is not enough to fire the people's imagination. Only a great vision can arouse the enthusiasm of a nation, an idea permeating the whole programme of state-building, so that this programme itself reflects the unique and traditional elements of the people's soul, the nation's state of mind and its idealistic conception of society, its ardent desire to attain national, cultural and moral greatness, and its respect for human dignity. That vision, I believe, can be expressed in the simple formula:

KYIV VERSUS MOSCOW!

In this age of conflict between diametrically opposed concepts of faith, ideologies, political and social ideas, of the new forms of psychological and nuclear warfare, there is **on the one side:** Kyiv — the personification and symbol of the forces of good, the pioneer for human and national rights, the exponent of heroic humanism and Christianity and the belief in God generally, of truth and justice, of tradition, and of the moral progress of Man; **and on the other side:** Moscow — the embodiment of evil, of retrogression, and of all the forces opposed to the values mentioned above.

The main theatre of the struggle between these opponents is the territory of the Russian empire, that prison of nations and individuals. Yet the contest is not restricted to that area alone, as in a wider sense it involves the whole of the world.

Kyiv and Moscow are in every respect poles apart. The spiritual, ideological, cultural, religious, social and national positions of the Ukraine are the exact opposite of those held by Moscow. It is a battle not merely between two political concepts, but between two civilisations antagonistic to each other.

The prerequisite for establishing the identity of those two antipodean centres is the awakening of a strong faith in our own values, which represent the divine truths on earth. This faith is absolutely essential if the victory is to be ours.

Sadly characteristic of many Christians in our day is their reluctance to fight for their faith. The cause for this lack of militancy must be ascribed to a crisis of a personal and ethical nature in a certain type among representatives of the Christian idea. Further

contributing factors are latitude of interpretation and the tendency — by the Vatican, for instance — to allow Christian concepts to be adapted to the “modern” way of life, in other words a permissive attitude which treats human weakness far more leniently than in the past, thus aiding and abetting complete secularization of human life in some sectors of Western society. Yet it was the very strictness of Christian morality, the militant affirmation of its values and of national ideals, that in days gone by made Western society great and caused its standards to spread beyond the frontiers of Europe.

On the other hand, the Russian Orthodox Church has made Christianity the servant of the Bolshevik political system, the essence of which is militant atheism, genocide, misanthropy and insatiable Russian imperialism and expansionism.

(“Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep’s clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves!” Matthew VII, 15.)

Finally, there are the simultaneous efforts of the Western Churches to try and find a *modus vivendi* with the sworn enemies of every religion, with the murderers of the faithful of any denomination and of the millions of fighters for freedom, truth, “the orthodox faith and the fatherland.”* (“A good tree cannot bring forth evil fruit, neither can a corrupt tree bring forth good fruit.” Matthew VII, 18.)

In the circumstances described above the Ukrainian metropolis Kyïv clearly has to perform these tasks: To deepen and expand that vision of Christianity which was nourished in our cave-monasteries of St. Anthony and St. Theodosius and which inspired life throughout the noble, princely epoch of our history; to honour the Kyïv-Mohyla tradition, emulate the moral austerity of our monks and the example set by the Christian Cossack republic — unique in the Orthodox East — of the Zaporozhian Sich, modelled on strict, mediaeval Christian Orders; and, generally, to follow the traditions of our Cossack era with its Hetmans and the Zaporozhian Sich and their undying watchword “For the orthodox faith and the fatherland.”

It is the further duty of Kyïv to cultivate the spirit of nationhood which prevailed in 1918 and the years following: to uphold the traditions of UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army), in which national and Christian concepts were fused into one idea; and, above all, to foster the spirit of resistance, which in the period of terrible Bolshevik persecution enabled the Ukrainian Christians to stand fast. Witness to our triumph in those days are such figures as the Metropolitans Lypkivskyi and Sheptytskyi and other martyrs without number, all of whom displayed the greatest heroism in their uncompromising fight against the atheist regime of the Russian tyrants.

*) Expression of the principles of the Ukrainian Cossacks in their historic fight for freedom.

Arrayed on the ideological battlefield are St. Sophia against the Kremlin, and all the righteous of the Christian Ukraine underground, their bodies buried in unknown graves, against the mummified symbol of aggressive atheism and genocide, the Russian Lenin in his mausoleum — the “temple” of Moscow.

The ideals of our sacred and immortal metropolis Kyiv, the ideals rooted in our Ukrainian native soil — sometimes identical with the concept of the State, as in the days of Sviatoslav the Brave — these are the sources of our spirituality.

For the Ukrainian nation the native soil assumes a mystic quality. On Ukrainian soil our ancestors won fame and glory, the earth is soaked with their blood and sweat, and the graves of our heroes cover it.

The Ukrainian soil, which became a battlefield and was trampled on and desecrated by our enemies, is returning to life again, showing once more the qualities extolled in the works of Stefanyk and Shevchenko and by our folksongs.

“Grey graves of heroes in the green field,
The dew falls on the graves of our honoured dead,
The wind in the valley rustles through the wheat,
The horned moon walks down the slopes...
As if on horseback, maples jump into the village...
Grey graves of heroes — how did you come to be?
My country, my Ukraine lives on in you!..”

“Constant movement in the Universe and on the Earth,
Only our heroes’ graves cannot be moved.”

“My blood is mingled with yours, like the grain
with the earth in spring. Then you, fatherland,
have become I, and I have become you in the dawn
and I open my eyes through you... One feels
the Earth revolving and with it revolves the Ukraine.”

“I love you across the Universe and across mankind,
like the dear sun in a golden dream; I love you
with the grey-headed scholar and with
the grain on the stubble field.”

“No, my fatherland, it is not only pain or joy
that makes me turn to you...”

“And Truth? One must lay down one’s life for me...
and I shall bring suffering... Poetry is my sister,
and true humanity is our mother...”

“Whatever may happen to me, I have no claims to
make on fate, my chosen bride...”

Or:

"My father decided to plant an orchard. He energetically wielded the spade and smiled at his calloused hands. I thought, there on that wonderful soil, stood a serious-minded man, a man who felt he was ageing and therefore wanted to plant an orchard on this earth..."

"It will be for you to tend this orchard. You will live to see it. Do not expect others to look after your orchard..."

These are only a few quotations from the poetic work of the young generation in Ukraine.

The attitudes which have for a long time now been evident in Ukraine can be outlined as follows: From the philosophical point of view, the greatest importance is attached to the unification of Christianity with Ukrainian patriotism — and here the young Ukrainians have found their model in "our first intellectual giant", the Christian philosopher Skovoroda — and to a faithful adherence to the age-old traditions of Kyiv, with which the call "Away from Moscow" is closely associated, as well as the orientation towards the "psychological Europe", the old Europe of noble spirit, morals and idealism. Finally, there is the admiration for the renaissance in Asia, in the sense of Asiatic nations gaining their independence, a fact which has not only political but also ideological repercussions on the ever increasing anti-Russian resistance of Ukraine. These attitudes do not imply a sentimental, "folksy" Ukrainianism of the Kvitka-Osnovyanenko type, but represent a conscious and purposeful process in the nation's determined effort to fulfil its historical mission in the world-wide confrontation: **Kyiv against Moscow.**

From the ideological, political, social and cultural point of view, the central problem before the Ukrainian élite and their aspirations is that of actual government, i.e. the exercise of power.

If the Ukrainian nation is to enjoy genuine health and happiness, then not only the ideals of freedom and justice must be realised, but the ideal of government, of the exercise of power by Ukrainians over Ukrainian territory, must become reality. When that condition is made the focus of cultural creativity then there is no room for purely superficial popular education preoccupations.

It is not only liberty, not only justice we demand!

The idealistic concepts of authority, of power, of the nation as an organic unit in human society, are forcefully expressed in the work of our poet Symonenko. "My people lives! And it will live for ever! No-one can erase it from the earth! All renegades and worthless

vagabonds will perish, and routed will be the invader's hordes! You, bastards of torturers and devils! You, fiends, remember this: My people lives, and the hot blood of Cossacks pulses through its body!"

Or: "Tremble you murderers! Repent, you toadies; life spews you out, you cancerous brood!"

What profound mysticism — the immortality of the nation — is expressed in the brave words of this unique poet!

Then there is the motto "Away from Moscow!" of the unrehabilitated poet Khvylovyi, who went astray until under the blows of Moscow he found his way back.

A mighty nation — that is the cause the young generation of Ukrainians have espoused. Power in the hands of their own nation, which will drive out the invaders, that is what young Ukrainians are demanding openly, clearly, and without fear. In the national idea they see the dominant influence of our time, and that idea means to them the fully sovereign political and cultural life of the Ukrainian nation and its contribution to the common weal of the world.

In their opinion, the national idea does not supplant the great ideals of humanity as a whole, but rather acts on them as a catalyst. The very absorption in nationalist ideology and devotion to the national idea makes for a deeper understanding of the social and spiritual needs of others. The new Ukraine certainly feels the close kinship that exists between the national idea and the values common to all mankind, the concepts of human dignity, honour, conscience and justice, of personal and social morality. It is precisely these concepts of dignity, responsibility and justice which lead the young generation towards the national idea and to a new consciousness of their mother country, Ukraine. There can be no harmony in the world, nor a true community of men, if the achievement of these aims should make even the slightest injustice towards a single nation necessary. In this way the national question is intricately connected with the most important matters of the human conscience. A lofty conception of the national idea can therefore induce in every creator of cultural values a profound feeling for the aspirations common to all mankind and the pathos of self-sacrifice. There are in history periods when grave issues are decided by a society's moral and civil spirit and behaviour, when even rudimentary human dignity will resist brutal pressure and develop into a potent revolutionary force.

We are living in such a period now, and nothing is of greater importance at present than civic morality and conduct of the highest standard. What men need most are examples of an heroic attitude, since these will reassure them that even in our time heroic action is possible and by no means futile. Now as in the past "the madness

of the brave" is equated with "the wisdom of life", and young Ukrainians keep repeating: "Even today, and perhaps just today rather than later, it is possible and necessary to fight."

The traditions of the old, heroic Ukraine are coming to life again. The phrase "only our heroes' graves cannot be removed" (i.e. by the Russian enemy) expresses the feeling of the immortality of our nation.

Everything now happening around us has taken on a significance which men did not foresee. Side by side with the growth of the most modern techniques of war the fight of a people armed with conventional weapons has gained more and more importance. Without any planning, this development was brought about by the thermo-nuclear threat itself. In this age of ideological conflict nuclear weapons have not only lost their exclusive power, but in spite of their technical perfection have been rendered practically worthless.

Warfare on the lines of insurgency and guerrilla tactics, as initiated and practised by our UPA and OUN, has in our time become predominant. (One example of this is Vietnam.) National revolutions are an example of how the nations enslaved by Russia can achieve their liberation, and at the same time they emphasize the fact that atomic weapons are already outmoded, since by now their use cuts both ways. In essence, the new strategy consists in waging war on the territory controlled by the enemy. National wars of liberation assuming the character of revolution must today be regarded as the most up-to-date form of war. They are also typical of our age, in which ideological differences tend to result in civil wars. In this era of the disintegration of empires — above all the Russian — when the subjugated nations rise against the foreign armies of occupation and their rule of terror, the new type of warfare becomes of prime importance; all the more so, as in these foreign armies there are the sons of captive nations, who from within can turn against the enemy of their own countries. The Western powers have pulled out of their imperial positions without recourse to atomic weapons and, apart from a few exceptions, even without using any armed force at all against the population of their non-European colonies. This in itself supports the view that in our time it is no longer the imperial, but the national idea which presents the driving and controlling force.

In employing armed force against rebelling captive nations Russia cannot make use of nuclear weapons, since these are double-edged and essentially suicidal. Moreover, the sons of subjugated nations serving in the Soviet army also have access to such weapons. Russian attempts to suppress with conventional arms carefully planned and synchronised national revolutions will fail in the end because of the ideological, political, qualitative and quantitative superiority of the subjugated nations, and above all because the process of the disintegration of empires is irresistible, as the gaining of independence

by more and more nations, and by African tribes even, goes to show. By that same process the Russians are driven into a position of disadvantage where they can no longer disguise their chauvinism and racism, their belief in a Russian master-race and their brutal imperialism.

In these circumstances the principles of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) acquire decisive importance. According to these, the first front consists of the national revolutions for liberation in the countries concerned, while the second front — supporting the first — is formed by the joint forces of emigrants from all the suppressed nations and by mobilising the anti-Russian element among the free nations.

War, as a natural and spontaneous phenomenon, cannot be abolished, because it is the last argument in the defence of truth. Otherwise, the criminal who consistently violates that truth would at all times be the victor, since evil is always aggressive.

What is needed, however, is to make the methods of warfare more humane. Christian and humane principles do not exclude war as such, provided the idea behind it is that of heroic humanism, in contrast to Russian and Communist misanthropy and class-hatred, and provided it is conducted with chivalry and fairness on either side. The absurdity of atomic warfare, which leaves the decision over the fate of millions of people to a scientific homunculus, anonymously directing the destructive power of nuclear energy, forces the world to return to conventional warfare and to respect certain moral principles.

One of the causes for the moral and ideological crisis in the de-christianized West, i.e. the fear of nuclear war, does not exist in the militant Ukraine, which sees the alternative solution in a national, revolutionary war of liberation, which by its very nature makes it impossible to employ the nuclear bomb, as a self-defeating weapon, against our homelands.

Another factor preventing for all practical purposes the use of atomic weapons is the stalemate resulting from more than one of the Great Powers possessing the bomb, a position similar to that which in the past led to the renunciation of chemical and bacteriological warfare.

Let us now recapitulate as follows: There is no religious, ideological, socio-political or military crisis in the underground Ukraine, which is fighting for Christ, for the strengthening of the national idea, for human dignity and self-respect, for honour and freedom from slavery, for national independence, for the inviolability of the nation as the basis of world order, for the inexhaustible human spirit "that carries the body along to the fight." The battle-cry of

that underground Ukraine exhorts men to stand by their own nation and in the defence of its cause to seek and find their purpose in life.

The new light emanates from the Ukraine's ancient sources of light. It shines forth from the Orient, but this time from the national and Christian Ukrainian East; from the Lavra cave monastery of St. Antonius and St. Theodosius; from the ideas and the way of life of the great monk Ivan Vyshenskyi; from the suffering of the indomitable princes of the Church, Lypkivskyi, Sheptytskyi and Slipyi; from our cathedral of St. Sophia, from the prisons and labour camps in Siberia and elsewhere; from the heroic battles of Bazar and Kruty; from the deeds of our UPA, OUN, SVU and SUM; from the works of the young generations of the present-day Ukraine; from the invincible city of Odessa and its freedom-loving people, who long for national and social liberty and have nothing but loathing for the Russian "pharaohs" that took away their freedom; from Odessa, the city representing Ukrainian-Hellenic tradition at its best, which could become the Ukrainian Budapest, as the history of its underground movement during World War II demonstrates; from our Donbas, saturated with the blood of Ukrainian workers; from Novocherkassk; from our Cherkassy, the home town of the poet Symonenko; from the blood that flowed for freedom and independence during the mass demonstrations against Russia by our youth and workers in many Ukrainian towns in recent years.

From these luminous sources shines forth the new light, the reflection of eternal Truth.

Ex Oriente Lux — but from the underground East! Our new, militant Ukraine knows no crisis!

(To be continued.)

Interested in Ukraine and its fight for freedom?
Get yourself a copy of

ANGLO-UKRAINIAN NEWS

A quarterly newspaper, organ of the
Anglo-Ukrainian Society

A single copy: 1/-. Annual subscription: 5/- (post free)

Order from: **Mr. J. R. Brown,**

9, Ribble Avenue, Littleborough, Lancs.

or: **Anglo-Ukrainian News, 200 Liverpool Rd.,**
London, N.1.

Rostyslaw JENDYK

PETLURA AND KONOVALETS

**In commemoration of the 42nd anniversary
of the murder of Symon Petlura
and 30th anniversary of the assassination
of Evhen Konovalets by Moscow's agents.**

Antiquity has handed down to us in its traditions, with the profoundest interpretations and symbols of the quintessence of being, the saga of the Palladium. This is a small image of Pallas holding a raised spear and a shield. Zeus is said to have thrown it down from Olympus when Troy was founded, and it was carefully preserved and treasured. The people of Troy held the belief that the city would never be conquered as long as this treasure remained within its walls. The Palladium thus played the part of a godhead, of a protector, and the long war between Greece and Troy actually remained undecided as long as the Palladium was in the besieged city. It was not until Odysseus and Diomedes crept into the city and stole the image that the prophecy was fulfilled and Troy fell.

The Trojan Palladium is symbolical for all peoples and all ages of history. None of them can preserve their entirety if they have no guardian spirit which is the expression of their wishes and feelings, which, in the past, gave them orders and showed them the only true way in which to gain a victory again and again. The Ukrainian Palladium is undoubtedly Shevchenko, who, in the darkest hour in the history of the Ukrainian people, bequeathed to them as his legacy the fervent command: "Arise and tear your fetters asunder!"

But many decades were to pass from the day that this command was issued until it was fulfilled, from the spoken word until the concrete deed, before the Ukrainian people absorbed into their soul the command of our guardian spirit as an organic need and as the necessary precondition for their future life.

In the foremost ranks of those who were the first to take this command to heart were the Supreme Commander Symon Petlura and Colonel Evhen Konovalets. They became the spear and shield of our Palladium to fight the enemy and protect their own people. At first glance it might appear that these two men cannot be compared with each other, for one was the head of the state, the other only the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalists. But in our national consciousness they are united and together they form one symbol. It is not only the fact that they both suffered a tragic death at the hands of treacherous Moscow for the same ideal, which unites them, but, still more, the influence of their personalities on the historic fate of the Ukrainian people which has been enacted during the past fifty years. Without these two men, the fate of the Ukrainian people during these years would undoubtedly have taken a different course. Certain events would in that case probably never have happened, and yet everything developed in a straight line out of the source at which these two men, Symon Petlura and Evhen Konovalets, stand together. They stand out as lone figures, relying on their own moral strength, inspired by their faith in their own fellow-countrymen, and steadfastly convinced of the sacredness of their cause and their deeds and of the means at their disposal to realize their ideals.

These two men are likewise united in their attitude towards our deadly enemy, Moscow. Neither Petlura nor Konovalets ever humbled himself before this enemy. They never sought to reach an understanding with him, to sign treaties, to make compromises or to meet the enemy half-way. Entirety and totality characterizes the attitude and the decisions of both these men, for the idea of an independent Ukrainian state, for which they fought, cannot be subjected to any limitations, curtailments or deformations. It either exists in its entirety with every one of its attributes, or else it falls into decay completely; an implacable and uncompromising attitude towards the enemy at all times and, accordingly, an untiring fight against him for a complete victory, even under unfavourable circumstances and conditions, — such are the traits of the indomitable character which both these men possessed in like degree. And how similar are the opinions which they expressed! Petlura wrote on one occasion: "The logic of the development in the national movement of Ukraine leads to a repetition of the military events in the years 1918 to 1920. It is our wish that the inevitableness of the latter should be realized and accepted by the intellectual circles of the Ukrainian people and, with it, the fact that the fight will continue to be waged irrespective of the forms of power in Russia. All Russians have, as far as we are concerned, the same value, for they all refuse to reconcile themselves to the idea of the existence of Ukrainian state independence and will all continue to fight the latter both by political as well as by military means. In our opinion there is no difference between tsarist Russia and the present Communist Russia, for both are merely different



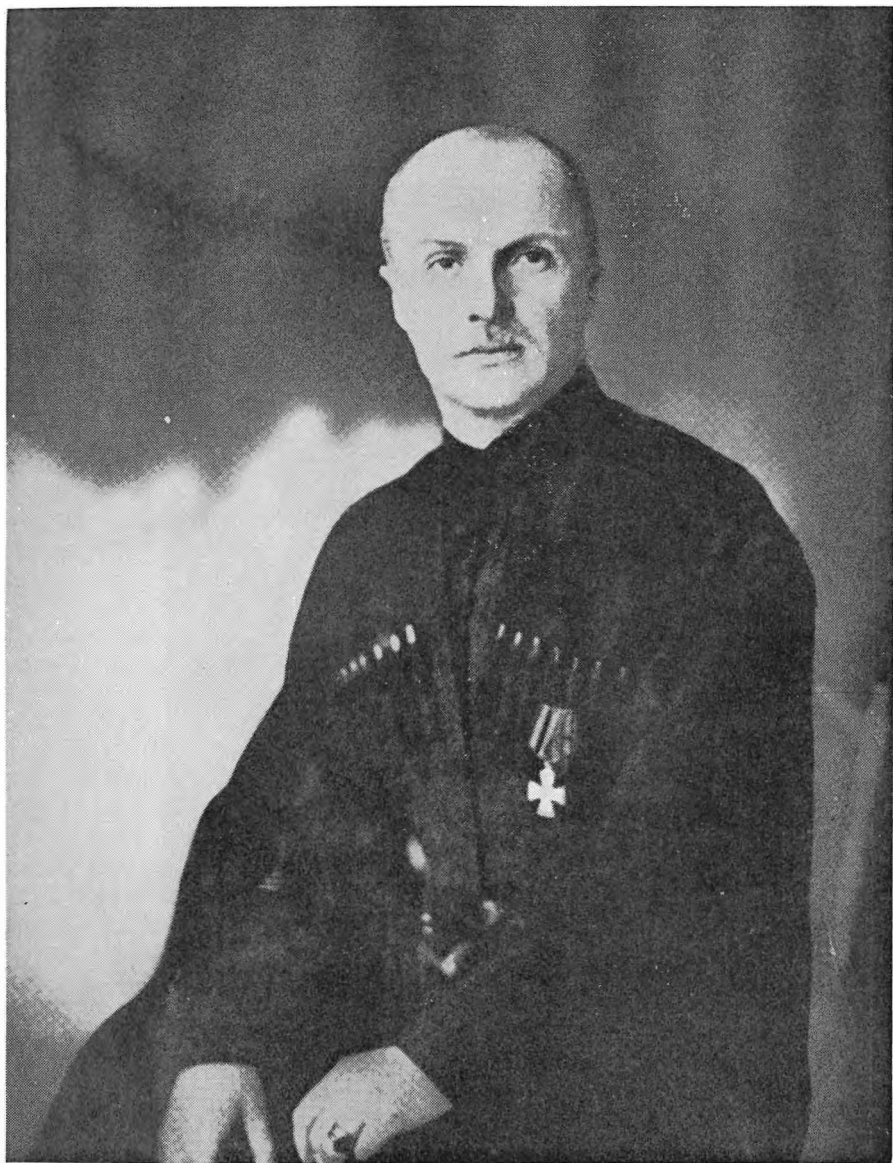
SYMON PETLURA (1879-1926)

Head of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Army, President of the Ukrainian National Republic, murdered in Paris, in exile, by a Russian Bolshevik agent on May 25th, 1926.



Col. EVHEN KONOVALETS (1891-1938)

Commandant of the Ukrainian Sich Rifle Corps (1918-1919),
Head of the Ukrainian Military Organization (1921-1929),
Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (1929-1938),
murdered in Rotterdam, Holland, on May 23rd, 1938,
by a Russian Bolshevik agent.



PAVLO SKOROPADSKYI (1873-1945)
Hetman of the Ukrainian State (1918).



Archbishop VASYL LYPKIVSKYI

Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous
Orthodox Church (1921-1926), persecuted and
imprisoned by Russian Bolsheviks. Fate unknown.

forms of Muscovite despotism and imperialism. The ideal of the Ukrainian state idea cannot be restricted to the narrow limits of federation or confederation and, still less, of autonomy either with Russia or with any other state." And Konovalets expressed a similar opinion when he said: "Neither the enemy's prisons nor deportations can destroy the will of the Ukrainian people to an independent existence, for Ukraine represents an unconquered fortress of heroes and fighters."

There is likewise a similarity between Petlura and Konovalets as regards the earliest stage of their work in the service of the state. By profession both of them were civilians, but it was in a military capacity that they played a part in the revolution. They both realized in like measure the significance of the army and devoted their attention to organizing it. As early as 1917, the Ukrainian Front Council for the soldiers of the Western front came into being, under the leadership of Petlura. On behalf of this Council Petlura took part in the first Military Congress in Kyïv on May 18, 1917, and was elected a member not only of the Praesidium of the Congress, but also of the Ukrainian General Military Committee which was founded during the Congress. Shortly afterwards, he was appointed Secretary for Military Affairs. As the President of the Praesidium of the said Committee, Petlura established the first basis for the formation of the armed strength of the Ukrainian people, — the national army. And it was from this Committee that the plan of the fight of the Ukrainian people for the liberation and the restoration of the Ukrainian state originated. It was in this same year that Petlura occupied himself with military affairs not only in the central headquarters, Kyïv, but also in the rural areas. In this connection we only need recall his Haidamaky detachments, which were set up in the regions of Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnieper; these detachments consisted for the most part of volunteers from the ranks of former officers and N.C.O.'s and, together with Konovalets' military detachments, played a decisive part in crushing the Bolshevik riot in Kyïv. The military career of Konovalets proceeded in a similar manner. When the revolution broke out, he was in a Russian prisoner-of-war camp on the Volga as an Austrian officer. He felt intuitively that the war would take a different course with the collapse of the Russian empire and that the army would in this respect play the decisive part. For this reason, he began to increase his military knowledge, encouraged other officers to do so and also organized courses in this field. Aided by other officers, he translated Russian military manuals into Ukrainian. Shortly after the outbreak of the revolution, he and, a little later, those who shared his views went to Kyïv, and it was here that he organized a Galician and Bukovinian company which consisted of former prisoners-of-war from the Western territories of Ukraine; during the Hetmanate this company increased in number

until it became a battalion and, later, the Sitch Rifle Corps, which consisted of soldiers from all over Ukraine. Indeed, there is no one in military circles or amongst historians who will not admit that this Rifle Corps possessed the greatest fighting spirit, discipline and ideals of all the battalions of the Ukrainian army. On several occasions it played a decisive part in determining the fate of the Ukrainian state and independence idea at that time. And during the tempestuous times of the revolution and the anarchy, this Corps enjoyed the greatest possible sympathy and support on the part of the broad masses in Ukraine. Konovalets himself wrote on one occasion: "The men of the Sitch Rifle Corps right up to the present day have remained soldiers who were always orderly, obedient and disciplined, austere towards themselves and courageous in action. The combats at Berdychiv, Shepetivka, Stoboniv, Kremianets, Chornyi-Ostriv, Zviahel, and Karabchynkha, etc., are proof of their courage. Even such anti-militarists as the former Prime Minister Vynnychenko were fascinated by them." Vynnychenko, incidentally, said: "Such soldiers are only to be found once in a thousand years. They always refuse to accept praise, decorations or promotions."

Our admiration cannot fail to be aroused by Petlura's attitude towards the military profession, all the more so since he was forced to swim against the general current. His contemporaries were completely obsessed by cosmopolitan ideas, by a Utopian fraternization of the peoples, by eternal peace, etc. In fact, one of them even held the opinion that all soldiers should be demobilized. One can, of course, understand this opinion if one takes into account the anarchy which prevailed amongst the soldiers at that time, the financial burden which the soldiers represented for the population, and other factors. And under other preconditions one can thus understand why the same man tried or at least planned to carry out a re-organization of the army on an entirely different basis and under quite a different motto, and why he was convinced, at least theoretically, of the rightness of the words of M. Mikhnovskyi, the first initiator of the Ukrainian military movement already prior to March 1917: "Ukraine must immediately organise its own national army as its own mighty military strength, without which it is impossible to visualize the attainment of complete freedom by Ukraine." Or the following words, which appeared on a leaflet: "...so that the soldiers, doctors and military specialists of the nation are united in one family. We must bear in mind that there is an obstinate enemy on our soil who is doing his very utmost to grasp the whole of Ukraine in his brutal hands. Comrades and Brothers! We shall give Ukraine to no one. Stained with the blood of the illustrious Cossacks, covered during this war with our corpses, Ukraine shall be resurrected to a new life." It is against the background of his party comrades, but not against the background of their opinions, that the greatness of Petlura and of his far-sighted plans stands out so clearly. His reply to the pacifist

fantasts still holds good even today: "Ukrainian swords will only be transformed into ploughs when the watchword of the independent Ukrainian state becomes reality and these ploughs have a chance to make their own fertile soil rich — not for the needs of the Third, the Second or any other International, but for the increase of our own state property and the prosperity of our own people. Let us therefore not forget the sword! Let us learn to hold it in our hands more firmly and let us seek to increase its strength by the national moral elements of our existence, of creative love for our native country, of vigilance against the enemy and revenge for the injustice imposed on us by his power. — In the symbiosis of all this we shall find the right way to liberation and the right programme for the restoration of our national state."

These words show that Petlura possessed the rare gift, which only truly great historical personalities reveal, of being able to distinguish clearly between the essential and the unessential, between unimportant and important matters. In this respect he differs from his contemporaries and strongly resembles Konovallets. And herein he also resembles his later ally, the Polish Marshal Pilsudski, who also emerged from the socialist camp and, to use his own words, got out of the socialist train at the railway-station which was called "independent Poland." In his fight for the Ukrainian state idea, Petlura forgot socialism. He said on one occasion: "The matter of achieving the independence of the Ukrainian state is one which concerns the whole Ukrainian nation and not merely one social class or one party, and for this reason the understanding, the unanimous agreement and the cooperation of all our fellow-countrymen is the precondition without which we can never achieve our state aim. Thus, priority of the state idea over the party idea, of universal interests over class, group or party interests. We must understand this idea and must regard it as a categorical imperative, as one of the chief conditions and terms for the restoration of our state."

Konovallets, too, upheld the same attitude. He, too, possessed the gift of being able to distinguish clearly between the great and the small. In this connection we should like to mention two events which clearly characterize his attitude and personality. After the proclamation of the independence of the West Ukrainian provinces, a Galician delegation arrived in Kyïv in order to ask for help. The Sich Council, under the leadership of Konovallets, decided not to return to Lviv, and in this way he placed the consolidation of the Ukrainian state idea in the centre rather than in the peripheral regions, foremost. This was in keeping with his logical argument that with the loss of the centre, East Galicia would not be able to assert itself, even if Lviv were taken. Thus, Konovallets regarded the fate of the entire country as being of far greater importance than the matters of his own native region. Personal sentiments were overruled by reasons of state.

No less characteristic of his attitude was his conduct before and after the revolt against the Hetman in November, 1918. The Sitch Rifle Corps had promised the Hetman that it would continue to serve him as long as he remained the sovereign of the Ukrainian state. After the proclamation of the intended federation of Ukraine with Russia by Hetman on November 14, 1918, Konovalets felt that he had been released from his promise. When the Sitch Rifle Corps heard of this proclamation, it rose up in revolt against the Hetman, and the future fate of the Hetmanate was decided in the combat at Motovylivka.

Like all truly great men in history, Petlura and Konovalets were both modest, straightforward and friendly. A member of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Korzh, once characterized Petlura as follows: "The Ukrainians themselves do not know whom they have in their midst. They know that Petlura is a notable editor, patriot, politician, etc. All this is true, but it is not the whole truth. Petlura is infinitely greater than what one takes him for. He is a born leader, a man who belongs to the category of those who in ancient times founded dynasties and who in our democratic times are national heroes. He lives under the most unfavourable circumstances and cannot show his great personality. But who knows whether all these circumstances will not change! And if they do change, then he will become the leader of the Ukrainian people." Petlura's contemporaries say that when he spoke, he appeared to be transformed. He was no longer an ordinary human being, but the expression of his mighty spirit and will. His face radiated his great love and devotion to his native country. His voice sounded stern and unyielding; his words were full of his faith in victory and in the achievement of the aim he had set himself. They demanded this victory so emphatically that his faith communicated itself to the soldiers, raised their spirits, made them forget all difficulties and dangers, hardships and weariness, and prompted them to go into battle with fresh courage.

A similar characterization of Konovalets has been given by O. Olzhych: "Radiant sparks glow in his eyes. His entire person is surrounded by an incomparable spell of a great individuality. After they have spoken a few words to him, young men from Ukraine or veterans from abroad who took part in the war of liberation have the feeling that they are standing before a ruler chosen by God's Grace and are prepared to serve him in every way."

After the war of liberation ended, the life of Petlura and Konovalets proceeded in entirely different directions. Petlura devoted himself for the most part to diplomatic activity. Konovalets, on the other hand, from being a soldier, became a revolutionary. In his opinion the genuineness and integrity of the national idea and the continuation of the struggle, by means of arms, against all the enemies of Ukraine, were of foremost importance, for he wished to

preserve the continuity of the fight. Evhen Konovalets founded the underground Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) in 1921 and later became the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which from 1929 onwards carried on a bitter underground and political struggle against all occupants of the Ukrainian soil. The OUN under Evhen Konovalets leadership became the leading political force of the Ukrainian Nation. Later, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera it proclaimed the restoration of Ukrainian independence on June 30, 1941. In 1942 it called into being the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which fought a heroic struggle against both the German and Russian invaders of Ukraine under its famous Commander-in-Chief Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych).

The activity of both Petlura and Konovalets was regarded as too dangerous by Moscow. And, accordingly, the enemy decided to do away with both, — Petlura was assassinated by a bullet in Paris on May 26, 1926, and Konovalets was torn to pieces by a bomb in Rotterdam thirty years ago, on May 23, 1938.

But the death of these two leaders of the Ukrainian people has failed to undermine the latter's will. The fight continues — true, without their personal aid and advice, but inspired and guided, nevertheless, by their spirit, and it will continue until the day that Ukraine attains its complete freedom and state independence.

A book packed with hard facts and revealing disturbing secrets hidden behind the façade of the USSR

R U S S I A N O P P R E S S I O N I N U K R A I N E

Reports and Documents.

This voluminous book of 576 pages + 24 pages full of illustrations contains articles, reports and eye-witness accounts drawing aside the curtain on the appalling misdeeds of the Bolshevik Russian oppressors of the Ukrainian Nation.

Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,

200, Liverpool Road,

London, N.1.

Price: 36/- net (in USA and Canada \$8.00)

R. MLYNOVETSKY

UKRAINIAN — RUSSIAN RELATIONS

The vast majority of people are in most cases completely unaware that they are living in a half-real world which is suggested to them from without. This continual influence begins in the schoolroom, and continues to exist in the fact that we build up a completely consistent mosaic when we read books or the Press, when we watch television, go to the cinema, or listen to the radio, when we go anywhere at all, so that personal observations are left with only an insignificant role. There is neither space nor time to illuminate this situation thoroughly here, but a fact out of the recent past will serve as an illustrative example.

When the Germans, after their defeat at Stalingrad, were compelled to withdraw further and further westwards, there appeared in the Press more and more articles about the "special tactic", known as "elastic war strategy." Readers who are over forty and have a good memory will still be able to remember how many intellectuals there were who said to their friends with a secretive look, "You'll see how this is going to end. This is a new, special tactic. The Germans are preparing for a surprise more unexpected than the world has ever seen. This retreat is only a camouflage manœuvre, because at the present stage of technology all these huge areas can be reconquered in one week!"

And it was really difficult to convince such a connoisseur of strategy of the contrary! He lived in this deception and in the obscuring process which the Press exerted on his conscience.

Nowadays there are plenty of these "generally accepted" deceiving manœuvres which are accepted as the complete truth. It is to some of these obscuring tactics that we are to turn our attention here, namely to those which are in general use in the field of Ukrainian-Russian relations.

The first deception of this kind is the conviction that a man who has assumed the mantle of civilization is far superior to his half-wild ancestors in matters of humanity and the urge for justice.

If one were to make a comparison on this basis, supported by plausible materials, one would immediately see that "civilized man" is superior to his half-wild ancestor only in his ability to lie like a Pharisee. His ancestor did not have the slightest idea of "humanity" and the like, but this was not the reason why he thought out the inquisition. Modern man has surpassed the inquisition with his massacres at Vinnytsia and Katyn, for example, by the annihilation of million upon million of people by hunger, through the gassing of tens of thousands of prisoners, not to speak of the public showmanship of the kind of bestial cruelty characterized in Gorky's article *On Russian Cruelty*. It is indeed true that civilized man does not tear his prisoners to pieces, but on the other hand our ancestors were by no means all cannibals and the question arises as to whether death by the cannibal's knife was not more merciful than death in a closed room into which petrol is poured and then ignited. Comparison can only lead to confirmation of the undoubted fact that a dozen savages would in their whole lives not be in the position to kill as many individuals as a dozen "civilized" men are able to.

If it is today no longer possible to bring the Inquisition to life again, then it is not because man has become somewhat more humane, but simply because he has lost fanatical belief in force and because religion has ceased to be what it once was. But the acts of cruelty carried out by the "fighters of the Revolution" and their enemies are anything but overshadowed by the atrocities committed during the Inquisition.

From the above it follows that we should pay no attention to any argument which has as its basis the idea that man has become humane. This applies particularly in the case of the Ukrainian-Russian relations.

The bitter deception which caused us to lose our independent statehood today prevents us from believing in the idea being forced upon us by the dominant nations that it is possible to resolve severe conflicts between nations by peaceful means. What is more, we do not believe that the peoples of this earth are struggling to form close alliances or to federate with each other in order at the same time to renounce voluntarily part of their sovereign rights. This belief is tied up with propagandist pacifism, which to a large extent rests on the theory of the progress of mankind towards completely integrated humanity.

Up to the outbreak of the first World War people dreamed, believing the nonsense of a few foxes who, like Brer Fox, assured the chickens that they had become monks and were therefore no longer meat-eaters, that there would really be no more wars.

The scholar who takes the trouble to go through the newspapers of the years 1911-1913 will easily recognize the reigning belief in

the "beginning of a new era" and in the possibility of solving all future conflicts by peaceful means sitting round a table. Disappointment was naturally great, as after the war had finished the victorious powers, not wishing to appear in their true colours before the world, took the step of founding the "League of Nations", in order to keep a firm grip on other nations. If we take a look at the Press at the time of the foundation of the League of Nations, we see with what joyful perspectives and rosy prophecies of the "new epoch" the simple reader was flooded. But on the eve of next World War, a mention of the League of Nations in the presence of just such people drew a smile of pity and irony, although they had been previously accustomed to living in a deceptive Utopia. However, when the second World War came to an end, the entire world press, as if to prove the correctness of the well-known saying, "The King is dead, long live the King", sounded with a song of praise at maximum volume for the "new age", and the new "League", the United Nations, which received brilliant horoscopes.

But all this was nothing new at all in the history of mankind. Long before the birth of Christ, "eternal alliances" had been made.

In order that we do not become too deeply embroiled in antiquity, let me mention here only the Delian Confederacy of the Greek states and city states at the time of Pericles, which had two hundred member states. And since almost legendary times the Romans had followed a system of alliances by which they could subjugate their "allies" without recourse to war and by peaceful means. In the course of the Roman empire's long existence the procuring of allies and their enfeoffment within the *Pax Romana* ran parallel to subjugation by armed force in order to gain complete control of new territories. And the same tactics have been applied in Eastern Europe. With regard to all these "alliances" it is good to remind oneself of Bismarck's words: "An alliance is a very good thing. The best of all is the alliance between man and horse. When one concludes such an alliance one has only to make sure that one is not the horse." And behind the idea of a "United Europe" there also stands someone today who would like to play the role of Athens or Rome. Of course, the terminology is new, but the idea is the same as ever. It is high time that Ukrainians also freed themselves from this deception.

It goes without saying that a soberly thinking person who looks the world in the face will not build up the liberation plans of his people on the belief that there is an international justice. He will not listen to any pronouncements that there are now "new" mutual relations in the world, from whatever international organizations they come.

Now that we have made our attitude clear towards these oddities with which the "strongest" soothe the weak and oppressed, let us take a look at the history of nations.

World history always has been and is — and assuredly always will be — interpreted in the most varied ways; the particular interpretation is always dependent upon when and by whom it is being made. The writings of ancient historians, their chronicles and records, focussed their attention on the figures of the rulers and were only too fond of using legends to explain their deeds. Somewhat later writers transformed historical writing into the history of the ruling dynasty. Nowadays we have history written from some vantage point or other, pushing the struggle between ideas and ideologies into the foreground or written from the standpoint of one race or another, so that it plays a rôle which necessitates pruning of content for the sake of the ideas presented. For example, the Marxists have proclaimed the “class” element with such energy that according to their interpretation world history becomes the history of the exploited struggling against the exploiter and the manner of thinking of the exploited becomes similar to that of the Marxists.

It is easy enough to understand that nations which have created great empires, or are simply ruling nations through circumstance, have the power not only to provide their historians with appropriate work conditions and give them a platform, but also to influence the direction of their thinking and to show historical events in a light favourable to the nation in question. It suits neither empires, nor great democratic States, nor Moscow's Bolshevik government, to reveal the truth about hidden conflicts and certain historical events; and these “certain events” form the struggle of certain nations and peoples for their very existence.

Today no one can refute the fact that all over the world, both in the animal kingdom and the botanical realm, a struggle for existence is being fought out which has been going on ever since the first living organism appeared on our planet. This struggle is also evident amongst human beings; its roots lie in the fact that man lives in a society, and this society consists of all the peoples.

Since time immemorial the nations have striven to acquire for themselves the best pieces of land, the most fertile meadows, whilst the defeated have become the new rulers' slaves or at best a deprived section of the population. In Sparta the descendants of the original population were known as Helots. The native population of India offers us today, in its caste of the untouchables, an example of how different the conqueror and the conquered can be.

If we look in another direction, at the land of Ancient Egypt, then we see that the deployment of the population changed there too. The “Hyksos” (“foreign rulers”) tried to appropriate Egypt from the Egyptians (ca. 1700 B.C.).

From European history we see that the present Irish came to Ireland from England, whilst in the age of tribal migrations after the Romans had left Britain the most varied peoples had tried to

tear this passionately coveted land away from the then inhabitants, the Britons.

The aboriginals of Spain, the Basques and Iberians, also suffered in the course of history an unbroken chain of attacks by alien peoples who wrested the land from its aboriginal possessors and settled it. The whole of present-day America belonged to peoples who were robbed of their lands by Europeans and themselves almost wiped out. After the second World War the Muscovites dragged the remains of the Tatar population from the Crimea, and those who had escaped liquidation by Tsarist Russia finally lost their territory to the last inch.

Thus World History tells of an everlasting battle of nations for a place in the sun. Some nations fall in one battle, others disappear without trace for ever, and others become manure for the strongest. This is the basic problem of all human history. Thus it is wrong to regard those conquering powers which happen to be on top at a particular time together as a "monolithic" unity, for as soon as they are on top, a struggle ensues between *them* for power, a struggle to have control of the Earth's resources, a struggle for wealth or poverty, a struggle between freeman and slave, and, at the same time, a struggle between differing religious beliefs and different "ideologies." But this latter kind of struggle is of secondary significance, for only when one nation becomes the ruling nation do such struggles become natural and fundamental.

The nature of the Ukrainian-Russian problem can only be explained with reference to the causes of the struggle between Ukraine and Russia which has been going on for centuries. When we speak of the causes of this struggle, then we must realize that our very first historian had clearly recognized the basic cause. According to the chronicler, ancestors of the present-day Russians, arrived only after the best stretches of land were already in the possession of Ukrainian and White Ruthenian tribes. The chronicler has left us no details about their appearance, but there can be no doubt that the territories which they occupied and settled were not left to them without a fight by their previous occupiers, some Finnic tribes.

In all probability the Muscovite tribes first had to convince themselves that the Ukrainian tribes were very well able to defend their territories before they withdrew to the less fertile, poorer stretches of country. With the great advantage offered by their waterways, facilitating not only internal trade but also trade with Byzantium and the Varangians, the Ukrainian territories must at that time have been most enticing. Furthermore the fertile earth was full of attractiveness. The first state to be founded in these lands was that of the Khazars; this followed by the Kyïv Rus', which on more than one occasion subdued the Muscovite Russian tribes who did not wish to belong to this confederation.

The Muscovite Russian tribes were separated from the Dnipro Basin by impassable forests and linked via the Volga to the Caspian Sea and the East. They had no interest in belonging to the Kievan Rus' empire, although they found themselves in a tributary relationship to it. The Ukrainian empire could unquestionably manage at that time without the Muscovite Russian territories, and campaigns against them were due to only circumstantial causes.

However, when the Kievan empire, due to various causes, gradually lost its power, it was attacked by the Muscovite Russian tribes, who destroyed and plundered Kyïv so that the Kyïv Rus' finally ceased to exist. After this there was a change in mutual relations. The lands gathered together around the Great Principality of Moscow were no longer threatened by an independent Kyïv, and the forest barriers which divided the Muscovites from Ukrainians became thinner and thinner and continually less important, at the same time the fertile southern lands attracted the Muscovites more and more strongly, and they no longer appeared there as subjects of the Princes of Kyïv.

But during this period (1169-1650) Muscovy was not yet in need of the Ukrainians' territory and only cast a sidelong glance at this tasty morsel; it had not yet become a matter of life or death. Ukraine remained in its economic structure an agricultural country; Muscovy did not yet have any industry, or any excess population for which it had to find living space.

Its population exceeded that of Ukraine by very little, although the Ukrainian population had suffered great losses in the course of four centuries, mainly as a result of the wars with the Tatars and the Poles.

After the Treaty of Pereyaslav (1654) Muscovy frittered away more than half a century without gaining military control of Ukraine, whilst the process of colonization had only entered its earliest stages: Ukraine was first occupied by the Muscovites only at its centres — Kyïv, Chernihiv, Nizhen — and only with troops, small traders and lowly civil servants, such as were necessary for the military leaders to hold court there. But immediately after the Ukrainian defeat in the Battle of Poltava the Muscovites began to hurry the pace of their transformation of Ukraine into a colony.

In the very same year, 1709, Andrey Izmailov, acting on orders from Moscow, compiled a list of the estates of "treacherous" landowners, which the Russians promptly confiscated. At the same time information was secretly collected about the income and taxation received by the Ukrainian Government. The estates thus confiscated were given to famous Muscovites such as the Dolgoruky, Sheremetyev, Menshikov, Golovkin, Ragutsky, Tolstoy, and Shafirov. These new landlords brought great numbers of Muscovite serfs into North Ukraine and at the same time enserved some free Ukrainians. In addition Muscovites who had been involved in the revolt of the

streltsy regiments were settled in *slobody* (Russian: large villages). About a dozen *slobody* were formed in this way by the Muscovites.

In 1711 the Russian Government forbade the puppet *hetman* of Ukraine to collect taxes of any kind from these Muscovites. The number of Russians settled in the Kyiv and Starodub areas up to 1718 amounted to about 30% of the entire population.

After 1709 ten Russian dragoon regiments were stationed in Ukraine and the Ukrainians were forced to support them. This financial support alone amounted to five times as much as the *hetman* collected in taxes.

In order to cripple Ukrainian trade, monopolies were introduced covering the most necessary consumer goods, whilst Muscovite merchants received the right to sell at the lowest prices. In 1723 the Muscovites reached out into the financial sphere, which led to a fivefold rise in taxation by the following year. In 1724 goods which were exported by the Muscovites from Ukraine were dutiable at a rate of 4% of their total value, whilst goods traded by Ukrainians were taxed at 37% of their value. Through its various prohibitions Moscow managed to wipe out the trading connections between Ukrainians and merchants abroad. Several factories (including, for example, the textile factory in Klyntsi) were shipped with all their machinery to Muscovy. Trade in oxen was also brought to a halt, as the animals were confiscated at "fixed prices".

The results of these policies were such that by the end of the eighteenth century, as the well-known author Shafonsky says in his *Topographical Description of Little Russia*, "The entire cloth trade, as well as trade in fancy goods, lies in the hands of Muscovite merchants... although there are in Kyiv still many local traders who deal in all sorts of bagatelles; but they form only a small and insignificant proportion of trade beside the Muscovites... In the whole of Little Russia there is not a single Little Russian whose personal capital amounts to 30,000 roubles."

In the course of eighteen years the Muscovites wiped out no less than half of the entire able-bodied male population of Ukraine by forced labour. The result of this was a colossal reduction in the proportion of males to females in any town or village; in the second half of the eighteenth century fifty per cent of the women of marriageable age were unmarried.

In 1720 the printing of books in Ukrainian was also forbidden, the printing of political and historical works was punished and any which were found were confiscated.

Here we have described only a few — and these but briefly — of the methods used by the Muscovites in their attempts to weaken and annihilate the Ukrainian people, and rob them of their wealth through colonization.

The period of time which we have picked out for examination here is not an exceptional one. Ever since the eighteenth century the same policies have been pursued and are still being pursued now with changes only in the intensity of their application.

The successful destruction of the autonomy of the land of Zaporozhian Cossacks in 1775 was followed by a new wave of colonizers in the territories pillaged by the Muscovites. A force of over 40,000 soldiers took part in the destruction and plundering of the territory of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, and 1,885 square miles of land were confiscated in the process and settled by 100,000 Russians (whereby certain Muscovite "personages" acquired enormous *latifundia*). Furthermore, more than 200,000 Cossacks were enserfed — but this was not by any means the end! In the following years the Russian Government carried through intensive colonization policies in Ukraine, in the process settling not only Russians but also other aliens there (e. g. Serbs, Moldavians, Germans). The Russians knew only too well that under the conditions they had created the aliens could not help being Russified, so that Moscow's rule would be further consolidated. It is similar considerations which lead to the forced emigration of many Ukrainians to the "virgin lands" today.

Somewhat later tens of thousands more emigrants from the provinces of Yaroslavl, Kostroma and Vladimir in Muscovy were settled in Ukraine.

During the eighteenth century Ukrainian industry, trade, and even agriculture were wiped out with especial haste, whilst colonial industry and trade after the Muscovite pattern were introduced in their place.

In order to disorientate and confuse Ukrainians over and above the confusion caused by the language in which they wrote, Russian historians describe the growth of this Muscovite industry and Muscovite trade in Ukraine as a "Ukrainian affair." At the same time the Ukrainian school system was destroyed, together with everything else of our ancient culture which it was possible to destroy.

Meanwhile intensive industrialization was going on in Muscovy itself, and Ukraine increased in value for Muscovy more and more as a granary and a source of all kinds of raw materials.

Proportionately as industry was extended and build up in Muscovy on the basis of exploiting the colonialized non-Russian areas, Ukraine became more and more indispensable to Moscow.

We can only correctly assess what Ukraine means to Russia today when we examine the facts and figures relating to Ukraine's wealth.

These figures apply to the so-called Soviet Ukraine, and we must remember that Soviet Ukraine, with a territory of 233,000 square

miles is considerably smaller than the territory of ethnographic Ukraine, which amounts to 365,000 square miles.

At the forefront of Ukraine's natural resources is its huge coal production: its entire coal resources are estimated at 350,000,000,000 tons. The Don Basin alone produces all that is necessary as fuel for the metal industries, energy, and transport of the entire European part of the USSR. Brown coal resources amount to 6,000,000,000 tons. A no less valuable fuel is the oil which is present in large quantities in the Carpathians, North Caucasus, and the Poltava and Chernihiv regions. It is well known that oil from Ukraine is of outstanding quality.

Ukraine also possesses a large natural gas potential, which the Muscovites are exploiting more and more intensively for their own use.

The most important of Ukraine's metal resources is iron ore of very high quality. It is estimated that Ukraine has 2,100,000,000 tons of hematite ore and 18,000,000,000 tons of ferruginous quartzite. The iron ore present in the Kryvyi Rih Basin alone amounts to 36% of the iron ore present in the entire Soviet Union. And iron ore is also to be found in the Kerch, Kremenchuk and Korsak-Mohyla areas and in smaller quantities in the Carpathian foothills and the Don Valley.

The Kremenchuk iron ore is estimated at about 220,000,000 tons of hematite ore and over one milliard tons of ferruginous quartzite; Kerch has about 2,089,000,000 tons of quartzite. Recently discovered sources are equally rich, although they have not yet been exploited.

It should also be mentioned in this connection that areas where iron ore is present in large quantities and which belong to Ukraine have been annexed by the Muscovites and incorporated into the RSFSR, as is the case with the southern part of the Kursk region.

Thus Ukraine alone possesses almost half of the iron ore present in the Soviet Union, and the remaining quantities are not on Muscovite territory either.

Besides iron, manganese ore is also to be found in large quantities in Ukraine; in fact this is one of the world's most important sources of manganese and makes up one-fifth of world production. Copper and non-ferrous metals are, however, not present in large quantities.

Salt (in crude form and for culinary purposes) is present in large quantities, as well as sodium sulphate, magnesium chloride, and bromide and calcium salts.

Bauxite, important for aluminium production, amounts to about 18,000,000 tons. Another important feature is the existence of huge quantities of china clay; and the presence of large amounts of marl allows almost limitless cement production. Ukraine's natural sulphur resources are the greatest in the world.

Ukraine is also rich in building materials: dark grey and black granodiorite, grey, red and pink-grey granite, diorite, and labradorite. The last-named, stolen from the Ukrainians along with many of other raw materials, serves as façades for the Moscow underground and the Lenin-Stalin Mausoleum.

Also present in large quantities are sand pits, calcite resources, and marble quarries, as well as dolomite (an important raw material for the metal industries), chalk, and infusorian soils. Raw materials for the production of dyes are also to be found in quantities which are not to be overlooked.

Ukraine also possesses precious stones — topazes, rock crystals, agates, opals, garnets, and others.

Apart from all these industrial materials the miraculous black earth of Ukraine must also be mentioned; during the War the Germans sent it back to Germany by the wagon-load.

Before the first World War grain production and potato harvests amounted to 47,000,000 tons.

Even all these natural resources amount to only a part of Ukraine's wealth, for these figures relate only to the so-called Soviet Ukraine, and, as we have already mentioned, this area is by no means the whole of Ukraine. Almost a third of Ukraine has been split off in large sections and annexed by Muscovy. Thus there remain outside Ukraine's present borders many exceptionally wealthy areas which have been incorporated into the so-called RSFSR. These territories include, for example, the Kuban, whose natural riches we should like to outline briefly in order to show what natural wealth has been stolen from us by Moscow.

The Kuban area has nickel, manganese, copper and gold. In the sphere of building materials it possesses marble. But, most important of all, Kuban oil is not only of excellent quality but is among the most valuable of mineral resources and is of a quality two or three times better than that of oil in other parts of the empire. Kuban's oil production ranks fourth in the RSFSR and fifth in the entire empire.

The Kuban reservoirs of high quality natural gas are almost inexhaustible and contain hundreds of milliards of cubic feet of gas. The Muscovites have naturally seized these reservoirs and have already built twelve pipelines, most of which lead directly to Moscow. Gas production in Moscow's entire empire amounted in 1958 to 26,000,000,000 cubic metres, whilst in 1965 the Kuban alone reached this quantity. This gas is now used for the most varied purposes: in the production of textiles, stockings, scarves, and all kinds of plastic products.

Great quantities of bulrushes grow in the flat valleys of the Kuban (more than a million tons). From these rushes ethyl alcohol is

obtained and used to make synthetic rubber. There are also a great many oak trees growing in the Kuban valleys, which occupy an important position in world timber production. The USSR is the world's principal oak producer, and one-sixth of this production comes from the Kuban area.

Before the first World War the Kuban exported large quantities of wheat to Germany and France.

The Kuban's food production is also very high, but the majority of it finds its way to Moscow and its surroundings. However, it used to be that most of the food went bad during the long journey, so a large local food and conserving industry came into being.

The sugar beet industry receives over 3,500,000 tons of beet per year from the Kuban; Kuban produces great quantities of maize and sunflower seeds.

50,000 tons of grapes are also pressed every year in the Kuban area, and from these 7,700,000 gallons of wine is made, as well as about 2 million gallons of champagne. Matured and bottled, this wine is drunk not only in Moscow, but also exported.

The Kuban is also the main perfume producing area of the USSR, as well as a very good tea-growing region. Its fishery and pisciculture also deserve to be mentioned, as these have led to the establishment of a number of factories where fish is conserved.

Even this list does not exhaust the treasures of this Ukrainian territory, but it is sufficient to indicate clearly the full significance of Khrushchov's words at the Party Congress in 1956: "The Kuban is Russia's pearl." And Russia's pearl is the home of Ukrainians who form 62% of the population, the same percentage in northern Terek area, and 30% in Stavropol area. Since the rest of the population is not purely Russian either, the reader can see that the annexation of the Kuban region by Russia amounts to nothing more than sheer robbery.

Only a man completely incapable of logical thought could fail to see that it was the wealth of our country which caused the "Civil" war.

In order to make the exploitation of Ukraine easier, the Tsarist Government in Moscow had a railway network built which was planned purely in accordance with Muscovite interests. If we take a look at the railway map of Eastern Europe, we can see that all lines lead to Moscow, the "spider in the middle of the web." (It is true that St. Petersburg was the seat of government, but the centre of the Empire was Moscow). This railway network, together with the system of tariffs, helped the Muscovites to strengthen and consolidate Moscow's ascendancy over Ukraine. And today the situation

is the same. If it has altered at all, it is only in the respect that since it is now too expensive to transport raw materials and processed goods (such as cast iron) to Moscow by rail, a series of ship canals have been built beside the railways.

Regarding these systems, we are told unpretentiously and simply in Dibrova's geographical manual of Ukraine: "It ensures the transport of goods (coal, grain, metal, and agricultural products) from the Ukrainian SSR to Moscow, Leningrad and the Baltic area, taking in the opposite direction machinery, finished goods, timber, and chemical raw materials to Ukraine." (O. Dibrova: *Geography of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic*, p. 330).

Quite unintentionally the author here reveals, as is clear from his words, that all the rumours which have been spread about an "industrialization" of Ukraine are one gigantic lie. In Ukraine only that kind of industry has been created which all colonial empires create in their colonies, whilst in Moscow industry has been brought into being which is typical of the metropolis of an imperial system; and the exchange of goods is precisely that which naturally comes into being in such a state.

However, all that has been said paints no complete picture of the degree and extent to which Ukraine has been exploited by the Muscovites. It is essential at this point to take a look at financial policy. In order to visualize the policies of exploitation in their full magnitude as they were already practised under the Tsarist Government, one must consider that taxation in Ukraine in the last year before the War (1913) had reached such proportions that on average every member of the population paid 16 roubles, 97 kopeks tax, whilst the state budget, including expenses for the police and gendarmerie amounted to only 8 roubles, 32 kopeks per head of population. Thus every Ukrainian inhabitant paid half his taxes for Muscovite ends in order to strengthen the Empire and serve Muscovite interests. On the other hand, the Muscovite citizen paid only 11 roubles, 90 kopeks, and yet the budget for the territory of Muscovy itself amounted to 13 roubles, 59 kopeks, per taxpayer. The difference was made up mainly by the inhabitants of Ukraine.

If one excluded Ukraine from the budget of the Muscovite empire for the year 1914, then the Moscow state would have had a deficit of 170,331,000 roubles (85,105,500 gold dollars), but including Ukraine it in fact had a surplus of 10,833,000 roubles.

Nowadays the Bolshevik Government in Moscow takes considerably more in taxation from Ukraine than was taken under the Tsars, but it is done in such a manner that it is exceedingly difficult to work out just what the sum is — and the most important feature of the whole matter is that the masses hardly notice what is happening. But let us take as an example the financial year 1947. The

budget is set out in such a way that it appears at first sight that Moscow takes nothing at all from Ukraine, as the figures for each republic appear to balance out:

budget of the	USSR	=	374,105,064,000	roubles
"	"	"	RSFSR	= 45,852,887,000 roubles
"	"	"	Uk.SSR	= 14,789,031,000 roubles.

The budget for the year 1960 (receipts; the sum of expenditure scarcely differed from the sum of receipts):

budget of the	USSR	=	772,900,000,000	roubles
budget of the	Uk.SSR	=	70,200,000,000	roubles;

but a thinking person recognizes immediately that the budget of the so-called USSR, the empire of Moscow, exceeds the sum of the budgets of the individual "Union Republics" in an unexplained manner. Where, then, do the extra receipts come from? The USSR officially has no territory of its own (i.e. territory not belonging to the Union Republics). The answer is simple; the Muscovite Empire of today keeps no account of the revenue it takes from other union republics as the Tsarist government did. The most important sources of revenue are simply appropriated, leaving almost nothing over for the "local" budget. Into the "federal" purse flows all the income of the post office, telecommunications, the railways, alcohol taxes, tobacco taxation, sugar, etc., made in Ukraine. Furthermore, according to Article 14 of the Constitution of the USSR, "The jurisdiction of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics ... covers... administration of banks and industrial, agricultural and trading enterprises and institutions under Union jurisdiction." All state insurance schemes also come under Moscow's jurisdiction. In this way all important and large undertakings are declared to be "under Union jurisdiction", they are directly subject to Moscow, and the turnover from these undertaking never arrives in Kyiv, but circumvents the capital of the Ukrainian SSR and finds its way direct to Moscow. All of these "all-Union" undertakings have had Russian introduced as their official language, their employees are better paid, and recruitment is mostly from amongst Russians who in their turn can spread Russian culture. This ensures extremely high revenue for Moscow, and it is these receipts which are not expressed in the "republican" budgets.

Thus one can see in the 1960 budget, for example, that "the revenue from Socialist agriculture which flowed into the USSR amounted to 702,500,000,000 roubles."

Finally, one must not lose sight of the fact that the huge areas which, like the Kuban, do not have a Russian majority population but have been included in the RSFSR are designated Russian, so that public opinion is confused. The RSFSR includes an area of 8,750,000 square miles, but the areas in which Russian actually live

make up only 780,000 square miles of this, and, what is more, these areas are among the poorest in the Soviet Union.

Without the Ukrainian territories the Russians would not only be so weak that they would be unable to hold on to the other lands of their empire, but a centrifugal movement would set in amongst the captive nations. The loss of raw materials, or the need to buy them at their true value, together with the loss of the market for factory goods, which is organized on the lines of a monopoly, would lead to a catastrophic collapse of Russian industry. Taking all these factors together, the living standard in Russia would be fourteen times lower, and this would bring with it the loss of Moscow's decisive position in world affairs, as well as a drop in its cultural level.

The Muscovite politicians are aware of this fact, and Lenin used often (even before the Revolution) to point out that Muscovites form only a minority within the empire.

We can now clearly perceive the nature of Moscow's policy towards Ukrainians. The Muscovites have taken the trouble to see that more than a third of the entire territory of Ukraine has come directly under their rule. They have also seen to it that in the last forty years the number of Ukrainians has not only not grown, but diminished. In the same period, the number of Russians, who have far better living conditions, has grown to 114,000,000.

The birth rate in Ukraine in 1913 was 44 per 1000; in 1956 it was only 20.2 per 1000. Two organized famines, shootings, transportations and resettlement were the means by which the Muscovites diminished the population to such an extent that, although at the rate of growth as it was before the first World War the population would have reached 100 million in 1967, the actual number of Ukrainians after the Muscovite machinations was not quite 37,250,000.

Striving to prevent the Ukrainian population from growing too much, the Muscovites train the strongest of the population as janissaries, and those who do not give way are liquidated. The rest of the Ukrainian population have falsified history and a pruned literary history of the "pre-revolutionary period" drummed into their heads (since pre-revolutionary literature was always written with a sidelong glance at the Muscovite censor and is therefore easier to process for consumption). Geography and a number of disciplines which deal with Ukrainian civilization are also falsified, so that it looks as if Ukraine were nothing more than the poor relation to whom Muscovy showed favour without which Ukraine would never have managed.

This obscuring of the national consciousness is a factor of immense importance, for it means that the Ukrainian people behaves like an animal which allows itself to be fattened so that, without knowing it, it increases in value before it goes to the slaughterhouse.

And it is exactly the opposite which must happen! Consciousness must not be obscured but brought face to face with the undeniable truth. The Ukrainian people must become aware that at the present stage of their struggle for existence Russia is their greatest enemy, that the Russians are trying to unite their own territory with the soil of Ukraine with the intention of exploiting Ukraine's wealth to the very last, at the same time planning to colonize Ukraine bit by bit in accordance with their needs and to wipe out the Ukrainian indigenous population with all the means at their disposal. The people must be made aware that it is here that the greatest danger *and* the seed of our liberation lie. For a nation which has grown into self-consciousness has only two alternatives — to disappear from the face of the earth, or to be victorious and to liberate itself. And a nation which is so numerous will finally discover a way of attaining its freedom. But a people that is not aware of this will not know, even at the most favourable moment, how to make use of its chances.

The big task which the emigration must fulfil is to help its people to become conscious of itself and of its situation. Proofs must be given in a series of works that things are so and only so. In the end, of course, no one can prove this in an occupied territory. Naturally there are those who would like to attribute the whole thing to "Little Russian slyness." These are the secret Muscophiles who promulgate the idea that, "when the Russians hear that, they will subjugate the Ukrainians even more firmly." But this is really a piece of "Little Russian slyness", for the Russians, and even those who do not take any part in politics, know what Ukraine means to Moscow. And so we can only sell ourselves as fools.

But it is Moscow's object to distract the attention of the emigration from the real state of affairs and to keep them occupied with various unimportant bagatelles, so that, like the biblical prophet, they not only sell their birthright, but also part with the future of their own people for a mess of potage, for a few books with colour illustrations, a ballet, and the products of "folk art."

The condition, without which no successful struggle can be conducted, without which no final victory can be gained, is a deep and unbending conviction that the conflict with the Russians is of that kind which cannot be lain aside with a compromise solution.

When there is a difference of opinion between two fish and a fight for a place in the river, then there can indeed be compromise,

for the bank is long and the fish will not stay in the same place. But between the wolf and the lamb, between the slaughterer and the ox for the slaughter, there can be no compromise. And our conflict belongs to the second class. When we become fully aware that a compromise is impossible and that the fight is inevitable, then our strength is doubled.

To the question of whether victory is possible at all, history must give the answer. Did tiny Greece at the time of the Graeco-Persian Wars have any chance of defeating a state as mighty as Persia? When we look at it this way, the answer is, of course not. But the Greeks thought differently, and three hundred Spartans went out against an army of hundreds of thousands, the Greek fleet at Salamis attacked a fleet four times as great — and it was these acts which gained Greece the victory. Did not Rome take up arms against mighty Carthage, a Carthage which had an extraordinarily gifted strategist at the head of its army and possessed an army equipped with technically far superior weapons? And when the Roman legionaries were stamped into the very soil at Trebia, the Romans sought no compromise but formed a new army. And this army was completely destroyed under the Consul Flaminius on the banks of Lake Trasimeno, and so the Romans organized yet another army. This army, too, was overwhelmingly defeated at Cannae, and a force of eighty thousand wiped out. But Rome knew only one saying: "Ceterum censeo... finally, I am of the opinion that Carthage must be destroyed", and this was why the long battle did end in Carthage's destruction. World history offers us many more examples. "But look at today's technology!" cry those who would capitulate. We would only ask them to recall India, Morocco, Algeria, Egypt, Central Africa, Cuba, etc., etc. No technology in the world can defeat the unbending will of a nation which is aware of what threatens it, which is completely decided and ready to win regardless of death or loss. It is our task to make our people see, to take the Muscovite blindfold from their eyes, to strengthen their will to fight and win. And this is the only realistic policy for us!

Wolfgang KRAHL

THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

Introduction

The author of this documentary essay is the publisher and chief-editor of the Old Catholic International Information Service (AKID) and expert on the history of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The occasion for this essay was the discussion in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* and in particular the unbalanced utterances by Professor Dr. Manfred Hellmann of the University of Münster in Westphalia, in his article, "No 'Ukrainian Orthodox Church'" (FAZ, 29. 3. 67), in which he described the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as a 'product of the imagination of Ukrainian nationalist emigrants.'

Professor Dr. N. Polonska-Vasylenko, Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy at the Ukrainian Free University in Munich, (FAZ, 3. 6. 67) and Professor Dr. (theol.) Friedrich Heyer, director of the denominational seminar at the University of Heidelberg (FAZ, 12. 8. 67), took part in this discussion.

As was shown in the articles by the two professors, Professor Hellmann manifested not only an inadequate knowledge of the history of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, but in addition a lack of objectivity, shown in a strongly anti-Ukrainian attitude.

This inadequate familiarity with the history of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church can be traced back, in part, to the lack of literature on the subject in Western languages. This was also the decisive reason for the publication of this essay by Wolfgang Krahle. For this reason, the author thought it worthwhile to bring together the main essentials of the historical past.

Positive attitudes towards this essay were shown by Professor Dr. P. Meinhold, editor of *Kyrios*; Professor Dr. (theol.) F. Heyer, author of the only work on the subject in German, *The Orthodox Church in Ukraine from 1917 to 1945*; and Professor Dr. N. Polonska-Vasylenko, author of numerous works on the subject. The publication of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, *Ridna Cerkva*, No. 73, 1968, also praises the very welcome complete objectivity of this work of information.

A. Ostapchuk

The History of The Ukrainian Orthodox Church's Canonical Position

As part of the formation of individual national states in the last and in the present century, there also occurred the constitution of several autocephalous (completely independent) national Orthodox churches, that is to say, in Greece in 1833, Romania in 1859, Serbia in 1879, Bulgaria in 1879, Georgia in 1917, Ukraine in 1919, Czechoslovakia in 1921, Albania in 1922 and Poland in 1924. The largest of these national Orthodox churches, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, which at present is, with its over 20 million adherents, 19 dioceses and over eight thousand parishes, the second largest Orthodox national church in the world, nevertheless lost once again its autocephalous status through foreign measures of force and forms today only a so-called autonomous church (independent in local administration), under the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch.

Kyiv Metropolis under Constantinople

In the tenth century the Kyiv metropolis was established in the Ukrainian ethnographic area for the Kyiv empire — Kyiv is still today the capital of Ukraine — as a fully autonomous church province of the oecumenical patriarchate of Constantinople, and has remained in its main area into our times under Constantinople's canonical jurisdiction. In 1448 the Russians created independently for their new state of Muscovy (later called Russia) in the North-East of Europe a new Moscow metropolis, which declared itself autocephalous and was finally in 1589 raised by Constantinople to a patriarchate. From then on, only the Ukrainian and White Ruthenian areas belonged to the Kyiv metropolis, and continued to be subject to the canonical jurisdiction of Constantinople, which continually championed or confirmed the Kyiv metropolitans.

Arbitrary Incorporation into the Moscow Patriarchate

In 1686, as a result of the political subjection of Ukraine to Moscow, the Kyiv metropolis was arbitrarily and uncanonically incorporated into the Moscow patriarchate and gradually lost in complete measure its independence. The illegality of this action by Moscow was expressively emphasised again on 13 November 1924 in the official pronouncement by the Oecumenical Patriarch on the declaration of autocephalous independence of the Orthodox Church in Poland (the western part of the Kyiv metropolis). The actual words were: "The separation of the Kyiv metropolis and the metropolitans of Lithuania and Poland dependent on it from our See and their incorporation into the Holy Church of Moscow is in no way in accordance with the canon law as laid down; equally, no observation was paid to the full ecclesiastical autonomy of the Kyiv metropolitan, who bears the title of an Exarch of the Oecumenical See."

When in 1917 the Ukrainian national revolution broke out and also introduced a re-birth of the national church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was completely under Russian authority. Of the more than 30 Orthodox bishops in Ukraine in 1917, only three were Ukrainians (of whom one was in retirement); the professors of the Kyiv Theological Academy, the teachers at the Theological Seminary and at the religious schools, as well as the town clergy, were also in their majority of Russian nationality, who placed the greatest obstacles in the way of the national Ukrainian church movement. Only in those Ukrainian areas in the west (above all Galicia), which had not belonged to Russia, was there a Byzantine Ukrainian (also called Ruthenian) church with a national hierarchy, which since the Union of Brest in 1596 was united with Rome.

Formation of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council

On 20 November 1917, during an Orthodox service celebrated by the Ukrainian Archbishop Oleksiy (Alexius) in front of the Kyiv Sophia cathedral, the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR), was solemnly proclaimed on the basis of a resolution of the Ukrainian Central Council — which was the representative of the whole Ukrainian nation — and on 22 January 1918 it proclaimed Ukrainian independence. The new State was recognised diplomatically by a total of 24 European and Asiatic states.

On 23 November 1917 followed the formation of an All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council, numbering about 60 members, under the chairmanship of archbishop Oleksiy, the senior in rank of the then only three Ukrainian bishops. The church council was composed of a preparatory Ukrainian Council, elected by the Kyiv metropolitan synod and delegates of the other Ukrainian bishoprics, as well as

ecclesiastical and social groups and institutions. Its main task was the preparation and summoning of an All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council, which was to undertake the organisation of an autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox National Church, as had been called for at the Ukrainian bishops synods, which had assembled everywhere in the spring and summer of 1917, and at which for the first time for over 200 years laymen had also once more taken part with the right to cast their vote.

Re-establishment of the Ecclesiastical Autonomy of the Kyïv Metropolis

The All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council was opened on 7 January 1918 in Kyïv, in the presence of all bishops and about 400 delegates (118 clerics, the rest laymen), but had to be broken off prematurely on 19 January 1918 through a Russian Bolshevik attack on the town. The Council had spoken clearly for the autocephalous state of the Ukrainian church. This caused the Russian episcopacy in Ukraine to work against a further assembly of the Council, in the first place, and, when this could not be prevented, to ensure through new elections to its own liking that the forces of the national church (including the whole All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council) should be mostly excluded from the second session of the Council in the summer of 1918. In a petition, 102 members of the Council make the accusation that in the elections illegalities had taken place, the bishops had contravened the will of the Council and the newly-assembled Council was not representative of the Ukrainian Church.

Thus a majority of Moscow supporters was to be found on the Council, which on 9 July 1918 accepted a 'statute on the temporary supreme administration of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine', this being confirmed by the Moscow patriarchate and forming even today in the main the factual organisational basis of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The statute officially re-established the lost ecclesiastical autonomy of the Kyïv metropolis — of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, — whereby however the position under the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch was 'temporarily' maintained. "The highest organ of the ecclesiastical legislature, administration and jurisdiction is the Ukrainian Church Council" (§ 3 of the statute). "The Ukrainian Church Council is composed of the diocese and suffragan bishops in office, clerics and laymen in accordance with the election by the bishopric synods" (§ 5). "The active executive body of the highest church administration in Ukraine is without interruption the most holy synod of all bishops in office of the Ukrainian dioceses and the Highest Church Council" (§ 6). "The Highest Church Council is composed of three bishops, four clergymen and six laymen, of whom the clergymen and the laymen will be elected by the Ukrainian Church Council for a period of three years" (§ 8). "The chairman of the

Ukrainian Church Council, of the Most Holy Synod of Bishops and the Highest Church Council is ex officio the Metropolitan of Kyiv and Halych" (§ 9). In the direction of the church, spiritual matters are principally the concern of the Most Holy Synod and affairs of church administration that of the Highest Church Council.

State Declaration of the Independence of the Ukrainian Church

The national church movement held the view that the created autonomous status of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and above all the canonically unjustified continued submission to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch was merely — as expressed in the statute itself even — of a temporary nature and was not in accordance with the will of the Ukrainian Church for complete independence of their own national church. Thus the question of autocephalous independence was again placed on the agenda of the autumn session of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council. In a government declaration of the Ukrainian State, which the Minister of Education, Lototskyi (later Ukrainian Orthodox Professor of Theology at the University of Warsaw) personally justified at the Council meeting of 12 November 1918, the Council was officially informed that the Ukrainian nation could now expect the creation of an autocephalous Ukrainian Church as an independent church in an independent country. Renewed hostilities in Kyiv however brought this session to a premature end at the end of November 1918, without the question of an autocephalous church being decided in any way.

In view of the constant hindering of the efforts towards a national church by the Russian hierarchy in Ukraine, the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council — the actual highest representative body of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church — turned to the Ukrainian National government for effective support in the realisation of the will of the Ukrainian church for an independent national Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Following this the Ukrainian government forbade in December 1918 the leading Russian bishops in Ukraine to exercise their offices any longer and nominated as ecclesiastical head in the area of the state the senior Ukrainian archbishop and chairman of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council, Oleksiy.

On 1 January, 1919 the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was declared autocephalous in a state-law of the Ukrainian National Republic, referring to Canon 17 of the Fourth Oecumenical Council (confirmed by canon 38 of the Sixth Oecumenical Council), and the former Ukrainian Minister of Education, Professor Lototskyi was sent as special ambassador of the Ukrainian National Government to Constantinople, to inform officially the Oecumenical Patriarch, as the real previous canonical head of the Kyiv metropolis, of the

declaration of the autocephalous church. "The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church" (as the name now officially ran) "is in no way dependent on the All-Russian patriarch" was stated in the law. "The highest ecclesiastical legislative, juridical and administrative power in Ukraine lies in the All-Ukrainian Church Council" (§ 1 of the law). "As directing body of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church a Ukrainian Church Synod will be formed, to be composed of two bishops, one archpriest, one priest, one deacon, three laymen and one military padre" and elected by the council (§ 2).

The Education Minister of the Ukrainian National Republic, Ivan Ohiyenko — the present Ukrainian Orthodox Metropolitan Ilarion of Winnipeg and all Canada — on behalf of his government now supported decisively the development of the Ukrainian Orthodox National Church. Professor Ohiyenko as rector at the same time of the Ukrainian University of Kamianets Podilskyi set work in progress there, above all on research questions of national history and the national church. Their own periodical with the title 'The Autocephalous Ukrainian Church' was published. The translation of the Holy Scriptures into Ukrainian was undertaken, the liturgical text given a Ukrainian form and sermons in Ukrainian made obligatory.

All-Ukrainian Church Ratification of the Autocephalous Church

At the time of the declaration of autocephalous independence by the state law, the Ukrainian National Republic was again plunged into a war of independence, which devastated the country and finally towards the end of 1920 ended with the occupation of the largest part of Ukraine by the Soviet Russian Red Army and the setting-up of the so-called Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic (Uk.S.S.R.). The Russian re-occupation of Ukraine also gave the Russian episcopacies there (of the more than thirty Orthodox bishops in Ukraine in 1920 only two were Ukrainians, all the rest were Russian!) further freedom of action to take counter-action (ban on services in Ukrainian etc.). In these circumstances translating into practice the autocephalous independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was attended with the greatest difficulties.

The Russian Red Army had already conquered Kyïv on 6 February, 1919; the Ukrainian National Army had once more penetrated on 30 August, 1919 into Kyïv, but had to evacuate the town before the Russian White Guards, who were in their turn driven out by the Soviet Russian Red Army. Kyïv was again recovered by the Ukrainian National Army on 5 May, 1920, which however had to finally leave the town to Soviet Russian troops on 11 June, 1920.

On the day of the liberation of Kyïv from the foreign occupation troops, on 5 May, 1920, the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council

— the highest actual representative body of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church — assembled there for a plenary session and passed a unanimous resolution which put without any form of restriction the autocephalous independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, declared on 1 January 1919 by state law, into ecclesiastical force. Point Three of the resolution read, in the original words: "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church is free from any subservience to the authority of Moscow: it is autocephalous, independent and synodal." In Point Two the jurisdiction of all Russian bishops in Ukraine was removed as a contradiction of the will of the Ukrainian Church. "Therefore the Church Council takes it upon itself to effect the direction of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in town and country itself, as a temporary measure until the election of its own Ukrainian episcopacy and until the formation of a proper church government."

This resolution was made known to all Ukrainian parishes in a circular letter from the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council and was justified in a resumé of ecclesiastical history. The wording was as follows: "From the beginnings of Christianity in Ukraine until the subjection of our nation by Moscow, the Ukrainian Church was for 700 years independent, i.e. autocephalous, and was only beneath the Byzantine patriarch in a certain degree. In accordance with the example of the first Christians, the Ukrainian people elected their own prelates and priests themselves and in addition controlled independently their own fate through their own elected synods. The constitution of the church was synodal. Through the annexation by Moscow the Muscovite clergy destroyed the independence and the synodal rights of the Ukrainian Church." The entry into ecclesiastical force of the autocephalous declaration was welcomed everywhere by the church congregations. The resolution on the autocephalous church by the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council was approved unanimously at a church conference of all Ukrainian parishes, summoned to Kyiv for 30 May, 1920, at which over 200 delegates appeared.

The chairman of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council, Archbishop Oleksiy, had already died in January 1920. Thus the Church Council had turned to the now senior of the two remaining Ukrainian bishops, Archbishop Parfeniy of Poltava, and received his agreement to accept the pastoral direction of the Ukrainian Church in place of the deceased Archbishop Oleksiy in April 1920. He found from then on intercessory mention in Ukrainian liturgy as 'All-Ukrainian archbishop.' He officially gave his archbishop's blessing on 8 August, 1920 to the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, "that they might continue their work in belief in God and His help and build a living church, which is familiar to the Ukrainian nation in language, customs and worship, which is synodal, free Ukrainian and Orthodox." Parfeniy also died in January 1922 after a very long illness.

First National Council of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church

When the Russian Soviet power had been confirmed in Ukraine, the Russian episcopacy in Ukraine swung back for a decisive counter-stroke. A resolution was adopted at a conference of Russian bishops in February 1921 in Kyiv, following which the priests of the National Ukrainian Church were demoted, the All-Ukrainian Church Council dissolved and those persisting were to be subject to excommunication. A provincial council meeting in Kyiv, as a result of this, in May 1921, at which 400 representatives of the clergy and congregation of the parishes appeared, sharply condemned the attitude of the Russian episcopacy and decided upon the convocation of the All-Ukrainian Church Council on 14 October, 1921 to Kyiv, for the preparation of which the mandate of the All-Ukrainian Church Council, already given in 1917, was confirmed. The All-Ukrainian Archbishop Parfeniy, who excused his absence from the Kyiv provincial Council with illness, sent a spiritual representative, who declared to the Council, on behalf of the Archbishop, that he continued to remain in unshakable faith to the Ukrainian Church. The Provincial Council then elected him Ukrainian metropolitan of Kyiv; but Parfeniy, mainly because of illness and age (he in fact would have already been in retirement), did not accept the choice, withdrew from ecclesiastical activity and died a few months later.

In August and September 1921 church assemblies took place in the whole Ukraine, at which delegates for the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council were chosen, which was as planned solemnly opened on 14 October, 1921 in Kyiv Sophia cathedral, the national shrine of Ukraine from the time of the Kyiv empire. 472 delegates took part. Only 82 of the over 100 clerical delegates which were to have come appeared, since most of the rest were then in Soviet prisons. The lay-delegates formed a real representative body of the Ukrainian church congregation, representing in particular very strongly the Ukrainian intelligentsia. The Council once more addressed Moscow Exarch in Kyiv with the plea to consecrate for the Ukrainian Church their own bishops. After a definite refusal, the Council elected as metropolitan of Kyiv and all Ukraine on 21 October, 1921 the outstanding spiritual leader of the national church movement, who had already presided over the first Ukrainian provincial council in Kyiv on 12 April, 1917 and from the beginning had been one of the most active men on the All-Ukrainian Church Council, archpriest Vasyl Lypkivskyi. The only alternative to this step would have been the complete dissolution of the Ukrainian Orthodox National Church — its ruin.

After all attempts to obtain Orthodox bishops for the consecration of a Ukrainian episcopacy had failed — even a delegation sent by

a Church Council of the Georgian Church, who had also once more become autocephalous in 1917, only managed to get as far as Kharkiv, where they had to turn back again — in this extreme emergency, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church decided, cut off in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic from any free connection with the outside world, to procede, after the completion of elections in accordance with the rules of the old church, to consecrate their metropolitan in the form of the early Christian times through the common laying of hands by the whole body of priests, a kind of consecration of bishops, which was usual, e.g. in Alexandria, according to Hieronymus (Ep. 146, 1) until the third century.

The consecration of Metropolitan Lypkivskyi took place on 23 October, 1921 with all solemnity in the Kyiv St. Sophia. All the members of the Council were joined together by laying their hands on the shoulders of the next. The chain ended in twelve deacons and thirty priests, who carried out the laying of hands in the choir. Five further bishops were consecrated in this way in the following days, while all subsequent consecrations followed in the usual canonical form.

The council then confirmed the autocephalous nature of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, approved the church constitution and authorized various canons concerning the national life of the church. The church constitution was formed on the synodal principle of the early Christian church. The highest authority lay in the All-Ukrainian Church Council, elected by the whole church, which chose the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council from bishops, priests and laymen as the standing highest direction of the church. In the organisation of the church also administration and direction were to be carried out through regional, district and parish councils (e.g. also the election of priests). Laymen were once more granted the active right to vote in all ecclesiastical committees and authorities, a right they had possessed in the earlier centuries of Ukrainian church history. The Ukrainian vernacular was prescribed for all divine services and the text newly translated from the Greek; peculiarities in the liturgy of the old Kyiv metropolis were re-established. The Bible in Ukrainian was to be henceforth given the widest dissemination. Disciplinary committees of reform now permitted clergymen to be married both before and after their consecration; even bishops could be married men. No clerical dress was to be worn on ordinary days.

Within two years after the first national council the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church already had, in addition to the metropolitan chair, thirty bishop's sees, of which eleven were archbishops and nineteen bishops, in the whole Ukrainian Soviet Republic, which were held by hierarchs of Ukrainian nationality. Among the bishops were also two, who had come over to the Ukrainian Church,

canonically consecrated by the Moscow patriarchate. For the several hundred thousand believers of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of North America, which came into existence in 1918, and comprised approximately 300 parishes, Ioan (Johannes) Teodorovych was sent in 1923 as archbishop of America and Canada (newly consecrated in 1949 by the Alexandrian Exarch of America), who is still today the archbishop of Philadelphia and metropolitan of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the USA. In the same period, the number of registered parishes of the Autocephalous Church in the Soviet Ukraine rose to about 2,200. Here it must be borne in mind that practically all parishes were dissolved by the Soviet legislature and, if they wanted to continue their existence, had to be newly constituted and officially registered. It can be regarded as true that in a free Ukrainian national state the Autocephalous Church would soon have become the only Orthodox Church of the people.

In 1927 the Soviet power in Ukraine made a destructive blow against the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Metropolitan Lypkivskyi and three of his bishops were arrested. At the end of January 1930 the Autocephalous Church at a 'Council' had to dissolve itself; the last of the thousand parishes were officially dissolved in 1936. All thirty three autocephalous bishops were removed from their office; most were arrested, the last in 1935, and the greatest part of them banished to Siberia; some were shot at once; the fate of most is unknown; those who came back from their years of banishment, soon died from the effects, the last bishop in 1943; even Metropolitan Lypkivskyi died a martyr's death. 1215 Ukrainian Orthodox priests and over 42,000 lay leaders of the church were arrested with their bishops and shared the fate of their pastors; amongst them was the most important lay-leader of the church and former Premier of the Ukrainian National Republic and professor at the Kyiv Theological Academy, Volodymyr Chekhivskyi, who was executed.

Canonical Reestablishment of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church

By the peace treaty of Riga between Poland, Soviet Russia and the Soviet Ukraine on 18 March, 1921 the West-Ukrainian areas of Polissia, Volhynia, Kholm and Galicia were incorporated into the Polish State, all together 132,000 square kilometres of Ukrainian national territory (i.e. the size of Greece) with a total of 9,198,000 inhabitants, of whom 5.8 million (=63%) were Ukrainians; of these 3.3 million were members of the Catholic Ukrainian Church, spread mainly in Galicia, while 2.5 million Ukrainians were Orthodox, above all in Polissia, Volhynia and Kholm region. Including the likewise incorporated White Ruthenian areas in the north, the Orthodox Church in Poland had altogether 3.6 million adherents (70% Ukrainians, 29% Byelorussians and 1% Russians). From the church

point of view, the Ukrainian and Byelorussian area incorporated into Poland represented the Western part of the old Kyiv metropolis, whose Orthodox population were now again freed from the uncanonical subservience to the Moscow patriarch and formed separate Warsaw metropolis, which was again under the canonical jurisdiction of Constantinople and officially declared autocephalous by the pronouncement of the Oecumenical patriarch of 13 November, 1924, which was subsequently recognised by all other autocephalous Orthodox Churches (except Russia). "According to the view of the Oecumenical Patriarch, as is expressly confirmed in the above-mentioned pronouncement concerning this, our local church is to be the successor of the great old Kyiv metropolis", so reads a memorandum of the Warsaw metropolitan Dionysius of 15 July, 1942. "By reason of the authority of the Oecumenical Patriarch", writes metropolitan Dionysius further, "our local church was the only church which had the right and the duty to attend to the religious needs, in case of need, of the Ukrainian people."

According to the Soviet-German secret agreement the Warsaw metropolis was torn into two parts in September 1939. Almost the whole area of Western Ukraine with over 1,000 Orthodox parishes were once more joined to Ukraine; the Byelorussian western region was likewise joined to its motherland. The Warsaw metropolis in the newly-created General Gouvernement province comprised only about 400,000 Orthodox believers in about 200 parishes, which were now almost exclusively Ukrainian, as was also the whole church life. Two of the in total three episcopal sees of the remaining Warsaw metropolis were occupied by Ukrainians at the beginning of 1941: the archbishop of Kholm and Pidliashia was Ilarion, the former Minister of Education of the Ukrainian National Republic, Professor Ohiyenko; the archbishop of Cracow and Lemky region was the Ukrainian Palladiy (Rudenko), former Deputy Finance Minister of the Ukrainian National Republic. Metropolitan Dionysius of Warsaw, himself Russian, had been connected with the Ukrainian Church for forty years and a member of the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council of 1918 in Kyiv and president of the Synodal Office there; in his Warsaw cathedral services were always celebrated in the Ukrainian language.

The German Eastern campaign began against the Soviet Union in June 1941; Kyiv had already been conquered by the German troops in September and by October 1941 almost all Ukraine had been freed from the Soviet Russian occupation. Ukrainian Orthodox church communities formed spontaneously everywhere again, together with regional church councils.

The All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council was re-constituted by an initiative group of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox

Church (which had survived underground) in Kyiv on 29 September, 1941 and expanded and confirmed at a great Orthodox Kyiv Church assembly on 17 October, 1941.

The All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council sent a message on the subject of its re-establishment to the Warsaw metropolitan Dionysius, as church head of the autocephalous western part of the old Kyiv metropolis, whose eastern main area — the Ukrainian provinces of Volhynia and Polissia — belonged, since 1939, to the Ukrainian state area, and asked him, after the actual dissolution of the uncanonical subservience to the Moscow patriarchate, to appoint canonically a Ukrainian hierarchy for the reestablishment of the church in Great Ukraine, the main part of the old Kyiv metropolis, of which he was the only local church head recognised by the Oecumenical patriarch of Constantinople.

Metropolitan Dionysius sent his pastoral blessing for the re-establishment of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church to the All-Ukrainian Orthodox Church Council in Kyiv no later than October 1941 and established through a rescript of 24 December, 1941 to Archbishop Polikarp of Lutsk and Kovel, who was under his jurisdiction in the Ukrainian state area, a temporary administrator of the Holy Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the liberated area of Ukraine in the Volhynian capital of Lutsk, with the special commission of setting up there a Ukrainian Orthodox episcopacy, which through him as metropolitan "standing in canonical union with the Most Holy Orthodox Patriarch, belonged to the episcopacy of the Holy Oecumenical Orthodox Church" (official confirmation by Metropolitan Dionysius for Archbishop Nikanor of 10. 5. 1944). The Warsaw Metropolitan named the bishop of Ukrainian nationality, then the only one in office in the whole Ukrainian state area, as administrator, archbishop Polikarp (Sikorsky) of Lutsk and Kovel, formerly ministerial director in the Ministry of Education of the Ukrainian National Republic.

With the approval of the Warsaw metropolitan, archbishop Polikarp as administrator, together with archbishop Aleksander of Pinsk and Polissia and bishop Yuriy of Brest formed a synod of bishops of the Holy Autocephalous Orthodox Church in the liberated areas of Ukraine, which held its constituting assembly from 7 to 10 February, 1942 in the Polissian capital of Pinsk. The first official action of the Synod was the requested election and consecration of two Ukrainian Orthodox bishops for central Ukraine. The Ukrainian archimandrite Nikanor Abramovych was consecrated on 9 February, 1942 with the blessing of the Warsaw metropolitan by the three bishops of the Synod in accordance with canon law as bishop of Chyhyryn in the archiepiscopal cathedral at Pinsk, and appointed vicar of the Administrator in Kyiv (Nikanor lives today as the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Exile in Karlsruhe,

West Germany. The communities in Europe, Australia, New Zealand and South America are under his jurisdiction). Ihor (Huba) was elected bishop of Uman the following day. A resolution of historical importance was the proposed acceptance of clerics and laymen of the reorganised Autocephalous Church of Great Ukraine into the canonical jurisdiction of the Synod of bishops on 10 February, 1942, in connection with the official recognition — in accordance with the Orthodox canonical practice of church management — of the surviving clerics going back to the consecration of metropolitan Lypkivskyi, who were "taken into the real clergy and installed accordingly in the Holy Oecumenical Orthodox Church."

The official transfer of the power of the church to the synod of bishops and their vicar in Kyïv, Bishop Nikanor, followed in Kyïv on 19 March, 1942. At the second synod of bishops in Kyïv from 9 to 17 May, 1942, at which the representatives of the clergy and laymen also took part, the title of metropolitan was bestowed on the administrator Polikarp, Nikanor was elected archbishop of Kyïv and Chyhyryn, and further bishops were consecrated.

Beside the Autocephalous Church some Russian hierarchs of the Warsaw metropolis — against the express instructions of their lawful metropolitan — organised a so-called Autonomous Church in Ukraine, without any authority, which was to be connected with the Moscow patriarchate. An agreement of union was signed by the leader of this group on 8 October 1942 in Pochayiv and liturgically sealed, according to which "the actual existence of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church" was given recognition. In the summer of 1943 this was made up of 15 bishops, about 3,000 parishes and over 1,700 priests. The public work of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was again forbidden by the Soviet Russian re-occupation of Ukraine in 1944-45, and since then has continued only in exile.

LITERATURE:

Professor I. Vlasovskyi, *An Outline of the History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church*, 5 volumes: Ukrainian edition, 1955-66; English edition, 1958; P.O.B. 595, So. Bound Brook, N.J., USA. Total price, 15 dollars.

Metropolitan V. Lypkivskyi, *History of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, Rebirth of the Ukrainian Church 1917, 1930* (Ukrainian) with imprimatur of metropolitan Nikanor Abramovych, Winnipeg, 1961.

Legal Status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church after Vatican II

Interview with Rev. George Maloney S.J. of the John XXIII Center for study of Eastern Christianity, Professor of Theology at Fordham University, New York, by Dr. Nicholas D. Chubaty, former Professor of Church History at the Ukrainian Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv, Ukraine.

The main idea of Pope John XXIII at the Vatican Council was to prepare a direct way for the unification of Eastern Orthodox Churches into the Universal Catholic Church under the primacy of the Bishop of Rome. The accepted Conciliar Decree on Eastern Churches demanded that the future Universal Church be returned to the status before the final division of the Christian East and the West (1054).

The Vatican II as a Catholic Council related the Decree to the Eastern Churches already in unity with Rome, but its practical application should be a showcase for Eastern Orthodox Churches of their future life after a reconciliation with the Papacy.

The present dialogue with the Orthodox Churches proved that they do not have a sympathy for the Oriental Catholic Churches not only because of their desertion of the Oriental Church camp, but also because of their dereliction of Eastern Christian characteristics. Therefore the honest application of the Decree on Eastern Churches immediately appears to be the common interest of the whole Christianity. Unfortunately three years have passed and the Conciliar Decree on Eastern Churches has remained just a noble theory.

Stagnation in the execution of the Conciliar Decree on Eastern Churches has already produced unfavourable consequences among Orthodox Christians, especially of the Ukrainian nationality, a distrust in the good will of the Holy See; among Eastern Catholics an erosion of Church discipline and loyalty. Specifically the resulting turbulence in the Ukrainian Catholic Church provides a very undesirable example for the Orthodox Ukrainians, who comprise 85% of the nation, of the methods by which the unionistic ideals of Pope John XXIII are being furthered.

In order to clarify this confused situation Prof. N. Chubaty submitted on January 25, 1968 to Rev. Prof. G. Maloney, an expert on Eastern Christianity, five questions in writing asking him for his views. Prof. Chubaty's questions were the following:

- 1) *What changes were brought in the order of the Universal Catholic Church by the Decree on Oriental Catholic Churches accepted by the II Vatican Council and approved by Pope Paul VI?*
- 2) *When and how is this Decree to be introduced into the practice of the Oriental Catholic Churches; who has to be the initiator?*
- 3) *What relationship has emerged between the Eastern Catholic Churches and the Congregation of Eastern Churches after the Conciliar Decree on Oriental Catholic Churches became the new Law of the Universal Church?*
- 4) *Is the preservation of the present Congregation for Eastern Churches, especially composed of Latin Prelates, in concordance with the letter and spirit of the Conciliar Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches?*
- 5) *What effects are to be expected for the ecumenical movement among the Orthodox from the present stagnation in correct execution of the Conciliar Decree on Oriental Catholic Churches?*

On February 26, 1968 Rev. G. Maloney S.J. of the John XXIII Center returned the following answers:

Q. 1.: What changes were brought about in the Church by the Decree on the Oriental Catholic Churches?

A.: The first great change is one of mentality, namely, the Council Fathers have called the attention of the Universal Church, and this includes the Roman Curia and its curial congregations, especially the Oriental Congregation, that these Churches of the East are on an equality with that of the West, "of equal dignity so that none of them is superior to the others by reason of rite. They enjoy the same rights and are under the same obligations, even with respect to preaching the gospel to the whole world under the guidance of the Roman Pontiff." (§ 3)

The conclusion that we can draw and the Council Fathers in this decree do draw from this is that attention should be given to the preservation and growth of each individual Church. (§ 4). In order that the Eastern Churches may continue not only to persevere in mere existence but also to grow the document goes on to guarantee the ancient rights and privileges. These Eastern Churches "fully enjoy the right and are *in duty bound to rule themselves*. Each should do so according to its proper and individual procedures..." (§ 4)

In regard to abuses and rights that have fallen into disuse this advice is given: "If they have improperly fallen away from them because of circumstances of time or personage, let them take pains to return to their ancestral ways." (§ 6)

We are now approaching more specifically the concrete means and the greatest change instituted by the decree. Under Article 7 it is said: "Whenever an Ordinary of any rite is appointed outside the territorial bounds of its patriarchate, he remains attached to the hierarchy of the patriarchate of that rite, in accordance with the norm of law."

And then the Council insists on reestablishing the ancient rights and privileges: "The rights and privileges in question are those that flourished when East and West were in union, though they should be somewhat adapted to modern conditions. The Patriarchs with their synods constitute the superior authority for all affairs of the patriarchate, including the right to establish new eparchies and to nominate bishops of their rite within the territorial bounds of the patriarchate..." (§ 9)

In direct reference since the Ukrainians alone have within the Eastern Churches a Major-Archbishop, the Fathers said: "What has been said of Patriarchs applies as well, under the norm of law, to major archbishops who preside over the whole of some individual Church or rite." (§ 10)

In a document issued by Pope Paul VI earlier, Dec. 23, 1963, it is clear that "To the question whether the Ukrainian Metrop. of Lviv is to be regarded as major archbishop in accordance with the Apostolic Letters given June 2, 1958, which begin with the words "Cleri Sanctitati" the S. Congregation for the Oriental Church decided that an affirmative reply should be given."

It seems to me very clearly therefore that the Ukrainian major archbishop has jurisdiction that extends as though he were patriarch to the Ukrainian dioceses and exarchies outside Ukraine, namely, Winnipeg, and Philadelphia, the 2 ecclesiastical provinces and the other 2 eparchies in the U.S. and 4 in Canada with the 6 apostolic exarchies in Germany, Great Britain, France, Brazil, Argentina, Australia.

A footnote could be appended that shows how fuzzy and unfair is the thinking of parts of Rome in regard to the application of the dignity of major archbishop. When Major Archbishop Joseph Slipyi was nominated cardinal priest with no precedence over other cardinal priests this was a complete misunderstanding of what a major archbishop in the Eastern traditions is. This council decree reestablishes these privileges and therefore he should have ranked according to § 10 of this decree directly after the full Eastern patriarchs.

In carrying out the full impact of this decree it seems to me that he can therefore conduct himself, ignoring the Oriental Congregation, just as a Catholic patriarch can do, esp. in decreeing the use of the liturgical languages as it is said in § 23: "It is the right of a patriarch with his synod or of the supreme authority of each Church with its

council of Ordinaries, to regulate the use of languages in sacred liturgical functions, and, after making a report to the Apostolic See to approve translations of texts into the vernacular."

I have already cited the passage about electing his own bishops and governing directly those eparchies that lie outside of his geographical patriarchate or metropolitanate.

Q. 2.: When and how this decree is to be introduced into the practical life of the Oriental Catholic Churches, who has to be the initiator?

A.: Here comes into play the whole history of ecclesiastical diplomacy and the patience of using now force, now an easing up until gradually, not through revolution, but through firm insistence, the rights are secured also in practice and not just on paper. The Melchites are an example: in choosing their new patriarch they elected him according to the ancient procedure and then informed Rome, a practice as the decree wishes to be in force from before the schism. Also Maximus IV chose and consecrated his own bishops on this same decree's validity. It seems in regard to the Ukrainian Church the great initiator should be the major archbishop himself. He must start acting with the powers that this decree gives him. For this I think an international Ukrainian Synod should be called on the level of the Orthodox and the Melchites national synods wherein he presides with the powers of a patriarch.

Q. 3.: What relationship has emerged between the Congregation and the Eastern Catholic Churches?

A.: It seems to me this Congregation has meaning now only for those Catholic rites without a patriarchal set-up. Thus concretely for the Melchites, Chaldeans, Maronites, Copts, Armenians, Syrians and Ukrainians, there should be no longer any real "commerce" as far as asking for permissions etc. goes.

Q. 4.: Is the preservation of the Congregation in concordance with the letter and spirit of this decree?

A.: See Quest. and Answer No. 3 above. Certainly for those Eastern Churches without their own patriarchal set-up it still serves a function. But it must have more experts both Eastern and Western rite serving in the official capacity as administrators of this Congregation.

Q. 5.: What effects are to be expected for the ecumenical movement among the Orthodox from the present stagnation in failing to execute the decree on Oriental Churches?

A.: I think the effects will be great and horrendously negative. The Orthodox Churches lament very much the presence in the Catholic bosom of the Eastern Catholic Churches. But at the same time they see with one eye the treatment (a la romanita) that Rome gives these Eastern brethren of theirs and they do not like the high centralization where everything goes through Rome and collegiality along with the fundamental principle of all ecclesiology, namely, the principle of subsidiarity is violated outrageously. This principle, from Christ's very institution of bishops, allows that the local unit of administration have the full power to execute whatever falls into its jurisdiction and this right must not be usurped by a higher power merely for greater uniformity of procedure. Herein lies the greatest obstacle to reunion in my mind. Should Rome change and effect what it has verbally granted in this decree to all the Eastern Churches having a patriarchal set-up (including the major archbishop) then the Orthodox would realize as they have never before (for there was not much evidence forthcoming in history) that the Pope is the visible sign of unity but that collegiality dictates that there be a great freedom within that unity of faith, teaching and sacramental life which allows great diversities not only in the liturgical expression but also in the actual administration and canon law in force in these Eastern Churches. This is what this decree is insisting upon by demanding a return to those ancient customs and rights of these Eastern Churches.

PROMISE AND REALITY

50 Years of Soviet-Russian "Achievements"

An Indictment of Russian Communism

by SUZANNE LABIN

1/6

1/6

When the Communists seized power in 1917 they made many promises to the workers and peasants in the former Russian Imperial lands.

In "PROMISE AND REALITY", the distinguished French journalist shows the reality of the Communist world after fifty years of unlimited power.

Published by the **British Section of the European Freedom Council**,
c/o 200, Liverpool Road, London, N.1.

MOCK TRIALS CONTINUE

Open letter from the prisoner M. Horyn

To the Minister of Foreign Affairs of
the Ukrainian SSR, Bilokolos,
from the political prisoner M. M. Horyn',
sentenced to 6 years imprisonment in
strict regime camps; now in transit in
the Vladimir prison [east of Moscow — transl.]

STATEMENT

It is not by chance that I address myself to you. Events are taking place in political prison camps of the Russian Federation, shut off from the world thousands of miles away from Ukraine, which directly concern you, as minister of foreign affairs of the Ukrainian Republic, of the Ukrainian people.

On the day of victory over fascist Germany, J. Stalin raised a toast praising the exceptional merits of the Russian people in the victory over the enemy. Thus a green light was given to those who for a long time had advocated the idea of Russian messianism, those who propagated Russian chauvinism.

With his characteristic sweeping gesture Stalin proclaimed entire peoples anti-Soviet and sent them to Siberia. In the course of a few days Crimea was cleared of the Tatars, the Chechens, Ingushes, Karachays etc. were also deported.

At the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's Russian chauvinists went further and began to justify their policy theoretically. As if to order, articles by Agayevs, Desheriyevs, Kammaris began to appear one after another. In the first place they tackled the problem of linguistic policy.

Language is the spiritual treasure of a people, the source of its strength and power. As a rule, national rebirth of a nation began from linguistic renaissance. The perfection of a language, its enrichment has always been a reliable immunity against assimilation, and an interest in one's native language, its cultivation raised national consciousness. On the other hand, those who attempted to assimilate a people in the first place carried out linguistic assimilation. In Ukraine there were the well known Ems ukases¹, the circular of Valuyev², and in Estonia — Count Rosen's

declaration. The above-mentioned Agayev propagates the idea that some languages have prospects of future development while others have none. And if, for instance, the Ukrainian language is classified as such that has no prospects of a future, can one dream of a better service to Russian chauvinism?

Anyone who comes forward with suggestions of broadening linguistic development [of a non-Russian nation — transl.] is very often branded as a nationalist. A new morality is cultivated in every possible way, according to which renunciation of one's own native language and changeover to the Russian language of communication is nothing amoral but, on the contrary, a symptom of an internationalist consciousness worthy of emulation. In this way the consciousness of the peoples is being brainwashed and at the same time factories are being Russified, as well as a considerable part of higher educational establishments, various nationalities are being artificially intermingled. Who will believe that the Rozdol sulphur combine³ needs [outside] labour force? Nonetheless it is brought there. And, simultaneously with the newly arrived Russians, Russian schools and theatres are brought to Ukraine. The percentage of the Russian population in Ukraine is growing dangerously. Compared with the pre-war period, it has more than doubled in Ukraine.

Incomparably more tragic is the situation of over three million Ukrainians who live on the territory of the Russian Federation. Having no schools with their native language of instruction, no cultural institutions and periodical press of their own, deprived of information about the fate of their countrymen in the neighbouring districts, the Ukrainians of Vorkuta, Chita, Volga region, Kuban, Siberia and the Far East are doomed to complete Russification. Still not so long ago the Kuban Ukrainians built

a monument to the founder of the Kuban Cossack Host, for they felt their blood relationship with the Ukrainian people, but today the percentage of Ukrainians in the Kuban region is declining catastrophically. It is in this way that the Ukrainian problem is treated in a socialist state — the Russian Federation which is supposed to build relationships on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist nationality policy, which criticises Chinese chauvinism with regard to the Uigurs, Mongols, Kazakhs and other nationalities and proclaims the most humane principles of equality of nations.

And when Ukrainian intellectuals had come out against the domination of Russian chauvinism, the doors of investigation prisons of the KGB (State Security Committee — transl.) opened before them, closed trials were organised for them, they were accused of libelling Soviet reality and propagating nationalist ideas. Contrary to the article of the Constitution about the freedom of speech and the press, contrary to the "Declaration of Human Rights", proclaimed by the UN and accepted by the USSR, which guarantees propagation of one's views by every means, we were put on trial for defending the lawful rights of Ukraine. Meanwhile the Constitution envisages not only equality of all the nations of the USSR, but even their secession from the USSR.

Apart from Ukrainians, you can meet Byelorussians, Moldavians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Circassians, Ingushes, Bashkirs, Tatars and others in the Mordovian camps of the Russian Federation. In short, the Russian Federation has accommodated all political prisoners under its reliable wing. Far from their native soil, they are subject to violence and lawlessness. Their stay in the camps for political prisoners has been transformed into a process of continuous investigation. Contrary to any laws, people are sent from camps into prisons where, by means of psycho-

logical pressure, the authorities try to achieve that which the investigation and judicial trial failed to achieve, namely, self-flagellation, repentance, confession of one's guilt.

On the basis of the written complaints taken away from Mykhailo Masiutko, V. Moroz, L. Lukyanenko, and the questionnaire of psychological research confiscated from me, a case was fabricated accusing us of "systematic writing of nationalist treatises and disseminating them among the prisoners." It is true that the camp commandant Major Kasatkin, who signed the indictment, stated that he did not read it. Nonetheless, such a "blindfolded" settlement of the matter did not impede the authorities from putting us into the punitive isolator for a period of six months. And on July 16th [1967 — transl.] the same documents served as accusation against us at the session of the visiting assizes of the court of Zubova Polyana district. Without any forewarning, Mykhailo Masiutko, Valentyn Moroz and myself were summoned straight from work and brought into the office. Of course, all this was done to dumbfound us with a surprise.

I was the first to stand trial. Asked by the judge what were my claims to the court I stated: I consider both the composition of the court and the procedure of the court sitting unlawful. A representative of the administration, the head of the regime, is a member of the court as an assessor; I, as accused, have not been informed beforehand about the trial, I have not been acquainted with the accusation or petition of the camp administration, in result of which I am unable to conduct properly my own defence and cannot hire a defence lawyer. Therefore, in anticipation, I consider any verdict of this court unlawful.

In the course of the court trial it became clear that I stood accused of spreading nationalist literature. But,

as became evident, neither the prosecutor, nor the judge, nor the representative of the administration ever saw these "nationalist documents." The representative of the administration excused himself by alleging that this happened in the camp No. 385/1, while the prosecutor stated that he had heard from the chief prosecutor of Mordovia that these documents were nationalistic. I saw for the second time how a "blindfolded" trial was conducted. This did not prevent the judges from sentencing me to three years' imprisonment. However, this is no sensation in the camp for political prisoners.

When the prisoner Masiutko (who was the second to be tried) asked that he be acquainted with the accusation material, the prosecutor stated that this was no trial, but simply a change of imprisonment regime. Masiutko then stated: "If this is no trial then I do not wish to hear the verdict." The woman judge came to the rescue of the prosecutor by stating: "This is a genuine trial."

When the court was dealing with Valentyn Moroz, Masiutko and I were already sitting in the punitive isolator, getting ready to the dispatch to a prison. At that time one of the overseers passed, in a loud voice, the camp commandant's order to another overseer to prepare a place in the camp isolator for Moroz. The political prisoner Daniel shouted out for all in the camp isolator to hear: "Brothers, what sort of trial is it — Moroz has not been sentenced yet but they are already preparing a place for him in the isolator!"

As a matter of fact, what sort of trial is it? It is a shameful mock-trial which can hardly be believed by the modern civilized man, it is the roughest instrument of dealing with political prisoners who defend their rights, their human dignity, the law; these are fresh manifestations of the "intellect" of the KGB-men.

In this connection I wish to ask you, Minister, several questions: Do you intend to ask the government of the Russian Federation about: 1) the incident with the citizen Hermaniuk [a woman — transl.]; 2) the cruel treatment of Ukrainian prisoners in the Mordovian camps; 3) when will the assimilation of the Ukrainian population who live on the territory of the Russian Federation cease and when will they be allowed normal conditions of life?

Do you intend to do it? You are expected to do it if you worry about the fate of the Ukrainian people, if you think about its future.

(Ukrains'ke slovo)

1) On June 18, 1876, in Ems, Germany, Tsar Alexander II signed a secret ukaze which forbade the printing in the Ukrainian language of anything except historical documents and belles-letters in the Russian alphabet; it also forbade the importation from abroad of Ukrainian publications, and

theatrical and musical performances in Ukrainian. The ukaze had a crippling effect on the Ukrainian cultural development. It was repealed only after the 1905 revolution. — Transl.

2) After a campaign started by the Russian publicist Michael Katkov, Count Peter Valuyev, Minister of Interior, issued a circular on June 8, 1863, asserting: "There has not been, is not, and never can be any Little Russian language." Valuyev ordered to ban the publication in Ukrainian language of religious and educational books and books generally intended for elementary reading by the people. — Transl.

3) Rozdol sulphur combine in Lviv region, West Ukraine, is situated in an area with a large surplus of local labour force. Speaking generally, Ukraine is the most densely populated Republic of the USSR (except Moldavia) with a large surplus of rural population. It has no need of foreign labour force which is brought purposely from Russia to colonise Ukraine with Russians while deporting Ukrainians to Siberia. — Transl.

To appear shortly in English

Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

THE CHORNOVIL PAPERS

Open letters to Soviet authorities, written by young Ukrainian intellectuals now imprisoned, denouncing continued violation of human rights, Russian colonialist policies and Russification of Ukraine.

Including the famous memorandum by Vyacheslav Chornovil, a young Ukrainian journalist sentenced to three years' forced labour, and his compilation of the writings of the convicted Ukrainian intellectuals entitled "The Misfortune of Intellect" (Portraits of Twenty "Criminals").

Published by McGraw Hill Company, Maidenhead, Berks.

Price: 45/- net.

You can place your orders with:

**Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers,
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W.2.
Tel.: 01-229-0140**

Professor Lew SHANKOWSKY

GERMAN SECURITY POLICE REPRISALS AGAINST THE REVOLUTIONARY O. U. N.

The revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Bandera group) was established in the years 1940-41 through two acts, namely:

A. On 10th February 1940, 34 leading members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), founded in 1929, met and set up the *Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN*.

B. In March 1941 the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN summoned the Second Congress of the OUN in accordance with the OUN constitution the supreme body of the OUN. It took place in March-April 1941. Among its participants, 16 were from the part of Ukraine under Soviet and 52 from the areas under German occupation.

The Ukrainian nationalists who took part in both assemblies can be considered the founders of the so-called Bandera Resistance Movement in Ukraine under the German occupation from 1941 to 1944. There are many known documents, belonging to the RSHA (German Security Police Headquarters) and its subordinate action units and police authorities, which considered the 'Bandera-men' as enemies of the German occupation in Ukraine and ordered their liquidation. The following is one such example:

Action Unit C/5
of the Security Police and SD
Action Unit Daily Order No. 12432/41

Headquarters, 25th November, 1941
G.R.S.

To the Outposts: Kiev, Dnipropetrovsk, Mykolayiv, Rivne,
Zhytomyr, Vinnytsia

Re: OUN (Bandera Movement)

It has been established beyond any doubt that the Bandera Movement is preparing an uprising in the Reichskommissariat [Ukraine] with the final aim of creating an independent Ukraine. All the functionaries of the Bandera movement are to be arrested at once and after a thorough interrogation to be quietly liquidated as plunderers.

The record of the interrogations are to be dispatched to Action Unit C/5. This letter is to be destroyed immediately by the unit leader after taking notice.

SS-Obersturmbanführer.
Signature (illegible)

The following tables give the fate of the 34 Ukrainian nationalists who had founded the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN on 10th February, 1940:

TABLE 1.

Participants of the assembly of 10th February 1940, which established the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN.

No.	Name and First Name	Where imprisoned during World War II	Date and place of death
1	ARSENYCH, Mykola		1947, UPA
2	BANDERA, Stepan	Sachsenhausen concentration camp	1959, murdered by KGB in Munich
3	BASHUK, Petro	Auschwitz concentration camp	
4	VRETSIONA, Evhen		1949, UPA
5	HASYN, Oleksa		1945, UPA
6	HRYTSAI, Dmytro		1944, Sachsenhausen
7	GABRUSEVYCH, Ivan	Sachsenhausen	
8	KLYMYSHYN, Mykola	Auschwitz	
9	KORDIUK, Bohdan	Auschwitz	
10	KRAVTSIV, Mykhailo	Auschwitz	
11	LEBED', Mykola		
12	LEWY TZKYI, Borys		
13	LEMYK, Mykola	Auschwitz	1941, shot in Auschwitz by Special unit 4b, Action Group C.
14	LENKAVSKYI, Stepan	Auschwitz	
15	MAYIVSKYI, Dmytro		1945, UPA
16	MALASHCHUK, Roman	Auschwitz	
17	MATLA, Zynovii	Sachsenhausen	
18	MASHCHAK, Osyp		
19	MEDVID', Yurii		in Soviet captivity 1942,
20	MYRON, Dmytro	Kyiv prison	Kyiv, shot by Gestapo.
21	MITRYNGA, Ivan		1943, Volynia, killed by Red partisans
22	PRYSHLIAK, Evhen		1945, UPA
23	RAVLYK, Ivan	Lviv prison	1941, Lviv, shot by RSHA
24	RAK, Yaroslav	Auschwitz	
25	RYVAK, Vasyl		
26	SYDOR, Vasyl		1949, UPA
27	STARUKH, Yaroslav		1947, UPA
28	STAKHIV, Volodymyr	Sachsenhausen	
29	STETZKO, Jaroslav	Sachsenhausen	
30	TYMCHIIY, Volodymyr		1941, on crossing the frontier into Ukraine
31	TURKOVSKYI, Vasyl		1944, UPA
32	TIUSHKA, Osyp		
33	FEDAK, Volodymyr	Sachsenhausen	
34	SHUKHEVYCH, Roman	Berlin	1943, Berlin, in captivity 1950, UPA

From the above table, it can be seen that 17 participants (or 50 p.c.) of the founding assembly for the establishment of the Revolutionary OUN under Stepan Bandera's leadership spent the war years in Hitler's concentration camps and prisons, of whom 5 (14.7 p.c.) were shot or killed there. It should also be stated that nine members of the OUN who took part in the assembly (26.5 p.c.) died in battle in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

The following shows the fate of 68 Ukrainian nationalists who took part in the Second Congress of the OUN from March to April 1941. First are the nationalists enumerated in Table 1, with the exception of Tymchii Volodymyr, who fell on 14th February, 1940 whilst crossing the frontier into Ukraine. All 33 of them took part in the Second Congress. As their fate has already been detailed in Table 1, their names are not listed in Table 2. Table 2 comprises only those members of the OUN who took part in the Second Congress and who can be named under their true names. Our list comprises numbers 34 to 59; nine other participants cannot be named since their fate is not yet certain.

TABLE 2.

Other participants at the Second Congress of the OUN, 1941

No.	Name and First Name	Where imprisoned during World War II	Date and place of death
34	BANDERA, Vasyl	Auschwitz	1942, murdered in Auschwitz
35	BEZKHLIBNYK, Vasyl	Sachsenhausen	
36	BUSEL, Yakiv		1945, UPA
37	VITOSHYNSKYI, Borys	Auschwitz	
38	VOLOSHYN, Rostyslav		1944, UPA
39	HALAMAY, Stepan	Auschwitz	
40	HLADKYI, Lubomyr		
41	IVAKHIV, Vasyl		1943, UPA, in fight against the Germans
42	LOPATYNSKYI, Yurii	Sachsenhausen	
43	MIRCHUK, Petro	Auschwitz	
44	MUZYKA, Ivan		
45	MOSTOVYCH, Mykola	Auschwitz	
46	MOSTOVYCH, Lonhyn	Auschwitz	
47	MOTALO, Sviatoslav		?, UPA
48	ONYSHKEVYCH, Taras		1944, UPA
49	PALIDOVYCH, Mykhailo		1944, UPA, in the fight against the Germans.
50	PUKHALO, Mykola		?, UPA
51	REBET, Daria		
52	REBET, Lev	Auschwitz	1957, murdered by KGB in Munich.
53	RYBCHUK, Bohdan	Auschwitz	
54	RYZHEVSKYI, Osyp		1946, UPA

55	SVYSTUN, Mykola		1945, UPA
56	TUPYTSIA, VasyI		1942, shot by the Germans in Kyiv.
57	KHOMIV, Yaroslav		1942, shot by the Germans in Kyiv.
58	CHERESHNIOVSKYI, Mykhailo		
59	YATSIV, Dmytro	Auschwitz	1942, Auschwitz

It can be seen from both tables that of fifty-nine participants at the Second Congress of the OUN in 1941 (the total number of participants was 68) there are:

Still living	28	participants	or 47.5 p.c.
No longer living	31	"	or 52.5 p.c.
of these:			
Fallen in the ranks of the UPA	18	"	or 30.5 p.c.
Liquidated by the Nazis	8	"	or 13.5 p.c.
Those imprisoned in the war years in Nazi concentration camps and prisons	30	"	or 50.8 p.c.

The following table can be assembled for all 68 participants at the Second Congress of the OUN in 1941:

TABLE 3.

Fate of the Participants at the Second Congress of the OUN in 1941

<i>F a t e</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
A. All Participants				100
of whom:	68			
a) still living	29		42.6	
in the Free World	25	36.6		
in USSR	4	6.0		
b) Dead	36		53.0	
Fallen in UPA	23	33.8		
Liquidated by Nazis	10	14.8		
Liquidated by Bolsheviks	3	4.4		
c) Fate unknown	3		4.4	
B. Nazi Prisoners	30	44.4		100
Living in Free World	18	26.4	60.0	
Liquidated by Nazis	8	12.0	26.7	
Liquidated by Bolsheviks	2	3.0	6.7	
Fallen in UPA	2	3.0	6.7	

A third of the participants fell whilst fighting for the UPA. Of the 44.4% imprisoned during the war in Nazi concentration camps and prisons, 26.4% are still alive in the Free World. 14.8% of the participants were liquidated by the Nazis.

On 15 September 1941 the police carried out mass arrests in Ukraine, in "General Gouvernement", in Germany and in the protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia among the members of the OUN Revolutionary Leadership known to them. The Leadership of the

OUN summoned by the Second Congress found itself 80% under arrest. The doors of the prisons closed behind thousands. Almost at the same time followed the first shootings of OUN Revolutionaries. In the book by Dr Petro Mirchuk: *V Nimec'kych Mlynach Smerty* (In the German Death Mills, New York—London, 1957), there are appendices giving the names of 67 members of the Bandera group, who were sent to the Auschwitz Concentration Camp. Of these 17 were shot, killed or murdered in this concentration camp. It also contains the list of a further 122 OUN members, who in October 1943 were sent to Auschwitz. (Cf. pp. 219-222 of the book).

Further heavy losses were inflicted by SS Action-units and German police in Ukraine on the field-groups of the OUN. The field-groups totalled c. 4,000 men, including those who had themselves joined the groups as they penetrated eastwards in Ukraine in 1941. The police reported to Berlin in October 1941 on the field groups:

"The strongest group which backs an independent Ukraine is still as before the Bandera group, the supporters of which are extraordinarily active and whose fanaticism rests partly on personal reasons and partly on deep national feeling."

But in October 1941 the commander of the 'Middle' group, Mykola Lemyk, was shot by the Gestapo and the commander of the 'North' group, Mykola Klymyshyn, was arrested in Zhytomyr and sent to Auschwitz concentration camp. Mass shootings of members of the OUN field groups followed. It was reported from Mykolayiv (Nikolayev):

"Further activity by Bandera supporters observed. Renewed action, especially in Mykolayiv, led to further arrests and to securing of important material, i.e. comprehensive plan of organisation measures of the Bandera group was taken. Plan contains structure of organisation... further details on duties, arrangement of cover-names, propaganda etc. In Kherson searches led to further arrests. Generally it is to be seen from statements of trusted men, that propaganda of Bandera supporters is so effective on the population of individual places that work slackens and isolated examples of great dissatisfaction with the measures of the LA Leader appear. After discussions with IC AO, AOK has given a circular to subsidiary units, to the effect that Bandera activities are to be stopped and supporters to be treated exactly as here."

(Ohlendorf Trial, Doc. No. 4134).

In Mykolayiv, members of the field group: M. Zilyns'kyi, brother and sister Lekhitskyi, Yu. Voytovych were hanged; in Kherson members of the field group: K. Zyza and three others were shot.

Even today it is impossible to give details of the losses of the field groups. But it is no exaggeration to say that in Ukraine about 800 members of the field groups were killed in reprisal measures by the SS action units and the German police. The following table gives

details on some shootings, which in no case can be regarded as complete.

TABLE 4.

Shooting of OUN Members in Ukraine

No.	Name and First Name	Date	Where died
1	Marchak, Roman	Sept. 1941	Zhytomyr
	Kravs, Mykola		
	Khoma, Vasyl		
2	Kostiv, Mykhailo	" "	Rivne (Rovno)
	Truta, Hryhorii		
	Voronovskiy, Ivan		
3	Dovhan', Ivan and 30 others	Jan. 1942	Gdeshyn, Kholm region.
4	Bardakhivs'kyi, Roman	Febr. 1942	Dzhankoy, Crimea.
	Lubak, Mykhailo		
	Vonkevych, Stepan		
5	Maksymiuk, Hryhorii	" "	Rivne (Rovno)
	Brodych, Osyp		
6	Sherstiuk, Serhii	April 1942	Kryvyi Rih (Krivoy Rog)
	Maksymets, Anna		
	Pronchenko, Mykhailo		
	Potapenko, Ivan		
7	Bilaniuk, Volodymyr	" "	Kamianets Podilsky
	Kukharuk family (four members)		
8	Myron, Dmytro	July 1942	Kyiv
9	Marchenko, Andrii	July 1942	Lviv (Lemberg)
	Petrechko, Julian	" "	
10	Ravlyk, Ivan with his wife and four other members of the family.	" "	Lviv
11	Lypovyi, Omelan	Sept. 1942	Vinnitsia
12	Kulish, Andrii	" "	Kremianets
13	Bryzhak, Osyp	Oct. 1942	Vinnitsia
14	Leshniuk, Ivan	" "	Olevsk
15	Ten members	27 Nov. 1942	Lviv
16	Fifty-two members	" "	Chortkiv
17	Klymiv, Ivan	4 Dec. 1942	Lviv
18	Stoliar, Halyna	27 Dec. 1942	Berlin
	Galadzun, Hryhorii		
	Masnyi, Stepan		
	Sheremeta, Bohdan		
	Sushkiv, Volodymyr		
19	Shymanskyi, Vasyl	March 1943	Liatychiv
20	Pavluk, Andrii	April 1943	Yarmolyntsi
21	Sak, Pan'ko	May 1943	Kyiv
22	Kyryk, Kyrylo and five others	May 1943	Kirovograd
23	Kostiv, Stepan	July 1943	Berdychiv
24	Maliar, Yurii	Sept. 1943	Kryvyi Rih (Krivoy Rog)
	Hadada, Vasyl		
	and fourteen others		
25	Hrab, Vasyl	Oct. 1943	Odessa
26	Kruk, Lukian and six others	Oct. 1943	Kryvyi Rih (Krivoy Rog)
27	Shchepans'kyi, Petro and twenty-eight others	?	Kremenchuk
28	Klym, Ivan and nine others	March 1944	Drohobych
29	Gabrusevych, Ivan	May 1944	Berlin
30	Palidovych, Mykhailo	" "	Mykolayiv

On 10 October 1943 the SS and police introduced into the district of Galicia drumhead courts martial. As a result of the judgments of these courts a total of 1571 Ukrainians were shot in the district of Galicia. In most cases they were members of the OUN (Bandera) Resistance Movement, as was published in the announcements of the SS and police after each mass shooting.

Mass shootings of the Ukrainian population were carried out by the German police throughout the whole period of the German occupation. Thus for example: shootings

Nov. 7, 1941. 70 Ukrainians in Balabino, Zaporizhia region.

Feb. 24, 1942. 70 Ukrainians in Kenkrynivka, Dnipropetrovsk region.

Feb. 26, 1942. 100 Ukrainians in Nikopol.

Feb. 28, 1942. 100 Ukrainians again in Nikopol.

Jan. 30, 1943. 120 Ukrainians in Kirovohrad.

March 1943. 483 Ukrainians in Slavhorod.

Immediately after the occupation of Kyiv 400 Ukrainians were hanged (Order of the City Commandant, Gen. Eberhardt). On the order of Erich Koch and the plenipotentiary of the Reichsführer of the SS, Gen. Erich von dem Bach Zelewski, complete Ukrainian villages and their inhabitants (Malyn, Hubkiv, Selyshcha, Kortelisy and others) were *burned*. As part of the German revenge for the UPA attacks in Volynia more than 2,000 Ukrainian hostages were shot on 28 March and 15 October 1943 in the prisons in Volynia alone.

Massive punitive expeditions into the Ukrainian villages and cities by hundreds of men of the German police and 'Hiwis' with mass arrests, beatings, maltreatment, tortures, and murders of very often quite innocent people, confiscation of property, the burning down of whole villages together with their population, mass shootings of peaceful inhabitants — these were general daily phenomena from 1941 to 1944. In this way did the German occupation pass into the history of Ukraine.

Read

Read

ABN Correspondence

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67, Germany

Annual subscription: 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, 6 Dollars in U.S.A., DM 12.- in Germany, and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries.

Valentyna WOROPAY, M.A. (London)

THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1917-1918

(Continuation — 4)

THE GOVERNMENT OF HETMAN SKOROPADSKYI

On April 29th the Congress of the right-wing Union of Landowners (S.Z.S.) began and on April 28th the Conference of the moderate Farmers' Party was planned to begin. This latter was forbidden by Germans and because of that prohibition some of the Farmers' Party delegates, being in Kiev, attended the Congress of the S.Z.S.¹ There were present 6,432 delegates who represented the eight Ukrainian provinces: Kiev, Poltava, Chernyhiv, Podillia, Volyn', Kherson, Katerynoslav, and Kharkiv. The full number of attendants was 8,000.² It was difficult to find a hall big enough to seat such an assembly and that was why the Congress was held in the building of the Kiev circus. But even there there wasn't enough room and masses of people were crowded in the streets adjoining the circus. For this reason enemies of P. P. Skoropadskyi commented that it was not a real election of Hetman but a circus performance.³

There are two contradictory views about the Congress itself. The enemies of Skoropadskyi call it "a musical comedy with the Germans behind it."⁴ Skoropadskyi's supporters, on the other hand, proclaim that the Congress and its election of Skoropadskyi as Hetman of the Ukraine was the will of the Ukrainian peasants.⁵

1) "Extracts from 'Memoirs of P. P. Skoropadskyi'," *Khliborobs'ka Ukraïna*, Vienna, 1923, book 4, p. 85.

2) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 35. Skoropadskyi gave the number as from 6 to 7,000. "Extracts..." p. 85.

3) See V. Vynnychenko, *op. cit.*, Vol. 3, pp. 15-18.

4) *Ib.*, pp. 15-18.

5) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p.

While it is quite clear from Skoropadskyi's agreement with General Groener that the Germans were strongly in favour of the Governmental change, on the other hand it seems reasonably certain that while giving that support the Germans did not participate actively in the coup d'etat.

The sitting of the Khliborob Congress — as it is known now — although it was the S.Z.S. Congress, was opened at 11 a.m. on April 29th by the farmer M. H. Kovalenko. After his short opening speech M. M. Voronovych, the representative of Kiev province, was elected chairman of the Congress. Two men from every province were elected to the presidium. The agenda of the congress consisted of the following items: greetings to the congress; report of Yu. Kistiakovskiy concerning the land law; report of I. V. Dusan on the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly; the local reports on the general situation; voting of policies. During the discussion of the fourth point of the agenda General Skoropadskyi entered the building.⁶

In order to give a more or less impartial description of the scene which brought Ukraine a new ruler we will keep to the narrative of General M. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko:

"... I went towards the circus; the streets were crowded but it was still possible to shoulder one's way through. Inside the circus one could see only peasants. The boxes were full of them too. Seated at the table were the presidium. In the middle of the pit the impromptu rostrum was set up. The speakers were flinging pictures of devastation at the audience: the Central Rada was in the dock and no one could find any excuses for its policy. It had to go and a strong hand was needed. During the speeches voices could be heard and from all sides: 'We need a Hetman! Hetman! Hetman!' — the cry spread over the hall... One orator was replaced by another but again the contents of the speeches were the same; perhaps only the expressions differed when a more cultured person was speaking. On the left hand side a brilliant group appeared in the box, dressed in Cossack uniform. They seated themselves. Whispers spread over the audience: 'General Skoropadskyi.' At that moment the speaker named the candidate to the Hetman's post. It was General Skoropadskyi. The audience caught the name and loud shouts could be heard in the building: 'Glory to Hetman Skoropadskyi!' Some members of the presidium rushed to the General's box and asked him to go to the stage. When Skoropadskyi appeared on the stage the audience greeted him with an ovation."⁷

⁶) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p.

⁷) See M. Omelyanovych-Pavlenko, "Na Ukraïni 1917-1918" (*In Ukraine, 1917-1918*) Prague, 1935, pp. 75-76.

The newly elected Hetman addressed the audience: "Gentlemen! I thank you for entrusting me with power. I take the burden of power temporarily, not for personal gain. You know yourselves that anarchy has spread everywhere and that only a firm hand can restore order. I will rely upon you, Farmers, and on the other solid groups of the population and I pray to God to give me strength and firmness to save Ukraine."⁸

After the election the audience were asked to go to Saint Sophia Square where public prayers were to be held. There Archbishop Nikodym first blessed and anointed the new Hetman inside the cathedral and then the procession came outside and public prayers began.

These events were only the official side of the coup d'état. Then came actions of a military character for it was necessary to seize the Government offices and the main public services. The military units which were carrying out these tasks wore on their sleeves white and crimson ribbons; white on the left arm and crimson on the right one. All these units were under the command of General Dashkevych-Horbatsky. At the entrance of the Pedagogical Museum building which was guarded by the Galician Sich Riflemen, three officers from amongst the Hetman's supporters were killed. They were the only victims during the change of Government. The members of the Central Rada quietly dispersed and some of them went into hiding.⁹

During that afternoon the newly elected Hetman saw Konovalets', the leader of the Galician Sich Riflemen. Konovalets' informed the Hetman that he personally would like to collaborate with the new Government but that he could not speak for his soldiers. The soldiers of the Galician Sich Riflemen did not in the event fight the Hetman but they did not collaborate with him either.

All the State offices were taken over during the night. The take-over was completed by 2 a.m. and the Hetman with his supporters occupied the residence of the former Governor where Skoropadskyi decided to have his living quarters and his office. Next day, April 30th, Skoropadskyi started on his official duties as the Hetman of the Ukrainian State...

The form of the new Government was that of a dictatorship.¹⁰ This was evident in the decree which the Hetman issued for the reorganization of the Provisional Government of the Ukraine. The decree was to operate until the convocation of parliament (Soym). According to this law, Governmental authority was to reside exclusively in the Hetman; he was empowered to form all cabinets

⁸) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 37.

⁹) "Extracts...", *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁰) See John Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920*, Princeton, 1952, p. 148.

and had an absolute veto over all legislation. Legislative authority was placed provisionally in the cabinet and remained there throughout the seven-and-a-half-months during which the regime was in existence. Nicholas Ustymovych, who held the office of Prime Minister for only a day, was succeeded on April 30th by Nicholas Vasylenko, a Constitutional Democrat and a member of the Law faculty of the University of Kiev. The change took place because Ustymovych, being little known in Ukrainian circles, could not find candidates willing to form a new cabinet under him. Vasylenko in turn was given until May 1st to form his new cabinet. Charging him with the task the Hetman informed the premier what kind of a cabinet it should be: the Cabinet should not, whatever happened, consist of people with "right wing" political tendencies; its members should have "left wing" convictions; reforms were necessary; the land reform should be conducted in the direction shown in "Hramota" and a cabinet should be formed in such a way as to be able to start reconstructing the country and carrying out reforms based on broad social principles; all that must be the foundation of the cabinet's policy; its work should lead to the national revival of the Ukraine, but, obviously, without extremes, which would excite the population, harm the development of national life and provoke mistrust of all things Ukrainian amongst the minorities.¹¹

The first person whom Vasylenko approached for the new cabinet were the party of Socialist-Federalists or SFs, as this party was called for short. The party asked Vasylenko to give them some time to think his proposition over and then they called a conference of all Ukrainian parties: Social-Democrats, Social-Revolutionaries and Independents.

The conference was a stormy one. V. Vynnychenko tried to persuade the S.F.s to participate in the cabinet although he himself did not want to take part in it. The S.F.s disagreed.¹² They didn't want to take part. The conference decided to send its address not to the Hetman but to the Chief of Staff of the German Army in the Ukraine, General Groener. A special delegation was elected to conduct the negotiations with the General. It consisted of V. Vynnychenko, A. F. Andriyevskiy, S. Yefremov, O. Saltan, and K. Loskyi. I will speak in details of those negotiations in another part of this work. Here I will state only that on May 4th General Groener informed the parties concerned that their terms for the participation in the cabinet could not be accepted and that was the end of those negotiations.

The failure of Vasylenko to persuade the S.F.s to take part in the new cabinet resulted in his replacement by Fedir Lyzohub, a land-

¹¹) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, p. 54.

¹²) See P. Khrystyuk, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 8-10.

owner from Chernyhyv and Poltava provinces who was a Zemstvo official in the latter province. The new premier was an Octobrist* in his political outlook. F. Lyzohub succeeded in getting all the cabinet vacancies filled. Vasylenko held the foreign affairs and education portfolios. Other ministers included: Anton Rzhepetskyi, a banker, who held the finance portfolio; Julius Wagner, Minister of Labour, formerly a professor of zoology at Kiev Polytechnic Institute; Borys Butenko, a railroad official, who was given the transport portfolio; George Afanasyev, state controller, and former director of the Kiev branch of the State bank; General Rohoza held the Ministry of War portfolio; Mykhailo Chubynskyi, the son of the eminent Ukrainian ethnographer, held the Ministry of Justice; Vasyl Kolo-kol'tsev, a landowner from Kharkiv province and an agriculturist, was the Minister of Agriculture. The post of the Minister of Food was held by Yuriy Sokolovskyi, a Kadet; Minister of Cults was Vasyl Zin'kivskyi, a professor of Kiev University; the post of Minister of Health was held by Yuriy Lubinetskyi, a surgeon by profession. The head of the State Chancellery was Ihor Kistyakovskyi. Serhii Hutnyk, a Jew, was given the Ministry of Commerce.¹³

The May cabinet acquired one nationalist when Dmytro Doroshenko accepted the post of acting minister of Foreign Affairs at the price of relinquishing his membership in the S.F.s party.

The cabinet of Lyzohub held office almost six months. During the summer some changes in it took place. The Minister of Food, Yu. Sokolovskyi retired and was replaced by Serhiy Herbel, former Ukrainian representative at the Austrian Headquarters in Odessa; the Minister of Justice, Chubynskyi, who became a Chairman of the Senate, was replaced by Olexiy Romanov, the son of the Ukrainian authoress Odarka Romanova, and a staunch Russophil; and lastly Ihor Kistyakovskyi, who became the Minister of the Interior, was replaced by a member of the Senate, Serhiy Zavadskyi.¹⁴

It can be seen from the names and occupations of the newly-appointed Ministers that the priority of choice was given not to nationality but to capacity for the office. Besides D. Doroshenko the names of the new Ministers were little, if at all, known in Ukrainian circles. In the circumstances it was a mistake to appoint such little known persons as Ministers or their deputies. But the Ukrainian democratic circles had their share in this mistake by refusing to participate in the new cabinet and by adopting a wait-and-see policy. As D. Dontsov says: "...In the failure of the Hetman's attempt our statesmen have to be blamed a great deal ... With sectarian-revolutionary intolerance, with the expression of Marcus Antonius,

*) A Russian right-wing political party.

¹³) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 60-66.

¹⁴) *Ib.*, p. 66.

on their faces, expressing the belief that all the nation were following behind them, they refused him [the Hetman] any support and, while preserving their innocence, failed to do what was really necessary: to become the support of the new political combination."¹⁵

The new cabinet had not only executive but also legislative authority. In order to relieve its work the law of May 18th, 1918, created, besides the Council of Ministers the Lower Council or Little Rada (Mala Rada) of Ministers, which consisted of the Ministers' deputies or of persons who deputised for them and was concerned with matters of detail which did not require the presence of Ministers. One of the Ministers or some deputy appointed by the Council of Ministers acted as Chairman of the Lower Council. The sessions of the Council of Ministers were held every day from 8 p.m. till 1 or 2 a.m., or even later. The technical side of these sessions, e.g. the minutes, the editing and publishing of resolutions and laws was carried out by the State Secretariat.¹⁶ The sessions of the Lower Council were held three times a week and its resolutions had to be approved by the Council of Ministers.

Thus the new Ukrainian Government with the Hetman as its head was formed. It had the following characteristic features: it was dependent on the Central Powers; it was the Government of a strong hand and therefore the Hetman's role in it was a very important one; owing to the refusal of Ukrainian democratic circles to collaborate, the majority of the new cabinet consisted of pro-Russian elements not well versed in Ukrainian affairs, strangers to the Ukrainian intelligentsia; the principal supporters of this Government were the well-to-do peasants, landlords, and mill and factory owners, although, especially at the start, the so-called "middle" peasants gave it their support too.

All the subsequent policy of the new Government can be explained by these features of its composition.

The internal policy of the Hetman and his Government

When the Hetman's Government came to power it caused a rearrangement of political forces in the Ukraine. The well-to-do elements of the population began again, as in the times of Imperial Russia, to play an important part in the political life of the country. That brought many changes in Home Affairs and the Ministry of the Interior made alterations in the country's administration.

¹⁵ See D. Dontsov, *Pidstavy nashoi polityky (The basis of our policy)*, Vienna, 1921, p. 167.

¹⁶ See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

In his "Hramota" the new Hetman of the Ukraine declared:

"... By this 'Hramota'* I proclaim myself Hetman of the whole of the Ukraine... The country is now to be governed by the cabinet of ministers to be appointed by me and on the basis of the laws of the 'Provisional State System of the Ukraine' added to this 'Hramota'."

The Hramota's appendix began thus: "Provisionally, until the election of the Soym and until that body is in operation, the State system and method of governing in the Ukraine will be based on the following regulations:

1. The power of the Government within the boundaries of the Ukrainian state rests exclusively in the Hetman of the Ukraine.
2. The Hetman is to approve all laws and without his sanction no enactment will become legal.
3. The Hetman will appoint the premier, who is to form the Cabinet and present the list of its members to the Hetman for his approval. The Hetman will approve or reject the Cabinet in a body. He will personally appoint and dismiss the heads of departments when there are no other rules for their appointment or dismissal.
4. The Hetman is the highest authority in all diplomatic relations of the Ukraine with foreign countries.
5. The Hetman is General Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian army and navy.
6. Should any province be in a state of siege or in a condition of emergency the Hetman can proclaim martial law there.
7. The right of pardon is vested in the Hetman...
8. The Premier, the Ministers or their deputies must always conform in all matters to the ruling of the Hetman."¹⁷

Such were the rights assumed by the Hetman in the new Government. However, though such rules might be observed in Kiev, the centre of administrative life, how did matters stand in other towns and provinces of the Ukraine?

(To be continued.)

*) The word "Hramota" in Ukrainian gives the idea of an official document of some kind. In this case it was the Hetman's declaration of his position and policy.

¹⁷) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.

Dr. Stephan M. HORAK

The Peace Treaty with Ukraine in the German Parliament

The conclusion of the peace treaty between the Central Powers and the newly-established state of Ukraine on 9 February 1918 in Brest-Litovsk represents something new in European political life. Ukraine was a country, which, it is true, possessed a colourful historical past but which was no more to be found on the political map of Europe since the middle of the 18th century. Europe, and also Germany, saw in the East only one state, Russia, with which all the peoples living there were identified. The tsarist empire was a political partner for Germany until shortly before the outbreak of the first world war. The family relationship of the Russian court to the German nobility and the imperial house made for a lack of interest in the fate of non-Russians in this area. The partition of Poland, the economic relations and the dynastic connections between the two monarchies all favoured the retention of the status quo in Eastern Europe. Only the war brought a shake-up in the traditionally friendly attitude to the Russian empire. The weaknesses of tsarist Russia were suddenly discovered, above all the political oppression of the numerous nationalities. The manifold ethnic variety of the population of Russia, strengthened by the effects of the war, presented weak points to its opponent; which by skilful exploitation could lead to its weakening.

Independent of the logic of history and the ideas resulting from this situation, it must be anticipated that neither Austria nor the German Reich showed any essential interest in the fate of Ukraine in the first three years of the war, nor in that of the other nations which had become the object of Russian expansion in the course of time from the 17th to the 20th centuries.

Berlin decided at its own time rather to draw the Russian Social Democrats into its plans to destroy Russia. Lenin enjoyed greater

support than the representatives of the non-Russian nations, in particular Ukraine.¹ It is certain that a part of the lack of interest by Berlin in the Ukrainian question is to be attributed to Austrian policy. The reasons for keeping Berlin away from Ukraine are obvious. The Galician Ukrainians had already given signs that they were working towards reunification with their brothers from Eastern Ukraine in an independent state; such efforts could only meet with little sympathy in Vienna.

The process of the national re-birth of Ukraine took place without any involvement of Germany. The passiveness in German political circles could not be overcome by the scanty activity in the press of such Eastern experts as Paul Rohrbach, Albrecht Penck and Axel Schmidt. Neither could the Viennese League for the Liberation of Ukraine alter the position. The Polish and Russian accusations, that the German Reich sponsored the creation of so-called 'Ukrainian irredentism', are completely without foundation and are based more on the antipathy of both nations to the Germans and the Ukrainians, which has developed, it may be noted, for different reasons.

In an atmosphere of mixed indifference and sporadic interest, the German Reich, together with Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria, and Turkey, suddenly saw itself confronted by the new Ukrainian state, which was in the act of itself taking control of its political and economic interests. The upheavals in Petrograd played an important rôle in this, but whereas here the Bolsheviks finally triumphed, in Ukraine, as well as in Poland, Finland and in the nations of the Caucasus, the national element was dominant and gained the upper hand over the radical-socialist camp. This development found its climax in the proclamation of the Ukrainian National Republic, which, through the Central Rada, the mouthpiece of the national rebirth, proclaimed on 22 January 1918 its complete separation from Russia.

But before this even the General Secretariat, the government of the UNR, had decided to send its own delegation to Brest-Litovsk, so as to take a direct part in the peace negotiations with the Central Powers and thus deprive Trotsky of the right to negotiate on behalf of the Ukrainian nation. The Soviet Russian delegation was forced at Brest-Litovsk to give *de jure* recognition to the Ukrainian delegation. This removed the last obstacle for the Ukrainians. They lost no time in signing the peace treaty with the Central Powers on 9 February 1918. The peace treaty, together with the economic agreement² between the German Reich and the young republic, needed merely the ratification by the Parliaments concerned.

¹) The first contact between the Ukrainian representatives and Berlin and the lack of interest of the German government is reported in *Die Mittelmächte und die Ukraine 1918* (*The Central Powers and Ukraine 1918*), by Hans Beyer, Munich, 1956.

²) Text of the treaty in *Reichsgesetzblatt* (*Government Gazette*), 1918, No. 107.

Thus Ukraine was the first state to conclude a peace treaty with the German Reich while the war was still on. Not the text of the Peace treaty³ but the ratification debate in the German Reichstag (parliament) will be here discussed.

The Reichstag Debates

Although, as has already been stated, the Ukrainian question was only superficially known in the Germany of that time, and the German politicians in the majority only learnt more about it in 1918, the debate showed some cases of remarkable knowledge of the state of affairs in the Eastern European area and of the Ukrainian problem in particular. It is not to be denied that the quick approval of the peace treaty must be ascribed to economic reasons. Above all it was hoped that the supply position could be alleviated by the import of agricultural products and raw materials from Ukraine. Nevertheless it must be noticed that economic considerations represented only a part of the total question. The political aspects of peace with Ukraine were repeatedly emphasised by the deputies, as was the fact that the Ukrainian question could not be treated in isolation. Rather an examination of the whole Eastern European policy of Germany was called for, which at the same time also should take into account the leading questions of the treatment of the Poles and the working out of new guiding principles towards Russia. Personal sympathies, political traditions and personal alliance on their side overshadowed attitudes in the newly arisen position. Political standards and judgments are not born overnight; a slow process of development of thought and understanding are their basis. Besides, all political speeches remain somewhere between facts and ideals.

Since the Ukrainian National Republic was during the time of the Reichstag debate, from 19 to 22 February 1918, still in a half-real condition — two thirds of Ukraine was occupied by Soviet Russia — the debate took place in a corresponding atmosphere. Hopes for the possible development of these processes in the East were perceptible in the speeches of many deputies. A general longing for the ending of the war, at least in Eastern Europe, were given clear expression. The expectation that the peace treaty with Ukraine would serve as

³ Copious literature has already been published on the peace treaty with Ukraine, of which some titles may be mentioned: Hans Beyer, *Die Mittelmächte und die Ukraine 1918*, Munich 1956. Stefan Horak, "Der Brest-Litowsker Friede zwischen der Ukraine und der Mittelmächten in seinen Auswirkungen auf die politische Entwicklung der Ukraine" ("The Brest-Litovsk Peace between Ukraine and the Central Powers in its effects on the political development of Ukraine"). Erlangen, 1949. Dissertation. John Volkwart, *Brest-Litovsk*, Stuttgart, 1937. Ivan Rudnyckij (O. Kedrin), *Beresteiskyi myr. Spomyny ta materijaly*, Lviv, 1928. W. Wheeler-Bennett, *The Forgotten Peace, Brest-Litovsk*, New York, 1939.

a model for future treaties was emphasised. With this in view, the course of German policy in the East, in the case of a German victory, allowed itself to be traced out. Very probably similar treaties with Poland, Finland, Byelorussia, Georgia and other states of the former tsarist empire would have been concluded. Soviet Russia received its 'model treaty' a week later, on 3 March 1918. As is known in this case Germany was less interested in which Russian government would sign the peace than in the fact of peace itself. Berlin's agreement to the bringing of Lenin from Switzerland to Finland, in order to strengthen the revolutionary activities in Russia, turned out in the end to be a direct participation by Germany in the Bolshevik seizure of power. Nevertheless, the question of the development of relations between Bolshevik Russia and imperial Germany in the post-war years remains wide open. It can be assumed that at the same time Berlin lost interest in seeing the Bolsheviks in power in Russia. Certainly also developments in the newly-founded states of Eastern Europe, including Ukraine, could have had their influence on further events in Russia.

The debate on the peace treaty began in the Reichstag on 19 February 1918. The first vice-president, Dr. Paasche, voiced all expectations from the new peace treaty in his opening speech: not all hopes had been fulfilled, he said, but it had been possible, ten days before, to achieve an honourable peace with the great, newly-founded Republic of Ukraine. This peace, he went on, was an important step forward, which could rightly provide satisfaction for the German nation and its allies. The immediate future would show that the high economic importance due to this large, rich area would be extremely significant... without any financial compensation, without any territorial annexations, a peace had been concluded with the newly-created Ukrainian Republic, honourable for both parties, with the firm intention of reaching permanent friendly relations, mutual advancement and profit.⁴

The actual debate on the treaty and the supplementary German-Ukrainian agreement⁵ signed on the same day in Brest-Litovsk followed on 20 and 21 February. The government speaker was the state-secretary of the foreign office, Dr. Richard von Kühlmann, who had himself taken part in the negotiations and who had also persuaded Count Czernin, the Austrian foreign minister, to accept immediate recognition of the Ukrainian delegation and the assumption of negotiations with Ukraine. He remarked on his experiences with the Ukrainian representatives: 'I believe that it is not saying too much, if I claim that, next to the Great Russian nation, which has its main

⁴) Shorthand report of the debate in *Verhandlungen des Reichstages (Proceedings of the Reichstag)*, XIII Legislative period, II session. Volume 311. Berlin, 1918, page 3988 et seq.

⁵) Text in *Reichsgesetzblatt*, 1918, No. 107, page 1030 et seq.

On our part we should respond to that symbolic, but rhetorical appeal. If that appeal would have been proclaimed 50 years ago, with what enthusiasm would we have received it! However, better late than never! Of course, it is only the beginning in the change of Church policy and, it goes without saying that the Gospels should be followed by the Bible and the Sermons in Ukrainian as a natural supplement to the Ukrainian Gospels. Indeed, we should lend a hand to the endeavours of the Church. Naturally, a certain mistrust exists among the intelligentsia; there is even disillusionment. But from the point of view of our cultural development would it not be useful, if the nation and the Church were not antagonistic? Was not the cultural development of Halychyna [Galician] Ukrainians mainly due to the favourable attitude of the Church and the clergy? Therefore, we should not reply with icy indifference, but should enter the road of agreement. Is it possible? Yes, because it is in the interest of the nation as well as of the Church. It is only necessary to find a "common ground." Come what may, today we warmly greet the publication of the Gospels in Ukrainian by the Holy Synod and express our wish for a speedy publication of the entire Bible.

i) "Archbishop Parfenii"

("Gallery of Our Contemporary Leaders", *Snip*, 1912; signed: *M. M-skyi*)

Far from his native land there lives a man who earned great sympathies in Ukraine. He is the Archbishop of Tula and Belev — Parfenii. With this honoured name the important work of publication of the Gospel in Ukrainian by the Holy Synod is bound. The love for his people, the intense scholarship and energy of this arch-shepherd are responsible for the fact that today Russian-occupied Ukraine has its Gospel. The Archbishop was born in 1858 in the village of Plishyvets, Hadiach county in the Poltava region. He received his education at the Poltava Seminary and the Kyiv Theological Academy. From 1884 to 1894 he was an assistant to the "smotritel" (Russian term for "overseer" — A.W.B.) of the Pereyaslav Ecclesiastical school, later chancellor of Vyfansk and then of Moscow Seminary. In Moscow he became Vicarial Bishop and in 1904 — Bishop of Podillia.

Short, because only till 1908, but beautiful times of the Bishop's stay in Podillia are still blessed by the Podillians. It was there that the Bishop was able to adhere to Christ's words: "Give to God what belongs to God and to Caesar what is Caesar's" and to reconcile the interests of Church, state and the Ukrainian nation giving "to each its due." In Podillia near him and thanks to him real attempts were made at national education in the true meaning of the word. But, to the greatest sorrow of all concerned, the Bishop was transferred to Tula. Even while living far away from his native land, he gave

all his strength to the work benefiting the people whose son he is. There he finished editing the translation of the Gospel. For this work he was rewarded with the archbishop's crozier. We warmly wish that the Arch-shepherd quickly returns to his beloved country, which awaits him as one of its better sons.

j) **"Composer Mykola Lysenko"**

("Gallery of Our Contemporary Leaders", *Snip*, 1912; signed: *M. M-skyi*)

"Our song, our ballad will not die, will not perish — there is where you, people, will find our glory, the glory of Ukraine" — this was said by Taras Shevchenko. Yes, really, our song, our ballad — in all its wonderful, pure, ancestral beauty — did not die, did not perish, and this was accomplished by Mykola Lysenko. Today, we are not yet able to evaluate the significance of Mykola Lysenko in the history of our national rebirth properly.

But today, the following can already be said: the song of the poet and the music of the composer were this healing and vitalizing water which brought to life the torn and lifeless soul of our nation. Fate sent us two wizards: one of them is Lysenko. With sounds either soft or harsh, or full of grief and sorrow, or moved by energy and hope, our bard awoke the greatest feeling in the world in the souls of Ukrainians — the love to their own people. He took the chants of our distant ancestors and in the depths of his soul, full of love, developed and transformed them and gave them back to his people in a brilliant, enchanting and renewed form.

Lysenko was born in 1842 in the Poltava region; he graduated from the Kyiv university and later from the conservatoire in Germany. He wrote operas and operettas: "Christmas Night", "Taras Bulba", "The Drowned Girl", "Aeneid", music to the words of Shevchenko, Franko, Oles' and others, voluminous collection of folk songs and many other works of pure music. He who has a chance to know Mr. Lysenko more intimately cannot help but love this extremely delicate, tender soul of our bard. However, this tender soul can also be stern. This happens when it sees a misfortune befalling his beloved Ukraine; then the mild eyes begin to burn with fire and emit lightning. M. Lysenko belongs to those few Ukrainians of the older generation, who courageously proclaimed themselves Ukrainians, who did not hide in a corner and were not frightened by provocations and throughout their whole life, from younger days till the present, did not retreat from the position once taken, even though they were frightened by various horrors and were met by all sorts of injustices and annoyances. Let the name of our bard be blessed and let him, with his own eyes, see the fulfilment of the ideals beloved by him since youth, by which he warmed our souls.

focus in Moscow and Petersburg, the Ukrainian race is one of the strongest and most vital elements... and it will have filled every observer with admiration, how quickly the idea of national self-confidence has taken root in this people's republic and how strongly enthusiasm and the spirit of sacrifice for the Ukrainian idea have appeared in this relatively young state.'⁶

He then went on to complain of the hardness of negotiations with the Ukrainians, who, 'like most young nations, make territorial claims which are hard to fulfil.' Mainly in question was Kholm region, which historically and ethnically belongs to Ukraine. This claim caused a violent reaction among the Poles in Germany and Austria-Hungary. The insistence of the Ukrainian delegation on the granting of autonomy to East Galicia also made difficulties for Count Czernin. This question was, incidentally, settled by a secret treaty between Austria-Hungary and Ukraine.⁷ To weaken Polish reactions, it had already been agreed in Brest-Litovsk to leave the exact drawing of the frontier in the disputed area of Kholm to a special mixed commission, with Polish participation. Critical voices, which described the treaty as an obstacle in the way of concluding a peace treaty with Soviet Russia, were rejected by von Kühlmann from his own experience: 'I can', he said, 'by reason of the accurate insight which I gained during the week-long daily negotiations, assure the House that this is absolutely not the case. If there were at all a means of enabling Mr. Trotsky to sign a satisfactory peace treaty, it would be exactly the accomplished fact of the signing of the Ukrainian peace, and I still consider even today the conclusion of this peace as an important means of reaching also with the Trotsky government a conclusion acceptable for both sides.'⁸

Criticism of this treaty was in reality without reason; later developments may surely be seen as evidence of the correctness of these agreements. It can clearly be seen from the writings of Lenin and Trotsky that the German-Ukrainian peace treaty was not seen as an obstacle to their own peace negotiations, certainly not by Lenin and still less by Trotsky. Moscow's decisions, which at first formed the basis of the strategy of Communism, which had just gained state power, were influenced by quite different considerations. Lenin was concerned first of all with maintaining power, with the consolidation and development of the Communist dictatorship in Russia, which was to act as a springboard for Communist world conquest. Lenin was ready to pay a price for this aim: it was of secondary importance

6) *Verhandlungen des Reichstages*, page 3989.

7) Text of the secret treaty: E. Borshchak, "La Paix ukrainienne de Brest-Litowsk", Paris, 1935. The Austrian government, in it, bound itself to separate the parts of East Galicia which possessed an overwhelmingly Ukrainian population, and to unite them with Bukovina into a crown-land.

8) *Verhandlungen des Reichstages*, page 3989.

whether this was in the shape of Ukraine or as agreement to the treaty with the Central Powers.

In the debate following Kühlmann's report, two or rather three different conceptions became clear in Parliament. The dividing line ran from right to left. All the German parties of that time, including the Social Democrats, spoke in favour of the treaty; only the representatives of the unimportant Independent Social Democrats and of the Poles rejected the ratification of the treaty.⁹

The decisive considerations on the part of the supporters seem to have been:

1) The peace treaty with Ukraine meant a break-through in the blockade of the Central Powers by the Allies.¹⁰

2) The end of hostilities on a large section of the Eastern front and the hope of peaceful developments in Ukraine were in German interests.¹¹

3) The possibility of playing Ukraine off against Russia, to lead to a general weakening of Russia, was in no way contrary to German interests.¹²

4) The prospect of importing raw materials and agricultural products from Ukraine aroused hopes of overcoming all economic difficulties not only for Germany but also for Austria-Hungary, whose position at this time was even more critical.¹³

⁹) The Reichstag elected in 1912 comprised the following parties: Conservatives, 45 seats; Reichs party, 13; National Liberals, 43; Left Liberals, 42; Centre, 90; Poles, 18; Social Democrats, 110; Hannoverians, 5; Danes, 1; Alsations, 9; Anti-Semites, 11; Others, 10.

¹⁰) According to the deputies Adolf Gröber (Centre) and Count Kuno von Westarp (Conservative). Adolf Gröber (1854-1919), Chairman of the Centre Party in Württemberg and in the Reich. Kuno Count von Westarp, born 1864. From 1908-1918 German-Conservative Reichstags deputy, 1913-1918, parliamentary party leader. From 1920 on member of the Reichstag. Author of many works and memoirs.

¹¹) Deputy Dove (Progressive People's Party) expressed the hope that henceforth Germany would live in good neighbourly relations with Ukraine.

¹²) In particular Gustav Stresemann (National Liberal) *Verhandlungen des Reichstages*, op. cit., page 4018. Gustav Stresemann (1878-1929). From 1907 in the Reichstag as a National Liberal, from 1919 as leader of the German People's Party. 1923 Reichs Chancellor and until his death Foreign Minister. Tried to achieve acceptance of the Treaty of Versailles and German international cooperation. 1926 with Briand and Chamberlain Nobel Peace Prize.

¹³) This above all was voiced by deputies in favour of ratification. e.g. B. Gröber: "The treaty with Ukraine also represents a treaty with the most important, most fertile part of Russia and thus opens up for the future a pleasant prospect; it also justifies the hope that we will receive from this country considerable quantities of food and animal fodder for Austria as well as Germany." (*Verhandlungen*, op. cit., p. 4003). Similarly Dr. Eduard David (Social Democrat): "In Ukraine we have an interest in peace, which we naturally also welcome, as a bringer of the produce we desire. We want grain and other agricultural products to be imported from there." (*Verhandlungen*, op. cit., p. 4007).

5) This first treaty with Ukraine was to serve as a model for all treaties to be expected and thus represented the first step in the direction of a general peace.

Count Westarp saw in this treaty the beginnings of a peaceful solution of the problem of German Eastern policy: "Those who attach importance to the fostering of good relations with the East will be able to hope, with State Secretary von Kühlmann, that the peace treaty with Ukraine is also the first step towards bringing us later into good relations with the whole great Russian empire."¹⁴ Summarising the arguments brought forward in favour of the treaty, one can say: the treaty with Ukraine was a success for the German Reich. The interests of Germany were maintained and with the exception of the Kholm question, the agreement created no new difficulties for German Eastern policy. The treaty was thus from the diplomatic point of view completely acceptable.

Since in addition the economic part of the treaty seemed to offer great advantages, the widespread agreement of the parties to the treaty in the Reichstag is understandable. This success was won by German policy without having to exert any appreciable pressure on the representatives of the Ukrainian republic. This shows quite clearly how well the interests of both parties were brought into line. In the Eastern European quadrilateral, consisting of Germany, Poland, Russia and Ukraine, the German-Ukraine partnership showed every possibility, theoretically at least, of reaching agreement in a very harmonious manner. Inside this quadrilateral Russia was in the position of the opponent of all other sides: Germany, Poland, Ukraine; for this reason, it had to seek to realise its political aims by means of war.

This was the position at the time of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty, and even for some months after. The situation was reflected clearly in the debates of the Reichstag, and the opponents of the ratification of the treaty with Ukraine were able to oppose it with only unconvincing arguments. Rejection of the treaty was justified by two reasons:

The granting of the Kholm region to Ukraine offended allegedly against the principle of self-determination with regard to Poland and allowed Poland to speak of a 'fourth partition of Poland.'¹⁵

¹⁴) *Verhandlungen*, op. cit., p. 4025.

¹⁵) E.g. the Polish deputy Seyda: "This peace amounts to a new partition of Poland... a piece of Polish land is being cut off and given to the Ukrainians... this land assigned to the Ukrainians is Polish and Catholic in its majority... we will not recognise this domination of the fatherland..." (*Verhandlungen*, op. cit., p. 4013). The other Polish deputies, Stychel and Prince Ferdinand Radziwil, expressed similar arguments. Count v. Westarp and Dr. Stresemann answered the Polish reproaches regarding the seeming Polish character of Kholm and pointed out that the settlement of this question was a condition for

2) The expressed doubt of the right of self-determination of Ukraine, together with the right of separation from Russia, and at the same time of the legality of the Central Council in the signing of the peace treaty with the Central powers on behalf of the Ukrainian nation.¹⁶

The third category of critical judgement over the peace treaty was formed by those deputies who agreed in principle to the agreement and disapproved of only individual stipulations. The question of Kholm was repeatedly mentioned with the desire to take into account the interests of Poland.¹⁷ Anxiety over German property in Ukraine, which had already been largely nationalised by the UNR government, and the lack of clarity over the validity of the German-Russian economic treaty, which had been concluded before 1914, were expressed by the opposition. Further to this deputies Gröber, David and Dove announced their disapproval of the countersigning of the peace-treaty by General von Hoffmann.

The ratification was completed on 22 February by the great majority of the Reichstag, and the first phase of relations between the German Reich and its allies with the newly-existing Ukraine passed into history. Meanwhile the German and Austrian troops penetrated deep into Ukraine, to meet the appeal for help by the Ukrainian government to the Central powers on 10 February 1918 and to provide helpful presence for the new republic in its hour of struggle. The Russian invaders were pushed back again to the north within a month. The second phase of German-Ukrainian relations opened with the presence of German troops in Ukraine.

the Ukrainians for the signing of the treaty and moreover the Polish statistics were biased. According to the Russian census in 1909 (the last census before the world war) the Kholm province (Kholm region together with Pidliashia) is known to have had 1,800,000 inhabitants; of these 55% were Ukrainians, 35% Poles, the rest Jews and Byelorussians. With the exception of the district of Zamostia all other ten districts showed a Ukrainian majority. (S. Horak, "Der Brest-Litowsker Friede...", p. 120).

¹⁶) Strangely enough this argument was brought forward by the representative of the Left Social Democrats (Independent Socialists), Lebour. The representative of Marxism, in whose philosophy the right of national self-determination is apparently enshrined, refused before the German Reichstag to grant the Ukrainian nation the right to decide on its own fate, moreover at a time when the Soviet government in Russia itself on two separate occasions granted the right to independence and separation from Russia to Ukraine.

Lebour's comparison of Ukraine with Bavaria's position was more in accord with the thinking of Russian Nationalist and Conservative circles than with that of Socialist ideology. In his further statements he followed Soviet Russian propaganda, in representing the Russian attack on Ukraine as an internal political struggle of the Ukrainian parties. (*Verhandlungen, op. cit.*, p. 4032).

¹⁷) This was supported principally by the deputies Gröber and David.

Anatol W. BEDRIY

MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKYI — FIRST THEORETICIAN OF MODERN UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM

(Continued from No. 2, 1967)

2. THE WRITINGS OF MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKYI

h) *Ukrains'ke Evanheliie* (Ukrainian Gospel)

(*Snip*, No. 2, 1912; signed: *Clericus*)

The translation of the whole Bible into Ukrainian has been done long ago by Kulish and Puliui. The British Biblical Society distributes its edition of the Ukrainian translation all over the world. But the admission of these publications into Russia is prohibited and till recently the Ukrainian Gospels were censored books! All attempts by Ukrainians to obtain a translation of the Gospels were met by severe opposition of the Holy Synod.

At last the twentieth century has brought to the Ukrainians, the descendants of those Ukrainians who accepted the Christian faith under Saint Volodymyr, the translation of the Holy Scripture into the Ukrainian language. Last year the Holy Synod finished a work of tremendous significance: the Ukrainian translation of the four Evangelists. This event merits maximum attention and maximum publicity, for it removed an old and long-lasting injustice. The Holy Synod itself gave much publicity to this event rewarding the editor-in-chief, Bishop Parfenii and his associates. This affair should prove that the former policy of non-recognition of the Ukrainian people as a nation has been abandoned by the Holy Synod. We greet it most warmly since nothing did more harm to the Church in Ukraine as this very erroneous policy. The Church which has the aim of enlightening Christian souls in order to give them an opportunity to understand the great teachings of Christ and by becoming closer to the spiritual

side of man to convert him to the road of salvation, this Church suddenly told the Ukrainian people: divine grace can only be learned through the Russian language. He, who does not know Russian, is not worthy of this grace. In such a way a thirty-million strong people was separated from the understanding of Christ's teachings, or far worse, it was exposed to the uncertain knowledge of these teachings, for as it is known, many Russian words sound the same as Ukrainian words, but actually have a completely different meaning. And so the language of the entire people was declared unworthy of being used to preach the divine word.

In reply to this policy the simple folk organised a large-scale sectarian (Shtundist) movement, while the Ukrainian intelligentsia started on the road of estrangement. To the simple folk the Church always appeared in the form of a "prominent foreigner" who talks a strange tongue and does not know and does not understand and even scorns the Ukrainian language.

To the Ukrainian intelligentsia the Church appeared in the role of a Russificator instead of the upholder of the threatened spiritual balance of the nation. It produced discouragement toward the Church even in those circles which neither joined the sectarian movements nor renounced the Church. They formally remained in the Church but became completely indifferent to religious matters. They were "bodies" without "living souls."

And thus, a gap between the Ukrainian people and the Russian Church has been opened. The Ukrainian people, silent and self-enclosed, held themselves aloof from the Church — the same people, who in the seventeenth century revealed such a deep and powerful attachment to its Church, the people who completely destroyed the Socinian movement as anti-Orthodox. The same people who was able to combine the national affairs and the religious matters into a harmonious whole and in the seventeenth century showed unusual energy in defence of the Church and nationality.

Presently, the Church turned against the nationality. The Holy Synod realized, of course, the tragedy of this situation and attempted to fill and level off the gap, so that the Ukrainian people might return to the Church. It became very clear that the state dealing with "bodies" can afford to play longer with the neglect of nationality, but the Church dealing with "souls" cannot chance such experiments. As the result the translation of the Gospels into the Ukrainian language appeared, approved by the Holy Synod. It is an epoch-making event in the relations between the Russian Church and the Ukrainian people. Any way you look at it, it is the recognition by the Church of the Ukrainian people as an entity. The Church has changed its attitude toward us; it does not want to be considered alien any longer.

k) "22 January, 1912, Kharkiv."*(Snip, 4 February, 1912)*

An old aphorism says: peel a Russian and you will find an Asian. But, it seems, it is more just to say: peel a Russian progressive and you will find a Great-Russian chauvinist. This is undoubtedly true when speaking of the attitude of Russian progressives toward the Ukrainian people. The Russian progressives' treatment of the Ukrainian movement has been emphasized by Drahomanov in his "Historical Poland and Great Russian Democracy", but the simple-minded Ukrainian general public did not understand this wrong, because it did not know how to look into the future and very honestly accepted the appeals of the Russian progressives, who said: "Gentlemen, stop taking care of your own narrow national-cultural matters. It merely weakens the common movement." Let us go together "with united forces" against "the common enemy." And after we win, we will give you not only what you desire, but even more. Although the Ukrainian public had once heard similar appeals from the Poles and had even found out the falsity and hypocrisy of such appeals "for our and your freedom", nevertheless it did not know better even after the harm and let itself be caught on the hook of such appeals from the camp of Russian progressives of various shades from the moderates to the leftists.

Under the influence of these double-faced appeals, the Ukrainian public was forsaking work for its own national culture and was rushing into the ranks of the Russian progressives, who were applying policies harmful to the Ukrainian nation. Of course, the renegades labelled "obscurants" those few Ukrainians faithful to their own people, who were sceptical of the evil policies of the Russian progressives and did not undertake the road of "the all-Russian quarrels." In vain the sceptics warned that the common front with the Russian or Polish progressives can be undertaken only when our own strong national cultural force has been established because without such a force we will disintegrate without any trace and to the harm of our own people. Incautious renegates did not want to listen to anything and considered it a matter of honour to work side by side with Russian liberals. It can be said quite frankly that in the last half century the Ukrainian intelligentsia blindly followed the progressive slogans of the Russians, unconsciously preparing a great moral decline, exposing this nation to abuse from the central government which nevertheless has to see in the Ukrainian movement only the elements of opposition with quarrelsome tendencies without any positive work for the well-being of its people. This is how the Ukrainian intelligentsia was wasting its strength, its energy, its talents and its money, investing them in the so-called "common" cause and believing in future compensation for its people.

And thus, when Russian liberalism has grown in power "through common efforts" after the events of 1905, the time of compensation arrived.

The pay-off began with the fact that "the most liberal of liberals" — the Kadets (Constitutional Democrats) in their platforms did not recognize such rights of the Ukrainians as they did for example for the Poles. What is more: *they did not recognize Ukrainians as a nation at all*. This occurrence is a vengeance of the historical Nemesis upon the Ukrainian intelligentsia for those opportunistic and servile relations with the Russian progressive trends which it cultivated for such a long time and is still exhibiting. But for "Ukrainian progressives" this was only some kind of a misunderstanding which did not correspond to their point of view.

When questioned by average Ukrainians, full of naive astonishment, "the most liberal of liberals" in the beginning murmured something about "a review" of the programme and then quite frankly expressed their view upon the Ukrainian movement in a speech by one of their leaders, which he delivered in the State Duma: "Let's give them [the Ukrainians] their own school, so that they themselves will see what nonsense they are demanding" (Rodichev). A little later Stakhovich began talking. This sobered the Ukrainian opportunists a bit, but not completely, because they, now as before, always tried "to do things together."

But, at last, the true views upon the Ukrainian movement have been expressed by a "respected" progressive *Russkaya Mysl'* in a final, clear and cynical form, first by Staroselskiy (No. IX, 1911) and now by Struve (No. I, 1912). It seems to us, that from a tactical point of view (the elections to the 4th Duma) the progressives will be unhappy with the frankness of the Staroselskiys, Rodichevs, Stakhoviches and Struves, but we can only be grateful. And now the Ukrainian public, through the statements of its liberal Russian partners, has been proclaimed "a real state and national evil." This is how Russian liberalism wants to pay Ukrainians for their former "common work": "*The Russian progressive Thought should energetically, without any ambiguities and indulgences, undertake a moral struggle with the Ukrainian movement.*" (*R. Mysl'*, No. 1, 1912).

This is a horrible, cold and cruel formula. There is no need to go further. But better late than never! Today the liberal mask is off and the Russians — the progressives — are clearly saying to the Ukrainians: "we are your enemies." But, perhaps, it is better this way, because at least there can be no further misunderstandings.

Now, it is completely clear that even though the Struves, Rodichevs, Stakhoviches and the factions for which they are the spokesmen are enemies of and are abusing the Menshikovs and the Bobrynskiys and the factions for which they are the spokesmen, in one point their programmes are identical and both broad groups

of Russian public are in happy harmony and mutually supplementing each other — that is the point of hatred toward everything Ukrainian. Both the former and the latter want the death of the Ukrainian movement.

At a time when the Menshikovs are calling for the use of state power of the Russian people against the Ukrainian people, Struves are calling for moral forces of the Russian culture, but the aim of both is the same: to destroy the Ukrainian people as a nation.

Two forces, two very great forces are baiting the Ukrainian people. That is a horrible sight, but the tragedy of the whole thing is increased by the fact that both of those forces have been established with our enormous and close participation, established in reality "through common efforts" of the Ukrainians and the Russians.

And now the Russian state and the Russian culture are being incited against us.

Will these two powers go against us and is our national existence and cultural development really in danger? These questions are put before us by life itself with tremendous speed.

Shall we be able to answer these questions and do we have enough strength to resist, in order to endure future blows and not to perish? These are dreadful questions, and pain grips one's heart that we, Ukrainians in Russia, have to answer such questions. The only joy left to us is the realization that it is not beneficial for the state to destroy our loyal and faithful nation and therefore the state will not let itself be persuaded by this baiting against the Ukrainian people. As far as "ungirdled from today" Russian progressives go, in the struggle for which they call, our nation will find the necessary strength for defence within itself. We firmly believe in this. Amen.

1) "Prof. Mykhailo Hrushevskiy"

("Gallery of Our Contemporary Leaders", *Snip*, 1912; signed: *M. M-skyi*)

A folk legend endowed Colonel Bohun, the most beloved knight of the Khmelnytskyi times, with the capability to be in two places at the same time. He was able to defend two fortresses simultaneously, even though the distance of one hundred miles divided the two fortresses.

No matter which way the enemy would throw himself, no matter which fortress he attacked, everywhere he was met by the dreadful sabre of Bohun. This legend always comes to me when I think of the activity of Prof. M. Hrushevskiy, who turned the legend into reality. Wherever enemies would fall upon the Ukrainian movement — in Kyiv or in Lviv, everywhere they are rebuffed by M. Hrushevskiy. Armoured by the iron of great erudition, holding the weapon of science in his hands, this untiring fighter repels all hostile

attacks. One but wonders: where does this man find energy and time to write such a tremendous quantity of works. For if we wanted to enumerate the titles alone of his historical and publicistic works, we would fill our newspaper completely. Ukrainian science, represented today by the Shevchenko Scientific Society at Lviv and the Kyiv scientific society, is indissolubly linked with the name of Professor Hrushevskiy: he is president, brain and nerves of both societies. And the fact that the Shevchenko Scientific Society enjoys world-wide esteem and recognition — that is the achievement of Professor Hrushevskiy.

The greatest and the most important work of the Professor is the great *History of Ukraine-Rus'*. It made the name of the Professor very popular all over Ukraine and widely known throughout the whole world. It would be superfluous to talk about the tremendous significance of the *History*. Indeed, a great 30 million strong people has been discovered, a nation with an extensive culture, although ruined, but capable of revival, of a new life. "The society which has faith in itself, must have courage to look at the unvarnished truth of its past in order to derive from it not only disillusionment but strength", says the Professor in the Preface. With the appearance of Hrushevskiy's work the argument of the enemies of our national rebirth who called our people "fatherless" and on this ground did not recognize our right to an independent national life disappeared for ever.

However, besides having a historian in the person of the Professor we have an exceptionally talented publicist. He is able to grasp with his sharp critical mind each phenomenon of contemporary life from all sides and to give it such illumination from the Ukrainian point of view that nobody else can. The significance and the influence of Professor's publicistic works can truly be called enormous. He resolutely prevents some present-day Ukrainian opportunists from straying from the right path, which he is straightening out for the use of the whole people and which leads toward a great ideal.

We are noticing how under the influence of a great, untiring and fruitful activity of the Professor the image of a lazy, slow, apathetic "Little Russian" dies for ever and in its place a cheerful, strong, energetic Ukrainian to whom the future shall belong arises.

Thanks to fate, Prof. Hrushevskiy earned the greatest victory which a Ukrainian can get: the Ukrainian people, who does not like to respect its leaders, who throws mud at them or even stones, this people as a whole regardless of party differences or other views treats the name of Prof. M. Hrushevskiy with deep reverence even during his life. Therefore, our call: "Long live Mykhailo Hrushevskiy!" will find a sincere response in the souls and hearts of all Ukrainians.

(To be continued.)

APPEAL TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

Note. An International Conference on Human Rights, sponsored by the UN, took place in Teheran between April 22nd-May 13th. A delegation of Free Ukrainians consisting of 7 representatives attended the Conference. Among many petitions sent by Ukrainian organisations in the free world to the Conference there was one from the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain which we reprint in full below.

**Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
49 Linden Gardens, London, W.2.**

30th April, 1968.

To the Chairman
of the International Conference on Human Rights,
TEHERAN,
Iran.

Dear Sir,

In connection with the International Conference on Human Rights, which is being held in Teheran, to mark the 20th anniversary of the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, representing 17,000 members, has the honour of drawing the attention of the Conference to the violations of human rights by the Governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, which are members of the United Nations.

For over 50 years, the totalitarian Government of the USSR, motivated by Russian chauvinism and imperialism, has not only trampled on the rights of individuals, but has perpetrated untold crimes with regard to entire nations, including premeditated acts of genocide and forcible transfer of population from their native homes to uninhabited regions to face certain death. In particular the Russian-dominated Government of the USSR, acting through its puppet Government of the Ukrainian SSR, has committed innumerable crimes of violation of human rights of the Ukrainian people.

The Ukrainian Nation, which is a distinct ethnic entity with its own language, culture, history, numbering over 40 million people and inhabiting a vast territory in South-East Europe, proclaimed its independence in 1918. Soviet Russia immediately invaded Ukraine and after a prolonged struggle conquered the country by force of arms and widespread terror. Since that time the Ukrainian people have suffered oppression and have had no opportunity to express freely their sovereign will. The Communist puppet government of the Ukrainian SSR has been imposed on the Ukrainian people by Russian force and has since been maintained by threats of reprisals by the massive Russian administrative, police and army apparatus who have occupied Ukraine.

The so-called "elections", held periodically in the USSR and Ukrainian SSR, have always been a farce, as their result is pre-determined by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which has no respect for electoral rules, but uses terror and falsifications to rig elections, thus violating Article 21 (paragraph 3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Neither the Government of the USSR, nor that of its puppet, the Ukrainian SSR, have any legal right to represent the Ukrainian people. Their power is that of usurpers, flouting the will of the people.

The Russian Communist government in Moscow and its subsidiary branch in Kiev, have violated and continue to violate every article and paragraph of the Charter of United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Freedom of speech, freedom of Press, freedom of assembly, freedom of forming associations, of holding street processions and demonstrations, though verbally guaranteed by the Soviet Constitution (Art. 125), have been non-existent in the USSR and those who dare to express different opinions from those currently laid down by the Kremlin dictators, are savagely persecuted or murdered.

There is no Press organ or any other organisation in the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR, which is not subordinated to the Russian Communist Party command. The Soviet constitution itself laid it down as a law (Article 126) that every association must be led by Communists. Those who try to form independent associations or organisations, whether political, cultural, religious, social or economic, suffer severe persecution and receive draconic sentences, and often are punished by execution. All Ukrainian political, social, cultural, economic, religious and youth organisations, which existed before the Communist Russian occupation of Ukraine, have been banned and their leaders and members persecuted and decimated. Arbitrary arrests, imprisonment, illegal trials, deportations, forced labour, shootings, have been daily routine in Russian-occupied Ukraine since the very beginning until today.

Not only have the Ukrainians no opportunity to voice their opinions freely on the various problems of their lives because all the press is

controlled by Russian Communist Party and secret police (KGB), and holding of independent meetings or demonstrations are considered as acts of rebellion against the state, punishable by the most severe sentences, but Ukrainians are also under constant pressure from the organs of the USSR government to abandon the use of their native language and to adopt Russian as their tongue. This policy of Russification, taken over from the shameful period of Tsarist oppression, is most blatant and harmful in the field of public education. Ukrainian language is being driven out of higher and secondary education in Ukraine by every trick available at the disposal of Russian officials representing the occupation authorities, and replaced by Russian. Those who attempt to protest against the cruel injustice, with regard to the Ukrainian people, are thrown into prison, e.g. the poet and translator Sviatoslav Karavanskyi and many others. Official Russian censorship prevents the publication of many Ukrainian books, and those that are allowed to be published must appear in ridiculously small number of copies, because Moscow severely restricts the supply of printing paper for the publications of Ukrainian books. Ukrainians are not permitted to read foreign newspapers and books and especially Ukrainian newspapers and books, which are published in the West. Such acts are treated as State treason and punished by several years of imprisonment. As stated above, Ukrainians are not allowed to form any independent societies or political parties, or to hold any meetings not organised by the Communist Party. Such acts are punished by up to 15 years imprisonment and even by execution. (e.g. those individuals who tried to form a Ukrainian National Committee in Lviv in 1961, or the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union, also in 1961). Ukrainian intellectuals, poets, writers, scientists, scholars, philosophers, economists, etc., are not permitted to pursue freely their creative work but must submit to the dictatorship of the Russian Communist supervisors and censors.

It is evident, therefore, that articles 19, 20, 21 and 27 of the Universal Declaration, defining human rights to freedom of thought and expression, are violated in a most brutal manner by the Government of the USSR. Confirmations that such acts of oppression are perpetrated even today, long after Stalinist lawlessness had been officially and hypocritically condemned in the USSR, have been the recent arrests of intellectuals in Ukraine that have become known in the West, thanks to a number of documents which have reached the Free World in a clandestine manner. Among them the type-written book by the Ukrainian journalist, Vyacheslav Chornovil, entitled: *The Misfortune of Intellect*, which contains detailed biographical data and some examples of writings of 20 intellectuals now imprisoned in the Mordovian concentration camps, is of particular importance. These documents reveal that the trials of Ukrainian intellectuals were held behind closed doors against the provision of the

Soviet laws as well as the laws valid in the entire civilised World. Their "crimes" consisted of reading and keeping literature which dealt with the discrimination against the Ukrainian language and culture by the Russian colonial regime. The sentences they received (up to 6 years imprisonment), having committed no crime, are a cynical challenge to human rights and justice. The writings of the arrested Ukrainian intellectuals, in particular their petitions to the Soviet authorities, are circulating in hand-written copies in Ukraine and are an indictment of the Russian occupation regime in Ukraine. Their translations have been published in the West and reveal the unheard-of criminal colonialist policy of Russians in Ukraine. In concentration camps the condemned Ukrainian intellectuals continue to be persecuted and suffer physical and moral tortures.

Beside the recently arrested intellectuals, there are many Ukrainian political prisoners, arrested earlier, who are still in prisons and concentration camps of the USSR, having committed no recognizable crime and who have been sentenced in an illegal manner. There are many individuals who had been sentenced to 25 years imprisonment under Stalin not by any lawful court but by the so-called Special Council, set up by Beria, at the Ministry of Interior of the USSR to deal with political offences. Although the Special Council has been declared an illegal organ by the Soviet authorities after Stalin's death, the 25 year sentences which many Ukrainian patriots received then, have not been quashed and consequently many prisoners, unjustly sentenced, are still suffering in prison. Among the most blatant cases are those of three Ukrainian women, Red Cross workers, who have been serving 25-year sentences in the Vladimir prison near Moscow. They are: Kateryna Zarytska, Odarka Husiak and Halyna Didyk. Another well-known case is that of Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, a defence lawyer, who has been imprisoned without trial and is serving now the 20th year of his imprisonment in a Mordovian concentration camp. One of the most crying cases of injustice is that of Yurii Shukhevych, arrested in 1948, at the age of 15, and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment, simply because his father was Commander-in-Chief of the anti-Russian Ukrainian Insurgent Army. In 1958 he was again sentenced to another 10 years imprisonment on trumped-up charges of making "anti-Soviet propaganda" in prison cells. Altogether he has served 20 years in prison, having committed no crime at all. A Statement from him, addressed to the Soviet authorities, has reached the West. In it Yurii Shukhevych expresses anxiety that he will again be sentenced to a further term of imprisonment on charges trumped-up by the Soviet Russian secret police or, even if released, will be secretly murdered, as happened to many released political prisoners. Yurii Shukhevych remains under constant pressure to condemn the memory of his father, the cause of Ukrainian independence and the activities of Ukrainian nationalists. He has

good reasons to believe that his health and life are in great danger and only immediate action on his behalf by international organisations can stop this most inhuman blackmail.

The Soviet Russian regime has been causing tremendous sufferings to the Ukrainian people. Many millions of Ukrainians have died at the hands of Russian Communists and chauvinists who respect no divine or human laws and trample upon the rights of individuals and nations. Thousands of Ukrainian priests, together with their bishops, have been shot or died in concentration camps. Churches have been closed, turned over to profane use or ruined, the rights to religious beliefs and practices have been severely restricted and at times have been non-existent. Ukrainians have been deprived of their means of production, all their properties have become the virtual properties of Russian dictators. Ukrainian peasants have been robbed of their lands, Ukrainian workers have been deprived of the full benefit of their labour in factories where they have no voice in management. Ukrainian intellectuals cannot freely express their thoughts in accordance with their conscience, but are terrorised to follow the inhuman Communist Party line. Six million Ukrainians died as a result of the famine, deliberately caused by the Russian occupation authorities in 1933, to break the resistance of the Ukrainian farmers to collectivisation. Several million Ukrainians have been forcibly driven out of their homes and deported under cruel conditions to the uninhabited parts of Siberia to work as slave labourers. Many of them are still prevented by police restrictions from returning to their homes, and if they manage somehow to return, they are refused employment there; thus, they are forced to return to Siberia. Although there are up to 10 million Ukrainians, living often in large groups outside the borders of Ukrainian SSR in the USSR, they do not have any Ukrainian schools, though Russians in Ukraine have Russian schools in excess. This is only one example of discrimination practised against Ukrainians on national grounds by the Russian authorities in the USSR. There are innumerable such discriminations.

Taking into account all instances of national discriminations against the Ukrainians, as well as the numerous facts of outright murder of political prisoners (as in Vinnytsia, Lviv, Lutsk and many other places), deliberately caused famines, deportations and slave labour camps, suppression of Ukrainian culture, persecutions and murder of Ukrainian political leaders (Petlura, Konovalets, Bandera, etc.), cultural workers, it must be recognized that the policies of Russia with regard to Ukraine, amount to a planned and premeditated genocide. The insistently advertised "liberalisation" of the regime in the USSR since Stalin's death is a sham, as is proved by continued Russian Communist Party dictatorship, arrests of intellectuals and continued terror by the KGB secret police.

In view of the above, in the name of justice and safeguarding of human rights, we ask the Conference on Human Rights in Teheran:

1) to consider the violation of human rights in the USSR and in particular in Ukraine;

2) to condemn the Communist Russian regime in the USSR and its representatives in Ukraine for the violation of human rights of the Ukrainian people as individuals and as a nation fully entitled to an independent existence;

3) to demand from the Government of the USSR the immediate restoration of all human and national rights to the Ukrainian people, guaranteeing this by:

- a) the withdrawal of all non-Ukrainian troops from Ukraine;
- b) the withdrawal of all non-Ukrainian administrative and police personnel from Ukraine;
- c) the withdrawal of all Russian Communist Party functionaries from Ukraine;
- d) enabling all Ukrainians deported to distant parts of the USSR to return immediately to Ukraine — and all Russians settled as colonists in Ukraine, to return to Russia;
- e) lifting of all restrictions on the freedom of speech, press, association, etc., and of the prohibition of the activities of Ukrainian political, social, religious, cultural and economic organisations;
- f) recognising and respecting the independence of the Ukrainian state proclaimed on 22nd January 1918 and on June 30, 1941, and cessation of all interference in the internal and external affairs of Ukraine, especially as regards the likely changes in the Ukrainian political and social system;
- g) releasing all Ukrainian political prisoners and enabling them to return to Ukraine;
- h) providing proper compensation to all the Ukrainian victims of the Russian colonial occupation in Ukraine or their relatives;
- i) providing compensation to the Ukrainian Nation as a whole for the genocide and exploitation which Ukraine has suffered at the hands of the Russian occupying power.

4) to ask the United Nations to guarantee the inviolability of the independence of Ukraine within her ethnic frontiers in her internal and external affairs, in particular to guarantee the freedom of elections to a national Constituent Assembly in Ukraine to establish a genuine national Ukrainian Government. In the meantime the United Nations should give every support to the struggle of the Ukrainian nation for independence and human rights.

5) To ask the United Nations to set up an international tribunal to bring to justice the initiators and perpetrators of the crimes committed by the Russian imperialist regime against the Ukrainian Nation and other subjugated nations. Russo-Ukrainian relations are not an internal matter of any particular State, but belong to the sphere of International relations and as such are subject to international law. The precedent of the Nuremberg trial of Nazi war criminals should serve as a justification of a trial of Russian Communist criminals who caused untold sufferings to millions of human beings in Ukraine and other enslaved countries.

We wish to remind the Conference and all freedom-loving people that, if our appeal is ignored and nothing is done by the United Nations to restore human and national rights to the Ukrainian people, the cause of the preservation of human rights throughout the world will suffer a tragic defeat. The evil inhuman system, now rampant in the Communist Russian Colonial Empire, known under the euphemistic label of Soviet Union, will be encouraged to violate human rights to an even greater extent and not only in its present sphere of domination, but also in other countries of the world, for its avowed aim is to spread the Russian Communist system throughout the entire world and to set up a world government modelled on the Russian pattern with the capital in Moscow. The establishment of such a Russian Communist empire would mean the end of the most noble aspirations of mankind and all spiritual values which humanity has striven to realise over the past thousands of years.

We trust that it will be in your power to consider our appeal and act in the name of HUMAN RIGHTS.

We have the honour to be, Sir,

Yours faithfully,

For and on behalf of the
Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain Limited

Prof. R. Lisowskyj
President

Dr. S. M. Fostun
Secretary

Encl. List of Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED!

ABSOLUTELY REVEALING!

A BOOK EVERYONE MUST READ

THE REAL FACE OF RUSSIA

267 Pages of Essays and Articles by well-known
authorities on East European problems

PROBLEMS OF RUSSIAN COMMUNISM ASSESSED FROM
A COMPLETELY NEW PERSPECTIVE

The book contains the following contributions:

THE SPIRIT OF RUSSIA — by *Dr. Dmytro Donzow*

ON THE PROBLEM OF BOLSHEVISM — by *Evhen Malaniuk*

THE RUSSIAN HISTORICAL ROOTS OF BOLSHEVISM —
by *Professor Yuriy Boyko*

THE ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM —
by *Dr. Baymirza Hayit*

BOLSHEVISM AND INTERNATIONALISM — by *Olexander Yourchenko*

THE "SCIENTIFIC" CHARACTER OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM —
by *U. Kuzhil*

THE HISTORICAL NECESSITY OF THE DISSOLUTION OF THE
RUSSIAN EMPIRE — by *Prince Niko Nakashidze*

UKRAINIAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE — by *Professor Lev Shankowsky*

THE ROAD TO FREEDOM AND THE END OF FEAR —
by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

TWO KINDS OF CULTURAL REVOLUTION — by *Jaroslav Stetzko*

Order from:

*Ukrainian Information Service,
200 Liverpool Rd., London, N.1. Great Britain*



The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



III

1 9 6 8

C O N T E N T S

MOSCOW DROPS HER MASK AGAIN. Statement of the Central Committee of the A.B.N. on the events in Czecho-Slovakia	2
Velta Snikere: TO BE	5
THE 25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN)	6
Zenon Karbovytch: PRINCIPLES OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST WORLD MOVEMENT	9
Yaroslav Stetsko: IDEOLOGY AND PROGRAMME OF THE NEW UKRAINE (Continuation — 2)	20
Voices of Protest from Ukraine:	
I) Viacheslav Chornovil: LETTER TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.	25
II) LETTER OF THREE UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS TO THE KIEV SATIRICAL JOURNAL "PERETS"	32
III) Ivan Dziuba: SPEECH ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BABYN YEAR TRAGEDY	40
IV) THE FINAL PLEA BY V. CHORNOVIL	43
V) LETTER BY M. MASIUTKO TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.	48
VI) OPANAS ZALYVAKHA'S APPEAL FROM THE CONCENTRATION CAMP IN MORDOVIA	53
<hr/>	
Lina Kostenko: FOUR POEMS	55
John P. Pauls, Ph. D.: SHEVCHENKO ON MAZEPA	59
From the Documents of the Fourth O.U.N. Congress	
1) APPEAL TO THE PEOPLES OF THE FREE WORLD	66
II) KYIV VERSUS MOSCOW. Political Guidelines of the O.U.N. in the Struggle against Russian Colonialism and Imperialism	71
ABN and EFC Conference Material	
TWO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES IN LONDON	75
LETTER TO MR. WILSON	81
"WE MUST BE PREPARED..." Speech of O. B. Kraft, President of the European Freedom Council	83
Yaroslav Stetsko: AN OUTLINE OF ABN'S LIBERATION POLICY	85
RESOLUTION PASSED BY THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL	88
APPEAL TO ALL FREEDOM-LOVING NATIONS AND PEOPLES OF THE WORLD issued by the Conference of ABN	89
Suzanne Labin: VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY THE COMMUNIST POWERS	92
Book Review	
<i>The Real Face of Russia</i> , ed. by V. Bohdaniuk	95
Vera Rich and Constantin Bida, <i>Lesya Ukrainka: Life and Works</i> ...	95

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
"The Ukrainian Review",
200 Liverpool Road,
London, N.1.

Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration),
c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W.2.

Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XV No. 3

Autumn 1968

A Quarterly Magazine

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Professor Dr. Vasyl Oreletzkyj
Chairman of the Board

Mrs. Slava Stetzko, M.A.
Editor

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk, B.A., B.Litt.
Executive Editor

Professor Lew Shankowsky
Associate Editor

Michael Sosnowsky, B.A., B.L.S.
Associate Editor

Professor Nicolas Chirovsky
Associate Editor

Anatol Bedriy, M.A.
Associate Editor

Price: 7s 6d a single copy
Annual Subscription: £1.10.0 \$6.00
Six Months 15.0 \$3.00

Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. (U.S.A)
and
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.

MOSCOW DROPS HER MASK AGAIN

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE FREE WORLD AND A LESSON FOR THOSE WHO NEVER LEARN

STATEMENT

Of The Central Committee Of The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nations (ABN) On The Events In Czecho-Slovakia

1. The brutal aggression against Czecho-Slovakia has ultimately eradicated any illusion of the Western world as to the fundamental change of Bolshevism after Stalin's death; it also destroyed all wishful thinking that Moscow could be considered a trustworthy partner in the mutual efforts to terminate a constantly growing world crisis.

2. The bloody suppression of the Hungarian revolution had already unmasked the hypocritical policy of peaceful coexistence by Khrushchov and yet another violation of the peaceful nations of Czechs and Slovaks followed, this time under the banner (more properly, under the knout) of the Warsaw Pact. This fact clearly proved to the whole world that not so much the "preservation of socialism" was a stake but simply that the maintenance of Russia's predominant position in the strategic area of Europe was all Russia needed to advance her future goals towards world domination.

3. The CSSR, until recently a faithful member of the "Socialist peoples' family" and supposedly an equal partner in the Warsaw Pact, has overnight been proclaimed enemy territory and taken over by force in fact, not because the so-called socialist state order under Dubcek and Svoboda had been endangered but rather because the Slovak and Czech peoples would no longer tolerate the exploitation of their sorely tried native lands within the framework of Russian imperialistic plans. There is no secret about the nature of the sanctimonious "Council for Mutual Economic Assistance" in which Czecho-Slovakia had been unscrupulously plundered and designed to remain an obedient Russian satellite forever.

4. The present lot of the Czechs and Slovaks who are desperately and heroically fighting for their freedom and national independence has again revealed the real purpose of the Warsaw Pact; it is not merely to act outwardly against the so-called "enemies of socialism" but which is no less important, the Warsaw Pact aims at suppression of

each and everyone of its own members who should endeavour to attain equality of rights and, by so doing, to unloosen perchance the murderous grip of Russian dominion.

5. The entire treatment of religious peoples, the Slovaks and the Czechs, reared in the spirit of West European tradition, and of their Communist representatives during the latest negotiations with Kremlin despots alike, overshadows the practices of the medieval inquisition and offers an additional proof that Bolshevism had not changed a bit since Stalin's days as far as its brutality and unceasing aggressive lust is concerned.

6. Anyone who again shows signs of surprise with regard to the present-day tragedy in Czecho-Slovakia and speaks of a seemingly "thoughtless step" by the Kremlin or even makes "wise" statements such as that the political development of the world has been retarded 20 years by the current situation, thereby displays his ill-conceived and hopeless naïveté; he proves, moreover, that he remains ignorant if not blind concerning the immanent nature of Bolshevism with its everlasting unchangeable goals, and truly, such a person did nothing but sleep through the last 20 years.

7. The martyrdom of the peoples inside Czecho-Slovakia must not, in the meantime, pass in vain. Moscow's action concerns not only the so-called Socialist camp and its "unity", as the condition is commonly misinterpreted in the Western world. The mistake, however, could be even more portentous should one continue to look upon the dictators in the Kremlin as trustworthy treaty partners capable of adhering to the strict, formal or secret arrangements about partitioning of the world into two spheres of influence; who furthermore are willing to respect forever the intangibility of the Western hemisphere, now under questionable protection of the USA.

8. In case Russia decides today, for the sake of an elementary international prestige, to defend her strategic position of strength in the heart of Europe by the force of arms then, to be sure, she is going to do so not out of a supposed anxiety over being attacked from the West, but for one reason only: Russia would like to have a safe base area under her firm control from which to move to the next aggressive stage having previously secured her master plan of over-running Europe by means of a blitzkrieg and conventional weapons. Likewise, out of this reasoning comes Moscow's main idea and her final objective in concluding a nuclear non-proliferation treaty. In that way, through the upholding of an established vacuum, off limits for atomic power, her transports of ammunition and armaments would be given free passage.

9. The experience with Hungary in 1956 and Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, as well as with all other upheavals within the Soviet Russian

sphere of influence including internal Soviet prison of nations, as in the case of Ukraine or inside the Siberian concentration camps etc., has shown one thing: none of the nations within the Russian colonial empire is able to win freedom for its own people alone, in isolation from others, by evolution of the Communist regime, that is to say by its liberalization and democratization. It has also been proved that the agreements of Yalta and Potsdam are looked upon by the concerned Western powers, now as ever, as obligatory, that it is up to Moscow to use her military power without the fear of a penalty whenever Russian overlords feel their colonial dominion might be in danger in this or that country.

10. Nor could the so-called national Communism be considered a promise of liberation from foreign Russian domination, firstly because national Communism itself suffers from a paradoxical dichotomy and secondly in a decisive moment the existence of the Communist system would necessarily lead to solidarity with the Soviet Russian power as its mainstay in world politics.

11. The latest events in Czecho-Slovakia have thus confirmed the concepts of ABN beyond any doubt; the so-called world Communism has again revealed its true nature as a variety of Russian imperialism, whereas the so-called socialist internationalism functions as a camouflage for Moscow's policy aimed at world conquest.

12. It follows that the present world crisis is caused primarily by Russian imperialism which is determined, under the auspices of an alleged proletarian world revolution, not only to hold the already conquered positions at any price but, in addition, to carry on its expansion, and to a lesser degree by Communism as such. This puts all the still free peoples of the world into a state of permanent danger.

13. The imperative consequence resulting from such a situation is the following: there is no end to be foreseen for the present world crisis unless the Soviet Russian empire, a stronghold of Communist aggression against the world, is destroyed and the enslaved people recover freedom through the restoration of their national sovereignty. To achieve this end it is far from being enough for the West to merely confine its activity to discussions and protests, which are of short duration and are customarily followed by resignation!

14. In this connection the objectives expressed in the programme of the ABN again find their confirmation: the need of the moment, what is more, the only way to preserve freedom and human dignity in this world of ours, is and will continue to be the mobilization under the banner of national sovereignty and state independence of the immense potential of the resistance forces against Russian foreign domination that exists in the latent form among all the enslaved peoples. This predetermines, however, the establishment

of the worldwide anti-Bolshevik front, the coordination of all the enslaved peoples within the Soviet Russian sphere of influence in their struggle for freedom, and a preparation of a multitude of simultaneous revolutionary movements which would respond with arms to the tyrannical colonial dominion of the Kremlin. This is the only language that Russia understands and could be brought hereby to reason.

15. This demand constitutes a programme of the ultimate objectives of the ABN and offers the only possible alternative to a nuclear war. Anyway the world criminals in the Kremlin would not hesitate to let it loose should a good chance of winning the war be given. The freedom of choice in determining the destiny of mankind ought to be taken away from the Russian master plotters before it is too late.

**Central-Committee Of The
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc Of Nation (ABN)**

September 1968

Velta SNIKERE

TO BE

*To be
A gate of death
A gate of destruction
Of the holiness of Marxism,
Of the overlordship of the Russians;*

*To be
The head of Medusa,
A fitting mirror
For the traitors of man.*

*O wind,
To dust blow them.*

Note. Mrs. Velta Snikere is a Latvian poet, living in London.

THE 25th ANNIVERSARY OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN)

During the Second World, in November 1943, there gathered in the Ukrainian woods near Zhytomyr the representatives of nations subjugated by Russia and Nazi-Germany. At that conference it was decided to present a united front in the liberation struggle against Russian domination, Communist tyranny and Nazi Germany. For that purpose, a Coordinating Committee was formed and a course of action agreed upon in accordance with the political objectives of these nations, i. e. to expel Nazi and Russian occupying forces, abolish the Communist system and to restore the sovereignty and independence which these nations had regained after the Bolshevik October Revolution in 1917, but of which the brutal force of the Red Army was soon to deprive them. Thus the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was born amidst a war on two fronts against both Russia and Nazi-Germany.

After World War II, when Soviet Russia had conquered further part of Europe and many more European countries fell under the despotic rule of Bolshevism, these countries' revolutionary liberation movements joined the ABN, convinced that only a combined effort can bring success in the battle against Russian imperialism. The realization that all the nations under the yoke of Soviet Russia had become companions in misfortune provided the basis for a programme of action and found its expression in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations which from then on, still invisible to some, was to play its part on the stage of world politics.

In the 25 years that have passed since the foundation of ABN, its concept has found ever wider acceptance, until it has today become the key to the solution of the crisis in world politics. Events since the end of World War II and in particular the most recent developments in Czecho-Slovakia have confirmed beyond any doubt the accuracy of our concept and have knocked the ground from under all counter-arguments.

1. We have had proof, if such was needed, that the Communist rule extending over half of Europe, over countries and nations outside as well as inside the USSR, is essentially a manifestation of Russian imperialism, and it is therefore not enough to combat it merely as a socio-political system. Recent events in Czecho-Slovakia have once more demonstrated to the whole world that Moscow's objective is to maintain not only the Communist system, but above all Russian colonial rule and sole command in countries under Communist governments.

2. The conclusion from this is inescapable and again confirms the view expressed in the ABN programme that in the fight against Bolshevik despotism the first requirement is to mobilize the national aspirations of the subjugated peoples. We have always pointed out that in the long run only an affirmation of the national idea and a recognition of the inalienable right of nations to sovereignty can guarantee success in the fight for the abolition of Soviet Russian rule, imposed upon non-Russian countries by force and deception.

3. Developments in the past 25 years finally have confirmed our view of the necessity of joint action in the national revolutionary liberation struggle by all the subjugated nations in the entire Soviet Russian sphere of power. Only by a simultaneous revolt of these nations can Bolshevik aggression all over the world be stopped and the Russian colonial empire be destroyed without running the risk of suicidal atomic warfare. Uprisings, like those in Siberian concentration camps which were led by Ukrainian nationalists, in Poznan and East Germany, particularly the Hungarian revolution and the present martyrdom of Czechs and Slovaks, demonstrate clearly that no nation can throw off the Russian Bolshevik yoke by fighting in isolation and considering only itself, let alone hope to achieve that end by evolution.

For 25 years ABN has stood up unflinchingly for these principles against a host of bitter opponents and hopeless illusionists. By our own efforts we have been able to build up a world-wide organization and we have won friends for the ABN idea in every country of the free world. At the same time we have established contact and cooperation for the purpose of defending common interests with a number of national and international anti-Communist organizations and institutions.

The ABN continues to take every opportunity to inform statesmen, political circles and the general public all over the world about the true situation in the subjugated countries, where the desire for freedom is undiminished and requires only a spark to explode and destroy from within the Russian prison of nations. The latest proof we have of this is the ideo-political rise of the young Ukrainian intellectual elite of this decade.

It is the constant concern of ABN to mobilize in the Western world the will to resist Bolshevist expansion and infiltration and in their own interest, to rally the free nations for a combined attack on the Russian Communist tyranny.

At the same time, ABN has a constructive programme of a new world order, to be established on the universal acceptance of the sovereignty of nations and peaceful cooperation among them in the service of progress. If these principles are ignored, the world and especially the great cultures of the world will, in our opinion, be doomed to destruction.

The ABN's call to battle has, of course, brought into the arena a host of those conscious and unconscious henchmen of the Bolshevist despot. The agents of Russian imperialism of all shades are at work in every country of the world, trying to discredit ABN and its representatives. By all kinds of slander they are attempting to bring our ideology into disrepute and to paralyse our activity. However, this merely confirms that the ABN concept does indeed spell mortal danger to Moscow and its colonialism.

The ABN banner has thus become in our time a symbol for the revolutionary liberation struggle against the Russian Bolshevist empire, and ABN itself is a factor in world politics that has to be reckoned with. Had it not been for the latent and often manifested resistance of the captive nations, Russian Bolshevist expansion would no doubt by now have gone far beyond limits of Central Europe.

Serious cracks have appeared in the fabric of so-called World Communism, and the much vaunted monolithic Communist world movement shows unmistakable signs of decay. To sit idly by while this process continues, or worse even, to help the Bolshevist colonial empire to recuperate, would mean to miss an historic — and perhaps the very last — chance to save the world. The need of the moment is to provide every possible support to all nationalist revolutionary forces within the Soviet Russian sphere of power and to work towards their simultaneous uprising in order to banish once and for all the gravest danger of all time.

But if the Free World should once more abandon the enslaved nations to their fate, it will not deter these from continuing the revolutionary liberation struggle against the Russian tyranny. They are determined to fight to the last against their Russian oppressor confident that they will one day achieve their aim, to the benefit of all mankind, and guided by what has been the watch-word of the ABN since its foundation: "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for Individuals!"

Z. KARBOVYTCH

PRINCIPLES OF THE ANTI-COMMUNIST WORLD MOVEMENT

The Importance of Europe

Before there can be any discussion about the political and organizational principles of an anti-Communist World Movement, it must be clearly established that Europe is neither a subsidiary of America nor of Asia, but a separate force. The prerequisite in the process of Europe's separate role in a political, economic and military respect must be the assurance of its own spiritual, moral and ideological strength. It is the latter which we have set as our task in our present-day activities. Under no condition can we relinquish the ideological-political power positions of Europe and consider her as an appendage to America or Asia. Already now the new Russian imperialists define Eurasia, the so-called "All Russia", as a centre of the two continents, relegating Europe to a small peninsula and Asia to the periphery of All Russia-Eurasia. That Europe has a future as a leading ideological-political power of the world, as a constant source of new ideas and concepts and as a source of immortal spiritual values, cannot be disregarded in the formation an anti-Communist World Movement. In view of its economic, geopolitical and human potential and especially in view of its genius, Europe has unlimited possibilities to play a decisive role in world politics. On one condition, however: that which we call Europe today, is not Europe at all, but only its rump. The peoples subjugated within the USSR from Ukraine to Estonia, from Slovakia to Georgia, form an integral part of Europe. The subjugated people regard themselves as propagators of the cultural European heritage and they defend European values. The Russians have distanced themselves from Europe, especially so by their concept of Eurasia. Europe is not exclusively a geographic concept. Even the remaining free part of Europe is a power, if it relies upon its own forces. It is superfluous to discuss Europe's spiritual and political genius. And what is America? It is an offspring of Europe, just as Australia.

The consciousness of Europe's power must influence and decisively determine our thoughts in regard to a world anti-communist movement.

The Importance of the Subjugated Peoples and of their Liberation Struggle

a) *The opinion of General Fuller and of other scientific and military experts.*

The peoples and individuals subjugated and enslaved by Russia imperialism and Communism are the second power factor to be taken into account with reference to the anti-Communist World Movement. It is they who are the Achilles' tendon of the Communist system — not the hydrogen bomb. Their resistance to the Russian empire and to the regime from within, is a guarantee of success, an alternative to a nuclear war. In his book *The Conduct of War 1789-1961* (p. 320), General Fuller, the most famous and profound military theoretician of the world wrote: "It is this inner front — rather than first line — which is the Achilles' heel of the Soviet Imperium. Not only are half of the inhabitants of the USSR non-Russian, and many of them are nationally-minded and antagonistic to Muscovite rule; but it has also been estimated that less than five per cent of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain are in sympathy with their draconic Communist regimes. As we have seen, whenever a crisis has occurred within the Russian Empire, whether in Tsarist or Communist times, the "minority" nations have revolted, and whenever oppression has appeared to weaken in the countries behind the Iron Curtain, disturbances or revolts have followed. In the Hungarian uprising of 1956 it should not be forgotten that the only non-Hungarian people who fought on the side of the rebels were deserters from the Soviet army.

Therefore, in the cold war, the psychological centre of gravity of the Russian Empire is to be sought in the hearts of the subjugated peoples within the USSR and behind the Iron Curtain. Further, it should be borne in mind, and it seldom is, that this psychological "bomb" is as great a deterrent to the Soviet resorting to actual war as the hydrogen bomb itself. Russia's weakness is our strength, and her strength is our ignorance; no man realizes this more fully than Nikita Khrushchev — what, then, is his cold war policy?"

General Fuller's ideas are confirmed by the most famous atomic scientists and military experts.

In *The Legacy of Hiroshima* (1963), Edward Teller writes that the final victory will depend upon the subjugated peoples. "... We would be able to win such a restricted atomic war, if the people of the battle-torn country were on our side ..."

Max Planck, one of the pioneers of modern physics, said in *Chance* 1962, Munich: "With traditional political concepts, we will not be able to cope with this situation. The bankruptcy of the traditional idea of war, attack and defence, is obvious. Without a reappraisal there is no possibility of averting the danger."

"Today, the greatest danger is represented by the people who refuse to recognize that the era which is now beginning is fundamentally different from that of the past."

B. H. Liddell Hart writes that the atomic bomb is an uncertain means of suppressing a revolution; it can be deadly for both sides... It is neither a good policeman, nor a good fireman, nor a usable border station." (*Quoted from Deterrence or Defence*).

In *A Forward Strategy for America* (1961) Robert Strauss-Hupe states: "The Communists have been able to carry out the fight against the West through numerous auxiliaries and representatives... In this way they put the West under constant pressure, without employing the last provocation — the *casus belli* — which, from historical experience, is absolutely necessary to cause Western nations to go to war against the main enemy."

The Frenchman, Raymond Aron states: "If the Soviet bloc convinces itself that it possesses an incontestable superiority, either in terms of passive or active deterrent instruments, or in terms of the totality of all military means, the danger would be deadly." (*Quoted from Paix et Guerre entre les Nations*, 1962).

Marshal Sokolovsky writes: "To achieve decisive results in the shortest time in a future war, the Soviet war machine, and that of whole Socialist camp, will have to employ the bulk of its power from the very first moment, indeed, literally, in the first hours and minutes, — as far as weapons are concerned, a third world war will be fought with rockets and nuclear warheads... Accordingly, the strategic rocket troops will be the leading military component, while the role and task of the remaining military components will be fundamentally changed. A final victory, however, will be achieved only through a combined effort of all components of the war machine."

Therefore, the subjugated peoples must be a decisive element in the formation of the World League and in the analysis of the power elements of the Anti-Communist world struggle. Hoelderlin rightly stated: "But where danger exists, there are also saviours."

b) ABN and the Anti-Communist World Movement.

Starting from this position, the ABN formulates its views on the Anti-Communist World Movement as follows:

The ABN has always been in favour of the idea of creating a World Anti-Communist Movement, and itself had raised this matter as early as 1949 at the International Conference in Edinburgh. The ABN considers such a body very necessary, but maintains that the success of its action is dependent on a clearly defined political contents. This World centre must contain in its programme of action not only the destruction of Communism, but also the break-up of

the Russian empire, regardless of its ideological base, into independent national states, each of which would encompass its presently subjugated people within its ethnographic boundaries — in other words, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia, Turkestan, Bohemia, Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, Croatia, Serbia, and other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. The ABN opposes not only the Communist system but also Russian imperialism in any form.

Neither the ABN nor any national liberation revolutionary organization — member of the ABN — will ever cooperate with any Russian anti-Communist but imperialistic organization, which will not actively support the break-up of the Russian empire (the USSR and its satellites) into independent states. Therefore, it is in the very nature of things that no Russian imperialistic non-Communist organization which aims at destroying the Communist regime while preserving the Russian empire under a so-called democratic system can ever be a member of the World Anti-Communist Movement. No action which does not clearly support the concept of independent nation-states and the break-up of the Russian empire, will ever be successful in countries subjugated by Russian imperialism.

The ABN rejects in principle the idea of a common front with the USSR against Red China which is advocated by certain official Western circles, but supports simultaneous action against BOTH — MOSCOW AND PEKING. The ABN opposes the neglect of a front against the Russian empire while concentrating only on the threat from Red China.

In principle, we are against a common front with one tyranny against another. We also are opposed to a common front of America with the Russian empire — such a front appears to be developing against China as the so-called main enemy. From a world political view, however, Red China is by no means to be considered the main enemy. We conceive of a common front of the free world with the subjugated world against both tyrannies simultaneously. We must not forget August 23rd, 1939, when Stalin and Hitler signed a non-aggression and friendship pact. Shortly afterwards, Moscow deceived Hitler's Germany and maneuvered it into a war on two fronts. Isn't Moscow playing the same game with America at present?

The ABN rejects in principle all uncertainties concerning the future fate of nations subjugated by Russian Communist imperialism. These uncertainties are caused by the avoidance of the question of the break-up of the Russian empire and promising instead the Russian formula for plebiscites, "self-determination" or the so-called "non-predetermination", because never yet has any nation had to question the right to its own freedom and national sovereignty. Moreover, in conformity with the concept of disintegration of all Western empires,

the Russian empire must be destroyed — not only the Communist one — a NEW empire must not rise on its ruins! Nations with the most highly developed civilizations and cultures were sacrificed to Russian aggression during Tsarist as well as Communist times. After all, the principles of the ABN, the strongest international organization of subjugated nations, are well known. It is out of the question that ABN will fight in the same ranks with Russian imperialists — Red or White — who desire to salvage the empire in essence, changing only the forms of captivity.

The ABN considers that the organizational statutes and the political platform which were chosen at the 1958 conference in Mexico, should be the basis for the World centre, especially as they represent the positions agreed upon by 65 national delegations from several continents. The ABN does not consider that the geographical principle of representation by continent should be included — because, for example, half of Europe is subjugated.

Hence, a continental representation cannot be a fair representation.

In the opinion of ABN there is a main front consisting of captive nations, and a secondary front made up of free nations. Each of these fronts has a very different understanding of the danger involved and the degree of effort needed to oppose Russian or Chinese Communist aggression. The ABN stands in the main front, having as members national liberation revolutionary organizations from Asian nations, also subjugated by Russian imperialism such as Turkestan, for example. The principle of continental representation by itself will not take into consideration the interests of those who are in the main front. For example, in Ukraine, a nation having a population of 45 million, a great battle is being waged against Russian Communism. The organizers of this battle, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, known throughout the world, are dynamic members of the ABN. However, in accordance with the continental representation such a force would not be separately represented in the Executive Committee. Even the ABN, as the strongest coordinating centre of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism would not be represented, because, probably, there would already be a representation from free Europe in the Executive Committee.

Therefore, in our opinion, we should adopt the position accepted by the 1958 Mexico Conference, where both the organizational structure and the political platform were approved. Moreover, the resolutions concerning Russian colonialism which have already been accepted by the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League are a basis for cooperation for the ABN, because there is no doubt that these decisions will be included in the Political Platform of the World League as the point of departure in any stand towards the Russian empire. Especially, the US-Congress Captive Nations

Resolutions (Public Law 86-90 (1959) should be regarded as a political platform of the World Anti-Communist Movement. If the highest legislative authority of the American nation — the US Congress — in spite of possible diplomatic difficulties — has passed the resolution on the disintegration of the Russian empire unanimously eight years ago and three consecutive presidents of the USA proclaimed this public law again and again, then how can a World Anti-Communist Movement composed of un-official organizations be afraid to accept this resolution as a political basis for its activities?

It is necessary to accept this conception of ABN, that is to say, its general basic ideas on the world struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism. Otherwise, the subjugated peoples cannot be won over to the West, and these peoples constitute the main front against the Bolshevist world-enemy.

General Fuller wrote in his book, *Russia Is Not Invincible* (p. 11): "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 — 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.

The aim of the ABN is the complete dissolution of the Soviet Empire into its ethnographical parts and the establishment of each part as a sovereign nation. The ABN is, therefore, opposed to any form of Russian Imperialism whether Tsarist, Socialist, Democratic, Republican or Bolshevist. Nor will it tolerate any form of Russian federation because it fears that whatever form it may take, it will inevitably lead to the re-establishment of a Russian hegemony."

Ideological principles of the European and world anti-Communist Movement

In the fight against Communism and Russian colonialism and imperialism, it is absolutely necessary to stress the problem of nation-state independence, the national idea, the freedom principles of a new world order, and to oppose it to the imperialistic ideas. In view of the fact that today the Communists and the Soviet Russian imperialists hypocritically fight against colonialism and imperialism and speak up on behalf of national independence, *it is impossible that our efforts will be successful, if we fail to lay the main stress on the most just, and most progressive idea of our century, the national idea, the idea of national independence of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. This idea must become the*

motivating power. It is absolutely necessary that we incorporate this principle in the charter of the World Anti-Communist Movement so that we shall succeed in overthrowing the Russian empire and the Communist system in all its forms.

A moral revolution is an indispensable prerequisite of successful struggle against the world evil of Communism whose main centre is Moscow. A spiritual rebirth of humanity and renewed faith in the unchangeable and eternal truths, faith in God and Country, and finally, the de-barbarization of humanity — these are the values which humanity needs today. The time has now come for a great spiritual and ideological revolution recalling the greatest epochs of human upsurge. It is high time that the process of erosion of idealism and humanism in the free world be halted, for society cannot exist without faith and eternal truths. Without an ideology based on faith in God, humanism and patriotism, there can be no victory over the ideology of evil propagated by Moscow today. In our century, a century full of fear, it seems paradoxical to die for a cause, for an idea, for the eternal values, for a definite and determined way of life, for freedom, for God and Country — it seems paradoxical because cynicism and nihilism have engulfed the entire free world.

Our world is very old. The important thing is not to invent a new ideology: almost every worthwhile idea has already been expressed. What is needed is to defend the very old ideas. What is needed is character, courage, loyalty and determination in the realization and application of the old ideas. History has always reacted favourably to courage, moral qualities, character, faith in God and Country. Ephemeral ideas, on the other hand, have disappeared without making any significant inroads in mankind's history. If the West continues to underrate moral values and ideology and shies away from an ideological contest, it will cease to be what it has been, since the West collectively has represented a synthesis of the old Greek, Roman, and Christian values, similarly as the Oriental civilization represents the harmonious synthesis of ancient values of the Chinese, Japanese, Confucian, Buddhist and Shintoist cultures.

It is because it has been based on these eternal values that the West has become the freest and the richest society. But this society is doomed to perish within a short time if Western man ceases to aspire towards high ideals, ceases to struggle for true values and ceases to believe in and aspire to a higher moral and spiritual order. It is up to the free man. Moscow is certain to emerge victorious if the free man does not return to moral values as the dominant factors in life, to faith in the eternal truths and to an appreciation of a life of moral ideologies. Whoever deprecates these idealistic qualities will also lose his material possessions. To value the heroic over the

preservation of one's own egotistical life which is not so precious that it cannot be risked, — to rate effort and struggle on behalf of one's friends above one's utilitarian profit, to struggle for the great and the supreme in life as opposed to the cult of the little man, to place sacrifice and devotion above amour-propre, and to find the meaning of life in service to an ideal — these are the elements of a new anti-hedonistic revolution of spirit which are sorely needed in today's world. Faith in God, patriotism, love of one's country, morality based on religion, the ideal of the nation as a cornerstone of the world order, the national principle of the organization of the world, respect for man created in the image of God, the freedom of man's creative work and the ideals of social justice as opposed to dialectical and historic materialism, to internationalist Communism and to the ideology of the herd, which is a creation of the Russian Communist spirit — these are the ingredients of the anti-materialistic and anti-Communist revolution of spirit, an idealistic and moral revolution of freedom-loving mankind.

The principles outlined above do not contradict the fact that free societies are pluralistic and this accounts fundamentally for their freedom. In pluralistic societies there cannot exist one single ideology. There might be many ideologies, as well as many creeds, as well as many ways of approaching spiritual problems. We must uphold moral values — so underrated today — but we ought not to seek a single ideology. The very fact that those of us who are worth their salt, turn out to be believers and defenders of the perennial true and supreme values, contradicts the concept of a single ideology.

The existence of common eternal values of the whole humanity cannot be denied. They have to be defended from Communism.

Freedom is the necessary prerequisite for competition of various ideologies. If we want to win, we should have our own vision of values and qualities which are worth fighting for, and the freedom achieved will be the pre-condition of this competition. The pluralistic society approves the contest for the higher values! Above freedom stands justice. Freedom permits us to fight for the higher ideal — justice. We know why we want to be free and what we are striving for. The pluralistic society means the common struggle of all religions against militant atheism.

Besides, under a merely religious point of view, communism ought to be attacked at the same time by Christians and Moslems and Jews and true Buddhists etc. Whoever believes in the supremacy of the Almighty, of the Creative Spirit, must single out the communists as enemies. But there is no oneness of religious faith but plurality of it and consequently it cannot be a single ideology to oppose the enemy's satanic one.

Political Concept on Liberation from Fear and Slavery

The enslaved nations in the Russian prison of nations are a component and integral part of freedom-loving mankind, and so are those captive peoples that are under the domination of other Communist regimes. The ideological revolution, the moral, anti-hedonistic, anti-materialistic and anti-imperialistic revolution takes place in the spirituality and in the struggle of the captive nations and peoples in the Russian prison of nations. The ultimate objective of this revolution is a total negation of Communism as a system imposed on the captive nations by the Russian totalitarians. Communism is a modern form of Russian imperialism, a national imperialistic Russian idea, under the guise of which Russia endeavours to conquer the whole world. The national liberation idea, and freedom struggle of the captive nations in the Russian Empire, i. e. in the USSR and the so-called satellite countries, constitute the Achilles' heel of this despotic and tyrannical edifice. Moscow uses militantly the policy of genocide, familiar to Russia throughout centuries, which represents the acute and radical form of slavery of uprooting and intermixing various societies with the purpose of destroying nationalities, in-dependence, and freedom.

The atomic age is accompanied by a process of disintegration of empires, by the victory of the national principle underlying the world's organization, and of national statehood ideology as the most just and the most ideal. The captive nations enslaved in the Russian Communist sphere of domination are a third sovereign force dependent on no one on the world's chessboard. They constitute the key force around which all international problems and politics of necessity must revolve. Humanity's road to liberation from fear lies in the national revolution of all the captive nations directed against Russian imperialism and Communism.

National uprisings, that is national liberation wars of the captive nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism, are a possible alternative to an atomic war, which can be averted through the active support by the free world of the national liberation movements in the captive countries. In any future armed clash the decisive role will be played by the people who are adequately prepared militarily. With the development of military technology, the significance of the armed forces of peoples, especially of revolutionary guerillas, assumes a great and important meaning. In parallel with the development of its thermo-nuclear and conventional arms in order to counterbalance the Russian Communist and satellite-bloc armaments, the free world should endeavour to diminish the human war potential of the Russian Communist bloc by winning over to its side the souls and minds of the soldiers of the captive nations. By strengthening the insurgent armies of the captive nations

who will become the national armies, under the leadership and direction of the national governments of all the captive nations including the non-Russian captive nations in the USSR, the free world would again welcome allies.

The assurance of success lies in synchronized and coordinate national revolts and in a chain of revolutionary uprisings. In order to disrupt and destroy the Russian prison of nations — the USSR — from within, an entirely new idealistic, moral and political atmosphere with respect to the captive nations has to be created in the free world; moreover, a new attitude toward the captors and oppressors of the former has to be adopted by the free world.

Above all, the present policy of the West should undergo certain important changes which would attune it to the service of new ideas and a new way of life. To bring about a national and political revolution which would embrace all phases of life — culture, religion, social and economic complex and the whole gamut of a nation's life — the policy of "coexistence" has to be rejected in principle because it enables Moscow to gain recognition of the status quo of the captive nations as a starting point for other conquests. A new hope and confidence has to be aroused in the captive nations. They should become convinced that the West will not betray them, but will support their struggle for freedom and national independence. The international institutions should be reorganized and reconstructed for the purpose of conducting an effective struggle against Russian imperialism and colonialism, with the participation therein of the liberation spokesmen of the captive nations. The free world must have more faith in the ideals of sacrifice and heroism, and ideological growth of the free world must be sympathetic to and consonant with the moral values and political objectives of the captive nations.

Thus the alternative to a thermo-nuclear war is not a policy of "coexistence", which leads necessarily to the outbreak of an atomic war, but a policy of liberation. Liberation of the captive nations and not disarmament of the free world, bold and decisive resistance to Russian Communist aggression and not appeasing it — this is the urgent requirement for the West today. Any local liberation, isolated and limited to a certain area or country, is pernicious illusion. The problem of liberation is at present an integral and inseparable problem encompassing all the captive nations. Such is the spirit of the "Captive Nations Resolution" enacted by the US Congress in 1959. In essence, this resolution supports the break-up of the Russian empire, the restoration of state sovereignty to all the captive nations in the USSR and in its extended territorial empire. It is precisely this concept that should mold the basic offensive of the free world against the forces of Russian Communist imperialism and colonialism.

Moscow cannot risk a war, for it needs its military forces to keep in check the unrest which exists in every part of its empire. Indeed, the

menace of a new world war exists only because the West is opportunistic. It does not have its own convictions, its own positive plan of action, relying instead on a policy of reacting to Soviet Russian moves. History, however, suggests the opposite approach. There are many examples which show that Russia always retreats under the pressure of force. This was the case in 1918 at Brest, in 1920 after the victory of Pilsudski and Petlura at the Vistula; in 1925 upon the determined stand of Kemal Pasha; in 1948 in Berlin, 1950 in Iran, when Anglo-American divisions appeared; in 1958 in Lebanon, when American Marines landed there. In short: in every instance where it was clear that the West was determined to fight, Moscow fell back. In 1956, had President Eisenhower come to the defence of the Hungarian Revolutionaries instead of telegramming Tito that the US was not interested in Hungarian affairs, Hungary would be an independent nation today. The same holds true for Berlin. If timely and proper assistance had been offered, there would not be a Wall of Shame to attest against Western indecisiveness. And there would not have been the Russian invasion of Czecho-Slovakia.

Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

THE CHORNOVIL PAPERS

Open letters to Soviet authorities, written by young Ukrainian intellectuals now imprisoned, denouncing continued violation of human rights, Russian colonialist policies and Russification of Ukraine.

Including the famous memorandum by Vyacheslav Chornovil, a young Ukrainian journalist sentenced to three years' forced labour, and his compilation of the writings of the convicted Ukrainian intellectuals entitled "The Misfortune of Intellect" (Portraits of Twenty "Criminals").

Published by McGraw Hill Company, Maidenhead, Berks.

Price: 45/- net.

You can place your orders with:
**Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers,
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W.2.
Tel.: 01-229-0140**

Yaroslav STETSKO

IDEOLOGY AND PROGRAMME OF THE NEW UKRAINE

(Continuation)

II

The Well-Being of the Nation is Man's Highest Aim on Earth

The basis of our political philosophy is the Ukrainian nation as a natural category of the first importance.

The nation is the highest form of an organic and spiritual community which, as a result of certain historical, geographical, cultural, religious, economic and social conditions, took shape, grew and developed into a living organism of a well-defined character. It is a biological and social reality, as well as a cultural unit, in which the irrational and the subconscious are essential components.

The living, the dead and the unborn, that is the synthesis of the national concept.

The individual Ukrainian is an inseparable part of the Ukrainian nation. The well-being of the national community is man's highest aim on earth. There is no such thing as abstract a-national Man: there is only concrete Man with his roots in the nation.

The idea of freedom and the determination to fight for it are innate in man, so is the social instinct. Together these form the basic elements of human nature. Man is a social creature. By nature he is an inwardly free being whose own conscience holds him responsible for fulfilling the aims of the society to which he belongs.

The creative freedom of Man, the well-being of the community and social justice, these are the absolute values in this life on earth. Any limitation of freedom can only be justified if there is a danger of its abuse and when restraint becomes imperative in order to safeguard and strengthen freedom itself for the benefit of the community, as well as of the individual, whose freedom has its limits there where it is contrary to the common good and to justice. Modern man plays his role in this world through and within the framework of the national community.

The family, as the living cell of the national organism, tending and guaranteeing the moral and physical health of the individual and the community, stands at the very centre of our efforts to foster the well-being of the nation as a whole.

Nation, family, individual — that is the hierarchy of society. The synthesis of these three values with priority freely conceded to the common good over egoism, to national over personal interests, makes up the substance of our concept of Man.

The variety of professions, the type of goods produced or services rendered, divides society in a natural way into vertical groupings. Any horizontal stratification within these vertical structures, brought about within the framework of social justice as a result of individual creative initiative, must be kept within well-defined limits in order to prevent exploitation of any kind.

Our social philosophy rests on a conception of Man who accepts the values of the nation, the family, of creative and social diversity and, finally, of the individual as a responsible member of society.

Metaphysical philosophy and human morality, two subjects which by themselves lack the drive of an ideology or of a social-political movement, are fully covered by the Christian faith.

Above the nation and above Man there are the absolute values of the Universe, whose creator is God, to whom both nation and individual, as the creations of his omnipotent will, are subordinate.

The Ukrainian nationalist ideology, of which one aspect is the belief in heroic humanism, sprigs from the spirituality and social sense of the Ukrainian nation, shaped by a thousand years of Christianity, and is fully in harmony with Christian morality and the Christian philosophy of life. Ukrainian nationalist ideas and Christian ideas form a complex whole. The Ukrainian fight for national reality is at the same time the fight for Christian reality.

We are today in the thick of the struggle of the world of theism, the exponents of national ideology, of human dignity and freedom, of social justice, against the world of militant atheism, the exponents of aggression and imperialism, of the persistent contempt for human values, of enmity between people in their own country — raised to the principle of the class-struggle, of dialectical and historical materialism as a further means in the ideological conflict between the Russian nation and the Ukrainian and other nations. In this confrontation of radically different views the ideological and political position of the Ukraine is of decisive importance.

The world of ideas of our Christian, national, sacred and immortal Ukrainian metropolis Kyiv, fighting for the inalienable rights of man and nations, today stands facing the ideological world of Moscow, metropolis of atheism, with its thirst for conquest and its hatred of

men, the personification of everything evil and destructive. This means a collision of two opposing worlds whose feud is a matter of life and death.

Historically and with a view to the future, the motto of the OUN "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for Man", has its complement in this further watchword: "Kyiv against Moscow!"

For Ukrainian man the most precious thing on earth is the Ukrainian nation. The goal of all endeavour and action of every Ukrainian must be the power, well-being and spiritual growth of the Ukrainian nation.

The highest form of existence, the translation into reality of a nation's will and the continued development of a nation can only be achieved and guaranteed in a nation state. Thus the existence and development of the Ukrainian nation depend on the creation of an entirely independent, sovereign, all-Ukrainian nation state, and it becomes the highest duty of every Ukrainian of our time "to win or to die in the battle for the Ukrainian state."

Freedom and Justice are the Highest Ideals of Mankind

Freedom and justice are the ideals which all individuals and peoples, ever since the beginnings of mankind, have ardently desired and fought for. All the epoch-making events in the life of mankind of individual nations and men, all revolutions and cataclysms, have been motivated and characterized by these ideals.

At the present stage in the development of the human race, the realisation of the ideals of freedom and justice means national and political self-determination, i. e. political independence for all nations irrespective of race, creed, wealth or size, and personal freedom for all men, guaranteed by a politically and socially just and lawful State.

National and political self-determination will not be achieved by way of the ballot box, but will be won by the plebiscite of the blood in the fire of the risings and revolutions, of the struggle for liberation.

The Ukrainian watchword "Freedom for Nations — Freedom for Man" assumes universal significance, since the fight of the Ukrainian people for national and political independence and for a just social order in a state of their own, is at the same time a fight for the victory of freedom and justice everywhere in the world.

Freedom of the nation implies: a sovereign nation state, dependent upon no-one, and embracing the whole of the people within its ethnographic frontiers.

The freedom of Man implies: the individual's unhindered enjoyment of civil liberty, his direct share in the ownership of economic wealth through his own work and through inheritance from his parents, as well as the right to use his earned income within his own country as he pleases.

The present era is marked, more than any other in the history of mankind, by the fight for human dignity and self-respect, for honour and conscience, for freedom and justice. Nowhere and never before have the most sacred ideals of humanity been so brutally trampled underfoot as they are today in the country that embodies everything evil and retrograde, in that totalitarian Russian empire, in which nations and individuals are cruelly imprisoned.

The reconstruction of the world is undertaken by combatting every form of enslavement, exploitation and degradation of nations and men. In the course of the revolutionary renaissance, the first step towards satisfying historical justice is the restoration of the sovereign Ukrainian state.

The destruction of the Russian-Bolshevist empire and the re-establishment of the Ukrainian state can only be achieved through revolution. The Ukrainian anti-imperialist and anti-communist revolution is the pioneering agent in the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. At the same time it is a national, political, social, cultural, religious, as well as economic revolution, supported by the Ukrainian nation in its entirety. This means that, through its best, its most idealistic, noble-minded and selfless sons and daughters, the people seizes the power. The nation comes into its own — the nation rules.

The Ukrainian revolution for national liberation is identical in character with the anti-Bolshevist and anti-imperialist revolts of the captive nations. This unanimity of purpose guarantees that the ideals of freedom and justice will be realised in all those countries of Europe and Asia which Russia has enslaved.

**To the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian individual
revolutionary nationalism has become the exponent of the ideas
of freedom and justice.**

Modern Ukrainian nationalism grew out of the fight for the spiritual, national, political and social liberation of the Ukrainian people and is the synthesis and embodiment of a desire for life, which throughout the ages inspired the Ukrainian people as an indivisible national community. Ukrainian nationalism denotes the striving after freedom and justice for the Ukrainian people, after personal liberty and the well-being of the community, and after unlimited freedom for the cultural creativeness of the Ukrainian individual.

Ukrainian nationalism started as a movement of an active and heroic minority. It aroused the enthusiasm of the mass of the people and with their support grew into an all-embracing national movement.

Ukrainian nationalism means the realization of a society from which parasitic elements are excluded and in which oppression has

no place. It repudiates internationalism, totalitarianism of any kind (red, brown, black, etc.), the preponderance of state bureaucracy over the creative individual, and, finally, class warfare, which according to the Marxist type of socialism is the whole meaning of history.

Ukrainian nationalism condemns every exploitation of men by the State, i. e. by other men, since internal relationships in the Ukrainian state must be based on the recognition that the interests of the community are identical with those of the individual.

Ukrainian nationalism means the realization of government by the People and of human liberty; it provides the link with historical Ukrainian democratic traditions and satisfies the needs of the Ukrainian people, who have become the exponents and defenders of the national idea. It also means an extension of the democratic basis, so that government rests not with one group, one social stratum or class, but with the people at large, i. e. the nation.

Ukrainian nationalism does not view the nation as the sum total of a number of unconnected individuals, but as an organic whole an indissoluble unity formed by the nation's past, present and future. It rejects the class character of an obsolete type of democracy and substitutes for it direct participation in the country's government by the people as a whole through their freely elected representatives from all walks of life, with due regard to the interests of the various territories, Ukrainian nationalism ensures the freedom of the individual, his share in the country's economic wealth and the means of production, and his right to dispose freely of the product of his labour.

PROMISE AND REALITY

50 Years of Soviet-Russian "Achievements"
An Indictment of Russian Communism

by **SUZANNE LABIN**

1/6

1/6

When the Communists seized power in 1917 they made many promises to the workers and peasants in the former Russian Imperial lands.

In "PROMISE AND REALITY", the distinguished French journalist shows the reality of the Communist world after fifty years of unlimited power.

Published by the **British Section of the European Freedom Council**,
c/o 200, Liverpool Road, London, N.1.

VOICES OF PROTEST FROM UKRAINE

The Russians try to preserve their colonial empire by all possible means. However, the enslaved people break through the colonial crust like a volcano even when most of the world approves of Russian genocide or peacefully cooperates with peoples' henchmen of Moscow. Below we are publishing several documents received from Ukraine which show the life and strivings her people.

Ivan Dziuba, 36, a well-known Ukrainian publicist and literary critic from Kyiv, delivered a speech at the commemoration ceremonies in memory of the Jews murdered by Nazis at Babyn Yar. He calls on the Jews to become friends of the Ukrainians in a common struggle against Russian genocide.

Panas Zalyvakha, 42, a noted Ukrainian painter and engraver, presently serving a 5-year sentence in the slave labour camp at Yavas, Mordovian ASSR just for being a true Ukrainian patriot is a remarkable individual. He spent most of his life in exile in Siberia. Zalyvakha wrote a spirited plea in his own defence in which he stated that 7.5 million Ukrainians residing in the Soviet Union beyond the boundaries of the Ukrainian SSR have no rights of a national minority at all and are exposed to cultural genocide.

Another publicistic and juristic jewel is the "Letter to the Attorney General of the Ukrainian SSR" written by Viacheslav Chornovil, 30, a journalist from Kyiv, who was recently sentenced to 3 years in a slave labour camp for writing this very letter. In it Chornovil revealed the lawlessness and the all-powerfulness of the Russian KGB in Ukraine, which is not only the organ of terror and despotism but primarily the organ of Russian colonial enslavement of Ukraine.

Also very important are the letters written by three journalists to the PERETS magazine and by the prisoner Masiutko.

I.

Viacheslav CHORNOVIL

LETTER TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE UKR. S.S.R.

(Excerpts)

"After refusing to give evidence on April 16, at a closed trial in Lviv, I was informed that I will have to answer charges under article 172 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. (refusal to appear). The verdict is itself unjust because I refuse to give evidence only at the unlawful closed trial. But even this verdict was not

enough for the angry prosecutor Antonenko and judge Rudyk. They changed their own decision and on April 19 decided to try me under article 62 of the CC Ukr. S.S.R. They knew very well what this article 62 is...

"It is true that the Supreme Court of the Ukr. S.S.R. overruled this

unlawful verdict on May 17 (1966), but only because a signal to imprison the next party of "anti-Soviet agitators and propagandists" had not yet come from "above"...

"... We have only scanty information on the closed trials in Ternopil and Ivano-Frankivsk. I will therefore outline how lawlessness was carried to the extreme in Kyiv and in Lviv. The March 9-11 trial was conducted by the head of the Kyiv Oblast Court, Matsko, people's representatives — Yarko and Zahorodnyi, prosecutor — Komashchenko; (I had no time to write down the name of the defence attorney, but he played no part in any case).

"Legality started with the fact that no one, not even the relatives, were notified about the trial..."

"The judges were afraid that the defendants would tell the truth in public (before an audience previously thoroughly checked), just as Moroz told it at Lutsk, that they would speak about the gross violations of Lenin's nationality policy, that they would tell that what interested them in those books and anonymous articles from abroad was not so much the ideas and conclusions of the authors but the factual material (especially on the horrible years of the personality cult) which for some reason cannot be found on the pages of our papers, periodicals or books. The judges were afraid that the meagerness of the accusations, the shameful methods of investigation and the methods of psychological terror would see the light of day.

"Two attempts to conduct "public" trials of the defendants ended in full defeat of those who tried. Valentyn Moroz spoke about Russification, about unequal status of our "sovereign"

republic and declared that he is not bourgeois nationalist, that he neither wants bourgeoisie nor nationalism but only wants Ukraine to have the same rights as her Socialist sisters — Russia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia. The student of the Lutsk pedagogical institute also spoke with admiration about their instructors. Suffering a defeat, the administrators of justice took refuge in such an ultra-legal and highly humane measure as a closed trial...

"When somebody criticizes the present national policy for its deviation from Lenin's standards, (even if he is mistaken) he has every right to do so under the Constitution of the USSR. But according to the Criminal Code of the Ukr. S.S.R. this individual can be sent to a severe labour camp for criticism is defined as 'propaganda conducted with the aim to subvert or weaken the Soviet regime'."

"... This can be extended to any unwary intellectual who showed his research notes to somebody, or to a man who 'because of idle curiosity took a book from a tourist or a visiting relative from abroad... The anecdotes will also have to be touched upon. Many of them are pure 'slandorous inventions' which 'discredit the government and social order'. Prosecution for anecdotes, so popular among city dwellers, will radically help to solve the housing crisis in big cities. In its honest application article 62 of the CC Ukr. S.S.R. gives an opportunity to increase the population of concentration camps to Stalin's heights, or even to outdo them..."

"Noticing that the interest in Ukrainian publications from abroad and anonymous manuscript literature is bound up with acute dissatisfaction with the present violation of Lenin's national policy with minor or major

discriminatory efforts in relation to the native language, culture, etc. — the servants of Themis would inevitably have to question the party and state about the grounds which breed similar attitudes and result in action which the criminal code considers crimes...”

“In 1926 Stalin was not afraid that all who happen to read the book by V. Shulgin would become staunch monarchists and topple the Soviet regime. Ten years later he suspected treason and executed his closest friends, and 20 years later this was called personality cult. Decades have passed since then and suddenly old notes are discernible in the attitudes of some leaders.

“The vice-chairman of the Committee on State Security, at the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. S.S.R. com. Shulzhenko was wittily telling the intellectuals at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. S.S.R. about foreign intelligence until he reached ‘ideological subversion.’ According to his assertions all oppositional attitudes and actions inside our country are solely the result of the influence of bourgeois propaganda and bourgeois intelligence. So if by wave of a magic wand the bourgeois world would suddenly cease to exist, “contentment” would reign. In villages all would be pleased by the fate of the passportless serf for life in the kolkhoz. In the cities, Ukrainians would be proud that they have become renegades without kith and kin.

“Nobody would blush for democracy while placing unread papers in the ballot box with names determined in Regional Party Committees or District Party Committees. A well-known literary critic, I. Svitlychnyi, would not have been imprisoned for eight

months; art critic B. Horyn and an artist Zalyvakha would not have found themselves behind barbed wire, but, unpunished, would call Russification internationalism and would be peacefully pleased by the achievements of such ‘internationalism’...

“One more revelation was put before the Kyiv intellectuals by the KGB. It seems that an individual with an unstable outlook will immediately develop anti-Soviet feelings upon reading a book with a “hidden text” which contains a valid criticism of our system. From here it is not far to the conclusion: protect the people from a book causing trouble by all possible means, even by prison and severe labour camps. But what happens then to the Marxists thesis that social conditions (and not hostile books) determine consciousness?

“For ten years I have been taught in the Soviet school. In the last sentence of a composition I always tried to mention the Party and Stalin, even though it happened to be a composition on ‘Slovo o polku Ihorevim’ (12th Century poem on the campaign of Ihor). For five years I have diligently studied Marxism-Leninism at the university. All other courses were also firmly based on Marxist foundations. At last, recently I passed a candidate’s examination for a Ph. D. in Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

“But suddenly I accidentally come across a Ukrainian book published abroad, and instantly I become a bourgeois nationalist (without bourgeoisie!). Later I read a Peking brochure on ‘Opportunism of the CPSU’ and I change into a Maoist. Still later I hear the Pope’s speech on the radio — and become a Jesuit.

Is it not to protect the Soviet citizens from such kaleidoscopic changes in outlook that article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. had been invented?

"Marxism-Leninism is without doubt stronger than bourgeois ideologies. Yet we are prosecuted for reading a book published in the West, but our books and newspapers with sharp criticism of capitalism, bourgeois nationalism, current policies of the capitalist states are not hard to obtain (even by mail) in the USA, or Canada, or various other foreign countries.

"*Visti z Ukrainy* is a paper published in Kyiv especially for the emigrants, but for us here, in Ukraine it is impossible to read it because it contains specialized truth — only for export. Is it possible that non-Marxists have learned better than our own leaders the Marxist-Leninist thesis that revolution and social and economic changes cannot be exported, that an idea can only take root in the new soil when the social, economic and political pre-conditions are ripe for it, that to prohibit the spreading of ideas only gives them more strength and attraction?

"Because of the latter, of course, both the instigators and the perpetrators of these arrests and trials which are rolling over Ukraine like an evil wave, are subject to prosecution under article 62 of CC Ukr. S.S.R.... What does article 62 of the Ukr.S.S.R. teach the citizens? It teaches — follow in the footsteps of the latest newspaper norms blindly and accurately; it teaches the bureaucratic morality of the philistines: be afraid and look back"...

"They asked for little publicity, a public trial for those arrested at Kyiv, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivsk, Terno-

pil. A large group of over 70 persons — writers, scientists, civil servants, students and workers — turned to you with inquiries. They too asked for little: to be present at the trial of their friends, classmates, acquaintances and relatives. The militia was later even jostling them out from the corridors of the building, where quietly, far from human eyes, a Kyiv medical student was being tried... Many of them were surrounded by militia and soldiers in the Lviv Oblast Court and kept under arrest until the sentence was secretly proclaimed. For long months the mothers, wives, children yearned at least to see their sons, husbands and fathers who were languishing behind bars. The orgy of searches and investigations is still plaguing the Ukrainian intelligentsia, preventing many from doing creative work. You are indifferent to human drama, to the demoralizing action of fear which as a cold snake is crawling into many a Ukrainian family..."

The Ukrainians who came to the court building and tried to enter the court room were being threatened by the KGB:

"You will all be there..."

In Kyiv the court guards were pointing at the "black-Maria" and declaring:

"We have plenty of cars like that. Enough for all of you."

"Do you think that creative organizations and offices of Kyiv, Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk exhibited signs which said: Go to the trial; listen; convince yourselves of the righteousness of those who judge; do not make the same mistakes... Of course not, all the trials after Ozernyi's were made secret. In order to avoid unwelcome guests, even the

closest relatives were not notified of the trials... Witnesses, as a rule, were invited on the second day of the trial; therefore, on the first day nobody disturbed the peace of the administrators of justice. It would seem there is nobody to be afraid of when in the room there are only the judges, the guards and the defendants. Why, then, were not all witnesses admitted? How is it possible to eliminate a witness who, according to the investigations of the KGB and the verdicts, was one of the two who supplied Hevrych with 'anti-Soviet' literature. All the more, when Horská herself categorically denied this fact at the previous hearing..."

"Not only the 'crime', but also the very fact of political arrests is hidden from the public. The trial of Hevrych, March 9-11, was conducted by the head of the Kyiv Oblast Court Matsko, people's representatives Yarko and Zahorodnyi, prosecutor Komashchenko. Legality started with the fact that no one, not even the relatives were notified of the trial. Therefore on the first day Comrade Matsko had peace. On March 10th, witnesses were called, and thus a few found out about the trial. It would be wise to have a closed trial and even without witnesses. Then nobody would know!

"Friends and acquaintances of Hevrych, his classmates from the Medical School, getting hold of Matsko, began to ask him on what grounds Hevrych was being tried behind closed doors. So that they would not hinder the administration of justice, the militia and plain clothes men threw out the over-inquisitive citizens from the court corridors. Some were pulled by the sleeve, some by the shoulder... But

the people did not disperse, but — disregarding even the plain clothes men began to talk about lawlessness without due reverence.

"In order to get rid of them, it was then announced that the sentence would be pronounced at 2.00 P.M. the following day (as is known, according to law, the verdict is always read publicly). As might have been expected the high court lied: the sentence was pronounced around 11.00 A.M. 'Don't you know why this has been done' — wondered a "lawyer" at the naïvete of the unhappy crowd.

"Comrade Matsko miscalculated a little: around the court building several scores of people had nevertheless gathered. And when after the trial three of those present pushed through the militia and the KGB to comrade Matsko, they asked him three questions:

1. According to which article of what code was the trial closed?
2. Why did the court deceive those present when it announced the time of the sentence?
3. Why were those who wanted to be present at the sentencing not admitted?

"The head of the Oblast Court could not or did not feel like answering two out of the three questions..."

A crowd of people who wanted to be admitted to the court room stood outside the court building. Only three persons managed to get inside, including two women: Lina Kostenko and Liubov Zabashta. Their notes on the trial were confiscated by the KGB.

"After the sentence was announced, this same Lina Kostenko showered flowers on those convicted. The flowers, of course, were immediately "arrested." Lina Kostenko, herself was questioned "with passion" in the

adjoining room, but the triumphal ceremony of the conclusion of the closed trial of the "particularly dangerous state criminals" had been completely ruined. But the rumples of souls of comrades Matsko and Co. were further disturbed by those "unconscious" citizens, who after waiting for an hour for the "black-Maria", supported the convicts by calls and threw flowers under the wheels of the car"...

"But the Kyiv KGB staff and administrators of justice in comparison with their Lviv colleagues — are winged angels. The Kyiv judges at least respect some formalities of law... In Kyiv at least relatives and a few strangers were admitted to the sentencing. In Lviv they looked in a more matter-of-fact way at the case: if it is possible to violate article 20 of the Criminal Procedural Code of Ukr.S.S.R. in relation to the public court trials then why adhere to the conditions of this article in relation to public sentencing? Nobody had been admitted to the sentencing at the three Lviv trials.

"The Lviv KGB has also distinguished itself in the enforcing of 'order' at the trials. In Lviv the KGB and the militia conducted themselves as if on occupied territory and not on Soviet soil. For how else can open threats to the people gathered before the court be explained? What should one call the cynical behaviour of the major (wearing plain clothes) who covered the mouth of Olha Horyn when she tried to show her two-year old daughter to her father who had been led from the "black-Maria"? By what moral standards of our society can the cynical deceit which Lieut. Khersoniuk used in order to "clean up" the floor where the trial was

held be explained? Chasing the people downstairs he gave his word that he would notify relatives about the sentence and let in those who wished to hear it read.

"When all came down to the first floor they realized that they had been trapped. The militia prevented them from going upstairs and arm soldiers would not let them out into the street. The people were kept under arrest until the sentence was secretly read and those convicted led out by the back door — the guardians of law were afraid that the history of previous day would repeat itself when Lviv residents showered on "black-Maria" with flowers and chanted "Slava" (Glory). When the arrested were let out from the vestibule to the street they saw that the surrounding streets were covered with militia. The crowd then began to chant "shame" to the keepers of the law.

"Themselves causing the manifestation of protest the Lviv guardians of "state security" were forcing the people off the streets in front of the court by driving the cars into the crowd or dispersing them with the help of water hoses (next it will probably be clubs and tear gas). When Lenin's standards of law, which have been trampled in mud, were pronounced anew it seemed that all sorts of "troikas" (three men courts) and closed trials of individuals whose guilt consists only in the fact that their brains can think have become the thing of the past. Is it really true that we have been so wrong in our hopes?

"Failing to obtain "confessions" experts have been called — men with academic degrees and lulled by sciences, who for a handsome fee

agreed to substantiate the authorship as suggested by the KGB. These men of science did not pretend to be glorified by their scientific discovery — they were offered good compensation and complete secrecy. But sooner or later secret becomes known..."

"Such false witnesses and "experts" who served the executioners of the Ukrainian people were the following scholars: Lviv university professor, Z. Matviichuk from the Institute of Social Sciences; Hrytsiutenko — Lviv University; Zdoroveha from the same university; Kybalchych — Lecturer in the Department of Journalism; Yashchuk — M. A. in literature and language; Dr. Kobylanskyi, Z. Khukysh — Lviv; Babyshkin — Dr. of philology from Kyiv. Of course, there were also those who conducted themselves properly and refused dishonest compensation: I. Kovalyk — Lviv State University; Shabliovskiy — Prof. of the Institute of Literature of Kyiv; Volynskiy — Kyiv Pedagogical Institute; Zozulia — Ukrainologist from Moscow; Shchurat — The Institute of Social Sciences in Lviv.

Even to Drach whom the KGB at one time allowed to go abroad the major of the KGB who was keeping order in the court corridors addressed these words: "Is it you, Drach? Why are you writing all sorts of trash instead of educating the people? And even defending the anti-Soviets? They all should be hanged, the dirty scum!"

"Who in Ukraine today is thrown behind bars? The young people, who grew up during the Soviet regime, who have been educated in the Soviet schools, in Soviet universities, in Komsomol, are being tried. They are tried as bourgeois nationalists, the people who do not remember the bourgeois regime, whose parents or grandparents were paupers in their rich native land. And nobody thought of searching for the causes deeper than tedious nonsense about the influence of the bourgeois ideology and bourgeois nationalism. Who needs all these "bourgeois" labels, dear comrades, if not you, yourselves, for the standard formula which is to replace honest thinking and courageous search for the road to justice?

"Brainwashing by police is and will remain powerless if we continue to close our eyes to unsolved problems, especially the national problem. Again and again it will be necessary to put those who stubbornly refuse to call black white behind bars. It will be necessary to trample on the consciences of men instead of depending on men with a developed sense of dignity and consciousness. It will be necessary to cut the roots of a tree upon which new shoots should be cultivated, which we need so badly after the violent storms. Later on it will be necessary to rehabilitate these people anyhow and to acknowledge that truth for which they have sacrificed their youth was on their side. History always brings everything out into the open..."

II.

LETTER OF THREE UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS TO THE KIEV SATIRICAL JOURNAL "PERETS"

We were overwhelmed with burning shame for our profaned profession, for our fellow-journalists, when we came across the article entitled: "On Mr. Stetsko and the Little Martyred Frog" while leafing through *Perets* (No. 17) in the library of a remote mountain village.

If the cover of the periodical had not indicated "September, 1966", and if the article had not mentioned the name of Ivan Mykhailovych Dziuba, a literary critic popular among young writers, one might have thought that some evil magician had transported us back to the horrible 30's, when a few months or weeks before the shots were heard in the NKVD torture chambers or in the suicide room the people were executed in newspaper and magazine columns. When, without worrying too much about evidence, the most horrible tags were pinned on scientists, writers, cultural workers — "Fascist", "zoological nationalist", "terrorist." When the nationally beloved Ostap Vyshnia, whose pupils you consider yourselves, upon opening a new periodical in the morning, would find there an article by the still living O. Poltoratskyi and to discover from it that he, Vyshnia, was a kulak ideologist. And shortly thereafter an NKVD agent was telling the writer, how he was planning to assassinate Postyshev...

In making this analogy, we don't want to lack proof as much as does

the author of the article "On Mr. Stetsko..." who has concealed himself under the pseudonym of Vasyl Osadchyi (because in the press we have sometimes seen the name of Mykhailo Osadchyi, an instructor at the Lviv Region Committee of the CPU and later a lecturer at the Lviv University, who for several months now has been making furniture at the Mordovian correction camps).

It has been known for a long time that anger and accusations are the most convincing evidence, regardless of whether an old woman Paraska, or a highly placed Jupiter are doing the yelling and screaming. Therefore, we leave to the journalistic conscience of "Vasyl Osadchyi" and the *Perets* staff the sick far-fetched allegories, accusations and the calling of I. M. Dziuba "little frog", "feeble minded" (according to a popular principle: call your neighbour an idiot so that they won't see how stupid you are). Such "high style" only testifies to the fact that no more apt journalist could not be found who would agree to do Judas' work or that lies and talent do not go hand in hand.

Let us turn to the facts which gave the right to pour such dirt on an individual (if such a right exists at all). But anyway, on the entire *Perets* page "dedicated" to I. M. Dziuba we did not find any real basis for these accusations and insults.

I. M. Dziuba is accused of the fact that he "does not like the methods of socialist realism", that "he is against the Soviet people, Leninist ideas, Communist outlook", that he "is unhappy with our Soviet way of life." All this is stated categorically, but without any proof, without any argumentation.

We have read everything or nearly everything which has been written by I. M. Dziuba. We read his early works, and the book, "A Common Man or a Philistine" and the articles of recent years, and the "recommendations" (by the latter "Osadchyi" means the work which I. M. Dziuba sent to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, "Internationalism or Russification?", which he wrote in connection with the arrests among the Ukrainian intelligentsia). But nowhere did we find him taking a stand against socialist realism, if, of course, the carefully scrounged, unnoticeable springs of talent and witty criticism of the crumbling fruitlessness, greyness and artistic and moral helplessness, are not considered as such. If you call this a stand against socialist realism then what do you mean precisely by socialist realism? Furthermore, should the question of the creative methods of literature and art be decided upon the pages of a satirical magazine rather than in creative discussions?

Nowhere in I. M. Dziuba did we find an article against the Soviet regime or Leninism. On the contrary, his work "Internationalism or Russification?" is a painful cry of the soul in defence of the drowned principles of Lenin's nationalities policy, for humanism and justice. I. M. Dziuba thoroughly analysed Marxist literature on the

national question, and the party discussions (which lasted until the "leader of nations" rashly solved the complicated problem by dressing the Soviet republics in the standard uniforms in Stalin's line) — and came to the conclusion that the present status and relations among nations in the USSR are a far cry from those about which Lenin wrote.

I. M. Dziuba is not the only person today who has realized that the legal status of Ukraine as a Union Republic is incompatible with her actual status in the USSR. Tomorrow, there will be more people who think the same way, if, of course, a reawakening from the forced 30 year lethargic sleep is not stopped by repressions (but are they the answer?). Then maybe you will call all of them frogs and morons, or maybe you are going to label the entire Ukrainian people — feeble-minded.

Is it really true that you, satirists and humorists, do not really see and feel upon yourselves the merciless steam-roller of centralization and denationalization, which for decades has stifled the national dignity in Ukraine and the fresh blossoming of national thought?

Have you not from issue to issue, from year to year, been chewing the theme of flatterers and eye-wash crooks, writing about holes in the road and about fallen bridges and have you not seen the broken souls and the dented hearts which have resulted from the merciless machine of denationalization?

But why didn't you poke fun in *Perets* at the officials like Glazyrin who are calling Ukrainian language "Banderist", in reward for which they are later sent to represent Ukraine at international congresses? Or to re-

primand the supervisors of college students of the Telnova type, who in their militant chauvinism did not hesitate to desecrate a monument to the Bard (T. Shevchenko). Or to make fun of those who at all costs are mutilating their native language, orientating themselves to the administration, which always and everywhere ignores the "state" language of a "sovereign" republic. Or to angrily warn those who for "dissagreeable" views leave the people without a slice of bread, or even throw them out of their apartment, as was the case with one of the authors of this letter. Or to poke fun at the "scholars" who in their super loyal dedication have thought up "the theory of two native tongues"...

And what a beautiful column could be written about this year's Franko anniversary in Kyiv when "Russia, My Homeland" and "How Did You Dare to Disbelieve" (a Russian romance — Ed.) were heard in the conservatoire hall in honour of the Stonecutter (the Ukrainian poet and writer Ivan Franko — Ed.), but on the street and by the monument students and young poets were seized and thrown into prison for two weeks for reading Franko's and their own poetry, without being accused of anything wiser than "attempt upon life of militiamen."

This is where *Perets'* talents should reign. But no... You would rather throw mud upon an individual who had enough courage to speak about these and similar facts and what stands behind them, who dared to doubt whether all this is compatible with Lenin's principles of national policy. I. M. Dziuba waited for nine months for an answer to a letter which he sent to the Central Committee of

the CP but you have hatched a given birth to a proper answer.

We know the technique of some journalists who write according to the principle of "whatever you want", tell halftruths, so as not to lie and not to tell the truth. And true enough collective farmer from Lopushne where we are cut off from all newspapers because we have joined the Carpathian expedition of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR and are forced to study the weather, can be indignant: "Do you see, for several years I did not receive a single kopeck for a day's work. I am working during feudalism for the tenth lot of hay and for the third lot of potatoes and so that they would not take away the 0.3 of a hectare (about $\frac{3}{4}$ acre). The stony plot, in order to feed my family I have to go voluntarily to the Arkhangelsk region for 7-8 months to cut wood, — and this Dziuba is refreshing himself at the sanatorium without paying a kopeck." But the man from Lopushne would not say this if "Osadchyi" did not keep silent about the fact that I. M. Dziuba was suffering from tuberculosis and that he was sent to the sanatorium by the doctors...

In fact, if *Perets* is organizing a campaign against free medical care for TB patients, then maybe at the same time you will start a crusade against the bosses' "liksanupr" (privileged medical treatment centres — Ed.), special shops and the state supported datchas. You can be sure that you will have countless supporters in this crusade.

"Osadchyi" paints such an idyllic picture for himself, how Dziuba dressed "according to the latest fashion", long-haired and completely ungrateful, every morning march

beneath the Kyiv chesnut-trees to the Academy of Sciences. The "satirist" however did not ascertain what I. M. Dziuba is doing in this Academy. Is he studying classical or contemporary literature? Well, there it is. He is not going to the Institute of Literature, nor the Institute of Philosophy or Psychology. The literary critic, a member of the Writers' Association of Ukraine is hurrying every morning to the Institute of Bio-chemistry where he was able to find a job after his last dismissal from work, as a literary worker in a departmental journal. A worthy utilization of unusual talent and diligence.

Among other things, if the *Perets* staff were interested in how many more scholars, journalists, teachers and writers are either unemployed or working at occasional jobs or are working outside their profession only because someone did not like their convictions, expressions or even undesirable friendships — a large list could be supplied, for further scathing articles on the "idlers."

Finally, there remains the only really true fact with "Osadchyi" through which as the Russian say (or rather as it is said in the second native language "syr bor zagorelsia" (a damp forest was set afire), some voices were heard from abroad in defence of the supposedly arrested I. M. Dziuba (and I. Svitlychnyi — we shall add for truth's sake). Thus I. Dziuba's crime is revealed. Nobody had arrested him yet, and some CUCs (Canadian Ukrainian Committee), "Associations of Ukrainians", "rank nationalistic reptile publications" and "various small nationalistic groups" have already demanded his release.

But did you give it a thought, why the "scruffy nationalistic newspapers"

did not bring out this version two or three years ago, but at a time when a wave of political arrests and trials rolled over Ukraine, when scholars, lecturers, artists and students found themselves in the "isolators" of the KGB, and then mostly in the camps of the severe regime, when I. Dziuba together with others "unrestrained and irreconcilable" as you properly write, protested with all available means against the arrests and unlawful secret trials? These arrests and trials were hidden from the public behind a curtain of cowardly silence; therefore it is understandable that not only abroad, but even here the people heard rumours, often fantastic ones (we ourselves heard in the Autumn of 1965 from low-ranking party officials about "the arms found among the nationalists". They should be included in *Perets* for that).

Therefore, dear comrades, the bell has rung, and those protests from abroad are only an echo. So, don't be insulted "by the years in the concentration camp", with which Dziuba was rewarded by the foreign press. After all another critic, Ivan Svitlychnyi, whose name was placed by those "reptile papers" besides Dziuba's, did spend eight months in prison. (This you have omitted for discretion's sake). Today these "years of concentration camp" (call them "camps of severe regime") are allotted for reading "prohibited" books (it seems that such exist too) and anonymous articles to an artist, a journalist, a teacher, an art critic, a scholar, an engineer, a university lecturer, a student, — tomorrow a literary critic's or a writer's turn might come

According to the iron logic of "Osadchyi" it is I. M. Dziuba's fault

that "he is held up as an icon of a kind", that he "is praised by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations", that he "is warmly applauded by the Canadian Ukrainian Committee" and so forth. And the sentence: "The name of I. M. Dziuba is often prayerfully pronounced and advertised besides the names of Petlura, Bandera, Melnyk", — this is a malicious allegation. For it is unnecessary to be too ceremonious with Petluras and Banderas...

Let us be consistent, Comrade Osadchyi, or whatever you call yourself. Let us throw Marx's ideas on a rubbish heap, because they were used and sometimes are still being used for the defence of West-European social-democracy. Let us dethrone Marx and Lenin for being "held up as an icon of a kind" by the Maoists who are creating something far removed from Marxism and very close to Stalinism. Let us throw out of the libraries the works of the Ukrainian poets murdered in the 30's: M. Kulish, O. Slisarenko, M. Zerov and others because they previously appeared in the West with biased forewords and commentaries. Let us at last make definite return to the Stalinist norms of social life because the revelation of the cult of personality was used and is still being used by the bourgeois propaganda. And how it is used! What conclusions it arrives at! Dziuba and his literary-critical articles are a far cry from that.

Common sense says that the creativity of a writer, the criticism of a publicist, should be judged by its objective contents, and not by who takes it as a weapon with a time-serving motive. For really: I. M. Dziuba, if we are to believe "Osadchyi" (we are not allowed to read it for ourselves, for that — the punish-

ment is jail), is praised and held up as example by the emigré CUCs and Associations. At the same time (that we know ourselves) I. M. Dziuba is very popular and respected among young Ukrainian writers educated in Soviet schools and universities where it seems to be sinful to place on the same level with the "gathering scorpions", "former cut-throats", etc. Why, then, is the former held against Dziuba and the latter is taken off the scale? Because you were told to do so? Is it not so, Comrade "Osadchyi"?

We are not attempting to defend the emigré CUCs, blocs and committees. As a matter of fact, we really do not know what they are. We learn of their existence only from *Perets* and *Liternatura Ukraïna*. But we are ashamed of the style and the tone in which you are criticizing them. If two cronies arguing about a furrow run out expressions, they can easily enrich their vocabulary by subscribing to *Perets* or *Literaturna Ukraïna*.

Here are not even all the pearls from your article on "Mr. Stetzko...": "nasty little frog", "feeble-minded", "bad blackmouthed frog", "son of a bitch", "scuffy nationalist newspaper that are 'doodling stinking articles and columns on waste paper'", "husk and dumb snouts", "rank nationalistic reptile papers", "cut-throats", "the gathering of scorpions", "traitors", "nationalistic frog-spawn", "remnants", "creaking, almost exploding, the blackmouthed frog in stale mud", "I started to put on airs" (this is about Dziuba), etc. A person who does not know CUCs can get the impression that you are trying to compensate for lack of arguments with insults.

We are used to copying the "elder Brother" with blind consistency in economics, in culture, in education, in

why not learn here? Will you find something similar in *Krokodil* or in Russian papers? They do not even call Russian emigrants "the black traitors of the Russian people", let alone "scorpions, bandits, cut-throats, chauvinistic frog-spawn" (and there are plenty of "one-and-united-Russia" adherents among them). Of course not. If at times an article appears where the Russian emigré organizations are mentioned, it is kept in the spirit of an argumentative exposé and as example by the emigré organizations are mentioned, it is kept in the spirit of an argumentative exposé and not as market place insults. What is more, the Russian press has even given a forum to the white-guard Shulgin for articles with a pronounced chauvinistic flavour.

And the Russian political emigration is not second to the Ukrainian in either number or activity. There is the emigration from the times of the Civil War which has brought up a second and a third generation and the emigration from the last war — members of the Vlasov army [Russians who fought on the side of Hitler — Ed.], the Russian policemen, mayors, the fugitives for ideological reasons, prisoners of war who did not wish to return home, and so forth. But the Russian press, it seems, feels that it would not do itself honour to quarrel with those people deprived of their homeland, that insults and emphasis on the very fact of their existence will not raise the prestige of the Russian people. The Russians, not as an example to us, do not want to be likened to well-known N.C.O.'s widow who whipped herself.

Furthermore, have you thought about the fact that the Ukrainian emigres, even the so-called non-

progressive ones are not very monolithic and that by calling the people who did not slaughter or kill anyone "cut-throats" and "bandits" you are at the same time closing the road to an understanding with them? Did you even consider why there are so few of our supporters among the Ukrainian emigrants and so many of the greater or lesser opponents? After all Yu. Kosach, himself a progressive emigré, wrote in a letter to his old acquaintance in Ukraine that we are overrating the strength of the progressive organizations (that is that sympathize with us), that they, in the number of their members, unfortunately in relation to the unprogressive, are in the ratio of 1:1,000. Why is it so? Why do CUCs have followers not only among the political but also among the labour emigrants? Is the reason to be found only in dollars and in bourgeois propaganda (even though we do not exclude the influence of dollars and propaganda)? Or is it also because, now and then finding his way to the fatherland as a tourist, a trans-oceanic Ukrainian will blink his eyes in disbelief upon not hearing the "state" language in Ukraine's capital (either on the street, or in a shop, or in a public office or in a university) and only rarely hearing it in Lviv, where till 1939, according to a census, only 12 odd Russians lived, and now — 40% of the inhabitants.

And he will not believe the hollow words about mutual help when he meets a janitor or a tram-driver, who has come from Krasnoyarsk territory [in Siberia — Ed.], and at the same times finds out that his relatives had been forced to move from the densely populated Halychyna [Galicia — Ed.] to Southern Ukraine or to emigrate to Russia, where without native

schools, cultural organizations and printed word they will be exposed to inevitable Russification.

Therefore, would it not be the best way to change this unpleasant relationship to the opposite — 1,000:1 (that one will be the bandit, the cut-throat and the scorpion), by renewing Lenin's standards of national life which were being introduced here in the 20's and which were later burned out with "red-hot iron" by the "leader of nations"? It was this very renewal of Leninist norms that I. M. Dziuba advocated in his work which was submitted to the CC CPU, and whom you have equated with cut-throats and scorpions.

"Osadchyi" reproaches Dziuba for not disproving the rumours about his arrest which have been spread by the Western press. One might ask where was he supposed to find out about these slanderous rumours when here nobody reads those "reptiles" (apart from especially screened people) and should someone happen to get them somewhere and read them, for this brothers Horyn, Moroz, Osadchyi (not Vasyi), Zalyvakha and many others were tried this year.

But let us suppose that I. M. Dziuba had been called to the KGB or some other organization and after signing a statement about not making it public, was shown these "reptiles." We are not sure that I. M. Dziuba would wish to answer the "scorpions" knowing that they would read his reply (because there they can receive our newspapers) but their word-answer would be heard neither by Dziuba nor his countrymen. Is this an argument on parity grounds?

Well, let us assume that such ethical questions do not bother I. M. Dziuba and he agrees to write to the "cut-

throats." Could he without forgetting about the human conscience, deny the fact of his arrest, and not mention even by one word the imprisonment of I. O. Svitlychnyi, whose name stood beside Dziuba's in these "reptiles"? Could he not even hiccup about the arrest of 26 persons and the subsequent conviction of 21! It is for his very protest against these arrests that he, I. M. Dziuba, has been forced to "stroll under the Kyiv chesnut-tree going to work in the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR" — to correct orthographical errors in the manuscripts of the biochemists and to translate them into Ukrainian.

We feel that such a refutation by Dziuba would not satisfy those who told "Osadchyi" to demand Dziuba's reply to the "reptiles." And an honest man (and we consider I. M. Dziuba to be such, contrary to the most brutal insults of "Osadchyi's") would not agree to any other. And such a reply would not be printed in *Literaturny Ukraina* and they would not reprint it in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*...

Noticing that the *Perets* staff like allegories and uses several of them in each article, we will try it ourselves borrowing the plot from "Osadchyi."

And thus a river was flowing, wide in appearance and seemingly deep. A beautiful motor boat, painted with bright colours and brave slogans was floating on it. Brave captains stood at the helm. The river population was calling to them alarmingly: the tenches and the perches, and the frog (because they need water too) and even the careful sheatfish, looking around quietly murmured, "Be careful. The river is getting shallower, not by day but by hours. Look around — the woods are being cut, the river spring is drying up..."

But these screams did not reach the ears of the captains; they were not used to hearing sounds which came from the bottom... Their eyes were seeking far off ports on the horizon. They did not see the sandbanks and chimerical bends on the hard path. And the motor boat is more frequently scratching the sand with its bottom, which is thickly settled by shells, — and in a short time it will stop for ever. Then this motor boat will be converted into a museum of antiquity, and the unsuccessful captains, as they are now useless, will be put ashore. And the ex-captains will recall the river delta, the prophetic warnings of the tench and the sheatfish and that fish, whom they without examination, in their arrogance and their shortsightedness, called a nasty little frog...

And in conclusion — a few more words to the author of the article and all *Perets* staff.

If one would strictly adhere to the letter and spirit of Soviet laws, the author of the slanderous article could be prosecuted for a criminal act: for unfounded accusations of taking a stand against the Soviet regime and Leninist ideas (very serious accusa-

tions, indeed), for abusive insults, for degrading human dignity. But we are not so naïve as to expect anybody to prosecute the slanderer. He did not write with his own hand. But there is another court — a court of conscience; there is a more severe punishment than any possible sentence — human scorn.

We know many *Perets* staff members to be able journalists and writers. And we do not believe that this type of thing could have been written by Oleh Chornohuz or Yuri Kruhliak, Yuri Yacheikin or Dmytro Mokliakkevych. We do not know how *Perets* staff — old and young — faced the directive to print the diatribe on I. M. Dziuba, how they reacted (or will yet react) upon the appearance of such a scandalous article in their periodical. In their place we personally would be ashamed to say upon an introduction: "I work for *Perets*..."

September 27, 1966

Lopushne, Transcarpatia

V. Skochok

V. Chornovil

L. Sheremetyeva

(Currently working at the Academy of Science of the Ukrainian SSR).

III.

Ivan DZIUBA

SPEECH ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE BABYN YAR TRAGEDY

There are things, there are tragedies, whose immensity cannot be expressed in words and about which more can be said in silence — a great silence of thousands of people. Perhaps we should also refrain from talking and silently contemplate such a thing. However, silence says much only where everything which could have been said has already been said. When everything is far from having been said, when in fact nothing has been yet said — then silence becomes a partner of lies and slavery. Therefore we speak, we must speak wherever possible, taking advantage of all the opportunities which so often come our way.

I would like to say a few words — one thousandth part of what I am thinking today and what I would have liked to say here. I would like to turn to you as to human beings — as to my brothers in humanity. I would like to turn to you, Jews, as a Ukrainian, as a member of the Ukrainian nation to which I am proud to belong.

Babyn Yar is the tragedy of the whole of mankind, but it took place on Ukrainian soil. And therefore a Ukrainian has no more right to forget about it than a Jew. Babyn Yar is our mutual tragedy, a tragedy first of all of the Jewish and the Ukrainian people.

This tragedy was brought to our people by Fascism.

At the same time we must remember that Fascism did not start with Baby Yar and does not end with it. Fascism begins with disrespect of the individual and ends with the destruction of the individual, with the destruction of peoples — but not necessarily with the same type of destruction as in Babyn Yar.

Let us imagine for a moment that Hitler had been victorious, that German fascism had triumphed. There is no doubt that they would have created a brilliant and "flourishing" society which would have reached a high level of economic and technological development, which would have attained all those achievements that we have attained. And certainly, the silent slaves of fascism would subsequently have "conquered" the cosmos, would have flown to other planets to represent mankind and the earthly civilization. This regime would have done everything to affirm its "truth" so that people would forget the price with which such "progress" was bought, so that history would justify or even forget the immeasurable crimes, so that in human society would appear to me as a moral one, even the best in the world. And it would not be on the ruins of the Bastilles, but on the defiled places of national tragedies levelled with a thick layer of sand and oblivion, that an official sign would stand: "Dancing ground."

That is why we should judge any society, not by its external technological achievements, but by the place and worth of the individual in it, by the value it places on human dignity and human conscience.

Today in Babyn Yar we are commemorating not only those who perished here. We are remembering the millions of Soviet soldiers — our fathers — who gave their lives in the struggle against fascism. We are recalling the sacrifices and efforts of millions of Soviet men of all nationalities who unselfishly worked for victory over fascism. We should endeavour to be worthy of their memory, worthy of the obligation placed on us by that memory of countless human sacrifices, hopes and strivings.

Are we worthy of this memory? Apparently not, if till the present day various forms of hatred are still found among us, including one that is referred to by the overused, banal, but terrible word — anti-semitism.

Anti-Semitism — is an "international" phenomenon. It has always existed and still exists in all societies. Unfortunately, our society is not free from it either. This should probably not seem strange — since anti-Semitism is the fruit and satellite of age-long slavery and lack of culture, the first and inevitable offspring of political despotism and it is not conquered in the framework of entire societies so easily and so quickly as one might suppose. But what surprises us is something else: that during the post-war decades no real struggle was undertaken against it. What is more — at times it was even artificially stimulated. It seems that Lenin's instructions on the struggle with anti-Semitism are being for-

gotten just as Lenin's instructions on the national development of Ukraine are being forgotten.

In Stalin's time open attempts were made to play on the mutual prejudices of a segment of the Ukrainian and the Jewish people, attempts to destroy Jewish culture under the pretext of combating Jewish bourgeois nationalism, Zionism, etc.; attempts to destroy Ukrainian national culture and language under the pretext of combating Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. These cunningly devised campaigns brought harm to both peoples and did not foster their friendship; they only added one more sad memory to the hard history of both peoples and to the complicated history of their relations...

We Ukrainians in our community should struggle against all manifestations of anti-Semitism or disrespect for Jews, all misunderstanding of the Jewish problem.

You Jews in your community should combat those who do not respect Ukrainians, Ukrainian culture, or the Ukrainian language, who unjustly see a potential anti-Semite in every Ukrainian.

We should outlive all hatred toward any human beings, overcome all misunderstandings and with all our lives bring about true brotherhood.

Who, if not we, should understand one another? Who, if not we, should offer to humanity an example of fraternal co-existence? The histories of our peoples are similar in their tragic features to such a point that in the biblical motives of his "Moisei" Franco has recreated the road of the Ukrainian people in the robes of a Jewish legend, and Lesia Ukraïнка began one of her greatest poems on

Ukrainian tragedy with the words: "And thou once fought, like Israel..."

Great sons of both peoples have bequeathed us mutual understanding and friendship. The lives of three great Jewish writers — Sholom Aleikhem, Itshok Perets and Mendel Moikher-Sforim — are closely knit with the Ukrainian land. They loved this land and taught that people should work well there. A brilliant Jewish journalist, Volodymyr Zhabotynsky, took the side of the Ukrainian people in their struggle against Russian Tsarism and called upon the Jewish intelligentsia to support the Ukrainian national liberation movement and the Ukrainian culture.

One of the last public acts of Taras Shevchenko was a well-known statement against the anti-Semitic policy of the Tsarist government. Lesia Ukraïnka, Ivan Franko, Borys Hrinchenko, Stepan Vasylenko and other prominent Ukrainian writers knew well the greatness of Jewish history and the Jewish spirit and valued it greatly and wrote with great compassion about the sufferings of the Jewish poor.

In the past we have experienced not only blind enmity and tragic misunderstanding between us, even though there was plenty of this. In the past, we also have examples of heroic solidarity and mutual assistance in the struggle for the ideals of freedom and justice, for a better fate for our respective nations.

We, the present generation, should continue this tradition and contrast it with the bad tradition of mistrust and misunderstanding.

Unfortunately, there are a number of factors which do not assist in the establishment and expansion of this noble tradition of solidarity.

Among them is the absence of genuine publicity, publicity in national matters, as the result of which a conspiracy of silence surrounds the burning questions...

The road to true, not false, brotherhood — lies not in self-oblivion but in selfknowledge. We should not repudiate ourselves and adapt ourselves to others, but should be ourselves and respect others. Jews have a right to be Jews; Ukrainians have a right to be Ukrainians in the future and deep, not only in the formal sense of these words. Let the Jews know Jewish history, Jewish culture and language and let them be proud of them. Let the Ukrainians know Ukrainian history, Ukrainian culture and language and let them be proud of them. Let them know the history and culture of one another, the history and culture of other peoples; let them appreciate themselves and others — as their brothers.

It is hard to achieve this, but it is better to strive for it than to drop one's hand apathetically and to drift on the tide of assimilation and accommodation from which no benefit was ever derived but instead profanity, obsequiousness and hidden hatred of humanity.

With our whole being we should deny civilized hatred of humanity and social arrogance. Nothing more important than this presents itself today because otherwise all social ideas will lose their meaning.

This is our duty to the millions of victims of despotism; this is our duty before the best men of the Jewish and Ukrainian people who have called for mutual understanding and friendship; this is our duty before the Ukrainian soil on which we have to live together. This is our duty before humanity.

IV.

THE FINAL PLEA BY V. M. CHORNOVIL

Note. *The Final Plea* by V. M. Chornovil was made in the concluding stage of the court trial in Lviv on 15th November, 1967, during which he was sentenced to three years' hard labour for compiling the documentary book "Misfortune of Intellect" (Portraits of 20 "Criminals") containing biographical data and examples of the writings of 20 Ukrainian intellectuals sentenced in March-April 1966 to various terms of imprisonment for criticism of the Russification policies of the USSR government. A copy of the manuscript of the book reached the West and was published first in Ukrainian in Paris and then in English by the McGraw-Hill Company both in Canada and in this country in August, 1968. Manuscript copies of the *Final Plea* of Chornovil are circulating widely in Ukraine. [Editor]

Citizen Judges!

I have to admit that since I have always been an incorrigible optimist, I shall probably die one. At first I used to send petitions to high official bodies, naïvely hoping for some sort of positive results. And even the completely unexpected result — imprisonment — did not entirely cool me off. Remnants of a rosy optimism remained with me even until this morning, at the beginning of the trial session. My innocence seemed to me to be too evident. However, in the course of the court session my rosy optimism began to change into dark pessimism. I saw an obviously preconceived attitude towards me and understood that I shall not be able to halt the operation and to prove that I am not a camel. My application that witnesses be called and documents be produced has been rejected without

any real explanation; my evidence, given at the beginning of the trial has been left without discussion; no effort has been made to touch on the essence of the matter; instead only a narrow arsenal of hackneyed phrases. Gradually a heavy atmosphere has been created, crowned with the indictment speech by the prosecutor Sadovsky, from whom I have learned things which I had not heard either from the investigator or from the indictment.

It transpires that I am also a nationalist. It remains only to specify — a bourgeois or, perhaps, a socialist one? Nowhere in my petitions did I touch on the nationality problem. The above conclusion is made only on the basis of what I wrote about the violation of legality permitted in Ukraine. And suppose that I lived in Tambov and wrote something similar — what kind of nationalist would I be then — a Tambov one? The prosecutors in Lviv cannot help but tie nationalism to a "case" like mine. They probably see a bourgeois nationalist in every other person in Lviv.

The prosecutor quotes the frequently quoted words of Lenin on "united joint action of the Great Russian and Ukrainian proletarians." But one cannot do with one quotation all the time. One ought to take the Leninist national theory as a whole. I have to remind the State prosecutor that already in Soviet times, when the USSR was already in existence, V. I. Lenin persistently stressed that local nationalism does not come into being of itself, that always it is a reaction to great power chauvinism, that the best method of struggle against nationalism is to eradicate its prime cause — [Russian — Ed.] chauvinism.

These Leninist precepts used to be reflected in the decisions of the Party congresses right up to the beginning of the 1930's when Stalin finally introduced his nationality policy.

The prosecutor has made another discovery. It appears that I sing to someone's else's tune. He alleges that the source of my ideas is an American, Evenstein. Will the State prosecutor be kind enough to suggest where may I read Evenstein's works quoted by him? For in our country they put one on trial on the basis of Article 62 of the Criminal Code merely for the reading of such books, without regard to whether I share the ideas expressed in them or not. The State accuser cannot in the least imagine that it might be possible to formulate one's own ideas, one's own convictions without any help from Evensteins or someone else. You see, I am blamed also for the fact that my accompanying letter to P. Yu. Shelest was broadcast by the "Freedom" radio station and was printed by the journal *Suchasnist* [in Munich — Ed.]. And this fact is relished, although it does not bear any relation to the present indictment. The State prosecutor even suggests that I personally handed over this material, and that the distorted data about my person given there were simply part of a clever trick. What is this supposition constructed upon? Exclusively on the wish to make the atmosphere at this trial more oppressive.

The prosecutor mentioned here the speech by P. Yu. Shelest at the 23rd Congress of the CPSU in which the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine mentioned names of talented young creative workers. The State prosecutor separates me from these young people. But is the esteemed prosecutor aware of the fact that the works by the persons named by Shelest, published and unpublished, without regard to the wish of the authors, also appear in those journals

and are broadcast by those radio stations? They, however, are not put on trial for it and are even named as the best from the rostrum of the Party congress.

The long and "passionate" speech by the prosecutor contains little that is essential and stands in need of a reply. For one cannot term as arguments, for example, expressions which are not used by honest lawyers: "he raised a frenzied hullabaloo", "he spreads lampoons far and wide", "baring his teeth", "like a drunker hooligan" and so on. I have no intention of offending the person of the esteemed prosecutor as he offends me, but nevertheless, I have to express regret that some time ago they did not pay any attention to formal logic when studying a bit of Demosthenes' science at one of our law colleges.

The State prosecutor is committing the same logical mistake as in the indictment: he raises that which is partial into the rank of the general or altogether he makes generalising conclusions out of nothing, out of his subjective imaginings. The prosecutor stressed several times that by my "libellous petitions", I "intended to influence and influenced some unstable groups of the population." But the investigation failed to find any evidence of the distribution of the statement "Misfortune of Intellect" by myself, except its dispatch to the official bodies of the [Ukrainian — Ed.] Republic. Thus, according to the prosecutor's logic, "unstable groups of the population" are: the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine P. Yu. Shelest, the Chairman of the Committee of State Security at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, Nikitchenko, and other leaders of the Republican level. To construct the accusation on subjective suppositions of the prosecutor about my intentions — this is legally a pitiful method.

A similarly speculative method is the transfer of the centre of gravity on Karavansky. I wrote about twenty condemned people and not about Karavansky alone. The condemned, however, are mostly young people, and so it is possible to play on the past of [the older man — Ed.] Karavansky, saddling one's favourite hobbyhorse — nationalism. But I did not write anywhere that I justified Karavansky's past, I merely asserted and continue to assert that the repeated imprisonment of the talented translator and linguist Karavansky, five years after he had been released under an amnesty, was not justified from the legal point of view, and that the 25-year term of imprisonment is truly a vicious one.

The prosecutor's speech could have been shorter by half had he not addressed to me his pretensions about the work by Valentyn Moroz "Reportage from the Reservation named after Beria." Nowhere did I write and state my attitude to Moroz's statement. I did what any respected person would do in my place — at Moroz's request I sent his statement to the addressees — deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. Morally I am justified also by this circumstance that, as is known to me, the administration of the Mordovian camps does not let through petitions and complaints by the prisoners against the camp regime and for this reason the prisoners have to rely on the method of sending their complaints to the leading bodies, bypassing censorship. During the investigation of my case I learned that the political prisoner Valentyn Moroz has repeatedly been brought to criminal responsibility for writing the "Reportage from the Reservation named after Beria." Therefore prosecutor Sadovsky had an opportunity to offer his services, to appear at the trial of Moroz and address to him what he addressed to me here.

However, I am in complete agreement with some points of the speech of accusation, for instance with the statement that buses with the "Lviv" trade mark can be seen in many countries, that a lot of petroleum and gas is extracted in Lviv region, that it is necessary to develop the economy in Kazakhstan. I agree that the friendship of the peoples is a great thing and not only of the peoples of the USSR. Of course, if this is the friendship of equal peoples and if it enriches spiritually all the peoples. I also agree with many well-known truths. Only I do not understand what all this has to do with the accusation raised against me. It may be that the public prosecutor has also been let down in this case by formal logic which had not been fully mastered by him in the past.

I shall not waste any more time with the prosecutor by carrying on polemics about some assertions which are not based on any evidence. And I am not able to reply to abuse with abuse. Neither shall I repeat again the proofs of my innocence. I have talked too much about it today. Moreover, I support what my lawyer Vetvinsky has already said.

Better let us, citizen judges, stand aside for a moment from the very serious investigation of which of the two epigraphs used by me was most libellous and whether I let down or did not let down anyone when I reprinted Osadchy's camp poetry. Let us also not try to guess, as the prosecutor has been doing, what I had in mind to do or what I could have done. Let us leave this sophistry aside and look at what happens in this hall from outside.

I think that my trial is not by any means an ordinary trial, but that it is to a certain extent a milestone. For it is not only myself, as a person, that is on trial — it is an idea that is on trial here. Therefore the decision which you are going to take will

concern not only Chornovil as such, but also certain principles of our public life. It seems that I am the first one in Ukraine to stand trial on the basis of the Article 187-1 [of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR — Ed.]. From prison I wrote to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR that, as my arrest had shown, this article of the Criminal Code adopted in the 50th year of the Soviet regime, is not a further development of socialist democracy. On the contrary, it gives to the investigating and judicial authorities excessively wide powers, it permits them to intrude into the spheres of ideology which lie beyond their competence. It forces them to become, as we have seen it today, both philosophers and literary critics, economists and sociologists — and to pronounce a final verdict on all these questions which sometimes are debatable even for specialists. The article 187-1, as my trial shows, opens possibilities for a direct attack on the right of a man to have his own opinion, his own convictions.

In fact, let us stop to think what is the meaning of "libelling the Soviet system" or "the Soviet reality" in today's interpretation? What is libel in general is clear. If I say that Major Halsky from the Lviv KGB is a new embodiment of Corporal Prishibeyev because he maltreats prisoners with his hands, and that investigators from the same KGB administration, Sergadeyev and Klymenko, do not hesitate to use threats and swear-words in order to get confessions — and if on checking, these facts are not confirmed, then this would be a libel; and if I invented all this, then it would be a malicious libel. But not a libel of Soviet reality, but of the person of the Major and two of his colleagues. The Criminal Code has an article about it. If I, on the basis of these invented facts, come to the conclusion that swearing and face-

slapping is altogether the style of work of the Lviv administration of the KGB — then this would be a malicious libel of an institution, but not of the Soviet system. What then is to be regarded as libel of the Soviet political and social system?

If I, for example, started to state a scientific article or in a speech from a rostrum that centralism in the conditions of socialism was not the best principle of internal political and economic life, that within the framework of socialism and the Soviet system decentralisation, the wide possible production and territorial self-administration would give greater effect, and if I had justified this thesis with economic examples called into evidence the experience of other countries, for instance Yugoslavia — then, even if my thesis was rejected, would it be right to put me on trial for it as a libel of Soviet reality? What is this — a libel, or a conviction? If I, having studied attentively Lenin's works, started to assert that theoretically we hold correct Leninist precepts on the nationalities question, but in practice we permit deviations from them, and if I have brought arguments in support of this thesis from Leninist guidelines and from the analysis of concrete data concerning questions of present-day cultural development, economy etc. — then what would it amount to on my part: a point of view, my conviction or a libel of Soviet reality?

If I, finally, firmly standing with both feet on the platform of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, began to assert, following Palmiro Togliatti that democratisation of Soviet life initiated by the 20th Congress of the CPSU, was proceeding too slowly; that among some citizens the mentality of the times of the personality cult has not yet been completely lived down; that among us there occurred sorrowful relapses into the past; if I, following the poet Yevtushenko, "address ou

government with the request: to double, to triple the guard at that wall, lest Stalin should rise and with Stalin the past" (this poem was printed in *Pravda* some time ago) — then what would this amount to on my part: my constitutional right to turn with my thoughts to the leaders, elected by me, or "the spreading of libellous inventions?"

And even if I was mistaken in all three cases (for, esteemed Mr. Prosecutor, even the Supreme Court can make a mistake — only gods make no mistakes, and they, as is known, do not exist) and my arguments can be opposed by another series of arguments which will appear more weighty, then does this mean that I should be handed over for trial so that neither I nor anyone else in the future should dare to think at all? And I, after all, did not make such broad generalisations, as set out above, in my statements. My conclusions are considerably narrower and have a concrete addressee. Still I have been put on trial precisely for two or three generalisations. Nor has it been found necessary to consider even one from among a dozen facts on the basis of which I have made these conclusions. Day and night, immediately after my arrest, I went again in my mind through the contents of my statements, remembering all the facts and thought: where could I have permitted a libel? Unpremeditated of course, but where did I allow myself to be tricked? And at one of the first interrogations I told the investigator approximately the following: "You know, this name is not correct in my book, and I am not sure of this fact because I got it from third hand." But the investigator Kryklyvets waved his hand: "These facts do not interest me at all, even if they are all correct, but what precisely were you thinking when you gave such a title to your statement?..." How then can I not come to the conclusion that I am

standing trial for my convictions, that it is necessary for someone to brainwash me by squeezing my brain into a standard mould prepared beforehand?

I am saying that my trial is not an ordinary trial and can have loud echoes because I do not recall any case in the last few years where a person could so blatantly be tried for his convictions. This did not happen even at the trials about which I wrote in my statements. When in June 1966 I asked Captain Klymenko from Lviv KGB: "Tell me, please, for what after all was Master of Arts, Osadchy, sentenced to two years imprisonment in strict regime camps? Is it because he read those two articles?", the captain answered me: "Well, if you knew what stood written in his diary!" But his diary was after all not mentioned in the verdict, there was a mention of the two seditious articles. I, on the other hand, am, even from a formal point of view, standing trial for a *conviction*, only the word "libel" has been substituted for this word out of shyness. I am certain that both the prosecutor and the judges understand in their hearts how ridiculous is the accusation of spreading libels by the original method of sending them to the Central Committee of the Party and the KGB. Still you are trying me...

Finally, the last point. When in summer 1966 I explained to a judge of the Lenin district of Lviv why I considered the trial of the brothers Horyn unlawful, he simply asked me: "Chornovil, who are you to decide whether anything is done lawfully or unlawfully? After all, appropriate organs exist for this purpose." The same argument has been put forward directly and unambiguously today both by the judge Nazaruk and the prosecutor Sadovsky. I am a Soviet citizen. It seems this is not enough. If a similar Soviet citizen like myself, only occupying the post of the

Attorney General of the Republic, wanted to notice the miscalculations of the investigating and judicial organs which were noticed by myself, then the mistakes would have been right and guilty, perhaps, punished. However, instead, I am being punished...

After the victory of the Revolution, when the construction of a State of a new type began, V. I. Lenin constantly demanded that as many citizens as possible should take part in the management of the State and society. He saw the only guarantee of a successful development of socialism in it.

His well-known statement that a housekeeper should be able to manage a State should not, of course, be understood in a vulgar fashion, and that a housekeeper must of necessity be put into the prime minister's chair, or that the ability to manage a State means the ability to raise one's hand to the question: "Who is for it?" These words should be understood in such a way

that under socialism every ordinary citizen ought to be able to think in a statesmanlike manner, ought to be able to formulate his own point of view in every, even the most complicated case, and not wait until he is programmed with the next programme. Lenin's words, spoken by him in the first months of the Soviet regime, can be a proof of this: "Citizens must participate, to the last man, in the administration of justice and of the country, and it is important for us to attract to the administration of the State all the working people, to the last man. This is a gigantically difficult task. However, socialism cannot be introduced by a minority — the Party. It can be introduced by tens of millions when they learn to do it themselves."

I have made an attempt to act according to these Leninist precept — and soon you will inform me about the result of this attempt.

Translated from *Suchasnist*
Munich, September, 1968.

V.

LETTER BY M. MASIUTKO TO THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL OF THE UKRAINIAN S.S.R.

Editor's Note

In connection with the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik Russian empire, many Ukrainian prisoners in the Russian death camps in Mordovian ASSR were transferred to the so-called BUR, that is lock-up. One of these prisoners was *Mykhailo Masiutko*.

He was born on November 18, 1918 in the Kherson oblast. He is a teacher of painting, drafting and Ukrainian language in a technical school. Married.

M. Masiutko finished the Workers' Faculty at the Kherson pedagogical institute. He also studied at the Language-Literature Faculty of the Zaporizhia pedagogical institute, but was unable to finish it because of financial difficulties. He taught Ukrainian language and literature in the Volodar-Volynskyi region of the Zhytomyr oblast. He was arrested in 1937 for "counter-revolutionary" propaganda and sentenced to 5 years in Kolyma. There he remained till

1940 where an accident saved his life: after the death of his father, his mother was able to obtain a reexamination of the case and Masiutko was released and rehabilitated. He remained in the Khabarovsk region where he taught German. From 1942 to 1945 Masiutko was in the Soviet army and found himself near Berlin at the war's end; he was awarded a medal. After the war Masiutko taught in the Crimea. In 1946 he was appointed principal of a railroad school in Drohobych. In 1948 he entered the Editorial-Publishing Faculty at the Lviv Polygraphic Institute. In 1956 he received his diploma from the Moscow Polygraphic Institute, and taught in the Kyiv region. In 1957 he joined his aging mother in Feodosia, Crimea, where he taught painting, drafting and the Ukrainian language in primary and technical school, and later retired. He was engaged in literary work, wrote articles, novels and short stories and worked as a polygraphist. His works were published in *Dnipro*, *Literaturna Ukraina* and in the regional press,

Masiutko was arrested on September 4, 1965 in Feodosia. He was sentenced on March 25, 1966 at a closed hearing of the Lviv Oblast Court to 6 years in camps of the severe regime, being accused of anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda.

During a search in his house the organs of the KGB confiscated all his literary works: poems, stories, diary.

Masiutko is spending his sentence in the Mordovian camps where he is working as a loader even though he has undergone a complicated surgery in the cardiac region while at camp. In December 1966 Masiutko was put into the camp's jail — supposedly for the preparation and distribution of

documents critical of the Soviet system.

While in the Lviv jail during the investigation Masiutko wrote the following letter to the Attorney General of the Ukr. S.S.R.

* * *

To: The Attorney General of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic

Copy to: Head of the KGB Administration, Lviv Oblast

From: Citizen Masiutko, M.S. who lives in the town of Feodosia, 20 Stepova Street, and is now under arrest in the city of Lviv, 1 Myr street, in the investigation isolator of the KGB Administration.

STATEMENT

As directed by the Lviv prosecutor's office, on September 4, 1965 my apartment in the city of Feodosia where I am a permanent resident was searched by the workers of the KGB.* A number of typewritten articles, which during the search were labelled "anti-Soviet nationalistic materials", my own as well as other typed and hand-written works, literary and art reviews and other such critical articles had been confiscated. Copies of little known poetical works of various pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary authors, copies of some folk songs, books printed before the Soviet regime and a typewriter have also been taken.

Among the confiscated so-called "anti-Soviet, nationalistic materials" were the following articles: "Nich smerty Stalina" (The night of Stalin's death), "On the Occasion of the Trial of Pohruzhal'skyi", "Class and National Struggle in the Present Stage of Development of Humanity", "The Answer of V. Symonenko's Mother, Shcherban, H. F.", I. Dziuba —

* Secret police.

"Speech commemorating the 30th Birthday of V. Symonenko", M. Masiutko — "Literature and Pseudo-Literature in Ukraine", R. Rakhmannyi — "To the Writer Irene Vilde and Her Countrymen Who Are Not Afraid of the Truth", "Ukrainian Education in the Russian Chauvinistic Noose", "The Speech of Dwight D. Eisenhower at the Unveiling of T. Shevchenko's Monument in Washington, D.C.", "An Answer of the Ukrainian Cultural Workers of Canada and the USA to the Cultural Workers of the Ukr. S.S.R.", "Present-day Imperialism", M. Hryshko — "The Last Work of Mykola Khvylovyi", "From the Documents of Recent Ukrainian History, Burned in Kyiv", A. Malysheko — "Speech at the Funeral of V. Sosiura."

After the search I was detained by the workers of the Crimean Administration of the KGB, and later, upon the order of the Lviv prosecutor's office, was sent to Lviv where I have been under arrest since September 7th.

At the time of the first inquiry in Feodosia, I explained to the investigating organs that all my literature had been taken away and I was being detained without any grounds: none of the confiscated literature falls into the category of anti-Soviet literature for the possession of which one can be brought to trial under article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. S.S.R.

Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR clearly states that anyone who conducts any kind of agitation directed at the downfall, weakening or embarrassment of the Soviet regime, or is in possession of literature of the said contents with the aim of agitation can be brought to trial. However, none of the so-called "anti-Soviet literature" con-

fiscated from me even goes so far as to mention the word "Soviet regime in a negative sense. On the contrary the article by Rakhmannyi "To the Writer I. Vilde" speaks of strengthening and increasing the power of the existing Soviet regime in Ukraine. In my article, "Literature and Pseudo-Literature in Ukraine" states that the establishment of the Soviet government in Ukraine, till the appearance of lawlessness during the period of the personality cult of Stalin, had led to the blossoming of many-sided and original talents in literature, art and motion picture production.

I have explained to the investigating organs of the Crimean Administration of the KGB as well as to the Lviv Administration of the KGB that article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. S.S.R. gives the right to prosecute for agitation directed towards particular aims and not for any expressed idea which does not happen to appeal to some officials or particular institutions. I understand article 62 and I do not think that it can be understood in any other way than as an article which does not foresee prosecution for ideological stands, even if these stands were evaluated from the point of view of the Marxist-Leninist, Communist ideology as ideologically weak, or ideologically erroneous or even ideologically hostile.

That this is so is attested to by the facts of our social life after the period of the cult: the Criminal Code does not try churchgoers who are spreading an ideology completely opposed to the Communist ideology. The Criminal Code did not bring to trial the anti-Party group of Molotov, Malenkov and Kaganovich even though they were openly against the official course of the Party. The

Criminal Code does not bring the publishers to court prosecution for printing the works of openly anti-Communist contents (for example "The Possessed" by F. Dostoevsky and "Communist Underground Activities" by Dixon and Helbrunn).

I have been explaining to the investigating organs that identifying a stand which is ideologically unsuitable to Communist teachings with an anti-Soviet stand leads to the renewal of arbitrariness and lawlessness such as took place during the personality cult of Stalin and which has been condemned by the high tribunals of the 20th and 22nd Congress of the CPSU. However, the investigating organs do not want to understand this and are continuing to demand that I admit the "anti-Soviet activities."

As I found out later, large groups of people were arrested in Kyiv, Lviv and many other cities of Ukraine for possession or distribution of the same materials which were taken from me during the search. In relation to this the investigating organs are putting the question in this way: we will prosecute you for illegal circulation of literature even if it is not anti-Soviet. But the Criminal Code does not foresee prosecution for the distribution of any type of literature, even if it might be ideologically inappropriate. The said literature should be anti-Soviet, literature with a call to a struggle against the Soviet government, with accusations of the Soviet regime, with the calls to sabotage Soviet government institutions. All this was absent from the literature on the basis of which I and many others will be arraigned by the investigating organs.

It is quite clear why the Criminal Code does not prosecute for views

which are ideologically unwarranted or ideologically inappropriate from the point of view of the Communist ideology: for this there are other weapons in the arsenal of the Communist Party, not the court: press, radio, TV, cinema, the universities of Marxism-Leninism, a society for diffusion of political and scientific knowledge, departments of Marxism-Leninism at schools of higher learning, ideological education at schools and technical colleges, etc. Ideology is combated 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. Practice at the time of the cult of Stalin's personality showed that the covering-up of social ills by repressions results in the conception of antagonism between the government and the broad masses because behind each person illegally convicted stand not only tens of relatives and friends but also the social thought of the entire people. Furthermore, it is impossible to fight ideological views with jail because they very often reveal the basic faults in our social life and government leadership which should be taken into consideration and not covered up by the acts of repression.

However, one question arises: where does one draw the line between an improper stand and an anti-Soviet stand? It should be clear to every jurist that if a stand is directed against the state government, when it calls to a struggle against this government, in this case against the government of the Soviet state, then it should be treated as an anti-state, in this case anti-Soviet stand. If this stand does not call to a struggle against the state, but is of a critical

nature, if it criticizes particular acts of some institutions, even if they be state institutions, contrary to the existing ideology and brings out another ideology, but does not call to anti-state actions, then such a stand cannot be treated as anti-state (anti-Soviet).

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? Of course not. An investigator or a judge are only jurists. Here besides law training it is necessary to have professional education in philosophy, philology, sociology, political economy. Besides, I see from the proceedings of the inquiry that the investigating organs of the Lviv Administration of the KGB cannot be entirely objective, also because they fully accept the criticism of the organs of GPU, NKVD, MGB and repeat their mistakes. This takes place in the above mentioned materials as well as in my own works which have been confiscated during the search. This is why I propose to the investigating organs and at the same time demand on the basis of my rights guaranteed by article 197 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. to create a competent commission, composed of disinterested parties, which could carry out a judgement on the relationship of article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.S.S.R. to

the materials which have been confiscated from me.

The investigating organs are denying this to me; they state that the materials themselves have already established the relationship of these materials to article 62.

I understand that it is possible to accuse without going deeper into the case; it is even possible to convict without going into detailed analysis. But I feel that it is also necessary to think of the influence it will have upon the social thought. The conclusion will undoubtedly be such: they are prosecuting for a word, for an expressed thought, just as in the times of Yezhov or Beria; they are going back to the times of terror and repressions, lawlessness and arbitrariness. And then the wish to shelter the Soviet regime will turn to the opposite. It will turn out to be such anti-Soviet agitation as no enemy of the Soviet regime could ever invent.

I told the organs which are carrying on the investigation in my case and in the case of the Lviv group about this. I do not know whether they (these organs) do not want to understand me purposely, or whether they cannot understand? Since the investigating organs, this is my impression, are bound by some general rules in connection with the inquiry on similar groups in other cities, I am turning to you with this letter as to the Attorney General of our republic, who can direct the inquiry of all groups to the right path.

October, 1965.

VI.

**OPANAS ZALYVAKHA'S APPEAL
FROM THE CONCENTRATION CAMP
IN MORDOVIA**

Every year progressive humanity commemorates the day when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was passed. Countries, members of UN, including Ukraine, signed this document "in order to cement faith in the basic human rights, in the dignity and worth of human individuality, in equal rights for men and women, in equal rights for large and small nations."

The signature has been affixed, but how to introduce the contents of the Declaration into real life?

Thus, at the end of 1965, a wave of arrests among the Ukrainian intelligentsia rolled over Ukraine with accusations, the terminology of which has changed little since the old times: Mazepa movement, separatism, German agents, nationalism, bourgeois nationalism, anti-Soviet agitation. I was accused of "falling under the influence of hostile nationalistic propaganda", of reading books which have not yet been censored by Soviet censors, of expressing my thoughts, and so forth.

Great words on equality and freedom should have meaning, so that what happened in St. Lutt's aphorism would not happen here: "There are great words hollow to a point that whole nations could be imprisoned in them." The Constitution of the USSR proclaims the equality of nations and independence of the

sovereign republics of the USSR. I belonged to those 7.5 million Ukrainians who live outside the borders of Ukraine in the USSR. In the Russian federation where I lived earlier there were over 4 million Ukrainians who have no Ukrainian schools there and among whom no Ukrainian cultural or social activities are conducted. Lomonosov called the people who lost their native language — "the living corpses." There is no wonder, therefore that the former "living corpse" in my person felt himself to be a Ukrainian and became part of the cultural life in Ukraine without even demanding equality in Russia, when right away the attention of the KGB organs has been turned on me. It is dangerous to be conscious of your nationality. But nations have a right to secure their own path of development without harm to others, on the basis of equality and not guardianship.

The KGB organs fabricated the accusations, twisted the laws and brutally trampled the standards of Union law and international responsibilities. The fabrication of accusations of the so-called "bourgeois nationalism" quite naturally forced the security organs to conduct closed court proceedings, so that truth and the "evidence" would not reach the people. I feel that these trials are a continuation of the scandalous

repressions against the Ukrainian nation which were conducted in the 30's, 40's and 50's. The very method of secret trials, the fabrication of investigation, etc. testify to that. The Code of Laws, the Constitution of the USSR and the "Declaration of Human Rights" are criminally violated by the organs of the KGB.

I cannot and do not acknowledge the decisions of the court to be just when the court proceedings are conducted illegally. The fabrication is also attested to by the fact that the Lviv "scholarly" commission of experts called the poem "Dolia" (Fate) by T. H. Shevchenko, found in my possession, anti-Soviet, nationalistic, of unknown authorship. Is it not in this search for "manifestations of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" that the long ears and wolf's snout of the super-power chauvinism reveal themselves so clearly?

For centuries the oppressors tried in vain to destroy the Ukrainian culture and language, but the people stood firm against this enemy assault

and it was not frightened by all repressions, nor by burning libraries, or the destruction of treasures of the Ukrainian culture.

Accusing me the KGB organ wrote: ... "morally unstable person falling under the influence..." etc. However, to be a Ukrainian conscious of your national dignity, not "harmful influence" but the duty of an honest man. To renounce your nationality is humiliating and immoral and the workers of the KGB who are trying to force people into doing so are criminal state offenders worthy of the dock.

I consider myself innocent before my conscience, before my people and before the law. I demand an immediate reconsideration of my case keeping with the law, my return from Mordovia to the "sovereign" Ukr. S.S.R. and the abolition of forced labour in accordance with the Geneva convention. I demand that the real guilty parties — the chauvinists — be brought to trial.

April 5, 1967, Yavas

O. Zalyvakh

Lina KOSTENKO

FOUR POEMS

Note: Lina Kostenko is one of the contemporary Ukrainian poets who began their literary career in the 1950s. Together with other poets and writers of the younger generation she belonged to the so-called "sixties" group which engaged in a search for new ideas of literary expression. She was born on 19th March, 1930 in Rzhyschiv near Kyiv where she studied at the Teachers' College. In the years 1952-1956 she studied at the Gorky Institute of Literature in Moscow. In 1957 there appeared the first collection of her poems under the title "The Earth's Rays", and the following year another collection entitled "Sails" was published. Official criticism described her poetry as "formalism, linguistic tricks and pessimism unworthy of a Soviet poet." After several years of silence she again published a collection of her poems entitled "Wanderings of the Heart" in 1961 which met with the approval of the critics. Many of her poems were published in various literary journals and newspapers in Ukraine.

Lina Kostenko's poetry has originality and freshness of ideas and expression. It is imbued with a deep love for her native country.

In connection with the arrests and trials of a number of young Ukrainian poets and writers, Lina Kostenko, together with other Ukrainian intellectuals and patriots, protested against the violation of legality by the KGB. Recently, there have been reports of her arrest by the "organs of security" on July 2, 1968, followed by reports about her release after a week's detention.

Below we publish a sample of her poetry in Vera Rich's translation.

BRACKEN (a sketch)

Green birds came late,
To sleep they flew,
On a cut stump
Where fresh shoots grew.

Quietly on yellow
Pine-needles' gleam,
Landed green birds,
The birds so green.

Flapped with their wings,
Feathers were shed,
Quietly they drooped
Low their grey heads.

Stumps all around,
— Their kith and kin —
On each cut stump,
The full moon limned.

Green birds, for what
Do you still cry?
You have the moon,
You have the sky!

But at the dawn,
That hour gold-trained,
The green birds upward
Suddenly strained.

Only to soar, they
Could not, knew not:
Their wings were twined
In a close knot.

THE STARS

In the cold night, stars shrink and shrivel,
Like the eyes of a lunatic in frenzy.
Watchfully, dreadly,
The Universe, that Great Wizard, gazes,
Lifting the sleeve of the Milky Way.

But in warm nights, nights turquoise-dowered,
Then with their castanets chirp the cicadas,
And over the earth the stars flower,
Like candied fruits, yellow, with sweetness laden.

The stars have a hypnotic power,
Men, from days long-perished,
Called by their name fair women, flowers,
Yachts, orders of merit.

'Tis said: "A guiding star is given."
"He has a lucky star;" we say,
'Tis said: "You'll not pluck stars from heaven!"
And by the stars men steer their way.

"When someone dies", so the stern dictum —
"We see a star from heaven falling."
Stars give astrologers predictions.
To the Star of the Sea men's prayers were calling.

And not in vain a hundred-fold creeds
Have hoped — the soul will know resurrection,
And will fly thither to the stars, for indeed
Among the stars lies the kingdom of heaven . . .

But in the wild night, in the blackest night,
The stars burn with a terrible beauty . . .

You were once a star, man! To whom is the right
To quench humanity then imputed?

GRANITE FISHES

Quiet rules over the expanse of ocean,
The winds press close and airless . . .
And mighty fishes,
Splashed out by the sea's motion,
Have turned to stone upon a granite stairway.

Wearied by the pounding of the breakers,
They turned to stone in last convulsive anguish.
The scales have turned to hard, dark simulacres,
Heavy and without movement their fins languish,
And on the angled gills, among the cloven
Scorching cracks of grey granite, salt is gleaming.

The burned-out tang of asphalts, pressed, pressed over,
And scorched magnolias' fragrant-choking dreaming,
A snaky rustle on stones moistly wetted,
Despairing sobbing of a little wave,
Here, blocks of stone had once been raked together,
And in their contours forms of fish were saved.

In this there was
Something so alarming!
In this there was so much bitterness!
Once there passed by the spot a giant-artist,
Once there passed by
But further could not pass.
He took a chisel, engraved the lines deeper.

He carved the granite, hard and scorched and weathered,
So that the people
Might know how hard for fishes
It is to be left waterless forever.

* * *

The fire is roaring — merry Satan rains
Out of the stove, and harsh and red his laughter smoulders . . .
I lean my brow against the window panes
And sorrow puts her arm about my shoulders.
I went away, far out of sight — to know
From you the crumb of comfort I was craving.
And like wild pigeons, all my thoughts have flown
Into the fields to find an azure haven.
I fled into the snow, to backwood thorns,
To find some equilibrium of spirit.
I found, instead, the bitter grief of dawns,
And homebrewed must is all I have for drinking.
Wonder of wonders I desire, no less.
I read the night, as if a black book opened,
For, if you love, you'll find without address
That little house beyond the snowy ocean.
And I sail off into the dark, alone,
On crisis of the panes, into cold evening,
And merry Satan slumbers in the stove,
Between the paws of charred logs snugly gleaming.
And so, until blue dawnlight tints the skies,
Until the whistles of dawn trains come thronging,
Into infinity, as if dark eyes,
Alarmedly, I shall extend my longing.

Translated from Ukrainian by Vera Rich.

John P. PAULS, Ph. D.
University of Cincinnati, U.S.A.

SHEVCHENKO ON MAZEPA

The greatest poet of Ukraine — Tarás Hryhórovych Shevchenko (1814-1861) who, as Iván Frankó so accurately stated "was a peasant's son and became a prince in the realm of the spirit",¹ and "with his fiery, patriotic poetry gave a new, revolutionary spirit to his countrymen",² expressed some interesting thoughts on Hetman Iván Mazépa (born about 1639, died 1709) and his tragic attempt to liberate Ukraine from Tsar Peter's domination. Mazepa's stormy and eventful life gave inspiration to many of the most outstanding poets, writers, composers and artists, and the so-called "Mazepa theme" became one of the most fascinating themes of the Romantic movement.³

A bard and painter, Shevchenko, son of a serf and himself a serf till his twenty-fourth year (his freedom was bought for 2,500 silver rubles by the Imperial Academy of Arts on April 22, 1838) treated Mazepa, a Hetman from the nobility with aristocratic leanings, with the greatest respect for his honest endeavour to free the Cossack land from Russian domination. On April 5, 1847, Shevchenko was arrested and later exiled for his close association with the secret "Society of Saints Cyril and Methodius." He was accused as well for his patriotic poetry, in which the young poet "expressed lamentation for the so-called enslavement and misery of Ukraine, proclaimed the glory of the old Hetman rule and the former freedom of the Cossacks", as chief of gendarmes, Count A. Orlov, reported to Emperor Nicholas I.⁴ The student, Yúriy Andruzskyi, a young member of the secret society, eagerly confessed during his interrogation, that of all the Ukrainian hetmans, Shevchenko, in his speeches "elevated Mazepa" and was an "intemperate representative of the Ukrainian party, which, as a goal, advocated the re-establishment of the Ukrainian Hetman State."⁵

Shevchenko's thoughts on Mazepa are expressed in his political poems, *Velýkyi L'okh* ("The Great Vault") 1845, and *Irzhávets'* (1847), but we find also some respectful references to the excommunicated hetman in his prose works, such as the story in Russian

Bliznetsý ("The Twins") 1855. During his travels in Ukraine 1844-45, the poet never failed to notice and sketch a palace or church built by Mazepa, such as the magnificent cathedral in Pereyasla or objects of worship, such as gospels, chalices, crosses, etc., donated to many churches by the generous Hetman. Sometimes the poet recorded folk songs about Paliy, (such as *Pid hórodom, pid Solýd nom...*), in which Mazepa was condemned for arresting the people's champion and labelled with such epithets as "*proklyáty* (damned).⁶ Zayárskyi mentions Shevchenko's sketches and paintings such as "Mazepa's House in Batúryn", "Mazepa and Voynaróvskyi "The Dying Mazepa",⁷ and in other publications, we find illustrations to Pushkin's *Poltáva* (very impressive is "Mariya ar Mother")⁸ "Mótrya's Monastery",⁹ and others.

Záyitsev, in his biography of Shevchenko quotes many interesting details from the poet's life, where he indeed often "elevated" the controversial Hetman as a Ukrainian hero, as happened during discussion with the future composer, Selétsky. It is worth mentioning here that P. D. Seletsky (1821-1879), later became a marshal of the Kyivan nobility, lawyer and musician, who knew Liszt, Mendelssohn and Meyerberg personally. Seletsky met the great poet Shevchenko during the Christmas of 1843, in Yahotýn, at the home of the old Prince Mykola Répnin, who was a friend of the Decembrist Volkónsky and Ryléyev. The young Princess, Varvára M. Répnin suggested that Seletsky compose an opera about Mazepa "as defender of liberty against the despotism of Peter I", to which the libretto should be written by Shevchenko in Ukrainian. Reactionary Seletsky said that "there was nothing heroic" in the deeds of Mazepa and insisted that he be depicted such "as he was", and that the libretto be written only in the Russian language. Shevchenko, who regarded Mazepa as the champion of Ukrainian independence, refused to write such a libretto and especially in Russian, and the whole plan collapsed.¹⁰

Furthermore, Zayitsev mentions Shevchenko's delight in repeating (while showing his friends the sketch from Mazepa's life Voynarovskiy's angry reply to the captured pro-Russian Cossack that it was "not Hetman's management [of Ukraine], but your sleepy brain that leads you and all the Cossacks into misfortune and doom; you yourselves are crawling into eternal Muscovite slavery."¹¹ This story could also be the poet's version of the detail from Ryleyev's *Voynaróvskyi* (1824), in which the Decembrist poet relates a similar episode.¹²

In Shevchenko's story *Bliznetsý*, he presents an interesting episode about the attitude of his contemporaries toward the excommunicated Mazepa, by Tsar Peter's order, and the slaughter of all the inhabitants of Batúryn (November 13, 1708) by A. D. Ménshikov. The poet describes a Cossack, Sokíra, and tells how he

and his wife, Praskóvya Tarásovna, used to visit the *Pokróva* church, "built by the Colonel of Pereyáslav, Myróvych, friend and collaborator of the damned Ivan Mazepa, to commemorate Peter's capture of Azov. In this church, is kept a remarkable historical painting, done (one would think) by Matvéyev, if not by some foreigner. The picture is divided into two parts: above is the Holy Mother of Protection, and below is Peter I with his Empress, Catherine I, and around them are all his celebrated associates, including Hetman Mazepa..." After the holy mass, Cossack Sokira, while admiring the painting, told his curious wife, who the people depicted "under the *omophóron* of God's Mother" were. He described to her so many horrible details about the destruction and massacre of Batúryn by Aleksánder Danílovich, that his wife naively asked: "Why then does God's Mother protect him?"¹⁸ Shevchenko's intentions are quite clear here.

While in exile at the Fortress of Orsk, Shevchenko constantly longed for his distant and beloved Ukraine, the wide Dniپر, golden fields, white Cossack churches built by Mazepa, inclined willows along the road, and the silent historical mounds in the steppe... (*The Dream*, 1847).

But his opinion about Mazepa and his struggle for the independence of Ukraine, the poet expressed mainly in the *Great Vault*, a "mystery" as the poet describes it. Shevchenko criticizes the major faults in Ukrainian history and character. The poem opens with the appearance of three snow-white little birds, representing three sinful souls and symbolizing three tragic turning points in Ukrainian history: Bohdan's Pereyaslav alliance with Russia (1654), Mazepa's defeat at Poltava (1709), and the abolition of the Hetman State by Catherine II (1764).

The guilt of the second soul was the mere fact that during its life as a little girl, she was once carrying home water in Baturyn, but ordered by Tsar Peter, she gave that water to his horse. This happened after the tsar's victory at Poltava over Mazepa and Charles XII, who tried to liberate Ukraine from Russian domination, but failed. Here is what she remembers about Menshikov's destruction of Baturyn:

I was still a thoughtless girl
When glorious Baturyn
Was fired by Moscow in the night,
And Chechel' by her slain,
And both old and young she took
And drowned them in the Seym...
And I fell, right in the very
Palace of Mazepa,
Lay among the corpses. Near,
My sister and my mother,

Murdered in each other's arms,
 Lying there beside me.
 Only with the greatest effort
 Could the men divide me
 From my lifeless mother. But
 However much I prayed
 The captain of the Muscovites
 To kill me too . . . Still they
 Would not kill me, but released me
 For the men's amusement . . .¹⁴

According to Stepan Smal'-Stotskyi, the soul "that watered the horse of the Moscow tsar" is the personification of that part of "Ukraine which in Mazepa's struggle with Peter, stood on the tsar's side against Mazepa."¹⁵ This was a part of Ukraine, which, politically speaking, was completely ignorant. The tsar "told me to water his horse, and I watered it . . ." without thinking whether he is her friend or enemy. Shevchenko says, she did not even know that, by that deed she committed a grievous national sin. And the consequence was this

I could hardly reach the house,
 And at the door fell dead.
 The next day, when the tsar had gone,
 I was laid to rest
 By an old woman who'd stayed back
 In the burned-out wreckage,
 She it was who welcomed me
 To the roofless cottage.
 Next day, she died too, and lay
 In the house unburied,
 For there was none to bury her
 Left now in Baturyn . . .¹⁶

From that time on, her soul is barred from heaven and hell and keeps on flying "over the ravines and the Cossack steppes." It does not even know why it is punished. "Maybe, because I served and aided every one . . . that I watered the horse of the tsar of Moscow!..¹ "The results of this treason were frightful", said Stepan Smal' Stotskyi:

1. "Sister and mother are slaughtered." The sister is a personification of Ukraine, faithful to Mazepa. The mother is a personification of the Hetman State, (mother of both sisters), which actually ceased to exist after the battle of Poltava (existed only on paper, merely in name).

2. That Ukraine which helped Tsar Peter to conquer Mazepa became "a toy for the Muscovites" and they did with it what they wanted.

3. And "the grandmother" who died as the last one "and lay in the house unburied, for there was no one to bury her left now in Baturyn" — this was Khmelnytskyi's united Ukraine which entered the Pereyaslav alliance (1654), or union of friendship with Russia as an equal, but now even the name Ukraine disappeared officially, substituted by "Little Russia" (1722).¹⁸ In other words, in Shevchenko's conception, and in reality, the political fate of Ukraine was about the same as the fate of that "lady from Riga." Of her was left only "the smile on the face of the tiger", only this was the smile of the almighty Russian tiger, and helpless Ukraine disappeared from all maps for one hundred and fifty-three years (1764-1917).

In his shorter, remarkable poem *Irzhávyts'*, Shevchenko ponders the question of why Mazepa and his Cossacks failed in their liberation attempt at Poltava. Because of censorship, the word "victory" is substituted by the phrase "to reap the wheat." And the poet's answer is simple and accurate:

They would have reaped if they had but
 Stood one and all together,
Had they brought into union Khvastiv's
 Colonel [Paliy] and Mazepa.¹⁹

Five years before the Poltava catastrophe, there were two outstanding leaders in Ukraine, Paliy and Mazepa. Both of them tried to unite Western Ukraine (still under Polish rule) and Eastern Ukraine (under Russian rule) into one unit. The Colonel of Khvastiv, Semen Paliy, was the champion of the poor and darling of the common people. Hetman Mazepa, oriented on the well-to-do class, was not popular, but enjoyed the constant support of Tsar Peter, who always trusted him and left him considerable autonomy in Ukraine. Nominally, Mazepa was regarded as a political leader of both parts of Ukraine, although actually the Western part was under the Polish protectorate, and the Eastern, under Russian. Tsar Peter was in alliance with Poland, together fighting the Swedish King, Charles XII, and was therefore in need of the good will of the Polish nobility. Yet Paliy, while protecting Ukrainian peasants from abuse of the Polish nobility, and asking constantly for Mazepa's support, often aggravated the Russian-Polish alliance. Furthermore, Mazepa was jealous of Paliy's popularity among the common people. Finally, during the feast at Berdychiv in 1704, Mazepa arrested the intoxicated Paliy and sent him to Moscow, where Tsar Peter dispatched him to Tomsk in Siberia.²⁰ The common people never forgave Mazepa for this, and in popular songs, labelled him with abusive epithets, while praising Paliy as a national hero. This sad event and unpopularity of Mazepa as "Hetman of the rich" divided the Ukrainian people. He did not find popular support in his struggle against Peter (1708-09) and this caused the tragic defeat of Mazepa's liberation endeavour at the battle of Poltava on July 8, 1709.²¹ Shevchenko understood this so well and

expressed it so clearly in one reproachful line: "if all would stand together" (*yak by bulý odnostáyno stály*). But this, unfortunately, never happened, and instead of the desired freedom, the Ukrainian people experienced terrible ruin and shocking Russian terror. As Shevchenko in his poem, *Irzhávets'*, said, even the *kobzars*, those brave blind bards of the past "became mute from fright" (*onimily perelyáku*). For the future, Shevchenko only prayed:

To all of us here on this earth,
Send, o God, unity of thought
And brotherly love.

* * *

The Soviet Ukrainian scholars under Russian domination have always had difficulty in explaining Shevchenko's "elevation" of Mazepa and his keen interest in him. Recently, I. D. Nazarenko complained: "In some of his works, Shevchenko spoke positively about Hetman Mazepa, who, in the history of the Ukrainian people played an ignoble, treasonable role. One can explain this, as also in the evaluation of B. Khmelnytskyi, that he [Shevchenko] displayed inconsistency, which was often caused by insufficient knowledge of reliable historical documents, in which is shown Mazepa's vile role in his Jesuit politics in regard to the Ukrainian people."²²

We know that in his situation, Nazarenko cannot write the truth. But Shevchenko himself would probably answer that he, as a national bard and prophet, not only knew the history of the Ukrainian people well, but that he had a special intuition for justice in history. Shevchenko would possibly ask Nazarenko, why he is silent about Mazepa's letter to the Russian Chancellor, G. I. Golóvkin, of September 26, 1706, where Mazepa wrote: "Your Grace should look pityingly upon the lamentation, moaning, wailing and tears of the poor people and curtail by any measures the self-will of the Great-Russian troops and free the people of my country from further ruin, beatings, and killings."²³ N. I. Kostomárov, respected by both Shevchenko and Nazarenko, gave the following picture of Mazepa's time:

Great Russian officers treated the Cossacks very roughly. They clubbed them, cut off their ears, and abused them in many other ways. The poor Cossacks had to endure many hardships under Peter I. They were forced to do hard labour in building the fortresses. They were constantly worrying about their homes realizing that in their absence there was no one to harvest the crops. In addition, they were under constant terror. Great Russian armies often marched through Ukraine, gathering recruits and provisions. They raped the Cossacks' wives and daughters at home, took horses and cattle, and even beat the Cossack officials who protested. Colonels Apóstol from Myrhórod and Horlénko

from Prylúky protested to the Hetman, taking the side of the Cossacks. Horlenko told Mazepa: "All of us are praying for the soul of Khmelnytskyi, because he delivered us from the Polish yoke. But our children will curse your soul and bones if you leave us in this Muscovite slavery."²⁴

Needless to say, Kostomarov, as a populist, did not admire Mazepa. Moreover, to say that Shevchenko was positive about Mazepa because of an insufficient knowledge of history and historical documents, is as true as if one were to say that the proletarian leader, Lénin, loved Tolstóy and Púshkin, because he did not know they were noblemen.

FOOTNOTES

1) Smal-Stockyj, R., "Taras Shevchenko — Introduction", *T. Shevchenko: Tvory*, Vol. I, Chicago, (Denysiuk), 1959, p. xvi.

2) Sydoruk, I. P., *Ideology of Cyrillo-Methodians and Its Origin*, *Slavistica* No. 19, Winnipeg (UVAN), 1954, p. 8.

3) Pauls, J. P., *Musical Works Based on the Legend of Mazepa*, London, (Ass'n. of Ukrainians), 1965, p. 3; Pauls, J. P., "Great Maecenas of the Arts Glorified by Painters", *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XIII, No. 4, London, 1966, p. 30 f.

4) Manning, C. A., *Taras Shevchenko: Selected Poems*, Jersey City, (UNA), 1945, p. 22.

5) Zaytsev, P., *Zhyttya Tarasa Shevchenka*, New York, (NTSh), 1955, p. 175.

6) Hudziy, M. K., ed., *Taras Shevchenko: Povne zibrannyya tvoriv*, Vol. VI, Kyiv (AN URSSR), 1964, pp. 320, 328.

7) Zayarskyi, P., "Shevchenko i Mazepa", *Ovyd*, X/3, Chicago, 1959, pp. 5-9.

8) Krypyakevych, I. ed., *History of Ukrainian Culture*, 2nd ed., Vol. I, Winnipeg (Tyktor), 1964, p. 395.

9) Hurzhiy, I. O., ed., *Istorychni pohlyady Shevchenka*, Kyiv, (AN URSSR), 1964, p. 142.

10) Zaytsev, op. cit., p. 122.

11) Ibid., p. 323.

12) Ryleyev, K. F., *Polnoe sobranie sochineniy*, Moscow (Academia), 1934, p. 218.

13) Hudziy, op., cit., Vol. IV, p. 27.

14) Vera Rich, *Taras Shevchenko; Song Out of Darkness; Selected Poems*, The Mitre Press, London, 1961, p. 43.

15) Smal-Stockyj, S., *T. Shevchenko: Interpretatsii*, New York (NTSh), 1965, p. 53.

16) Vera Rich, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

17) Hudziy, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 294.

18) Smal-Stockyj, S., op. cit., p. 54.

19) Taras Shevchenko, "Irzhavets", unpublished translation by Vera Rich.

20) Polons'ka-Vasylenko, N., *Paliy ta Mazepa*, Augsburg (UVAN), 1949, p. 10.

21) Pauls, J. P., *Pushkin's "Poltava"*, New York, (NTSh), 1962, p. 37 f.

22) Nazarenko, I. D., *Svitohlyad Shevchenka*, Kyiv, (Derzhvyd), 1957, p. 147.

23) Kostomarov, N. I., *Mazepa i mazepintsy*, Works, Vol. 16, 2nd ed., St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 302 (Archives of Foreign Matters, Original Documents).

24) Ibid., p. 305.

From the Documents of the Fourth O. U. N. Congress

I.

APPEAL To the Peoples of the Free World

Below we are publishing an appeal by the Fourth Congress of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — the most important Ukrainian national liberation organization — held in the Spring of 1968. The Fourth Congress of the OUN analyzed the conditions in Ukraine, the development of the national liberation struggle during the last 25 years, reviewed the present international situation and worked out the political, ideological, strategic, organizational, cultural and educational tasks lying ahead of the OUN and the whole Ukrainian national liberation movement.

For the past forty years, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists has led the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian people for national sovereignty of its homeland and against Soviet and Russian subjugation. At its recent, Fourth Congress (Spring 1968), the Organization reaffirmed its determination and resolve to strengthen the struggle against Russian colonialism. Thereby, the forces of freedom and independence for all suppressed nations are strengthened.

We believe national independence and personal freedom to be the greatest and most basic of human rights and we appeal at this time to all peoples of good will to join with and support us in the pursuit of those rights.

I

The period since the last World War has seen far reaching human progress. In spite of the fact that war, poverty and hunger still cast shadows over much of the world, there is an acute awareness among peoples of the efforts being made to put an end to want and fear. Most heartening is the growing resolve of humanity to persevere in this effort to improve and humanize the world.

It is precisely against this background of growing enlightenment, however, that colonialism and subjugation of nations appear in the true light as the most anachronistic and evil vestiges of a bygone age. A number of nations continue to suffer outright oppression and foreign domination. Imperial Russia failed to set free the nations held in her captivity and worse, Moscow continues to prefer her relentless drive to colonize the world.

The world is witnessing all too clearly the reality of Russia's long term plans for world domination. As a direct result, the reunification of the peoples of Germany, Korea and Vietnam is being prevented. The peripheral wars in the Far East and more recently, aggression in the Middle East have been Russian instigated. Moscow has established a strategic base in Cuba, now serving as its foothold in Latin America. There are long established Russian bases in the Middle East and in the Mediterranean region.

Russia's peculiar world-viewpoint and way of life deny the integrity and rights of other nations if those rights do not serve her specific

purposes at any given time. This Russian view of the world has not changed for centuries, save that through experience it is now practised with a high degree of sophistication.

II

Contemporary Russian colonialism has its gravest and most direct effect on the non-Russian nations and peoples within the U.S.S.R. National oppression there is intense and thorough. By the size of their populations alone, such non-Russian nations as Ukraine present a threat to the Russian empire and they are ruthlessly suppressed in an effort to reduce the danger of organized or spontaneous resistance and struggle for liberation.

The methods of Russian colonialism within the Soviet Union, in the satellite countries and in other nations are practised under new camouflage, but they remain basically unchanged. As in the case of Russia's foreign policy, sophistication is a new cloak concealing old objectives. This sophistication has become imperative in view of world public opinion and pressures from national liberation movements. Stalin's outright genocide still finds widespread application albeit in a changed form. In Ukraine, for example, Russia aims at destruction of the Ukrainian nation by doing away with its leaders, its writers, its intellectuals. Obviously, deprived of leadership freedom forces become weak and frustrated. Forced deportations of young Ukrainian activists to remote regions of the Russian empire are designed to prevent any popular uprising and to support the Russification process. Blatant suppression of the Ukrainian language and culture amounts to genocide in that it attempts to silence the soul of the nation. Through the persecution of priests and the faithful, and the closing or outright destruction of churches Russia aims to make the practice of religion impossible. Rus-

sia surpasses all precedents in her denial of the fundamental rights of nations under her colonial domination to national freedom and independence. Moscow is also trying to further her expansionist aims by taking over the vacuum created by the liquidation of other colonial powers.

That such is the present fate of non-Russian nations under Russian rule is the clear responsibility of the Russian nation and its leaders. The twin ideologies of imperialism and messianism are indisputable Russian national traits. To change the fate of those suppressed nations, to grant them national independence, and to assure for their people the basic freedoms and human rights, is however, at least partly, the responsibility of the international community. The age has passed when colonial powers could dominate and exploit their subjects, both nations and individuals, without being challenged. The assertion that the denial of basic human rights to the captive non-Russian nations should remain an internal matter of the Soviet Union is indefensible. No government or any international organization can turn its back on the denial of human rights to any nation or people. Numerous publications and various communication media of the free world have recently carried unprecedented amounts of information dealing with this issue. Eye-witnesses have managed to convey first-hand reports of the situation, and there have even been those victims of national and personal persecution who have smuggled detailed reports of their plight to the outside world. Ironically, even some Communist parties operating in the Western world*) were recently shocked at the degree of national oppression perpetrated in the Soviet Union. Unfortunately the reaction in the free world to these facts of oppression has been

weak, uncertain and at times bordering on indifference.

It is even more difficult to comprehend how governments and international bodies — not to mention public opinion — can continue in this day and age to tolerate such events as have recently occurred in Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russia. Writers, intellectuals and other national leaders have been shot, imprisoned or declared insane for advocating national independence and human rights for all peoples. Free peoples of the world have not raised a strong voice in their defense. The anguished cries of the enslaved are largely ignored.

Undue fear of Russian power has paralyzed free governments of the world, causing them to maintain a strange silence. However public opinion aroused has, despite muscle-flexing by the Russians, a moral obligation to speak out on behalf of those who so eloquently and bravely demonstrate their dedication to basic human rights.

III

It is quite clear that Russian designs for world conquest and domination are rapidly moving forward. Russia hopes to conquer the world by inciting peripheral wars, such as in Vietnam, and by subversion. By exploiting the tactics of "peaceful coexistence" Moscow buys time for strengthening its economic and military power. By infiltration and subversion of free countries Russia disrupts popular governments and jeopardizes human rights in all free societies. After half

a century of growth Bolshevism now out of control and threatens the entire world. The prophecy of Lenin is taking rather ominous proportion.

Imperial Russia has been engaged in achieving a devious plan to frighten the peoples of the free world, particularly the United States, by means of the alleged "Yellow Peril" arising from turbulent Red China. Tales and truths related to the unparalleled conquests of Genghis Khan are promoted in propaganda complex which pains imperial Russia as gradually moving toward democracy. Hints are made that those who are free should not be critical of Russian aggression and despotism because an alliance between Moscow and free nations will soon be a necessity to save the world from the so-called "Yellow Peril." The same propaganda tactics were used prior to the outbreak of World War II to bring about the "strange Alliance" between the major powers of the free West and Stalin's imperial Russia. The penalties paid by civilized mankind for this international fraud are great including the unending cold war, and the hot wars, which now torment the free world. We must not allow repetition of the greatest blunder of World War II. It is impossible to eliminate the secondary threat from Peking without first eliminating the primary threat from Moscow.

This threat can be stopped if greater attention is paid to the injustice which prevails in the captive, non-Russian nations in the U.S.S.R. and the satellite countries. Through skilful, appropriate action on the part of the free world, the last surviving colonial empire would cease to exist.

In their constant quest for liberation, the non-Russian nations imprisoned by Moscow have developed various ways to undermine the strength of their jailer, including active and direct struggle against the Russian forces of occupation. As a rule, Ukraine has been in the fore

**) The Canadian Communist Party, for example, sent a delegation to Ukraine which returned convinced that Russification and national persecution of that country was clearly evident. Also the leaders of the Communist Parties of Italy and France expressed their dissatisfaction with Moscow's policies.*

front and has led such activities. This was true at the time when the new empire was being forged by Lenin, during Stalin's purges, and particularly during and after the Second World War when the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the underground Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) engaged in open combat with the larger and well equipped forces of Russia. The major character of that struggle is underscored by the fact that the USSR, Communist Poland and Czechoslovakia were compelled to enter into a treaty in 1947 in which they combined their forces for the specific purpose of putting down the Ukrainian armed struggle for liberation. That struggle is still going on. Ukrainian and other captive non-Russian peoples have widened their struggle for freedom and national independence across the expanse of the Soviet Union, adapting their methods to prevailing circumstances to the point of being able to lead active resistance from within the confines of the vast complex of concentration camps.

The aims of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists deserve full support of all nations and international organizations believing in and working for justice and peace for mankind.

We hold:

— that justice is indivisible and that its equal application to all nations and peoples is mandatory for the preservation of human rights in the world;

— that Ukraine and other subjugated nations must by natural right regain their independence and truly sovereign status;

— that the colonial empire of Russia must be completely and finally dismembered and that in its place the captive peoples be supported in their efforts to reestablish their independent national states;

— that democratic forms of government must replace Russian autocratic rule in all non-Russian nations subjugated in the USSR;

— that a just social order with full national rights replace the tyranny of foreign Russian control, throughout the present Red empire;

— that upon the liberation of Ukraine and other captive nations they enter voluntarily into international economic, social, cultural and political cooperation so that a new world order based on peace with justice for all may be built.

This year marked the 20th Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, to which numerous states affixed their signatures, including the USSR. We ask that integrity and life be poured into that document. Speaking on behalf of the struggling Ukrainian nation and appealing in the name of justice for all peoples and nations of the world, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists urges the full restoration of human rights in Ukraine.

Specifically we demand:

1) that all Soviet Russian occupation forces be withdrawn from Ukraine;

2) that basic human rights, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, be respected and put into effect in Ukraine;

3) that the Russification of Ukraine be caused to cease forthwith;

4) that writers, intellectuals, religious and political leaders, now incarcerated in Russian concentration camps, be released immediately;

5) that it be made possible, by whatever means necessary, to hold free and democratic elections in Ukraine.

An aroused conscience of mankind can find the ways and means to make these appeals reality. We believe the tragic human plight of several hundred million non-Russian people in the captive nations of the present day

Russian empire, when it is widely known, will prove to be sufficient to arouse that conscience.

We believe without reservation that the right of self-determination, i. e. national independence and human rights in general, cannot be ignored without serious consequences to the great powers as well as to the smaller nations. The world today is confronted with a spirit of defeatism, a defeatism which draws a dangerous parallel to that which prevailed some 30 years ago. That spirit went unchecked and the tyrants grew bolder with each passing month. The dignity of man was made a mockery, despotism was glorified and the world was plunged into a terrible war. We must not permit that to happen again. The present spirit of defeatism must be replaced by the peaceful power of human freedom.

We recall the words of Winston Churchill, who spoke in unequivocal

terms against appeasement and defeatism. He emphasized that if a nation will not fight when victory would not be too costly... "you may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival... There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves."

It is our hope that this urgent message will reach all men of good will and that they in turn will be moved to join the struggle for the implementation of basic rights for all the nations and peoples of the world. The enslaved nations now silenced by the chains of Red Russia plead for their liberation. What is done in response to these pleas may well determine the future freedom of each country. The future peace of the world hangs on the balance as surely as day follows night.

A book packed with hard facts and revealing disturbing secrets hidden behind the façade of the USSR

R U S S I A N O P P R E S S I O N I N U K R A I N E

Reports and Documents.

This voluminous book of 576 pages + 24 pages full of illustrations contains articles, reports and eye-witness accounts drawing aside the curtain on the appalling misdeeds of the Bolshevik Russian oppressors of the Ukrainian Nation.

Published by Ukrainian Publishers Ltd.,

200, Liverpool Road,

London, N.1.

Price: 36/- net (in USA and Canada \$8.00)

II.

KYIV VERSUS MOSCOW

Political Guidelines of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Struggle against Russian Colonialism and Imperialism

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists which was formed at its First Congress in 1929, has for nearly four decades spearheaded the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation. Its aim has been and continues to be the restoration of Ukraine's national sovereignty and independence destroyed by Russian colonial imperialism which is masquerading at present under the guise of Soviet Communism and proletarian Marxist-Leninist internationalism.

The world is witnessing an unheard-of *imperialistic expansion by Russia* under the deceitful guise of Communism. Its aim is not only political, economic and military conquest of the world, but also spiritual enslavement by the Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the way of life of the imperialistic Russian nation. This includes an intrusion into the most intimate sphere — that of religious life. What is at stake at present is not merely the shifting of borders between the Russian empire and the rest of the world in this or that direction, but the question whether the world is conquered or liberated from this latest and most dangerous and pervading slave system.

The source of the Communist totalitarian ideology and policy of enslavement is *Russia*, where disregard for the liberties of the individual, brutal tyranny and lawlessness are not a recent development but the traditional style and way of life of Russian society.

Russian expansion and colonialist imperialism are nourished by age-old

Russian messianism which in different times adopted different forms: at one time it was the idea of Moscow as the Third Rome, then the idea of Pan-slavism and defence of Orthodoxy, and at present the idea of world Communist revolution led by Moscow.

Modern weapons in the hands of Russian tyrants strengthen their self-confidence and audacity. They are also assisted by various forces in the West which persistently labour to strip the free world of all the values which made the free nations strong — namely: patriotism, religion, a heroic attitude to life, faith in lasting ideals and truths. These forces are instilling ideas and concepts of a new "classless" universal society. They further the idea that this society can be achieved only with the help and under the leadership of the Russians, because the foundations of this "noblest" and "most just" world order have already been laid, allegedly, in the Russian society. These circles form the basis of Fifth Columns of Russian imperialism among the free nations. Their role is to combat free cultures of the world, religious values, and above all Christian faith.

The positions of the totalitarian Russian despotic empire are further strengthened by certain governments and circles in the free world who either support the indivisibility of the Russian empire or take a passive stand and endeavour to coexist with it.

Notwithstanding the growing internal conflicts and polycentrism among the Communists, the mould of modern

Russian tsardom has been imposed upon 1,000 million people other than the Russians, spiritually, economically and militarily.

The main enemy of the free world is Russia, for Bolshevism is the original product of Russia. It is a mistake to consider Red China as the main threat to world peace and freedom. Russia is a well armed and growing industrial power, capable of maintaining a world empire, while Red China still lags far behind. Russia possesses the geographical advantage of threatening all continents; Red China cannot be a real danger to Europe, Africa or the Americas for a long time to come.

The most consistent national, spiritual, ideological, political and social *opponent of Russia* has always been and presently is *Ukraine*. Ukrainian philosophy and way of life are diametrically opposed to those of Russia. At the outset it was a conflict between the higher civilization of the Kievan State and the primitive ancestors of Russians. Ukraine defended Europe against the invasion of the nomads, while Muscovy adopted the despotic system of Genghis Khan. Cossack Ukraine, as part of Europe, with the pronounced democratic character was in sharp contradiction to the autocratic government of Russia. In the war of 1709 Ukraine, under Hetman Ivan Mazepa, in alliance with Sweden under King Charles XII, tried to stop Russian aggression against Europe. In 1918/20 it was the independent Ukrainian State that helped to save Europe from Bolshevization. It was the Ukrainian Army under Symon Petlura that forestalled Soviet Russian help to the Communist government of Bela Kun in Hungary, to Kurt Eisner and Spartacist Communists in Germany and helped to stem aggression into Poland. (General Weygand emphasized the decisive role of Ukrainian troops under the command of General Bezruchko).

The fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) during the 1940s and 1950s and Ukraine's heroic national liberation struggle have till the present moment tied down the forces of the Russian Communist empire and thus contributed to the containment of the Russian drive for world domination. Ukraine has paid for her resistance to Russian expansionist policies with the innumerable lives of her patriots.

The failure of the West to render support to the friendly anti-Russian national liberation forces largely contributed to the loss of one third of the world to slavery and genocide. Having physically subjugated scores of nations, Russia now endeavours to persuade and blackmail the free nations into recognizing the status of this enslavement as legal, and into refraining from uttering any criticism of Russian imperialism. If the resistance of Ukraine and other subjugated nations were broken and Russia consolidated her empire with Western assistance, she would be able to use the enlarged empire as a stepping stone for further conquests. The policies of the Western powers in relation to Russia have been weak and vacillating. First it was a matter of containment, then there was some talk of liberation, now we have the so-called policy of coexistence, tomorrow we may very likely have an alliance with Moscow against Peking — in short, a repetition of the political developments just prior to World War II. It would be a mistake to rely on Russia as a bulwark against Red China. Peoples enslaved in an empire were never bulwarks against other empires, because the oppressed people never defended their oppressor. Therefore the Russian empire cannot become a bulwark against the so-called Yellow Peril.

It is the strategy of guerrilla warfare, peripheral wars, civil and subversive actions, Communist fifth

columns, pacifist movements, that systematically helps to expand Russian domination in the world in the present epoch of a thermonuclear stalemate, without overstepping the imaginary line which would be regarded by the West as *casus belli*. If the same strategy were applied against the Russian empire the free world would have behind it not only the support of "fifth columns" but of whole nations within the empire of the enemy. Such a strategy would not increase the danger of nuclear war; on the contrary, it would diminish the chances of a nuclear holocaust.

The elimination of peripheral and limited wars, which exhaust the forces of free nations, is possible only by direct action against Moscow as the centre instigating these wars and by giving support to the liberation struggle of the peoples subjugated by Russia. It is impossible to eliminate the secondary threat from Peking without first eliminating the primary threat from Moscow.

Despite bitter opposition on the part of the forces aiming at world domination, the national forces are asserting themselves.

The importance of the revolutionary liberation struggle of the 46-million strong Ukrainian nation stems from its propagation of anti-imperialist concepts throughout the length and breadth of the Soviet Russian empire. This liberation struggle is waged on national, religious, cultural, political and social levels. It frustrates to a great extent the realization of Russian global plans. It revives the thousand-year-old heroic, humanistic and religious ideals which have always contributed to the advancement of true culture. It suffices to mention the poet-heroes of the present generation of Ukrainians, like Marko Boyeslav, Vasyl Symonenko and the intellectuals recently imprisoned in the Moldavian concentration camps.

The Ukrainian cultural, political and religious revolutionary processes inspired by patriotic, freedom-loving ideas stemming from the traditions of a people believing in spiritual values, are diametrically opposed to the Russian Bolshevik totalitarian system imposed by the October counter-revolution and exported abroad. Moscow is in mortal conflict with Kyiv in all domains of life.

Considering Ukraine's contribution to the defence of faith in God, equality and freedom of nations, human dignity and liberty, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists calls upon the peoples of the free world:

a) to abandon the fake and misleading policy of so-called peaceful coexistence;

b) to recognize unequivocally the right of all the nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR and the satellite states to national sovereignty and independence as the natural, universally desired and just principle of international order and the most dynamic concept with which to combat Russian imperialism, Communism and all forms of totalitarianism;

c) to render active and effective support to the liberation struggle of the nations oppressed by Russia, and to cease any support of tyrannical Communist regimes: to transform the present defensive strategy and policy of the preservation of the *status quo* into an offensive strategy, the only strategy that can guarantee survival and victory;

d) to support the genuine national and Christian cultural processes behind the Iron Curtain which are in opposition to the false ideas of culture propagated by Moscow, and which are symbolized by the age-old Western-oriented culture of Kyiv;

e) to exploit every possibility to deepen internal conflicts in the Communist bloc, especially between Moscow and Peking;

f) to proclaim a Charter of Independence for nations enslaved by Moscow and Peking as the goal of the free world;

g) to rally together all those in the free world who believe in the preservation of human rights, dignity, freedom and national independence into one front of anti-Russian, anti-Communist forces. This front must raise a powerful voice of protest in defence of all the persecuted and oppressed; it must take action against the destruction of churches (such as the Kyiv Pechersky and Pochaiv monasteries) and all religious life; against the suppression of freedom of creative work and the rights of individuals and nations; against oppression, terror, genocide, deportation of millions of Ukrainians and other non-Russians to Siberia; against collectivization and the exploitation of labour. At the time when large numbers of misguided people all over the world defend the false ideas of Moscow, there must be forces of mankind ready to stand up in defence of the ideas of freedom, human rights and national independence for which Ukraine is fighting;

h) to encourage all religions and churches in the world to stand firm against atheistic Moscow, remembering the example of the martyred Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Churches. OUN disapproves of the attempts made by some representatives of the Western and Eastern Churches to seek appeasement with the atheistic Communist regimes.

Ukraine's criterion in relations with other peoples is their recognition of Ukraine's right to independent existence within her own ethnic territory.

An independent Ukrainian State will assure equal rights to all citizens loyal to the Ukrainian nation without distinction of race, religion, class or national origin.

The year 1968 is symbolic for the Ukrainian people in many ways. Fifteen years ago, on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian nation broke the remaining chains of alien Russian oppression and proclaimed her independence. Although the Russian Bolsheviks conquered Ukraine militarily, her freedom loving people have carried on for the past 50 years, a relentless national struggle for liberation. Thirteen years ago Moscow succeeded, with the help of an assassin, in murdering Rotterdam Colonel Evhen Konovalet, the leader of the OUN. Just over twenty years ago the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) began its heroic war for national independence and sovereignty of Ukraine and other subjugated nations on two fronts — against Nazi Germany and Russian Communist invaders. Its fight lasted for years and still continues though in different forms. Twenty-five years ago (November 1943) the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was formed. Liberation forces of the peoples enslaved within the Russian empire resolved to fight together against their common enemies, Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. These liberation movements decided to unite their forces for a concerted effort of synchronized national revolutions. Since then the ABN has grown into a world-wide movement and a symbol of a world struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism.

During the conflict between Nazi Germany and Communist Russia — two most brutal totalitarian regimes — the OUN carried on the liberation fight under the banner: "Freedom to Nations! Freedom to Individuals! The struggle is continuing today, with added rallying call: "Kyiv against Moscow!"

**The Fourth Congress of the
Organization of Ukrainian
Nationalists (OUN)**

Spring 1968.

ABN and EFC Conference Material

TWO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES IN LONDON

P R E S S C O M M U N I Q U E

Two important international conferences took place on 18-21 October 1968 in London, Great Britain.

One of them was the Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) which was held on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of ABN, on Friday, October 18th and Monday, October 21st.

The second was the Conference of the European Freedom Council (EFC) which was held on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Saturday, October 19th.

On Sunday, October 20th, under the patronage of both organisation a large international march was staged through the centre of London "In Defence of Human Rights and Independence of the Nations Subjugated by Russia and Communism" as well as the Mass Rally under the same slogan in Hammersmith Town Hall.

In order to acquaint the press with the aim of the conferences, the demonstration and the rally a press conference was organised on Thursday, October 17th. On Monday, October 21st another press conference was held with the aim to familiarize the press with the outcome of the conferences and to give the leading members of both organisations a chance to meet with the members of the press.

On Tuesday, October 22nd, the participants of both conferences and invited guests attended a Cocktail Party at the British House of Commons and met with Members of Parliament in a friendly and amicable atmosphere.

On Saturday, October 19th the participants of the conferences and invited personalities were guests of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain at a dinner.

ABN CONFERENCE

The ABN Conference consisted of two parts — closed and open. At the Closed Section the delegates from various national representations who came from various countries and continents of the world, heard and discussed reports of the leading organs of ABN and of the representatives of friends of ABN from various countries on their activities, and discussed plans for the future, while at the same time accepting appropriate resolutions and decisions.

The ABN Conference was opened by the President of the Central Committee of ABN and former Prime Minister of Ukraine, Yaroslav Stetsko. The sessions were chaired as follows: Prof. Ferdinand Durčanský, former Foreign Minister of independent Slovakia, President of the Peoples Council of ABN and President of the Slovak Liberation Council; Dr. Ivan Docheff, President of the Bulgarian National Front, Chairman of the American Friends of ABN; Dr. Baymirza Hayit, Vice-President of the Turkestanian National Unity Committee and Mr. L. Zourabichvili, President of the Georgian National Centre (France).

Dr. Ctibor Pokorný, Secretary General of ABN and Mrs Slava Stetsko, M.A., Head of the Press Bureau of ABN and Editor-in-Chief of *ABN Correspondence* reported on the activities of the Central Committee of ABN.

Short reports on the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism were given by national representatives: *Armenia* — Mr. G. Hagopian (England); *Byelorussia* — Col. D. Kosmowicz, member of the Central Committee of ABN, President of the

Byelorussian Liberation Front (Germany), and Mr. Y. Bunczuk (England); *Bulgaria* — Dr. Cyril Drenikoff (France); *Croatia* — Dr. Stjepan Hefer, President of the Croatian Liberation Movement (Buenos Aires, Argentina) and Dr. Anton Bonifacić, writer, Vice-President of the Croatian Writers Union, former head of the cultural relations department of the Independent State of Croatia (USA); *Czechia* — Mr. Myslivec, representative of the Czech National Committee (Germany); *Estonia* — Dr. Arvo Horm, Secretary-General of the Baltic Committee in Sweden; *Georgia* — Mr. L. Zourabichvili (France); *Hungary* — Mr. E. Rigoni, Chairman of the Hungarian National Liberation Committee in France, editor of the bulletin "Actualité Hongroise"; *Latvia* — Mr. J. Petersons, representative of the Latvian National Committee (England); *Lithuania* — Mr. A. Pranskunas, Secretary, Lithuanian Association in Great Britain; *Slovakia* — Dr. C. Pokorny; *Turkestan* — Dr. B. Hayit (Germany); *Ukraine* — Mr. V. Bohdaniuk, editor, *The Ukrainian Review*.

Also reports on the activities of ABN delegations and the organisations of friends of ABN were as follows: Dr. Docheff (New York, USA) from American Friends of ABN; Mr. Henning Jensen, Editor-in-Chief of *Reflex* (Copenhagen, Denmark) — from the Danish Friends of ABN; Mr. Rama Swarup (New Delhi, India) — from Indian Friends of ABN; Mr. Anders Larsson (Stockholm, Sweden) — from the Swedish Friends of Ukraine and ABN (Executive Secretary of Democratic Alliance); Mr. W. Oleskiw — from the ABN Branch in Great Britain; M. O. Kowal — from the ABN Branch in Belgium.

A broad outline of ABN's programme of activities was provided by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko, President of CC ABN.

The financial report was given by Col. D. Kosmowicz, Member CC ABN, President of the Byelorussian Liberation Front.

The problems connected with ABN activities among youth were analysed by Mr. Anathole Bedriy (AF ABN).

Mr. Anders Larsson (Sweden) spoke about the concept of "Friends of ABN" in various countries.

All subjects of the conference were thoroughly discussed by the delegates.

The Conference accepted appropriate resolutions and an appeal to the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

In its resolutions the Conference reaffirmed the soundness of the concept of world construction on the basis of national states within the ethnic boundaries, called attention to the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian Bolshevik empire and the liberation of the subjugated peoples. The Conference reaffirmed the aim of ABN and the need of an uncompromising struggle against Russian imperialism of all types and pointed out the falsity of the so-called national-communism. The Conference called upon the free nations of the world to break all relations with the Russian empire and its satellites and to discard the policy of so-called "peaceful coexistence" and to exchange it for the policy of liberation. The Conference called upon the free nations to create a common front against imperialistic Moscow and Peking, to condemn Russian policy of persecution and genocide. The resolutions bring to our attention the falsity of the policy of division of the world into spheres of influence and pay homage to the heroes of the national liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples.

* * *

The Open Session of the ABN Conference, which took place in the evening of October 18th, was opened by Mr. W. Oleskiw, Secretary-General of the ABN Branch in Great Britain who also presided over the session.

The following speeches were delivered: "25th Anniversary of ABN" — Col. D. Kosmowicz (Byelorussia); "Russian Imperialistic Methods and Moscow Policy of World Conquest" — Dr. B. Hayit (Turkestan); "The Struggle of the Subjugated Peoples as the Key to the Solution of the World Political Crisis" — Dr. Ivan Docheff (Bulgaria); "New Liberation Strategy" — Mr. Slava Stetsko (Ukraine); "Nations

Independence as a Prerequisite for the Realisation and Safeguarding of Human Rights" — Min. F. Durčanský (Slovakia); "Vietnam's Struggle against Communist Aggression" — Mr. Diep Quan Hong, Counsellor at the Vietnamese Embassy in London; "The Re-unification of Divided Countries — A Pressing Demand of Our Times" — Mr. Inguam Kim, Counsellor at the Korean Embassy in London; "Communist Strategy in Southeast Asia" — Mr. Rama Swarup (New Delhi, India).

The session accepted ABN's appeal to the freedom-loving countries of the world unanimously.

About 200 invited guests and the general public attended the Open Session.

THE CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL

The EFC Conference which was held at 49 Linden Gardens, London, W. 2 on Saturday, October 19th, 1968, was opened by Hon. O. B. Kraft, f. Foreign Minister of Denmark, f. President of NATO Council, former leader, now prominent member of Danish Conservative Party, leader of Danish resistance against Nazi Germany, President of EFC.

The Conference considered proposals of the acceptance for membership in EFC of Swedish, Belgian and British organisations.

President of EFC, Mr. O. B. Kraft, reported on the activities of the Executive Board of the EFC.

Representatives of the member-organisations of EFC reported on their activities. Among others reports were given by the following representatives: ABN (Dr. Č. Pokorný); Ukrainian delegation (Dr. S. M. Fostun); Byelorussian (Col. D. Kosmowicz); Italian — Min I. M. Lombardo; German — Prof. Dr. Th. Oberländer; Swedish — Prof. Birger Nerman (former professor at Uppsala and Tartu universities, director of National Historical Museum in Stockholm) Chairman of the Swedish Section of the World Anti-Communist League and the Scandinavian Section of the International Committee for the Defence of Christian Culture, and Mr. Anders

Larsson; Danish — Min. O. B. Kraft and Mr. Henning Jensen; French — Madame Suzanne Labin, writer and journalist, President of the International Conference of Political Warfare, Chairman of the EFC Information Committee; British — Mr. John Graham — journalist, member of the EFC Executive Board, Chairman of the British League for European Freedom, Secretary-General of the Anglo-Ukrainian Society and others.

A report on the present resistance and liberation struggle of the subjugated peoples was delivered by Mr. A. Bedriy.

Hon. Ivan Matteo Lombardo, f. Minister of Foreign Trade of Italy, Chairman (together with Y. Stetsko) of EFC, President of Italian Atlantic Committee, f. Secretary-General of the Italian Socialist Party, Vice-President of the Atlantic Treaty Association, spoke about the programme of EFC in the future in the light of the international political situation.

An outline of the tasks of EFC was provided by Hon. Y. Stetsko, Chairman (together with Min. Lombardo) of EFC.

Prof. Dr. Theodor Oberländer, f. Federal Minister of West Germany, member of the Christian Democratic Party, spoke about the role of EFC in the education of students.

Dr. Alfredo Ferlisi, jurist of international law (Rome, Italy), Prof. Dr. T. Oberländer (Germany), Lady Jane Birdwood (England) and Mr. W. Oleskiw (England) spoke about the financial basis of EFC activity.

The EFC Conference adopted appropriate resolutions.

The resolutions condemn all Russian and Communist imperialism and colonialism and demand support for the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated in the Soviet Russian empire and the satellite states and for the establishment of independent states within their ethnical boundaries. The resolution calls upon the peoples of Europe to strengthen their role in the world, to reinforce military might, to give active support to the liberation movements, to condemn Russia in the UN for its imperialism, to use

all efforts in order to realise the UN Charter and to abolish colonialism from the territory of the USSR and the satellite states.

MARCH AND MASS RALLY

On Sunday, October 20th, 1968 two big demonstrations took place in London, showing the outside world the unity and moral strength of ABN and EFC.

Under the slogan "In Defence of Human Rights and Independence of the Nations Subjugated by Russia and Communism" a mass international march was staged through the central streets of London from Marble Arch to Whitehall, where wreaths from ABN and EFC in memory of the victims of Communism were laid at the Cenotaph.

At 12:30 p.m. short fiery speeches were delivered at Speaker's Corner near Marble Arch before the assembled demonstrators by: Mr. John Graham who spoke about the purpose of the march, Mr. Ivan Matteo Lombardo (Italy) and Mrs. S. Stetsko, who expressed protest against the violations of human and national rights by Russia and other Communist regimes. At the end of the outdoor rally Mr. John Graham read the text of the letter, which, after the march, was to be delivered to the Prime Minister of Great Britain, H. Wilson, by the EFC and ABN delegation.

Over 2,000 persons of various nationalities with flags and signs participated in the march. At the head of the march two wreaths were carried by girls in national costumes. Behind them — flag bearers carrying flags of the subjugated peoples as well as the British flag. Then — there marched representatives of national organisations of the subjugated peoples and prominent friends from among the nations of the free world, in particular those who took part in the conferences of ABN and EFC. Behind them, in colourful national costumes marched young Ukrainian, Latvian and Lithuanian girls. And further — a long column of marchers carrying eloquent signs. The slogans which caught eye were: "Fight Russian imperialism", "Victory for the Anti-

Bolshevik Bloc of Nations!", "Live European Freedom Council!", "Freedom for Ukraine!", "Freedom for Byelorussia!", "Freedom for Latvia!", "45-million-strong Ukrainian nation demands independence!", "Away with Russian colonialism!" and many other

Passing through Oxford Street, Regent Street, through Piccadilly and Trafalgar Square, Whitehall the column stopped at the Cenotaph where the Presidents of EFC and ABN — Hon. O. B. Kraft and Hon. Y. Stetsko laid down wreaths in memory of victims of Russian and Communist subjugation and terror. This ceremony took place with flags held low and general silence of thousands of participants.

After the wreath-laying ceremony the ABN/EFC delegation consisting of O. B. Kraft, Y. Stetsko, I. M. Lombardo, T. Oberländer and John Graham went to the residence of the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Harold Wilson, at No. 10 Downing Street, where it handed over a letter to the Prime Minister from ABN and EFC. The letter asks for the support of Great Britain for the liberation aspirations of the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism and the condemnation of Russian imperialism and colonialism at the United Nations. The letter was signed as follows: from ABN — Hon. Y. Stetsko, Min. I. Durčansky, Dr. B. Hayit, Dr. I. Doche and Mr. W. Oleskiw; from EFC — Hon. O. B. Kraft, Min. I. M. Lombardo, Prof. Dr. T. Oberländer, Madame S. Labin and Mr. John Graham.

* * *

Also on Sunday, October 20th the Mass International Rally took place in Hammersmith Town Hall with the participation of over 1,000 persons of various nationalities. The rally was opened at 3:30 p.m. by Mr. John Graham who called to the stage on by one the flags of various nationalities carried by their flag-bearers. Besides the flags of nations subjugated by Russia the flags of divided countries — Vietnam, Korea and Nationalist China, as well as the British flag were on the stage.

Very Rev. Alexander Babij (Ukraine), Rev. Vyeliky (Byelorussia) and Rev. Babik (Slovakia) offered the "Our Father" for the intention of the liberation of the subjugated peoples.

After the prayer Mr. John Graham asked Hon. O. B. Kraft, Y. Stetsko, I. M. Lombardo, Madame S. Labin and Mr. A. Roberts, M.P. to the presidium.

In an introductory speech the President of EFC, Hon. O. B. Kraft, pointed to the threat of the Russian-Bolshevik expansion and the need of all the freedom-loving peoples to unite their forces in the common struggle for victory of the world of freedom over the world of tyranny and for the liberation of all the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism.

In his speech Min. Lombardo showed the error to be found in the coexistence policy of the free world with Russian-Bolshevik empire and the necessity to put the liberation policy into practice.

Member of the British Parliament, A. Roberts, pointed out that the peoples behind the Iron Curtain want national independence and the guarantee of human rights.

Madame Suzanne Labin, in her speech on the violations of human and national rights in the Soviet Russian empire, called on the free world to resist Russian policies and to support the liberation movements of the subjugated peoples.

Hon. Y. Stetsko, President of CC ABN, was the last of the main speakers. In clear and eloquent terms he gave an outline of ABN's liberation policy and put forward concrete demands to the free world to support the revolutionary liberation aspirations of the peoples subjugated by Russia.

Further the following speakers addressed the Rally briefly: from Vietnam — the Counsellor of the Vietnamese Embassy in London, Mr. Diep-Quan Hong; from Armenia — Mr. G. Hagopian; from Byelorussia — Mr. Y. Bunczuk; from Bulgaria — Dr. K. Drenikoff; from Croatia — Dr. A. Ilic; from Czechia — Col. Sladeczek; from Estonia — Mr. V. Partel; from Georgia — Dr. A. G. Ramishvili; from

Hungary — Mr. E. Rigoni; from India — Mr. Rama Swarup; from Latvia — Mr. T. Zarins; from Lithuania — Mr. A. Pranskunas; from Slovakia — Min. F. Durčansky; from Turkestan — Dr. B. Hayit; from Ukraine — Mr. V. Bohdaniuk; from Sweden — Prof. Birger Nerman.

The speakers called for a united front of all the free nations and the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism in the struggle for freedom, sovereignty and independence of all nations.

The programme of the rally was diversified by the recital of the London Latvian Choir and the Ukrainian Choir "Boyan."

At the end of the rally Mr. John Graham read the text of the letter to Prime Minister Wilson from the participants of the ABN and EFC conferences. The rally was concluded by the British national anthem.

RECEPTION FOR DELEGATES AND GUESTS

On Saturday, October 19th, 1968 about 80 delegates and prominent personalities were guests at a dinner given by the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain. During the dinner Prof. R. Lisowsky raised a toast to the Queen of Great Britain and Mr. V. Bohdaniuk for the present guests. Hon. O. B. Kraft, Dr. I. Docheff, Min. I. M. Lombardo, Madame S. Labin and Prof. B. Nerman expressed warm words of thanks to Ukrainians for their hospitality. Hon. Y. Stetsko briefly addressed the Ukrainians present, pointing to the great importance of both conferences and the participation in them of prominent leaders of free countries and the subjugated peoples' emigres.

Mr. Illia Dmytriw, First Vice-President of the Association of Ukrainians of Great Britain, greeted the guests. Later he and Mr. V. Bohdaniuk introduced guests and delegates of both conferences.

The dinner passed in a very sincere, friendly and amicable atmosphere, due, to a large extent, to the appear-

ance of a trio of singers from the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) branch in Bury, Lancs. and the dance ensemble from the London SUM branch under the direction of Mr. Ksiondzyk.

COCKTAIL PARTY AT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

On Tuesday, October 22nd, 1968, in one of the reception rooms at the British House of Commons, a friendly get together of delegates and guests of the conferences of the ABN and EFC on one hand and the Members of Parliament on the other hand took place. Mr. Jack McCann, M.P. from Rochdale, Lancs. was the host of the Cocktail Party. 15 Members of the British Parliament, attended, headed by former Minister and Chairman of the Labour Party, Hon. Douglas Houghton, representing Sowerby, Lancs. and Hon. W. Ross, Minister for Scottish Affairs. Besides them the following M.P.s were present: R. Buchanan, J. Bennett and T. McMillan (Glasgow), J. D. Concannon (Mansfield), J. R. Evans (Carmarthen), R. L. Howarth (Bolton), K. Lomas (Huddersfield), S. Mahon (Bootle, Liverpool), R. C. Mitchell (Southampton), T. Oswald (Edinburgh), G. H. Perry (Nottingham) and W. G. Price (Rugby). Among the guests at the party were also the Ambassador of Vietnam Le Ngok Chan and diplomatic representatives of the Baltic States.

Due to the fact that a debate on the relations between England and Rhodesia was taking place at the same time, a good number of M.P.s from the Conservative Party in particular, who promised to attend the Cocktail Party were unable to do so.

PRESS CONFERENCES

As mentioned above, two press conferences were held in connection with the ABN and EFC conference one on Thursday, October 17th and the other on Monday, October 21st. Mr. John Graham presided over both press conferences; Min. Kraft and Mr. Stetsko made short statements. National representatives, the Central Committee of ABN and the Executive Board of EFC made much literature available to the press, including prepared speeches and resolutions of both conferences.

As the result several notices about the conferences, the march and the rally appeared in the press. The march was covered by the BBC and ITN networks which showed it three times in the evening of October 20th, clearly indicating the aim of the demonstration and mentioning several subjugated peoples by name.

In conclusion it has to be stated that the conferences of ABN and EFC which took place on the 25th anniversary of the founding of ABN in the forests of Zhytomyr in Ukraine upon the initiative of the OUN and the UPA and the 20th anniversary of the signing of the Universal UN Declaration of Human Rights have been completely successful. Their effect should be felt in the future activities of both international organisations. The success of the conferences is largely due to the efforts of the Organising Committee, headed by Mr. John Graham and the Ukrainian Community in Great Britain.

*Press Bureau, Central Committee
of ABN*

ABN AND EFC CONFERENCES IN LONDON, OCTOBER, 1968.



Conference of the European Freedom Council, October 18th, 1968.



Presidium of the Open session of the ABN Conference. From the left: Min. F. Durčanský (Slovakia), Mrs. S. Stetsko (Ukraine), Dr. I. Docheff (Bulgaria), Counsellor Inguam Kim (Korea), Mr. W. Oleskiw (ABN Delegation in Gt. Britain), Mr. Rama Swarup (India), Mr. Y. Stetsko (ABN President), Mr. Diep Quan Hong (Vietnam), Col. D. Kosmowicz (Byelorussia).



At the Reception given by the Association of Ukrainians in Gt. Britain for the delegates to the ABN and EFC Conferences. From the left: Mrs. S. Stetsko, Hon. O. B. Kraft (President of EFC), Prof. R. Lisovsky (Chairman of the Association of Ukrainians), Mr. Y. Stetsko, Mme S. Labin (France), Hon I. M. Lombardo (Italy).



The head of the ABN and EFC procession through the centre of London to the Cenotaph, on Sunday, October 20th.



ABN and EFC Delegation on the way to 10, Downing Street, to present a letter to the Prime Minister. From the left: Mr. Y. Stetsko, Hon. I. M. Lombardo, Prof. Dr. T. Oberländer, Mr. J. Graham, and Hon. O. B. Kraft.



In front of the Cenotaph on Sunday, October 20th, 1968. In the centre: Hon. O. B. Kraft and Mr. Y. Stetsko, who laid wreaths in memory of the victims of Communism and Russian imperialism.

LETTER TO MR. WILSON

ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS — EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL

The Right Honourable
Harold Wilson M. P.
Prime Minister of
Her Majesty's Government,
10, Downing Street
London, S.W. 1.

October 20th, 1968.

Sir,

On the 20th anniversary of the signing of the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, and the 25th anniversary of the foundation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, we wish to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Government to the continued subjugation of many countries and innumerable millions of people by Russian imperialism and brutal Communist regimes. Every day the principles of the U. N. Declaration are being violated by Russia and other Communist regimes.

We, the European Freedom Council (EFC) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), wish to thank Her Majesty's Government for the opportunity to freely raise our voice in defence of the rights of nations and individuals suffering from oppression behind the Iron Curtain. We express our deep appreciation for the hospitality of Great Britain which has become famous throughout the world as the cradle of freedom and the rights of man. The enlightened policies of successive British Governments with regard to the freedom aspirations of many Asian and African nations in the last quarter of a century has won our admiration. This encourages us to hope that the similar aspirations of many European and Asian nations and peoples now imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain will find understanding and support from Her Majesty's Government.

The European Freedom Council — a Coordinating Body of Organisations Fighting Communism — stands for self-determination of all peoples, human rights and liberties, for human dignity, for freedom to practice all religious faiths, for social justice, for the re-establishment of the national and independent and sovereign states within the ethnical boundaries of all the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Russian empire, for the dissolution of artificial states' structures created by force or through foreign intervention, for the liquidation of the Communist system, for the re-unification in freedom of all divided countries.

The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — created on the initiative of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the forests of Ukraine in November 1943, during the two-front fight against Nazi Germany and Communist Russia — is the coordinating centre of the revolutionary underground movements and liberation organisations of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. ABN advocates the disintegration of the Russian empire and the artificially created states' structures into independent states within the ethnical boundaries by way of synchronised revolutions of all the enslaved nations behind the Iron Curtain.

In this Human Rights Year, we ask Her Majesty's Government to support the struggle for human rights and national independence of all nations enslaved by Russia and Communism — those incorporated in the USSR and in other Communist-dominated states.

In particular we ask Her Majesty's Government:

- 1) to indict in the United Nations Russian imperialism and colonialism;
- 2) to initiate the observance of a Captive Nations' Week, similar to the Week instituted by the U.S. Congress, dedicated to the enslaved nations which have been robbed of all the national, social and human rights guaranteed in the United Nations Charter. The observance of this week would mobilise public opinion in this free country on behalf of the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain and would help their liberation struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism and for the re-establishment of their sovereign states;
- 3) to make every effort to ensure respect for human rights and national sovereignty and independence behind the Iron Curtain;
- 4) to strengthen broadcasts beamed behind the Iron Curtain, introducing broadcasts in non-Russian languages of the USSR and other Communist dominated states, thus rendering moral support to the enslaved nations.

We call upon Her Majesty's Government, to take a lead among the nations of the free world in standing up courageously for human rights of individual and nations enslaved by Russian and Communist tyranny.

We are, Sir,

Your obedient servants,

For The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc
of Nations

Yaroslav Stetsko
Ferdinand Durčansky
Baymirza Hayit
Ivan Docheff
Wasyl Oleskiw

For The European Freedom
Council

Ole Björn-Kraft
Ivan Matteo Lombardo
Theodore Oberländer
Suzanne Labin
John Graham

"WE MUST BE PREPARED..."

**SPEECH OF OLE BJÖRN KRAFT,
PRESIDENT OF EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL, F. FOREIGN
MINISTER OF DENMARK & F. PRESIDENT OF NATO COUNCIL
on 20th October, (Sunday) at Mass Rally at Hammersmith Town Hall
London.**

Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of ABN and EFC I give you all a most hearty welcome. I am sure that you all feel that a special welcome should be given to the representatives of the subjugated and captive nations.

They are refugees from the past looking forward and fighting for the future of their nations.

I want to express our admiration for their faith, courage, and devotion to their cause. They preserve their national traditions, culture and religion on foreign soil.

By that, they convince the world of the right of their countries to be free and sovereign states.

When the United Nations, 20 years ago, proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, everybody saw it as a fine vision and a goal for the way of life of all people and states.

The Communist states have always paid lip-service to every human right expressed in the Declaration, but they have always violated and trampled them underfoot. They promised the people of their countries, and put it into their constitutions, freedom of speech and conscience, equality under the law, self determination and the right to create, when they so wished, their own sovereign states.

But the Russian goad has never been lifted from their shoulders. The Constitutions were broken by the governments who should defend them. The Russian empire is the greatest colonial power in our time.

The time has come for the United Nation to indict their behaviour. The latest example of the Russian disregard is the brutal attack on the Czechs and Slovaks. They only wanted to move out of the shadow of tyranny, to liberate their way of life. They did not go so far as to break with the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact — they only believed in a liberal Communism. But that was too much for the Soviet. The country was occupied by military force and the clock turned back to the past.

It is a very sinister picture of the situation in the Communist world. Not only did the Soviet deny their own people the rights of their own constitution, but when another Communist country — one of their allies — tried to begin a development towards the goal of the human rights declaration, it was ruthlessly crushed and the pressure put on their leaders. They call them "Comrades", but they put them into prison, or forced them to leave their country. Now we know what "peaceful-coexistence" means.

For a long time we have lived in illusion. We have thought the cold

war was over, that it was possible to come to an understanding between communist leaders and the Western world about the future development.

We thought that they wanted peace and freedom as we do. BUT we were wrong. They have quite other intentions. Many leaders still say that we must go back to the "cold war." The truth is that it has never stopped and the Soviet Union has now started "cold war" aggression against the West. They accuse the German Federal Republic of having the intentions of military aggression against Eastern Germany and Poland. They warn the Scandinavian countries that there are dangers of them being occupied by West Germany. They attack Norway and Denmark for being members of NATO and accuse them of preparing to take part in an imperialist attack on the Soviet.

Kosygin went to Finland, where the Communists lost the election, to strengthen the grip on that country. This is "cold war." Perhaps you will think, it is only propaganda. BUT in our history we have seen that propaganda of that spirit has been used to prepare the ground for, in a given situation, to go to war. When you look at Soviet preparations in the military field, you cannot avoid feeling disturbed. The rapid building up of the Russian navy in Mediterranean

and its growing military power in the Middle East, the numbers of rockets with nuclear war-heads, and the new divisions on the frontiers of Western Germany, may lead you to ask: is this preparation for peace — or what?

I don't want to paint a dark picture than necessary, but I must admit it is time to be on guard. We have always thought that war in Western Europe was impossible, but now I cannot assume that Russia has completely given up the idea of an adventure into Western Europe, and we may ask ourselves, is the nuclear deterrent capable of stopping them?

It is probable, but not so improbable as it was before.

We must be on guard

We are sailing into stormy weather and must be prepared to meet the storm with courage in our hearts and a firm determination to defend our freedom at all costs. If we want freedom and peace, we must be prepared to a war for the minds of men and for a military war to defend us against aggression.

BUT let us not despair. Let us lift up our hearts. Our cause is good, our hands are clean. Let us go forward together for human rights for all people, for the rights of nations to decide their own fate, to be free and therefore happy.

Yaroslav STETSKO

AN OUTLINE OF ABN'S LIBERATION POLICY

The basis of the ABN's liberation policy is its reliance on the strength of the liberation movements of the enslaved peoples themselves. Favourable external factors can only be a contributing, assisting factor for the spreading of the national liberation revolutions. A war can only be an opportunity for an uprising, but not the method of liberation.

Our conception of liberation envisages a joint liberation revolution of all the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism. This revolution is both national and social at the same time, simultaneously directed against Russian imperialism and Communism. The collapse and dismemberment of the Russian colonial empire will have radical consequences for the international balance of forces in the world.

The liberation of the nations presently enslaved by Communist Russia cannot be achieved by separate, isolated attempts, by way of diplomatic bargaining, but through a radical change of the present-day system in Eastern Europe and Asia, enslaved by Russia, i. e. through the destruction of the Russian empire.

The nations enslaved in the Russian Communist sphere of domination are a distinct force in the world confrontation. Their liberation struggle is a powerful element, which forms a key factor in world politics.

Our enemy — is not only Red Russian imperialism, but Russian imperialism of any political brand. We combat imperialism and stand for a just solution — a restoration of national independence based on ethnic principle of the peoples incorporated into Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia as well.

National liberation revolutions are an alternative to an atomic war which is bound to follow if the Russian empire is allowed to maintain its power and grow in strength. An atomic war can be avoided if the nations of the free world support actively national liberation revolutions of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism. In fulfilling their duties to God and Country, defending their right to freedom and fighting for the victory of truth and goodness on earth, men must be ready to take every risk, realizing that responsibility for the destruction of mankind — if our duties are fulfilled conscientiously — would lie in divine and not human hands. It is wrong to fear that the Kremlin criminals have the power to destroy mankind, for this would be tantamount to the absence of faith in any higher power and capitulation before evil out of fear for one's physical existence. If we serve a good and noble cause, we should not worry about our physical existence, but only about its victory.

In the final phases of the conflict the decisive part will be played by the armed people. With the development of military technology, the importance of the armed forces of the people, revolutionary-insurgent forces, does not decrease, but rather increases. Parallel to the development of its nuclear armament, as well as the conventional armament, which in the free world must be proportional to the armed forces of the Russian bloc and must not be neglected in favour of nuclear armament — the free world must try to minimize the military potential of the Russian bloc by helping to win the hearts and wills of the soldiers originating from the countries enslaved by Russia to the side of national liberation forces. In strengthening the insurgent armies and forming national armies out of those who will go over to the free nations, under the guidance of their independent national governments — the free world will win a decisive victory over Russia and her satellites.

The national liberation revolutions of the nations enslaved in the Russian Communist sphere of domination must be coordinated and synchronised. The guarantee of success of an anti-Russian revolution lies in a chain of revolutions in most subjugated countries at once and in the broadness of its ideas and aims.

If national liberation revolutions are to be successful they must advance slogans which would captivate the imagination of all the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism and mobilize them for a revolutionary uprising. As the most universal slogan the ABN advances: "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" It means national independent states for the enslaved peoples, a universal realization of human rights and social justice.

It is necessary to set up a joint world anti-Bolshevist front of all the

free nations on the one hand and a the enslaved nations on the other. It is necessary for both sides to agree on a strategy of the struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism which would be the task of a world coordinating centre for anti-Bolshevist action.

The free world, together with the liberation movements of the enslaved nations, ought to proclaim a Great Charter of national independence of the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism, the charter of freedom of man and his rights, as a manifestation of all the freedom-loving mankind. Liquidation of the Russian empire must become the banner slogan for all freedom-loving mankind, just as the destruction of Communism, the fals doctrine, which helps to mask the imperialism of Moscow. The help rendered by the West to the enslaved nations is in its own interest.

The policy of liberation demands the breaking of diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the Bolshevik governments, their expulsion from all international institutions and the transformation of these institutions into the instruments of struggle against Bolshevism, for freedom and independence of all nations, and for the securing of human rights for all men.

It would be a mistake on the part of the West to rely on the possibility of an alliance with Russia against the threat of Red China, for it would be analogous to developments prior to World War II. The main enemy of the free world is Russia, for Bolshevism is the original product of Russia. Red China is incapable as yet of maintaining a world empire; it lags far behind Russia in many respects.

In her offensive strategy which Russia uses against the West, peripheral and guerrilla wars, subversive activities by Communist fifth columns, various misguided pacifist and leftist movements, play the main

role at present, for in conditions of a nuclear stalemate any direct action by Russia would risk appropriate retaliation by the West. By using this tactics of indirect warfare, Russia gains strategic advantages without risking anything. The West has long neglected the possibilities of using a similar strategy with regard to Russian Europe, having failed to support genuine national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain, supported not just by "fifth columns" but by the entire enslaved peoples. The utilisation of this strategy would be advantageous to the free world on two counts: 1) it would undermine Russian military preponderance, and 2) avoid risking a nuclear war.

The powerful world anti-Communist front is to act as spokesman of the conscience of humanity, organising entire humanity in protest against barbarous actions by Moscow's slave-drivers — against oppression, terror, genocide, deportations, concentration camps, persecution of nationally-minded patriotic intellectuals and students, Moscow's colonial policies, collectivisation and exploitation of workers.

In view of the great importance of the religious factor in the life of humanity, it is necessary to encourage all religions and churches in the world to stand firm against atheistic Communist campaigns and deceitful approaches by Moscow.

The most powerful weapon of Russia which can bring about the downfall of the free world is pro-Communist and Communist propaganda, for it subverts the ideology of the free world, undermines its morality and destroys the will of the masses and of the elite of the free peoples.

The Communist parties, all pro-Communist and anti-religious propaganda, especially in films, television, in textbooks, glorification of sexual licentiousness, criminality, which undermine the morals of the free

society, in particular of the young persons, should be prohibited just at Nazi propaganda is prohibited.

All persons who promote the spread of Communism, anti-patriotism, atheism, immorality, pro-Moscow or pro-Peking policy, and who obviously manifest pro-Bolshevist sympathies should be dismissed from public offices and universities.

A moral rebirth of mankind is an indispensable prerequisite of a successful struggle against the world evil of Communism, whose main centre is Moscow. Renewed faith in eternal truths, faith in God and Country, and de-barbarisation of humanity — are the values needed for victory. What is needed is character, courage, loyalty and determination in the realisation and application of patriotic and religious principles of life in the free world. The strength of Communism lies in the moral weakness of the West.

The free world must cease to fear Russia's military might which is held in leash by the dread of nuclear warfare and the fear of national revolutions within the Russian empire. It has to realise that in this nuclear age subversive warfare is progressively replacing traditional warfare as instrument of policy. This warfare must be carried on in enemy's territory, that is internally. The free world must understand that in this war of wills and ideas, a strategy based on appeasement or containment, which can solely react to the enemy's offensives instead of resolutely attacking him, can ultimately lead only to defeat and degradation.

In the interests of general human progress it is necessary for Europe to regain her position of influence in the world, which she enjoyed for centuries as an important moral, cultural and political force. The free part of Europe will be unable to assert itself in the long run unless the peoples

enslaved in the Russian empire are liberated, and thus the danger to the world is liquidated. The vital interests of free Europe and of the enslaved peoples are inseparable.

The guarantee of a lasting and successful defence of the still free part of Europe is to be found in her own forces and the orientation upon the liberation movements of the peoples enslaved in the Russian Communist empire. Europe will become an unconquerable force only when her

interests will cease to be limited the still free remnants of Europe.

We recall the words of Winston Churchill, who spoke in unequivocal terms against appeasement and defeatism:

"You may come to the moment when you will have to fight with all the odds against you and only a precarious chance of survival... There may even be a worse case. You may have to fight when there is no hope of victory, because it is better to perish than live as slaves."

RESOLUTION

**PASSED BY THE SECOND CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN
FREEDOM COUNCIL,
October 19, 1968, London**

1. The Second Conference of E.F.C. notes that since the First Conference there have been significant international developments which have to be considered in the light of our aims and tasks.

The ruthless invasion of Czech and Slovak soil; Moscow's intensification of the pressure on the Federal Republic of Germany; the rapid building-up of Soviet Russia's aggressive navy, particularly in the Mediterranean Sea; the continued growth of Russian aggressive imperialist power in the Middle East; Russian nuclear equipped submarines and space rockets with thermo-nuclear warheads — all these are the active preparations for the destruction of the free nations.

2. In view of these developments, the E.F.C. condemns all Communist imperialism and colonialism and asks that all possible assistance be given to the peoples subjugated in the Soviet Russian empire and other Communist-dominated states in their struggle to establish national and independent states, and unify in freedom all divided countries.

E.F.C. CALLS ON ALL FREE EUROPEAN NATIONS TO:

— assert their power, based as it is on strong spiritual and political values which recognise the dignity of man and his right to all the human rights specified in the U.N. Declaration

— to strengthen NATO forces as the only possible way in which to resist Russian Communist adventure against the free European nations;

— to give active support to the liberation movements of the subjugated nations;

— to call for the indictment of Russia before the United Nations for the continued subjection of the subjugated peoples in the Russian Communist empire and other Communist-dominated states;

— E.F.C. calls for the full implementation of the Charter of the U.N. in the territories of the USSR and other Communist-dominated states, reminding Member Nations of their solemn declaration of "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end, colonialism in all its forms and manifestations."

APPEAL

To All Freedom-Loving Nations and Peoples of the World

Issued by the Conference of ABN, London, October, 1968.

I.

The end of the aggressive Russian colonial empire is drawing near. Its final "ideological" masks are falling down: those of the "defender" of the Slavs, defender and vanguard of "world" proletariat, "liberator" of colonial peoples, defender of peace, etc. The repugnant face of the savage brute is uncovering before the whole world, the brute who preaches his "superiority" over all nations, cultures and religions — the superiority of the Russian slave-masters, before whom all people must turn themselves into slaves — into a "union" of nations, into a "brotherhood" under the whip of the Kremlin overlords.

The big lie of the Russian-Leninist ideology — about the equality of peoples under Bolshevism, about the brotherhood of Socialist nations, the big material progress under Communism, about Bolshevik humaneness, etc., has been shown up.

Non-Russian nations will never compromise with the Russian subjugation. Any Russia — white, red or pink — pursues the same goal of expansion, of subjugating nations, and turning them into its serfs.

Russia realises this aim by ruining other nations, at first, weakening their physical vitality through artificial famines, mass resettlement and fusion with Russian people, colonization of conquered lands by Russians, ruthless

economic exploitation. While Lenin promised paradise on earth, all these calamities began to overwhelm the non-Russian nations conquered by the Bolsheviks led by Lenin himself. Each successive dictator in Moscow (Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, Brezhnev) always promised quick solution to all social, national, and economic wants, but harsher exploitation and suppression followed.

Simultaneously with physical subjugation, Moscow proceeds to enslave the soul of nations and individuals, to make everyone subservient to its diabolic aims. All historical and cultural monuments of non-Russian nations are being systematically destroyed and in their place monuments, memorials, buildings or other works of "art" are being erected honouring the memory and extolling Russian tsars, Russian poets, Russian tsarist statesmen and Russian intellectuals. In the capitals of the non-Russian nations and the Soviet Union there arise centres of Russian chauvinistic culture. Non-Russian museums, libraries, archives, art treasures, especially churches and national buildings, are being brought into decay, neglected, ruined, they are burned down, turned into stores for potatoes and vegetables. Many of such invaluable treasures are being dragged away into Russia or forged and presented as pieces of Russian art and culture.

Russia spends tremendous energy for killing spiritually the subjugated nations — Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkistan, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania as well as the nations of Central Europe by means of persecution and liquidation of the intellectuals and artistic leadership of nations, by violating human rights, by terrorizing the creative and enterprising people, by Russification of national cultures. Moscow attempts to graft on the subjugated nations the inferiority complex, the serf mentality, by depriving people of their sense of human dignity and national honour, by depriving men of the strivings for greatness and ideals, and by killing their spirit of courage.

The subjugated nations, in particular their revolutionary liberation movements and spokesmen in exile, have the great historical mission to strive to disintegrate this monstrous, slave-holding and parasitic Russian empire into national independent democratic states in their ethnic boundaries of all the subjugated nations, and to call upon the whole mankind to work for the same goal. We shall conduct an implacable fight with all and any imperialistic Russian governments and forces. We must overcome any doubts, that compromise and coexistence with Russia is possible. We shall steadfastly continue the struggle on the basis of national revolutions. Our goal is the destruction of the Russian empire, of Bolshevik rule, the uncompromising struggle with any imperialist government in Moscow, for any of them will attempt to suppress and oppress other peoples. But the supreme goal of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations shall be to rouse the combative spirit, the heroic spirit of our nations. We shall spread the slogan: "Freedom for Nations, Freedom for Individuals." For independent and sovereign national states of all peoples subjugated in the

Soviet Union and in the satellite countries. For national independence and freedom of the peoples of Yugoslavia and Czecho-Slovakia.

We shall not be bribed, nor deceived nor frightened.

A new era is dawning, the era of liberating nationalism and the fall of the Russian monster empire which has already lost all spiritual force and remains merely an expanding military and police-regimented power.

II.

The Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations held in London in October of 1968, resolves to continue to work even more intensively with the aim of mobilizing the liberation movements of the subjugated nations against Russian and Communist imperialists, for coordination of these movements into one united front, and for organizing assistance to this struggle from the free nations.

The ABN calls upon all movements, groups and individuals who accept and favour the ideas, concepts and programme of the ABN to establish close association and cooperation with ABN. The ABN has become an international organization with branches in Europe, North and South America in Asia and Australia. Freedom for nations and individuals is indivisible throughout the whole world. Today 'Red Russian and other 'Communist' imperialists have conquered more than a third of humanity and have proclaimed their goal of conquering the whole world. Russian chauvinistic and messianistic colonialism is the enemy of all nations. Therefore, the struggle of freedom-loving nations and individuals must be conducted throughout the world. People of all countries of the world, of all continents, religions, races, if they value freedom of nations and human liberties, should co-operate closely with the ABN.

The ABN unswervingly upholds the need for and inevitability of national revolutions as the way of liberating the subjugated nations. Thus ABN employs various means of political action and works for revolutionary uprisings inside the Communist Russian empire. The ABN asks the free nations to give every assistance to the liberation struggle of the enslaved nations in the USSR and other Communist-dominated countries. We ask them to exert economic pressure by not trading with the enemy, nor helping him with the scientific and technical knowledge and in the construction of new war industry. We call upon all Churches of the world to bring assistance to the persecuted Churches under the atheistic Communist and Russian occupation.

The ABN Conference extends greetings to the World Anti-Communist League. The ABN hopes that the WACL will really contribute to the liberation of all captive nations in Asia and in Europe, inside and outside the Soviet Union, and that it will treat the liberation of all subjugated nations with equal importance and should include in its leadership the representatives of the nations enslaved by Russian imperialism.

The Conference of ABN notes with particular pleasure the long-lasting and fruitful cooperation with the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League. The ABN notes with satisfaction that the APACL is willing to cooperate closely with ABN in its struggle for the destruction of Communism and Russian imperialism and for the reestablishment of sovereign national states of all peoples enslaved in the Soviet Union and other communist-dominated countries, including Yugoslavia.

The ABN Conference extends hearty greetings to the European Freedom Council, established in 1967, which conducts anti-Communist activities in Western Europe and supports the struggle for independence of the nations enslaved by Russian imperialists and Communists in the Soviet Union and other communist-dominated countries.

The Conference of ABN greets the initiative of the Philippine Youth Corps to hold a founding conference of a World Anti-Communist Youth League. The ABN has been working for the establishment of such an organisation for the last 20 years, for Russian and Communist imperialists are trying to demoralise, pervert and make the youth of the world their faithful and obedient servants, and in response, the youth of freedom-loving nations should organize itself for the struggle against the corrupting ideology of Communism and against the expansionist colonialism of Russia and other Communist powers, for the liberation of the enslaved nations, and for the destruction of the Russian empire.

The Conference of ABN acknowledges the popularity of the idea of a Captive Nations Week in many free nations. This event reminds the free world of the existence of a whole range of freedom-loving nations which are enslaved by Russian and Communist colonialists and are struggling for their national independence. We urge free nations of the world to adopt the idea of a Captive Nations Week and to declare their solidarity and support for the independence of the subjugated nations.

*

Suzanne LABIN

VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY THE COMMUNIST POWERS

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights makes it a duty of all national powers to observe the following rules: "Nobody shall be subjected to torture, to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or to arbitrary arrest, detention or deportation. Everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, with all the guarantees for his defense. Nobody shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home and correspondence. Every citizen has the right to freedom of movement within his borders and abroad and to leave his own country. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience, religion, worship, association, and may receive and impart information and ideas through any media of communication and regardless of frontiers. Everyone has the right to choose his government by free elections."

It is enough to merely quote these fundamental rights proclaimed by the UN Declaration, for everybody to see that the Communist states trample every day, every aspect of every article of this Declaration which, by its own preamble, is the basic qualification of eligibility to the United Nations. However, our leftists, insatiable for Charter violators, always request the admission to the UN of more Communist states like Red China. Thus our leftists, who make a profession out of denouncing the smallest breaches to human rights in bourgeois societies, swallow the most blatant violations of the rights of men by Communists regimes.

The UN claims another fundamental right of men: their right of collective self-determination. Article 15 states that "No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality." However, national self-determination is just as massively, as tragically, as cynically violated by the Communist states as all the other human rights; a fact evidenced by the following Golgotha of tens of nations: Bloody crushing by the Red Army of *Ukraine, Georgia* and all the other non-Russian nations inside the Russian empire. Annexation, with genocide, of the Baltic States, and other countries by Russia and of Tibet by Red China. Subjugation by violence of *Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, North Korea, North Vietnam* etc. Bloody suppression of national uprisings in Hungary and brutal invasion of Czecho-Slovakia.

In brief, the UN shelters, today member states who practise shameful imperialism, ruthless colonialism, cruel slavery, i. e. a totalitarian absolutism, which makes shambles of all fundamental rights of men. Everybody is aware that the Communist powers violate each and every principle of the UN, but the "enlightened" leaders of the free world choose to act as if the reality was the opposite of what they know it to be. Their "enlightenment" consists of asking for peaceful coexistence with those states which plunge human existence into a perpetual night. How can such an attitude make sense?

Paraphrasing Abraham Lincoln, I may say that contradiction between

principles and facts can be tolerated if it lasted for a short time only or if the contradictions were light. But tolerating contradictions between principles and facts when they are both blatant and permanent, is equivalent to the suicide of mankind.

It is a *hopeless gullibility* to take seriously, when uttered by totalitarians, this term of "peaceful coexistence", that contradicts the very principle of totalitarianism, of which the most characteristic feature is a *constitutional* inability to coexist with others. In fact, the Communists have proven to the hilt that they have *never been able to coexist with anyone*; neither with their own subjects, whom they are holding in an iron grip; nor with the peoples whom they have enslaved; nor with their neighbours whom they invade at every opportunity and are now crushing bloodily. And the Communist leaders cannot even coexist with each other, as they never stop assassinating each other. Coexistence is certainly a noble concept which is worth praising, but it is essentially democratic, as it implies tolerance for variety and respect for the rights of men and of nations. It is, therefore, contradictory to Communism which can live only if it remains exclusive and intolerant.

We must relay the "NO!" of the captive peoples

But precisely — so our liberals argue — Communist leaders are abandoning progressively their totalitarian nature. They are liberalizing. Isn't it then clever, for us, to precipitate their mutation by lending them a nice welcome.

There is, here, a gross confusion in the reasoning. It suffices to observe that, if we want to foster a certain phenomenon, we have to reinforce its *cause*. Well, what is the *cause* of the slackening of the Communist masters towards their subjects? Should it be their own good will, then it would

certainly be proper to lend them a friendly hand. But how can our liberals speak of any good will coming from the Communist masters, after the innocent daughter of *Pasternak* was punished with forced labour, because her father dared to receive the Nobel prize? After the Communist Pharaoh's own daughter, Svetlana Stalin, was obliged to flee? After Yuriy Shukhevych, the young son of the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, has spent 20 years in prisons after being arrested at the age of 15 for his refusal to denounce his father? After so many Russian and Ukrainian writers have been sent to lunatic asylums and concentration camps? How can our liberals speak of liberalization at the very moment when Soviet Russian tanks are crushing all the human rights of the Czechs and Slovaks?

The thaw behind the Iron Curtain really results from the unflinching rejection of the Communist regimes by the enslaved peoples. It is the unyielding and sometimes rebellious hostility of the peasants of Ukraine, of the students of Leningrad, of the convicts of Vorkuta, of the workers of East Berlin, of the women of Budapest which lifts, little by little, the leaden cover choking them. Hence, courting the tyrants results only in *slowing down*, instead of *accelerating*, the liberalisation of their subjects.

Let us, here, remark that those defeatists who, today, invite us to waltz with the Kremlin, under the pretext that it grows better, gave us exactly the same advice under Stalin the Terrible. For 50 years, these same defeatists wanted us *always* to waltz with the Kremlin whether the latter was coexisting with us or advancing against us. They have a *systematic obligingness* towards Communism.

The poet Heinrich Heine, on hearing somebody ask who was the chief ally of the Devil, answered: "It is the

liberal intellectual who does not believe in the Devil." In the same way, I will say that the chief allies of Soviet Russian imperialism are the *progressive intellectuals who do not believe in Soviet Russian imperialism.*

If we want to accelerate the splendid process of the liberalization behind the Iron Curtain, which carries with it the hope of our time, if we want not to betray the courageous peoples who are the true makers of the liberal process, we must rely outside, in a loud voice, the mute but unflinching "NO!" that the Soviet masters have never ceased to read on the muzzled lips of their subjects.

Let us recall, here, the great lesson which Ledru-Rollin gave us when he refused the hand Napoleon the Third was offering him, under the pretext that he was liberalizing himself. "When a totalitarian power, answered Ledru-Rollin, totters under the weight of its crimes, the democrats, if they want to accelerate its fall must *stiffen* and not *soften* their opposition."

The less the Communist dictators see Western hands offered to them, the more will they yield to their subjects' pressure. And, the more they feel their subjects' hostility, the less will they launch external aggressions. Thus, we see that the care for *freedom* inside the Communist empire conjugates itself with the care for *peace* outside, and both command to the West a policy of *absolute firmness* towards the Kremlin.

In this connection, I should like to emphasize that we, on whom many liberals try to cast discredit by calling us "systematic anti-Communists",

ought to lay claim to that label with *pride*, for we bear it in excellent company. Indeed, the most systematic anti-Communists of the world are the people of the Communist dominated countries, and we can congratulate ourselves for having always been whole-heartedly in tune with them. Yes, the free world owes its survival today, to the irreconcilable hatred of the masses of Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Caucasus, China and elsewhere. They have never ceased to show their Communist rulers, be it by silent refusal, be it by open revolt. It is they who will, one day, bring out deliverance together with their own.

If the final aim of our policy must be to break dictatorship in Moscow and Peking, for, as long as the dictatorship stands, no man, anywhere on earth, will be able to face the future with confidence — the best way of doing so, without a world war, is to have it overthrown, from within, by its rebellious subjects. But this policy bids us to help, with all our hearts and might, the resistance of those captive peoples. Because they are, altogether, the most effective, the most valuable and the most exposed allies of the free world. And their sublime sacrifice, not only bids us to denounce their tyrants, not only bids us to unite, but also shows us the spirit of such a union. This spirit is the fire that inspires them, all races alike; it is the fire that glows in the forge of all our civilisation, and the name of this fire is: **FREEDOM FOR MEN AND INDEPENDENCE FOR NATIONS!**

Book Review

THE REAL FACE OF RUSSIA, (Essays and articles, ed. by Volodymyr Bohdaniuk. London, Ukrainian Information Service, 1967, 267 pages).

This collection of some of the writings of seven Ukrainian, one Turkestanian, and one Georgian authors should become an important addition to the literature on the nature of Russia and Russian imperialism.

The essay by Dr. Dmytro Donzow ("The Spirit of Russia") analyses the basic philosophical, spiritual, and moral conceptions of the Bolshevik as well as other Russian elites. Such conceptions include anti-Christianity, Russian chauvinism, Russian barbarity, Russian messianism, and the apocalyptic vision of the destruction of the Occident. The essay contains more than 70 bibliographical notes.

In his essay "On the Problem of Bolshevism", Evhen Malaniuk, the talented and versatile Ukrainian thinker (recently deceased), concentrated his attention on the thorough influence of Russian historical traditions upon the Bolshevik ideology, spirituality, politics, attitudes towards the Church and religion. At the end an adeptly selected bibliography appears.

The analysis of Bolshevism is strengthened and deepened by the next work, the article "The Russian Historical Roots of Bolshevism" by an eminent scholar, Professor Yuriy Boyko. The arguments that Bolshevism is deeply rooted in the Russian imperial past are highly convincing. The essay is accompanied by over 30 bibliographical references.

Dr. Baymirza Hayit (Turkestanian) gave a historical panorama of the beginnings and development of Russian imperialism. He stressed Russian ideology as the basis of Russian political expansionism, the century-old modes of operation of the Russian imperial forces, and the main roads of Russian historical colonialism.

Vera Rich and Constantin Bida:

LESYA UKRAINKA: LIFE AND WORKS. Published by University of Toronto Press, 1968, p. \$ 7.50.

A new translation of the works of a poet writing in what, to most of the English-speaking world is, unfortunately, a little known language,

In his article, "Bolshevism and Internationalism", Olexander Yourchenko pointed to Bolshevism as the synthesis of Russian imperialism and Marxist internationalism, as the result of which Communism became the instrument of Russian expansionism.

This article is well supplemented by the article by U. Kuzhil entitled "The 'Scientific' Character of Dialectical Materialism", which he wrote in the underground in Ukraine during the late 1940s. In this article the unscientific or pseudo-scientific argumentation of Bolshevik ideology is revealed.

Prince Niko Nakashidze (Georgian) expounds the thesis of historical necessity and inevitability of the dissolution of the Russian empire.

The outline of the Ukrainian liberation struggle, written by Prof. Lev Shankowsky might appear to be clashing with the majority of the works. However it serves as a bridge to the final two articles prepared by Yaroslav Stetzko, former Prime Minister of Ukraine, on the topic of how to solve the dilemma of the Russian world aggression. Mr. Stetzko discusses such matters as conditions for the establishment of a united world front against Russian tyranny, the higher meaning of this struggle, divine and human values, dangers of appeasement, the meaning of the national idea, and victory as the result of spiritual supremacy. The final chapter deals with the necessity of waging a cultural war with Russia, based on the inherent differences between the Ukrainian and Russian cultures, and according to the slogan of world-wide significance: "Kyiv against Moscow!"

This book is truly recommended for every thorough student of Russia.

A. W. Bedriy

must always be an event of major interest to the student of world literature. A book from the pen of so able a translator as Vera Rich is also

an event to be enjoyed to the fullest degree. Remembering the first of Miss Rich's translations from the Ukrainian, her *Song out of Darkness*, selected translations from the works of Taras Shevchenko, the Ukrainian national poet, one turns to Lesya Ukrainka with no small degree of excitement.

Commissioned, as most of these volumes of translations usually are, this is a selection of the poetry of Lesya Ukrainka chosen by the Committee of the Canadian Ukrainian Ladies Association (who sponsored the project), and these ladies seem to have concentrated, in the main, upon the poet's verse-plays, of which we find no less than three full length ones in this volume, together with *Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, Seven Strings*, (which Review readers will remember from an earlier edition, and three shorter pieces, one of which was also in an edition of *The Ukrainian Review*.

The plays themselves are re-workings of a wellknown theme, or, in the case of *The Orgy*, of a wellknown background. The first in this volume is *The Stone Host*, Lesya's most interestingly alive version of the Don Juan stories. Her sense of theatre is at all times intense and good. She handles her characters well, and, thanks to Miss Rich's gift, those characters come through in translation as people, and, what is more important, a people whom we know and can recognise. The theme is old but never hackneyed, and despite the recurrence of the Don Juan theme throughout literature and drama and *nauseam*, Lesya (and Miss Rich), give a new touch to this, a new interest, and more amazing still, a full rapport with all of the characters. And I, no less than those audiences who saw the stage presentation in L'viv sat up in my chair with a start at the final curtain.

In *Cassandra*, Lesya takes us to Ancient Troy, for a new light on this wellknown theme, new, because beneath the remembered sequences of the story, she has inserted the more topical problems and troubles of her native Ukraina in as good a piece of "re-clothing" as one would find anywhere. Again, characters and general

treatment of the plot are excellent: done, and Troy and its people are alive before our eyes in a very readable play. *The Orgy*, with a fictitious plot set in Ancient Greece, and, with *Cassandra*, provides us with further evidence of Lesya Ukrainka's and Vera Rich's skill, in that it recreates those times very credibly whilst giving us much on which to cogitate. Anachronisms there are from time to time, but poets have uncaringly used these in all days and all lands.

Robert Bruce, a fairly long narrative poem, whilst at variance with history in several places, (notably the setting of the spider incident in Ireland), again most vividly written and guaranteed to fire with enthusiasm for freedom all those reading the story for the first time.

Seven Strings, is a poet's piece, with that subtle acrostic on the tonic sol-fa (which no-one before Miss Rich seemed to have discovered). Here is the poet's poetry, timeless, lovely. *Contra Spem Spero* is also beautiful to read and think upon. *The Epilogue*, too, which has something of the flavour of Milton's *Sonnet On His Blindness*.

The first one-third of this book is devoted to Professor Constantin Bida's *Life and Works of Lesya Ukrainka* and gives the necessary background to the poetry here presented. An invalid, living much of her life abroad, Lesya became at once the prophetess and the passionate voice of her subjected people. Nothing that one could say could in any way prepare one for the feast of biography and explanatory matter here presented so readably by the Professor. In all, prose or poetry, this is a book that should be on the shelves of any literary-minded man or woman. My only complaint is that I would have wished to see something of her own country presented in this volume, notably the lovely *Forest Song*, but perhaps the sponsors wished for a volume of poetry not so widely translated into English as these Ukrainian subjects have been. Still, I would like to see them sometime in the translation of Vera Rich.

Elizabeth Anne Harve

The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



IV

1 9 6 8

CONTENTS

Voices of Protest

Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience Appeal from Russian Concentration Camps; Protest Letter of 139 Ukrainian Patriots in Defence of V. Chornovil	
I. <i>Ivan Kandyba</i> : LETTER TO P. Yu. SHELEST	2
II. <i>Levko Lukianenko</i> : LETTER TO D. S. KOROTCHENKO	24
III. LETTER OF 139 UKRAINIANS TO BREZHNEV, KOSYGIN AND PODGORNYI	37
<hr/>	
<i>Nicholas L. Fr.-Chirovsky</i> : THE SECOND YEAR OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC PLAN 1966-70	40
<i>Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko</i> : WAS THERE A UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH?	58
<i>Theodore Mackiw</i> : JEWS, KHMELNYTSKYI AND THE TREATY OF ZBORIV, 1649	63
<i>Anatol W. Bedriy</i> : MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKYI — FIRST THEORETICIAN OF MODERN UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM (Continuation)	71
<i>Arkadiy Liubchenko</i> : BLOOD	79
<i>Dr. Baymirza Hayit</i> : METHODS AND SLOGANS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM	89
<i>Prof. Ferdinand Durčansky</i> : NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AS A PREREQUISITE FOR THE REALISATION AND SAFEGUARDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS	93

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Editorial correspondence should be sent to:

The Editors,
"The Ukrainian Review",
200 Liverpool Road,
London, N.1.

Subscriptions should be sent to:

"The Ukrainian Review" (Administration),
c/o Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W.2.

Overseas representatives:

USA: Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc.
P.O. Box 304, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003.

Canada: Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation,
140 Bathurst Street, Toronto 2B, Ont.

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

Vol. XV No. 4

Winter 1968

A Quarterly Magazine

EDITORIAL BOARD:

Professor Dr. Vasyl Oreletzkyj
Chairman of the Board

Mrs. Slava Stetzko, M.A.
Editor

Volodymyr Bohdaniuk, B.A., B.Litt.
Executive Editor

Professor Lew Shankowsky
Associate Editor

Michael Sosnowsky, B.A., B.L.S.
Associate Editor

Professor Nicholas Chirovsky
Associate Editor

Anatol Bedriy, M.A.
Associate Editor

Price: 7s 6d a single copy
Annual Subscription: £1.10.0 \$6.00
Six Months 15.0 \$3.00

Published by
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain, Ltd.
in cooperation with
Organization for Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Inc. (U.S.A)
and
Canadian League for Ukraine's Liberation.

VOICES OF PROTEST

Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience Appeal from Russian Concentration Camps. Protest Letter of 139 Ukrainians Patriots in Defence of V. Chornovil.

We are publishing three documents copies of which are circulating through Ukraine. Two of them are complaints written by the defendants who were among the group of jurists secretly tried by a closed court in Lviv in 1961 for demanding that the state-legal status of the Ukr. SSR be examined. In Ukraine it was generally known that these jurists were arrested and convicted. But the government of the USSR, the organs of the KGB and the Soviet press were silent about their whereabouts. It was not until 1967 that their fate became known in Ukraine through their letter-complaints which the prisoners wrote and which are passed from hand to hand.

The third document is a significant protest letter in defence of the Ukrainian journalist V. Chornovil who had been sentenced to three years hard labour in a concentration camp in Mordovia. It has been signed by no less than 13 Ukrainians prominent in various walks of life.

I.

Ivan KANDYBA

LETTER TO P. Yu. SHELEST

*Kandyba, Ivan Oleksiyovych, Political Prisoner
Mordovian ASSR, Postal Section Yavas, P. O. Box 385/11*

To the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine Shelest, Petro Yukhymovych

Sentence

In the name of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On the 20th day of May, 1961 the Court Board on Criminal Matters of the Lviv Region Court consisting of:

Head — Rudyk S. I.

People's Assessors — Liuborets, P. M.
Hershunenkenko, K. M.

Secretary — Liubashchenko, V. H.
Prosecuting Attorney — Nebiamenko
I. I.

and Defence Lawyers — Orhanovych, S. M.; Koval, Ya. T.; Bardiakov, B. A.; Tkachenko, H. N.; Honcharov, V. V.; Yourko, A. F.; Sapovych, T. A.

— has examined the case of the accusations in the secret court session: (p. 1 of the sentence — copy).

1) *Lukianenko*, Lev Hryhorovych, born in 1927 in the village of Khrypivka Horodnia district, Chernihiv region, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, of peasant origin, member of CPSU (expelled from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), married, with higher juridical education, in 1957 graduated in the Law Faculty of the Moscow State University named after Lomonosov, after which he worked as a staff propagandist in the Radekhiv and Hlyniany district committees of the Party; as of February 1, 196... became a lawyer in the Hlyniany juridical consultation in the Lviv region;

2) *Kandyba*, Ivan Oleksiyovych, born in 1930, in the village of Stulno, Volodava county (Pidliashia — today in Poland), Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, of peasant origin, without party affiliations, single, with higher juridical education — in 1953 graduated in the Law Faculty of the Lviv State University named after Iv. Franko, after which he worked in the organs of justice of the city of Lviv and the Lviv region — notary in the Shevchenko district of Lviv, lawyer of the Hlyniany, and on the day of arrest as lawyer of the Peremyshliany juridical consultation of the Lviv region; residing in Lviv, Dekabrystiv Street, 57/37;

3) *Virun*, Stepan, Martynovych, born in 1932, in the village of Stremilne of the Lopatyn (today Brody) district of the Lviv region, Ukrainian, of peasant

origin, citizen of the USSR, member of the CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), married, with unfinished higher education — in 1955 he finished a higher Party school in Lviv after which he did Komsomol and Party work in the Ivano-Frankivsk regional committee of the Komsomol, in the Lviv region committee of the Komsomol, and on the day of arrest was a staff propagandist of the Radekhiv district committee of the Party;

4) *Libovych*, Oleksander Semenovych, born in 1935, in the village of Hludno, Bereziv county, (Lemky area, in Poland), Ukrainian, of peasant origin, citizen of the USSR, without party affiliations, married, with higher education, in 1958 finished Lviv Agricultural Institute, worked as an engineer-land measurer in the Lviv region department of agriculture;

5) *Lutskiv*, Vasyl Stepanovych, born in 1935, in the village of Pavliv, Radekhiv district, Lviv region, of peasant origin, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, member of the CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case) single, 9th grade education, working till arrested as manager of the club in the village of Pavliv —

the above enumerated persons are accused under Articles 56, Section 1, 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

6) *Borovnytskyi*, Yosyp, Yulianovych, born in 1932, in the town of Sianik (Lemky area, in Poland) of working class origin, Ukrainian, citizen of the USSR, member of the CPSU (excluded from the ranks of the CPSU in connection with the said case), married, with higher juridical education, in

1956 he graduated in the Law Faculty of the Lviv State University named after Ivan Franko, working till the arrest as an investigator in the prosecutor's office of the Peremyshliany district of the Lviv region, and

7) *Kipysh*, Ivan Zakharovych, born in 1923, in the village of Hludno, Bereziv district, (Lemky area, in Poland), Ukrainian, of peasant origin, citizen of the USSR, without party affiliations, married, with 8th grade education, working till arrest in the organs of the militia in the city of Lviv — both accused under Articles 19, 56, Section 1, of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

*

All of us were informed of the accusation as follows: (an accurate copy of the protocol is given below):

"The defendant, Lukianenko, L. H., having hostile anti-Soviet attitudes, had since 1957 been hatching the idea of the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR, undermining the authority of the CPSU, making up lies about the theory of Marxism-Leninism.

Being aware of the defeat the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and particularly of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Western regions of Ukraine after the Great War for the Fatherland and hoping to have favourable environment for his hostile activity, Lukianenko, L. H. obtained an appointment to work in the Lviv oblast. While working in the Radekhiv region, Lukianenko, L. H. made criminal contact with the defendant Virun, S. M. holding the same anti-Soviet

views, with whom, in February, 1959 he agreed to establish a nationalist organization — *Ukrainska robotnycho selianska spilka* (URSS) (Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union).

The programme of the URSS was later formulated by Lukianenko, L. H. As is evident from the programme, the URSS had as its aims: the struggle against the Soviet state and social order, against the CPSU and the Soviet government, the separation of the Ukr. SSR from the USSR and the establishment of the so-called "Independent Ukraine"; the programme falsified the history of Ukraine, made excuses for the former nationalistic underground; the programme indicated the deep conspiracy regarding all activities of the URSS.

Defendant Lukianenko, L. H. and Virun, S. M. agreed among themselves on the text of the programme of the URSS. Lukianenko, L. H. typed the text of the programme on a typewriter and together with Virun, S. M. started organizational work to expand the URSS, drawing defendant Kandyba, I. O., Lutskiv, V. S. and Libovych, O. S. into its ranks.

Being members of the URSS and sharing its programme, defendant Lukianenko, Virun, Kandyba, Lutskiv Libovych discussed anti-Soviet theme: among themselves, canvassed among the unstable people and former members of the OUN for membership in the URSS, explained the programme of the URSS and the ways of its realization.

For the purpose of developing forms and methods of struggle against the Soviet regime, and activating hostile anti-Soviet nationalistic activity, a gathering of the leading members of the URSS took place on November 6, 1960

in Lviv in the apartment of the defendant Kandyba, which was attended by Lukianenko, L. H., Virun, S. M., Kandyba, I. O., Lutskiv, V. S.

At the gathering the programme of the URSS and the tasks and methods of struggle of the organization were discussed.

Speaking at the gathering Lukianenko, Virun, Kandyba, Lutskiv agreed that the object of the URSS was to tear away the Ukr.SSR from the USSR; at the gathering slanderous remarks were made in relation to the theory of Marxism-Leninism; at the said stage the participants of the gathering paid especially close attention to organizational question, the expansion of the organization and the creation of cells in enterprises, institutions, districts and regions of the Ukrainian SSR; defendant Lutskiv called for the strengthening of activity in the army and called to an armed struggle against the Soviet regime.

The second meeting of the members of USSR was set for January 22, 1961, but did not take place owing to the arrest of its leaders. Thus, Lukianenko, L. H., Virun, S. M., Kandyba, I. O., Lutskiv, V. S., Libovych, O. S. are traitors of the Fatherland — the USSR, have created an enemy organization the URSS, put forward as their aim the struggle against the Soviet state regime, the CPSU and its Marxist-Leninist theory, the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR and the establishment of the so-called "Independent Ukraine."

The defendants Kipysh and Borovnytskyi received the texts of the programme of the URSS, knowing in advance about its anti-Soviet contents and one which is directed against the Soviet state and the CPSU, read the programme and concealed it as a

weapon and means of committing a crime directed towards treason to the Fatherland — the USSR, the separation of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR and the establishment of so-called "Independent Ukraine."

The sentence ends thus (p. 2-3 of the sentence):

"In selecting the measures of punishment the Court Board takes into consideration the fact that the defendant Lukianenko, while organizing the URSS, was a staff propagandist of the Radekhiv District Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, his leading and organizational role in the URSS, and the complete cynicism with which he carried on his struggle against the Soviet regime and the CPSU.

In selecting the degrees of punishment for Virun, Kandyba, Lutskiv, Libovych, Kipysh and Borovnytskyi the Court Board takes into consideration the personality of the defendants, the degree of their guilt and the dangerousness of the crime committed.

Guided by Articles 324, 333, 334, 335 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukrainian SSR the Court Board of the Lviv Oblast Court SENTENCED:

Lukianenko, Lev Hryhorovych on the basis of Article 56, Section 1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to death — execution by shooting, with the confiscation of all the property belonging to him; on the basis of Article 64 of the CC Ukr.S.S.R. to 15 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, but for the total crimes committed on the basis of Article 56, Section 1, of the CC Ukr. S.S.R. to consider him sentenced to death — execution by shooting, with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

Kandyba, Ivan Oleksiovych on the basis of Article 56, Section 1, of CC Ukrainian SSR, to 15 years' imprisonment in corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him; on the basis of Article 64 of CC Ukr.S.S.R. to 12 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, but for the aggregate crimes committed on the basis of Article 56, Section 1 CC Ukr.S.S.R. to consider him sentenced to 15 (fifteen) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all properties belonging to him.

Virun, Stepan Martynovych on the basis of Article 56, Section 1, CC Ukr.S.S.R. to 11 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, with the confiscation of all the property belonging to him; on the basis of Article 64 CC Ukr.S.S.R. to ten years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies, but for the aggregate crimes committed on the basis of Article 56, Section 1, CC Ukr.S.S.R. to consider him sentenced to 11 (eleven) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all the property belonging to him.

Lutskiv, Vasyl Stepanovych according to Articles 56, Section 1 and 64 of CC Ukr. S.S.R. on each count separately to 10 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him and for the aggregate crimes committed to consider him sentenced to 10 (ten) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

Libovych, Oleksander Semenovych according to Articles 56, Section 1, and 64 of CC Ukr.S.S.R. on each count

separately to 10 years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all the property belonging to him, but for the aggregate crimes committed to consider him sentenced to 10 (ten) years' imprisonment in the corrective-labour colonies with the confiscation of all property belonging to him.

The term to begin serving the sentence should be counted for Virun S. M., Kandyba, I. O., Lutskiv, V. S. from January 20, 1961; for Libovych O. S. from January 25, 1961; for Kipysh, I. Z. from March 23, 1961; for Borovnytskyi, Yo. Yu. from March 24, 1961.

To deduct from the property of the convicted Lukianenko, L. H., and the convicted Virun S. M., Kandyba, I. O. Lutskiv, V. S., Kipysh, I. Z., Borovnytskyi, Yo. Yu. 50 (fifty) rubles for court expenses as income to the state.

As a preventative measure all those sentenced should be kept under guard as previously.

The sentence can be appealed to the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR within 7 days of the delivery of the copy of the above sentence.

Head — Rudyk
People's Assessors —
Liuborets, Hershunenکو
Certified by: The Head of the
Lviv Region Court
Signature (S. Rudyk)
(p. 7-8 of the sentence)"

*

As is evident from the aforementioned, we were presented with extremely serious charges and in connection with this very severe punishments were meted out to us. But such charges do not correspond

to the actual circumstances of our case because our activities were such that they cannot be called treason to the Fatherland or crimes at all.

I do not deny the fact that a brochure under the tentative heading "Draft of the Programme of the URSS", the author of which is Lukianenko, was available to us; read, but its contents were not as grave as had been determined in the sentence.

In the brochure, "Draft of the Programme of the URSS", the present regime was reviewed from Marxist-Leninist positions. From these very positions it sharply criticized the policies of the Party and the government during the years of famine in Ukraine, 1933-34, the mass repressions of the 30s in the eastern regions of Ukraine — the period which has been delicately called "personality cult." The appraisal of this period differed very little from the official appraisal by the leaders of the Party and the government at the 20th Congress of CPSU and later.

The shortcomings of the post-cult period were criticized: the bureaucratic methods in the management of the national economy, the centralized method of planning in industry and agriculture has been condemned, the limited rights of labour unions were pointed out, the leaders of which have become the right hand of the directors in the violation of the socialist law, the policy towards the peasants who are suffering social, political and cultural persecution, whose position is no different from that of serfs in the 17-19th centuries, has been sharply criticized.

The national policy in Ukraine during the entire period of the existence of the Soviet regime had been

especially carefully examined; the mass accusation of millions of Ukrainians of being nationalists and their physical destruction including thousands of political, scientific and cultural workers of Ukraine; the ban on hundreds of Ukrainian poets and writers, historians, and those active arts and culture.

The restriction of Ukraine in her political and economic rights has been pointed out; that she is denied sovereignty, denied the right to have relations with other states of our planet in the political and economic respect. The Ukrainian language did not become a state language; it has been removed from the organs of state government, from the educational institutions, from the institutions of higher and secondary learning, from the sphere of industrial enterprises, from the social and cultural life of our nation. Ukraine constitutes an appendage of Russia; two-thirds of her wealth is removed beyond the borders of Ukraine; the policy of super-power Russian chauvinism hangs over Ukraine in all the branches of her economy.

Therefore, on the basis of these conditions in Ukraine, a conclusion had been reached that Ukraine as part of the USSR has no chance to develop normally, in a political as well as in the economic and cultural sense, that in some cases her position is far worse than it was during the Tsarist regime and, that in reality, she is a colony of Moscow, at best with a cultural autonomy.

Under such conditions the author came to the conclusion that for the normal development of the Ukrainian nation and her statehood, Ukraine should secede from the USSR in accordance with Articles 14 and 17 of

Constitutions of the Ukr.S.S.R and USSR respectively and become an absolutely sovereign and independent state.

Pointing out that in order to achieve such an act it is inevitable to create an organization, under a temporary name of URSS, which would legally, according to the Constitution, conduct agitation and propaganda among the Ukrainian people for the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR, by placing this question before the highest organs of government for realization.

It was also pointed out that if the majority of the Ukrainian people would not support such initiative then the organization would be subject to self-dissolution.

In case of realization of such an act, the political order in the sovereign Ukraine should be Soviet, and economic order — socialist.

Ukraine, as an independent Socialist state, should remain in friendship with other Socialist states.

"Draft of the Programme of the URSS" has been attached to the case in volume 10.

Here are some excerpts from it:

"We are fighting for such an independent Ukraine which while completely guaranteeing the material and spiritual needs of her citizens on the grounds of Socialistic economy would develop in the direction toward Communism; secondly, a Ukraine in which all the citizens would really have political freedoms and would determine the direction of the economic and political development of Ukraine — this is the decisive struggle of our party."

(p. 3 of the "Programme")

"The means of our struggle, the struggle for our said ideal, is the independence of Ukraine with highly developed Socialist form of government.

"The matter of the creation of an Independent Ukraine will in the end be decided not only by the party but by the entire Ukrainian people.

"Thus the aim of this first stage of our struggle is to be found in the winning of democratic freedoms necessary for the organization of the entire Ukrainian people in the struggle for the establishment of a sovereign national state. The methods for achieving these aims are peaceful constitutional."

(p. 3, "Draft of the Programme of the URSS")

The court in its sentence has falsified "The Draft of the Programme of the URSS", calling it the programme of the URSS. From the court decision it follows that:

- 1) the organization under the name of URSS was already existing;
- 2) the organization under the name of URSS had its programme and the members of URSS were conducting practical work for its realization.

But all this is not true in fact. Such ideological precision and organizational finality were created by the investigating organs of the (KGB) of the Lviv oblast in their offices, and the court finally formulated this in the so-called deliberation room during sentencing, but prior to the arrest no such thing existed.

We were several persons who saw many various infamies — mass violation of the Socialist law and the political rights of citizens, national oppression, raging superpower Russian

chauvinism, cruel treatment of peasants, and a great many other abnormalities.

Thus no organization or programme existed; nobody swore allegiance of any kind; nobody paid membership fees; there was no appropriately established discipline; there was no leadership; everyone considered himself free in every respect.

In order to establish an organization 5 men came together on Nov. 6, 1960. Besides the 4 mentioned in the sentence there was also Mykola Vashchuk, who at that time had been studying in the higher party school, from the former Novyi Myliatyn (now Kamianka-Buzka) district of the Lviv region. It was he who denounced us to the organs of the KGB, thus providing the reason for our arrests and the present case. At this meeting, and not at the "gathering" as the court calls it we discussed the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS" and resolved to deviate from it in certain respects, and to draw up a new draft programme which would portray the basic conditions of struggle for Ukrainization and for the unlimited political rights, for democratization as such and other questions. The question of the secession of Ukraine from the USSR should not have entered into the new draft programme. It was decided to meet again when the new draft programme had been drawn up, to discuss it and to accept it, after which it (the draft) would become a programme document. Then the organization would have been established, and its members would have been bound by its conditions and required to transform them into practical life in order to achieve the appropriate aim. Only then would there have been an organization and its programme.

We gave proof of this at the preliminary hearing as well as at the court trial; besides, the evidence includes such a document as the "Notes" by Lukianenko, which he wrote after our meeting of Nov. 6, 1960 and before the arrest; these fully depict the progress of our meeting and which questions were discussed and what resolutions accepted.

Nevertheless, neither the investigating organs nor the court took any of this into consideration and ignored it completely both in the charges and in the sentence. This is because such evidence was not to their liking for otherwise there would be no grounds for criminal prosecution and even if one or two were prosecuted there could not even have been any talk about such a qualification as treason to the Fatherland. At most they could have qualified such acts as "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Therefore, the investigating organs and the court, in order to try us, found it useful to base their accusations on the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS." But, as stated above, even under these conditions, there can be no talk of our actions qualifying as betrayal of the Fatherland, even with this complete falsification of the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS."

Thus, in its sentence the court calls the criticism of the Party and Soviet organs and their leadership, presented in the "Draft": the struggle against the Soviet government and social order, and the struggle against the CPSU and its Marxist-Leninist theory. Furthermore, the question of the secession of Ukraine from the USSR according to Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukr. S.S.R. and USSR respectively has been changed

by the word "tear away" to give it for all practical purposes of realization of this question a violent character in which it (the court) sees the so-called treason to the Fatherland which is stipulated in Article 56, Section 1, of CC Ukr.S.S.R; in particular we were given to understand not only in conversations but also by the prosecutor in his accusatory speech that our betrayal of the Fatherland is to be found in the fact that we supposedly "conspired with the aim to usurp power", that is, the last point of the disposition of Article 56, Section 1 of CC; but nowhere do they write specifically what this treason consists of. This is not to be found in the sentence either, and our constant complaints to various court prosecutors and party institutions that we should be shown where this betrayal of the Fatherland lies meet with completely evasive answers from all concerned. They write back in general phrases, as for example: "the qualification by the court of your criminal acts is correct; therefore, there is no basis for changing the verdict"; and thus we constantly receive such replies. Even the court-prosecutor's high, higher and highest official-bureaucrats arrive at such quick answer, as for example: "the qualification of the crime is correct: the measure of punishment has been selected by considering all mitigating (!?) circumstances" — it seems that they have even done us a favour, for which humanitarianism we should be very grateful.

In the "Scholarly Commentary on the Application of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR" published by an all-union institute which studies the causes and steps taken preceding the crime, edited by Prof. V. S. Nikiforov,

LLD, published in 1964, in the chapter "Particularly Dangerous Crimes Against the State" it is stated in paragraph 9 that: "conspiracy with the intention to usurp power is considered as a conspiracy of two or more persons to overthrow the Soviet regime and to establish a different government and social order in the USSR." Thus, the achievement of some aim, in this case the secession of Ukraine from the USSR, by the way of a conspiracy should follow a violent path.

But where is there "a conspiracy with the aim of usurping power, etc." in our actions, when the "Draft of the Programme of the URSS" intended to present the question on the secession of Ukr.SSR from the USSR in a peaceful way, by the way of a popular referendum in perfect agreement with Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitution of the Ukr.SSR and USSR respectively? Where is the betrayal of the Fatherland to be found?

From paragraph 2 of the chapter "Particularly Dangerous Crimes Against the State" of the said commentary it seems that "betrayal of the Fatherland" is to be found in actions or inactions, purposely done by the citizens of the USSR to bring harm to state independence, territorial integrity or military power of the Soviet state and ends in the performance of one or several definite actions enumerated in Article 64 CC RSFSR (Article 56, Section 1 CC Ukr.SSR) which stipulates the betrayal of the Fatherland as follows:

- 1) to go over to the side of the enemy (we are not charged with that);
- 2) to conduct activities of espionage (we are not charged with that either);

- 3 to pass state or military secrets to foreign countries (we are not charged with that either);
- 4) to flee abroad or to refuse to return from abroad (also not charged);
- 5 to give aid to a foreign power in conducting hostile activities against the USSR (we are not charged with that);
- 6) to conspire with the aim of usurping power (that we have not committed any such crime has been explained above).

Time and again the question arises: where in our actions was there the so-called "betrayal of the Fatherland?"

For in order to betray it (Fatherland — Ed.), it is necessary to have it, whereas we do not have it, since for centuries, while it has been groaning under servile yoke, we have been deprived of a fatherland; however, it is clear to us why we are presented as traitors to the Fatherland. It is only because we have brought up the question of its liberation from the yoke. But this is another side of the story.

In order to make it clearer why we have been made traitors of the Fatherland, it is necessary to state briefly who these people are and with what methods they conducted the preliminary hearing as well as court investigation. Thus, the assistant prosecutor for the Lviv oblast who is supervising the investigating organs of the Lviv KGB Starikov is a Russian chauvinist; our investigator from the Lviv branch of the KGB Sergadeyev is also 100% Russified chauvinist; the senior investigator of the Lviv KGB Denisov, investigator

Volodin, as well as Russified Ukrainians, investigators Klymenko, Chornyi and others are in no way inferior to the two aforementioned. They have lived in Ukraine for a number of decades but have not learned Ukrainian, not because it was hard for them to do so, but because they are completely ignoring it. Therefore, the investigation was conducted in the Russian language which violated Article 90 of the Ukr.SSR Constitution and Article 19 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr.SSR, because they did not want to "spoil the Russian language with a canine dialect."

Prosecutor Starikov even went so far as to openly brag before Borovnytskyi that he did not know the Ukrainian language, that the Ukrainian language was not worthy to be a state language, that the Ukrainian nation was not capable of having its own state and therefore B. Khmelnytskyi surrendered Ukraine to the Russian state, and therefore in 1922 Ukraine became part of the USSR. There is absolutely no difference between them and the head of the Lviv KGB Shevchenko.*

All of them called us bandits, head-choppers, renegades, and pinned a number of other labels upon us such as rabid nationalists, etc.

And when it came to the question of Ukraine's secession from the USSR according to Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukr.SSR and USSR, then all the above-mentioned men declared to us that we were educated people and should not pretend to be naïve simpletons, for

* A famous Ukrainian name adopted by a Russian — Ed.

the said articles of the Constitution were not included there for practical use; they existed more for the world, that the Ukrainian people supposedly once and for all had decided the fate of Ukraine as early as 1922 in being united with the USSR and it had not authorized us to speak, because secession was not to the advantage of the Ukrainian people and was not necessary etc., you renegades.

Prosecutor Starikov, supervisor of the investigation department Sergadeyev and senior investigator Denisov declared to Lukianenko and Virun that even if it came about that the majority of the Ukrainian people expressed its desire to secede from the USSR, the Soviet government would not hesitate to use military force to keep Ukraine as part of the USSR.

Furthermore, for the duration of the entire preliminary investigation Article 22 of the CPC Ukr. SSR, which forbids the obtaining of evidence from the defendant by the investigating organs through violence, threats and other unlawful means, was violated.

Thus, Shevchenko declared to Lukianenko that he could resist, that the law gave them two months to conduct an inquiry but if it should be necessary they would hold him 5, 6, 8 months, but would make sure that he and others would sign what was necessary for them. The same was stated to us by investigators Denisov, Klymenko and others.

With each of us there was an agent confined to the same cell. Thus with Lukianenko a secret agent from the Lviv KGB was put in the same cell, with Kandyba — agents Stepan Khomiak and Mykola Sokyrko, with Kipysh — Oleksander Tarasovych. He

had already been with Virun under the name Vakhula. All of them posed as Ukrainian nationalists, supposedly arrested for this or that invented crime. All the time they tried to provoke us into talking on various anti-Soviet topics, told us about various horrors which could be carried out by the organs of the KGB toward the arrested, that the only way to avoid various tortures was to confess our crimes and to repent, and other provocative measures.

By the way of threats and promises the supervisor of the investigating department, Sergadeyev, and the senior investigator Denisov obtained evidence from Lutskiv which has been advantageous to them and harmful to our case, for which they promised to release him before the trial.

Thus, during the entire investigation Lutskiv declared that Lukianenko was supposedly influencing him to prepare for an armed struggle against the Soviet government because in a peaceful way it was impossible to achieve Ukraine's secession from the USSR, that at the meeting on Nov. 6, 1960 Lukianenko, Kandyba and Virun supposedly spoke of the necessity of preparing as soon as possible for an armed struggle, to send their own people to the army, to recruit officers etc.

But Lutskiv had been deceived and sentenced together with the others as a traitor of the Fatherland. Afterwards he was told that such a thing had been necessary and that he would be released after two years if he continued to cooperate with them at camp. However, 5 years have elapsed but Lutskiv, as well as the others, is still at camp. At the beginning of 1964 he began to write com-

plaints to various court-prosecuting and party organs with demands to release him from camp to freedom, in which he discloses all those men who recruited him and says that he gave false evidence in relation to all of us. The proper authorities did not like this and therefore they decided to confine Lutskiv to a mental asylum where he is spending his second year in the central hospital of the Mordovian camps — P. O. Box 385-3. The above is clearly proved by two copies of his statements, which are enclosed. Therefore a question arises, can such people — fierce superpower Russian chauvinists and their underlings, Russified Ukrainians, proceed objectively with the investigation of the case of the people who fell into their hands only because they chose the path of defence of their native tongue, the defence of their rights, their nation and its statehood from similar characters? Of course not. They approached the investigation of the case clearly onesidedly, from the angle of violence, falsification, hatred and revenge towards us, making us appear as fierce enemies of the people in the shape of the so-called traitors of the Fatherland.

No better attitude had been assumed towards us during the court investigation of the case. Thus, instead of conducting a hearing in the regional court building, or in a club or some other place which could be freely accessible to the public, the case was heard on the premises of the isolator of the KGB where we were held during the preliminary investigation. This was done with the aim of conducting the court investigation (hearing of the case) in complete isolation from the public and the nation as a whole, disregarding the fact that

according to Article 91 of the Constitution of the Ukr.SSR and Article 111 of the Constitution of the USSR "Hearing in all the USSR courts are public, if exceptions have not been stipulated by law." But what is Constitutional (basic) law for such people when the criminal law is higher than the supreme law, where they are apt to find "loopholes?" Thus, according to Article 20 CPC Ukr. SSR (public trials) it is said that "Hearings of all cases in all the courts are open, with the exception of cases where it is contrary to the interest of state secrecy." Therefore, the court reached the conclusion that our case constitutes something that "is against the interests of safeguarding state secrets", and resolved to isolate it even more completely from the outside world by deciding to try the case in the isolator as well as behind closed doors. And thus, for five days (May 16-20) the court hearing was conducted in the presence of three judges only (in fact only one, Rudyk, head of the Regional Court, because the so-called people's assessors are only a formality for propaganda), secretary, prosecuting attorney, seven of us defendants and a whole troop of guards (soldiers) with carbines and fixed bayonets. Under such conditions where nobody supported us even morally, not only in this cage behind bars, but also outside, for almost no one apart from our relatives knew that we had fallen into such hands and that we were being tried, not a trial but a mock trial, our protests had absolutely no significance. Under such conditions they did with us what they pleased and we were powerless to counteract it.

Every day of our trial our closest relatives gathered near this horrible

building, somewhere behind the tenth set of doors because they were not permitted to come any closer.

During the reading of the sentence not only strangers but even our relatives were refused admittance to this room with barred windows, even though in the aforementioned Article 20 of the CPC Ukr. SSR "court sentences in all cases are pronounced publicly", and in the practical commentary "On the principles of civil court procedures in the USSR and the Union Republics" published in 1960, on p. 12 it is said: "The principles state that the verdict is pronounced publicly in all cases... The public always has the right to know the verdict of the case in question and should have an opportunity to form an opinion on the correctness of the decision reached regardless of the type of trial — public or closed — in which the investigation had been conducted." Thus, there is a clear violation of the publicity of the trial, since according to paragraph 9 Article 370 CPC Ukr. SSR such verdicts are unlawful and are subject to repeal. But will they be repealed? In spite of our numerous complaints and the complaints of our relatives a clearly unlawful sentence is now hanging over all of us for the sixth year, and in spite of the fact that we are living in the most democratic of all the democratic states of our planet in which legality is the most stable and the most just of all the existing legalities, all conditions which insure "a free and good life in Russia" have been created for an unlawful sentence.

It is clear from the above what kind of attitude reigned during the preliminary hearing as well as the court inquiry. Therefore there can be no

talk of any objectivity during the hearing of the case. All the people who had any relation to our case are fierce super-power Russian chauvinists, etc.

Disagreeing with the result — the verdict against us, each of us filed appeals with the Supreme Court for the retrial of the case in the appellatory fashion, but we were told by the chief of the investigating section of the KGB, Sergadeyev, and senior investigator Denisov that our appeals would not help us at all since the sentences had been fully verified with the party organs and therefore nobody was going to change them. But we submitted appeals all the same.

In the Supreme Court our case was scheduled to be heard on June 27, 1961. We found out later from reliable sources that in the process of the preparation of the case the judges were of the opinion that the verdict against us was definitely unlawful for reasons of erroneous qualification of our acts and therefore it should be changed. Our actions should be reclassified from Article 56, Section 1, CC Ukr. SSR to Article 62, Section 1, CC Ukr. SSR. In other words the charges of treason to the Fatherland should be dropped and our acts classified as anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. This should have only applied to Lukianenko, Kandyba and Virun and the others were to have been set free entirely.

But this did not occur. At that time the organs of the Lviv KGB exposed another underground Ukrainian organization under the name of "Ukrainian National Committee" (UNK) — numbering 20 persons. As a result the Lviv KGB organs were even more interested in leaving the verdict against us as it stood since it

had been their "work", their "merit", their authority and therefore they jealously watched the process of the preparation of the case for a hearing. When they heard that the judges were inclined to change the verdict, the chief of the Lviv KGB, Col. Shevchenko appeared before the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine with a protest, since, as he stated, the anti-Soviet organizations were growing and the weakening of the punishment policy would negatively reflect upon the conduct of inquiry in their new case and would further activate anti-Soviet activity of other underground organizations.

As is evident, such intervention brought about a sharp turn in relation to our case. The time of the re-trial had been postponed from June 27th to July 26th, 1961, that is, a month later. On July 26th the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR partly changed the verdict of the Lviv court.

As regards Lukianenko the death sentence — execution — had been changed to 15 years' imprisonment; as regards Kipysh and Borovnytskyi, the qualification, i. e. betrayal of the Fatherland (Article 56, Section 1 CC Ukr.SSR) had been changed to anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda (Article 62, Section 1, CC Ukr.SSR) and Article 187, Article 1, CC Ukr.SSR for failing to inform the government organs that they knew about organization, and lowered the penalty of each from 10 years to 7 years; as regards the others the verdict remained unchanged.

An excerpt from the Decision of the Supreme Court:

"Case No. 36k61. Secret. (It seems to be secret all around, but who is there to hide from? Since the policy

of the Party and the government is supported by the entire Soviet people in all respects? — I. K.) The verdict has been reached under the chairmanship of Comrade Rudyk.* Reporter, Zahorodniuk.**

DECISION

In the name of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

On the 26th day of July, 1961 the Court board on criminal cases of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR composed of:

Chairman — Comrade Zahorodniuk, V. M. Members of the court — Comrades Lednikova, O. V. and Yevdokimova, V. S. With the participation of the Assistant Attorney General of the Ukr. SSR, Comrade Pohorilyi, V. P.

and defence attorneys, Comrades Koval, Ya. T. and Bardiakov, V. A. had considered in close court hearing the case... The Court board HAS

FOUND:

...Kandyba like other members of the established nationalist organization URSS, not only discussed anti-Soviet topics. They, and among them Kandyba as one of the most active members of the URSS, recruited individuals from among the unstable people and former members of the OUN for membership in the URSS. Kandyba, in particular, brought the convicted Borovnytskyi and Kozyk into this hostile organization giving

* Rudyk — Head of the Lviv Region Court

** Zahorodniuk — Chairman of the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR (Kyiv)

them the programme to familiarize themselves with it.

At the court hearing Kandyba admitted that he was holding nationalistic attitudes and became the member of the URSS because he was of the same opinion as Lukianenko and agreed with the programme. Kandyba also admitted that he told Borovnytskyi that in his opinion it was necessary to separate Ukr. SSR from the USSR and to establish an "Independent Ukraine."

This hostile idea had been supported by Kandyba during the discussion of the programme of the URSS at the gathering which took place at his apartment.

Such actions of Kandyba, as well as the actions of the convicted Lukianenko, Virun, Lutskiv and Libovych had been correctly qualified by the Lviv Region Court as falling under Articles 56, Section 1, and 64 of the CC Ukr. SSR.

In selecting the penalty for the convicted Kandyba, Virun, Lutskiv, and Libovych the court worked on the premise of the dangerousness of the acts committed by them and the person of the accused.

The Court board feels that the convicted Kandyba, Virun, Lutskiv, and Libovych set out consciously on the road of high treason and had conducted dangerous and hostile activities. Basing its opinion on such conditions the Court board does not see any reasons to mitigate the penalty of the convicted." (p. 6 of the decision).

And further

"DECIDED

...The appeals of the convicted Kandyba, I. O., Virun, S. M., Lutskiv,

V. S., Libovych, O. S. and his attorney should be dismissed, and the sentence of the Lviv Region Court of May 20 1961 regarding them as well as regarding Lukianenko, Kipysh and Borovnytskyi should be left unchanged.

Head of the court: signature
members of the court: signatures.

Concurring: member of the Supreme Court of the Ukrainian SSR
signature: (Zahorodniuk)

12 copies; Aug. 1, 1961 V. K."

As it seems from the above, even in the Supreme Court itself these Lednikovs and Yevdokimovs, Zahorodniuks and Pohorilovs did not differ a bit in their approach to our case from such people as Starikov, Sergadeyev, Denisov, Rudyk, Nebiamenko and others. They not only have confirmed the falsification of our activities by the Lviv court organs but themselves used falsification in their decision. How could Kandyba bring Borovnytskyi into the organization when in their decision they acknowledged that Borovnytskyi did not belong to the organization? As far as Kozyk is concerned he was in no way connected with our case and had not even been a witness, without speaking about membership in the organization. He harboured nationalists feelings but only against the super-power Russian chauvinists — those officials who hold complete power in their hands and who conduct themselves in Ukraine as full masters, as invaders, and are doing everything advantageous to themselves and harmful to the Ukrainian nation and statehood.

Also, it is not true to fact that we selected former members of the OUN for membership in the organization.

This never happened and is pure fiction. But it does not mean that they are bad men; on the contrary — they are true Ukrainian patriots. We have found this out while being together with them in the same concentration camp. But where in our activity is the betrayal of the Fatherland to be found? Is it possible to be found in the thought on the necessity of Ukraine's secession from the USSR? But then, for whom and for what are Articles 14 and 17 of the Constitutions supposed to be? The Supreme Court has not only confirmed the verdict of the regional court but it also has given it the so-called lawful, but in reality unlawful power!

There were many cases similar to ours. Thus, for instance, the Stanislaviv (Ivano-Frankivsk) case. In December, 1958 many *young students and workers*, who organized an association under the name of "*United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine*" (OPVU) whose purpose was the national liberation and the establishment of an independent, sovereign Ukraine, were arrested. In particular, such members of this organization have been arrested and convicted by the Stanislaviv (today Ivano-Frankivsk) Region Court behind closed doors on March 4-10 1959:

1) *Harmatiuk*, Bohdan, born in 1939, with specialized secondary education — construction technician; 2) *Tkachyk*, Yarema Stepanovych, born in 1933, with secondary education — turner; 3) *Tymkiw*, Bohdan Ivanovych, born in 1935, student of the second course of the Lviv forestry institute; 4) *Ploshchak*, Myron, born in 1932, worker; 5) *Strutynskyi*, Ivan Vas., born in 1937, with secondary education, conductor of the factory amateur

choir — with respect to these persons the prosecutor demanded the death sentence, but the court sentenced each one to 10 years' imprisonment; 6) *Yurchyk*, Mykola, born in 1933, worker, and 7) *Konevych*, Ivan, 1930, worker — both sentenced to 7 years' imprisonment — all had been charged under Articles 54^{1a}, 54¹¹ of the CC Ukr. SSR (old) — as traitors of the Fatherland, which corresponds to Article 56, Section 1, CC Ukr. SSR of the new code; also 8) *Ploshchak*, Vasyl, convicted in this case for 2 years of imprisonment for failure to denounce his own brother Myron to the organs of the KGB for his participation in the said organization. Today, three of the latter have already been released after completion of the terms of the penalty, and the five former are still here in the Mordovian concentration camps.

On December 16-23, 1961 an analogous mock trial was held in Lviv for 20 persons for establishing an organization "*Ukrainian National Committee*" (UNK), the aim of which was also to demand the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR. They were basically *workers* from Lviv factories as follows:

1) *Koval*, Ivan Teodorovych; 2) *Hrytsyna*, Bohdan — both received the death sentence and *they were shot by a firing squad*; both were very young boys, workers; 3) *Hnot*, Volodymyr, locksmith at the polytechnic institute and 4) *Hurnyi*, Roman born in 1939, worked at a factory with a P. O. Box 47 — both condemned to death but the sentence was changed to 15 years' imprisonment each; 5) Brothers *Zelymash*, Hryh. and Oleksii — *kolkhoz workers*, convicted to 15 and 12 years respectively; 6) *Melekh*

— philologist, graduated from the Lviv State University — sentenced to 15 years; 8) *Kindrat, Vasyl* — *young boy sentenced to 13 years, after which he became insane*; 9) *Kurylo* — sentenced to 12 years; 10) *Mashtaler, Mykola* — to 10 years; 11) *Soroka, Stepan* — to 15 years; 12) *Pokora* — to 12 years; 13) *Yovchyk* — 15 years; 14) *Kaspryshyn* — to 5 years (already released); 15) *Mynko* — 10 years; 16) *Tehyvets* — to 12 years; 17) *Melnychuk, Mykola* — to 10 years; 18) *Khomiakevych* — to 12 years, and two more — altogether 20 (twenty) men.

During the preliminary hearing and the trial the same attitude was shown towards them as towards us because the same people were involved with their case as with ours and the sentence of the Lviv court regarding them (with the exception of Hnot and Hurnyi) was fully confirmed and legalized; or more precisely — an unlawful charge had been legalized. Something similar also happened to the group involved in the Stanislaviv case.

There are many similar but smaller cases, and individual cases are to be found by the hundreds in various regions of Ukraine.

At the 21st Congress of the CPSU, in the speech entitled: "On the Control Figures in the Development of National Economy, 1959-65" Khrushchov said:

"At present in the Soviet Union there are no cases of prosecution for political crimes. This, of course, it a great accomplishment. It speaks about the unprecedented unity of political convictions of our entire people, about its rallying around the Communist Party and the Soviet government" (*Pravda*, Jan. 28, 1959).

Yes, this is true, since even in our code of 1961 one cannot find the words "political criminals", but in place of the former criminal code which was in effect till December 1958, instead of the chapter "Counter-Revolutionary Crimes" in the new code a chapter entitled "Especially Dangerous State Crimes" appeared. But even though the name has been changed their substance remains the same. And although the records of these prisoners who are constantly being sent to camp in groups from all the republics of the USSR, including Moscow and Leningrad, but most of all from Ukraine, show that they are particularly dangerous state criminals, each of them considers himself *only a political prisoner*. I feel that the change of a name did not improve the unity of political convictions; nor did the rallying around the Communist Party and the Soviet government grow stronger because of it.

The Tsarist government also convicted such a great personality as M. Chernyshevsky, as a state criminal but in the eyes of the progressive public he did not cease to be a politician and a political prisoner because of it. But is it possible to compare such a great politician as Chernyshevsky with us simple mortals? In the eyes of the Tsarist regime he was no more than a state criminal and was sentenced to no more than 7 years of hard labour, but in the eyes of the Soviet regime we are not only state criminals, but also dangerous state criminals, and not only dangerous, but also especially dangerous state criminals, and we are punished not by 7 years of hard labour, but by ten to fifteen years of hard labour (till 1959-25 years) and very often by death — execution; thus

we are two storeys higher than Chernyshevsky and our punishments are two to three times higher than his. And such "luck" comes to us only thanks to the Soviet humanitarianism, as a "humanitarianism of a higher degree."

But somehow this question lacks logic. Thus, individuals who were convicted as political criminals in the 40s and the 50s began to be called especially dangerous criminals in 1959 — suddenly they stopped being political criminals, and there are plenty of them. Besides, according to the new law it is stipulated that the highest penalty should be 10 years, and 15 years or death as an exception. In the Soviet law there is such a rule that a law has retroactive power when it mitigates the sentence. But in practice it is not so. The new law became effective on December, 1958 but till this day the 25-year sentence still hangs over many people.

Thus, for example, a well-known Ukrainian lawyer, *Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi*, born in 1899, a citizen of the Czecho-Slovak republic, was *condemned without a trial* by the so-called OSO (osoboye soveshchanie — three-men tribunal) to 25 years only because in 1935 he defended Stepan Bandera at a Warsaw trial, who was accused of assassinating the internal affairs minister of Poland, and has been imprisoned with a sentence of 25 years to this day, *now for more than 20 years*.

2) *Zarytska* (Soroka) *Kateryna Myronivna*, born in 1914, sentenced in 1947 to 25 years' imprisonment for organizing Red Cross for the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army — Ed.) and has for more than 18 years been imprisoned in the Vladimir prison, and her husband, *Soroka*, *Mykhailo*,

born in 1919, has been confined to the Soviet prison and camps since 1940 almost continuously to this day. Only in 1948 was he released after spending eight years in prison but after 8 months was again banished. In 1952 he was again arrested and condemned to death in 1953, but later his sentence was changed to 25 years' imprisonment only because he protested against the arbitrariness in the concentration camps as has been partly described by Solzhenitsyn, Halytskyi, Gorbатов, Diakov, Aldan-Semionov and others. In 1957 he was rehabilitated for the first so-called crime, which consisted of his alleged attempt to organize an anti-Soviet uprising in 1940, but these eight years are not deductible from the present prison term — which means he served them for nothing. Their son, *Bohdan*, born in 1940 in the Lviv prison where his mother was jailed at the time has been brought up and educated without his parents.

In the same cell with *Zarytska*, *Kateryna*, are such women as *Didyk*, *Halyna*, born in 1912, arrested in 1950 and sentenced to 25 years for her participation in the organization of Red Cross for the UPA; also *Husiak*, *Daria*, born in 1924, also arrested in 1950 and sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment for participation in OUN (messenger at the headquarters) and many other men and women of various nationalities are imprisoned hopelessly for 15-20 years and longer only because the Soviet government is so humane and this humaneness consists in the fact that the Soviet law has retroactive power in the event that the sentence is mitigated. But actions show otherwise. This is particularly clear in the case of the above women who have been hope-

lessly languishing in the prison cells for more than 16-18 years.

Besides the aforementioned, Khrushchov declared several times later, I believe in 1962 or 1963, that in 1965 he would have himself photographed with the last criminal. It is true, that now it is said that Khrushchov was a windbag, but he was also a faithful Leninist. Not only have the prisoners not vanished, but their numbers are increasing more and more.

The Tsarist regime had sent its political prisoners to serve their sentences in the distant eastern regions of the empire — Siberia, the Far East, the North; the Soviet regime is acting the same way. But during the Tsarist regime the national minorities were nationally oppressed and did not have their national independence, but now, under the Soviet regime, every nation, including Ukraine, has its state independence. Why then, under such conditions, are we even deprived of the right to serve our sentence on our native soil and to be "re-educated" by Ukrainians, and not by foreigners a thousand miles from our native land and our dear ones. We are permitted to see our relatives only once a year. Permission is granted individually up to three days, but it really only amounts to three nights, or sometimes two or even one, since during the day we have to work and only evenings and nights remain for such meetings. How many nights are given depends on the camp commandant and one is considered fortunate when he is given three nights, for very often only two or one nights are given. Thus, in 1965 I was allowed only one night on December 6-7 to see my father but was not permitted to receive even a one gramme parcel of food or anything else. It happens very often that

these poor parents have to travel and to suffer for thousands of miles in order to see their dear children and to help them materially, but they have to take the food back with them. And thus, they — miserable, full of grief tired — return home thousands of miles.

Under the new regime, since 1952 no one is entitled to receive either food parcels or other packages, and only after half the sentence is served might 3 parcels per year of 5 kg each be allowed, as an exception to those prisoners only who have repented for their so-called crimes and have entered the "road to adjustment."

And thus, we are deprived of every material assistance from our relatives. *This was not the case even during the Tsarist regime because then the prisoners had the right to receive unlimited material assistance; on the other hand the generous Soviet government deprives us of it.*

Food parcels up to 10 kgs. are given out only to such prisoners who receive them from relatives, friends or even strangers from abroad. They have to be addressed, not to the prisoner's place of confinement, but to the following adress: Moscow, P. O. Box 5110/1 Zh Kh (then the name of the prisoner) and Moscow forwards it there. Such packages are never returned, but delivered for fear of being discredited before the world. They are received by the Germans, Lithuanians and others; none of us receives any. It is also worthy to note that it is possible to receive even several parcels from abroad in a month. As we see, a thoroughly political approach.

The greater majority of the prisoners receive semi-starvation rations.

We are given food which is supposed to consist of 2300-2400 calories, but it would be something if there were 1500 calories, for the products are of the lowest quality, especially in the spring and summer before the new crop. Herrings are rotten and smelly; dried potatoes, macaroni, cereals and meat are swarming with worms. Here is the daily ration: bread — 700 grammes (black and always sour), groats — 110 grammes, wheat flour, class 2 — 20 g., macaroni — 10 g., meat — 50 g., fish — 85 g., oil — 15 g., fat — 0.4 g., potatoes — 400 g., fruit — 250 g. All this equals to 2300-2400 calories.

Prison rations: 1937 calories, and the so-called severe — 1324 calories, as follows: bread — 450 g., wheat flour — 10 g., groats — 50 g., fish — 60 g., oil — 6 g., potatoes 250 g. and fruit — 200 g. These rations are given to those who refuse to work.

We are forced to perform our norm 100% and the jobs that we perform require 3500-4000 calories (*Health*, No. 9, 1966, p. 26-27). Try to live that way.

Under such conditions many suffer from T. B., heart disease and other illnesses. Medical assistance is very poor; there is a shortage or complete lack of indispensable drugs and their receipt from relatives by parcel post is prohibited. They are returned as had been the case with me on Sept. 27th or such medicines are destroyed on the spot. On the other hand signs are hanging everywhere, for example:

- 1) Production workers, strive for the increase of productivity!
- 2) Production workers, work diligently every minute of every hour!
- 3) Production workers, appreciate every minute of free time!

- 4) Production workers, avoid leaving work early!
- 5) Production workers, it is your task to produce only high quality goods!
- 6) Production workers, do not waste working hours. Work diligently all 480 minutes of every working shift.

and tens of similar ones. A working day amounts to 8 hours daily. There are no shorter work days before the day of rest or a holiday.

We are forbidden to wear our own clothes; all wear cotton fabric uniform.

We have no right to subscribe to such periodicals as *UNESCO Courier*, *America*, *England* and others. We are forbidden to subscribe to newspapers and magazines from people's democratic states. This way, we are almost completely isolated from the world; deprived of almost all rights, but instead we have a right to slave labour and to semi-starvation existence in complete captivity, in complete isolation from the outside world.

Ukraine is our Fatherland, and if we have betrayed her then why are we kept outside Ukraine and are not educated and re-educated by the Ukrainian people? Is it perhaps because the Soviet Ukraine is not Ukraine; and the rights which have been given to the citizens of Soviet Ukraine according to her Constitution are not real rights and there is no possibility of their practical application, and if someone dares to use such a right, as for example the right of Ukrainian SSR's secession from the USSR, then such an intention will be his undoing, for labels such as traitor

of the Fatherland are pinned on him for long-long years.

Or perhaps we are not traitors of the Fatherland at all?

It is well-known that in such Ukrainian cities as Kyiv, Lviv, Lutsk, Ivano-Frankivsk arrests took place in September of last year of many members of the intelligentsia for alleged anti-Soviet activities, and in March and April of this year trials were held as the result of which they were convicted under Article 62, Section 1, CC Ukr. SSR for terms of one to six years, their crimes classified as anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation. These persons are together with us.

In May of this year, KGB representatives from western oblasts of Ukraine came here and wanted to talk with imprisoned Ukrainians. At one such talk, the representative of the Ivano-Frankivsk KGB, Kozakov, declared to prisoner Ploshchak, Myron, who had been sentenced with the Stanislaviv group (8 men) in 1959 to 10 years as a traitor of the Fatherland that if they were tried now they would not have been sentenced as traitors to the Fatherland, but they would have been charged with anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and sentenced to not more than 3 to 5 years. I was told the same thing by the representative of the Ukr. SSR KGB, Capt. Harashchenko on May 16, that is, that now we would not be tried as traitors of the Fatherland but for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda and sentenced to the term of 5 years at most. Upon my question why our case and similar other cases are not reconsidered he answered that no one would undertake such a mission since we were convicted during the leadership of Khrushchov. But if Khrushchov could correct some infamies done by

Stalin, including the case of political prisoners, why cannot the present leadership correct these or other infamies which occurred when Khrushchov was at the helm? Similar things have been told by the KGB representatives to other prisoners as well. But we do not feel any better because of it.

In 1964, the representative of the Lviv KGB, Marusenko, came here and bragged that many of his god-children are to be found here, that is prisoners whom he rounded up and arrested, such as Bohdan Skira and others. He came here in the first days of April of this year. He called me out with other prisoners. In our talk he declared to me that on the basis of our many complaints the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine demanded that the representative of the Lviv KGB submit our case to the Central Committee so that it could decide if we were convicted justly or unjustly.

Marusenko went himself to present our case to the Central Committee. He told me that from the official evidence included in the case there were really no grounds on which to try us as traitors of the Fatherland. This opinion was shared by him as well as by other representatives of the KGB, prosecutor's office, court and representatives of the Central Committee of Ukraine. But at the same time he also declared to me that when he presented all unofficial evidence to the Central Committee such as recordings (containing our discussions at the meeting of Nov. 6, 1960 — as had been ascertained, Vashchuk was an agent of the KGB present at the meeting of Nov. 6 and before that date and had a recording device in his briefcase), in our apartments and prison cells and

other unofficial agency data, but which cannot be officially added to the case because such is not permitted by law, he convinced the workers of the Central Committee of the Ukraine that we had been justly charged as traitors of the Fatherland. This is how our fate and the fate of others like us was decided.

It is possible that this man hunter of the 20th century entered my apartment on December 30, 1960, but this secret agent burnt his fingers, for upon entering my apartment he saw my niece there who had come to visit me, but whom he did not expect and herefore he was forced to flee from the fourth floor and ran as far as the alley where he hid himself. Such methods are employed by similar fellows with regard to all persons whom they suspect and for them there are many suspects filling the black lists. This is the way case after case has been fabricated.

Here only some questions and points from them have been briefly describ-

ed. In order to present our whole case to this day, it would be necessary to fill thousands of pages.

Since the investigating organs of the KGB, and the workers at the prosecutor's office and the courts are telling us that in relation to our case all the questions have been coordinated with the Party organs, from now on as regards our case we will turn only to the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine with the demands to re-examine our case and to return us to our Fatherland — Ukraine from a foreign land.

If our case is not re-examined in the near future, and the brand of traitors of the Fatherland is not removed from us and we are not returned to Ukraine, we will be forced to turn for help in the future in the said questions to the progressive public of Ukraine and the progressive public of our entire planet.

Signature: I. O. Kandyba

Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

THE CHORNOVIL PAPERS

Open letters to Soviet authorities, written by young Ukrainian intellectuals now imprisoned, denouncing continued violation of human rights, Russian colonialist policies and Russification of Ukraine.

Including the famous memorandum by Vyacheslav Chornovil, a young Ukrainian journalist sentenced to three years' forced labour, and his compilation of the writings of the convicted Ukrainian intellectuals entitled "The Misfortune of Intellect" (Portraits of Twenty "Criminals").

Published by McGraw Hill Company, Maidenhead, Berks.

Price: 45/- net.

You can place your orders with:
Ukrainian Booksellers and Publishers,
49 Linden Gardens,
London, W.2.
Tel.: 01-229-0140

II.

Levko LUKIANENKO

LETTER TO D. S. KOROTCHENKO

*To the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR
D. S. Korotchenko*

*From political prisoner Lukianenko, L. H., Mordovian ASSR, st. Potma, p/s
Yavas, p/ya. XX385/11*

STATEMENT

On May 20, 1961 the Lviv Oblast Court at closed session tried group case no. 1 on the basis of articles 56, §1 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR sentencing me to execution by shooting, Kandyba — to 15, Virun — to 11, Libovych, Lutskiv, Kipysh and Borovnytskyi — to 10 years of imprisonment respectively.

On July 26, 1961 the Court Board on criminal cases of the Supreme Court of the Ukr. SSR examined our appeals, leaving unchanged the juridical qualification of the actions of Kandyba, Virun, Libovych, Lutskiv and myself, commuted the death sentence to 15 years' imprisonment and, on the basis of new article, gave Kipysh and Borovnytskyi 7 years' imprisonment each instead of 10.

Both the sentence of the oblast court and the decision of the court of appeals are unlawful because of gross violations not merely of the Declaration of Human Rights and the Soviet procedural codes but even of the most elementary human rights, in the conduct of both the preliminary investigation and the trial.

The KGB* investigators in the Lviv oblast are systematically and constantly using such illegal methods as planting their agents in the cells of the arrested citizens.

In our case the Chekists put spies with all 7 defendants, in the case of Koval and Hrytsyna — with all 20, in the Khodoriv group with all six defendants. This happened in 1961-1962, was continued in later years and took place in 1965-1966 in the preliminary hearing in the case of M. Horyn, M. Masiutko.

In the cell, upon instructions from the investigators, these agents told all sorts of nonsense of anti-Soviet nature, provoked conversations, conducted themselves tactlessly and shockingly and generally tried to create unbearable conditions, attempting to implant the thought that all our human rights are on the other side of the prison wall, but here in the investigating isolator of the KGB, they will do what they please with us, as these organs had previously done with Tukhachevskiy, Hamarnyk, Mykytenko, Sokolovskiy and thousands upon thousands of other innocent

* State Security Committee.

people. Whether we give proof or not is immaterial: once the Chekists have arrested you, it means you will not be free again. The posture in the investigating isolator is significant only to the extent that the sooner you agree to sign the formulation by the investigator the sooner your ordeal in prison will be terminated, the sooner you will be sentenced and sent East to camp (if not shot), and there it is easier. But if you resist and try to prove you innocence — you will be confined longer, but the end is the same — you will be sentenced. Moreover defence of your innocence irritates the investigators, and the more determined the arrested is to prove his innocence the more furious they become and add to his sufferings in the investigating isolator. As if supporting the words of a spy in the cell, the head of the Administration, Col. Shevchenko, said to me in his investigating office: "You can resist. We have time. The Code gives us 2 months for inquiry, but if it should be necessary we will hold you 5-8 months. But we will win, and you will tell us what we need."

The Lviv KGB, working on the defendant around the clock, either in the private office of the investigator, or in the cell, brings the psyche of inexperienced citizens to a state of complete depression when an individual becomes absolutely indifferent to everything in this world: to the case itself, to his future fate, to the fate of his friends, relatives, even to his dignity. In dulling consciousness they at the same time weaken his control of instincts, and then stimulating the instincts, especially the instinct of self-preservation, they demand fantastic testimonies from people. This fantasy clearly reveals itself, for

example, in connection with Libovych, in his statement that I supposedly threatened him with death if he should betray the organisation. People sign all sorts of fabrications of the investigators against their friends, and against themselves. Later, some sink even lower and, placing themselves at the mercy of the KGB, begin to sign protocols of "their" testimony, without even reading them, and later give their consent to cooperate with the KGB. Then the Chekists put them with other defendants and they themselves now begin to write denunciations of others (as heretofore had been written against them), demanding that the KGB fabricate a case on new people.

Pitiful people!

But what should be the conscience of those who understand perfectly well that they are not having to deal with trained foreign agents but still bring their victims to such a deplorable state only because they dared to express their own views on the world?

When V. Lutskiv agreed to cooperate with the KGB, he was planted in the cell with Roman Hurnyi (the case of Koval and Hrytsyna). In the cell they quarrelled about a triviality, and then Lutskiv in his denunciations began to write inventions against Hurnyi. The investigators formulated these denunciations in an appropriate manner. The Lviv Oblast Court sentenced Hurnyi to death, which the Supreme Court of the Ukr.SSR reduced to 15 years' imprisonment.

Intending to convict an individual, the investigators pay very little attention to the fact that some statement does not correspond to the truth. The main thing is to find somebody to confirm it. Thus, when I was inte-

rrogated regarding Y. Voitsekhovskiy and I insisted that he has no bearing on the case, a superintendent of the Ukrainian KGB Col. Shevchenko said to me:

"Lukianenko, is it possible that you feel sorry for him?"

Thus, the main thing is not to find the truth of the matter, but to find at least one subject who would agree to sign a protocol or to "prove" a lie in court which he and the KGB know is a lie beforehand.

In my cell there was an agent under the pseudonym of Nestor Tsymbala. He told me a lot about the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). And even though in court I was not asked about this party, and have not said a word about it myself, in the sentence the court (violating the principle of direct evidence at the trial) recorded:

"Being aware of the defeat of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists and, particularly, of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in the Western oblasts of Ukr. SSR..."

As a matter of fact I knew nothing about the OUN prior to the arrest. Tsymbala, i. e. the KGB, acquainted me with it and then substituted his knowledge for mine. Thus the Chekists obtained a "fact" (even though there is nothing to confirm it). If I hadn't "felt sorry" for Voitsekhovskiy and agreed to confirm the Chekist allegations — this would also have been a "fact." Myron Yovchyk (from the Koval and Hrytsyna group) wanted to get some explosives to quarry stone for the house which he was planning to build. The investigators forced S. Pokora to testify that he allegedly procured it for subversion. This sole assertion became the "evidence" for the accusation of Yovchyk of sub-

versive acts and his sentencing to 11 years' imprisonment. Thus "facts" used in convicting people of the greatest crimes are fabricated.

From the rostrums of congresses and conferences, on the pages of newspapers and periodicals, on the radio we constantly hear about the restoration of legality and the triumph of Soviet democracy; we hear that the Soviet state is the most democratic people's state, but in those secret corners where the Chekists are active where it is decided whether a person should live or die — in these corners arbitrariness reigns, of which the people holding sovereign power or government is not in the least aware

In 1962 the entire Ukraine knew about the trial of M. Glezos. The papers published articles and photos from the trial. The public learned quite a lot about Glezos' biography and read numerous articles in which violent anger was expressed towards the Greek bourgeoisie which has established a police state, denies rights to people and tries them so harshly (he was sentenced to 4 years' imprisonment) for political activity. But what did the Ukrainian people know about a trial, in that same year, 1962, of 20 persons in Lviv, 4 of whom received the death sentence? With the help of Lutskiv, S. Pokora and the like, these people were accused of terror, subversion, and nationalistic propaganda, although in reality they did not kill a soul, did not blow up anything, did not circulate any leaflets.

What did the Ukrainian people know about the trial in Lviv in that very year, 1962, of six men from the Khodoriv region, of whom Mykhailo Protsiv was executed?

The Ternopil Oblast Court sentenced the Mykola Apostol group numbering 5 persons in 1961, and in 1962 the Bohdan Hohus group consisting of 5 persons, as the result of which Hohus received the death sentence. What did our people know about these trials? Nothing, because all these trials were behind closed doors.

The public knows from newspapers and the radio about the trial of Julianio Grimaio in Spain, about the fate of Gizenga, about the protest of an American sergeant against the Vietnam war, but knows nothing about its compatriot Anatoli Lupynas, who was convicted for his political convictions; and has been made a cripple at the places of detention. Now at 32 he is a complete invalid and is slowly dying in bondage in a foreign land.

What could the public find out from the papers or the radio about the wave of arrests and trials in 1965-1966? Nothing. It has detailed information on the work of New Orleans Attorney-General Harrison on the investigation of the Kennedy assassination, but is completely ignorant as to who is being arrested by the Attorney-General of the Lviv oblast; it knows the number of those arrested in Greece, but does not know how many were arrested in Ivano-Frankivsk and what goes on in the jails of the KGB.

The people's lack of information about the work of the KGB gives it almost unlimited power over the individuals who fall into its hands. The fact that the activities of the KGB are hidden from the community gives it an opportunity to grossly violate the laws of the Soviet state.

With the help of agents the investigators of the KGB organise an exchange of notes among those arrest-

ed in the same case but confined to different cells. Forging the handwriting, they, in the name of the correspondents, send their own memos with appropriate information and questions. If the defendant does not write his friend any concrete facts, they try to plant the seeds of mistrust and later hostility among them. After the preparatory stage the agent, in this or that form, tries to instil the thought that: "all is lost, do your best to save yourself!" At the same time, "do your best" does not mean "stand up for the truth, come what may; even though alone, but stand up for it and don't let yourself be induced to give false evidence", but only: "they lied about you; you lie about others; others are seeking favours from the investigators; seek them too." After receiving several notes from your friend which are completely defeatist in spirit, the suggestions of the agent do not seem absurd. Even if a person does not believe them, the worm of doubt planted in the consciousness is gradually doing its work. The Chekists are artists: they carefully watch an individual's behaviour in the isolator and cut the correspondence short when the doubts as to the falsity of the note have not yet been dispersed. And when they notice doubts as to the agent, they will try to dispel them, slipping in a book, as for example, Tolstoy's "Prince Serebrianyi."

With the help of agents the Lviv KGB is actively trying to influence the outlook of the suspect. Thus, they told me (as well as my co-defendants) about a lot of horrible acts committed by the representatives of the government. Injustice, of course, gave rise to indignation. This indignation was later used as proof of anti-Soviet attitude.

The impression arises that the KGB itself is trying first to implant the anti-Soviet outlook, and then to punish for it.

LAWLESSNESS IN COURTS

In the period of the exposure of Stalin's personality cult, in the speech of the secretary of the CC CPSU the absence of special statutes on the activity of the KGB was pointed out (as one of the factors which supported lack of control over it). I don't know if any laws on the activity of the KGB were passed after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, but in any event, such measures as planting of agents and with their help the physical and psychological terrorizing, distortion of real facts and the fabrication of arbitrary ones, etc. cannot be raised to the status of permitted (legal) tactical methods of investigation, because these measures, rather than helping to discover the truth, help to fabricate accusations. The application of such methods brings to nothing all rights of a citizen and liquidates all signs of democracy as a political order. When a legislator wrote in article 22, para. 3 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr. SSR that:

"It is prohibited to try to obtain evidence from the accused by means of force, threats and other unlawful methods", he doubtlessly had in mind the banning of such a law as planting of agents as well.

If the KGB in the Lviv oblast feels that the above mentioned methods are not enough to break the will of the accused (or it needs them for other purposes) it uses chemical means. In Mordovia in camp No. 7 V. Lutskiv was telling me and S. Virun in 1962

that he was able to overhear how an overseer of the Lviv isolator was indulgently reproaching somebody for the fact that because of a misunderstanding he had given a double dose of narcotics to someone's meal. I am ready to give evidence on the use of narcotics on me to a competent commission, which would undertake to investigate the unlawful methods used in the preliminary investigation of our case.

In obtaining the "truth" the Lviv Chekists have not discarded from their arsenal such weapons as a fist. It didn't happen during Stalinist times or even in 1955 that a Chekist Halskyi, beat up Mykhailo Osadchyi, Master of Arts in Philosophy, a lecturer at the Lviv University. Thus, after Stalin's death, the KGB has been using in its investigations not only the methods prescribed by the Criminal Procedural Code, but also "supplements" from its sad past experience.

Supervision in the conduct of the preliminary investigation in our case was in the hands of the Assistant Attorney General of the Lviv Oblast, Starikov. Article 20 of the Principles of Criminal Legal Procedures of the USSR and the union republics states:

"In all stages of the criminal court proceedings the prosecutor should use all means stipulated by law to eliminate all violations of the law regardless of where they might occur."

How did prosecutor Starikov perform the function of a dispassionate defender of the law? He went to the cells and saw that dummies were confined with us — and did not protest against this violation of article 22 CPC Ukr. SSR. He was present at the interrogations in the private office of the investigator, but instead of taking

a proper attitude he used coarse uncensored abuse; instead of directing the inquiry to the road of objective investigation of the circumstances of the case, he yelled: "We will crush you!"

Denying the right of the people to establish an independent state, Starikov said that Ukraine could not exist independently without a union with Russia, for she would definitely be conquered by somebody. In other words, the Ukrainian people is capable neither of establishing an independent state nor of defending it. How do these ideas differ from Goebbels' "theory" of superior and inferior races and peoples? We have heard enough from the Rosenbergs, the Bormanns and similar racists about the inferiority of the Ukrainian people (as well as other Slavic peoples). And when identical ideas are expressed by the representatives of the neighbouring Russian people, we do not feel any better because of it.

Denisov, Sergadeyev and Starikov — these defenders of the Ukrainian Soviet sovereign state — have lived in Ukraine for a long time, but have not learned our language. On the contrary, they treat it, our literature and our culture with contempt and disrespect and their every step gives evidence of their chauvinism. They exhibit fierce hatred towards us. Being aware of the fact that persecution for political convictions is contrary to the Declaration of Human Rights and the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR, they did everything possible to conceal our case from the Soviet public. In order to misinform the people in the neighbourhood where we lived, various cock and bull stories were spread. Thus, in Hlyniany where I lived rumours were

circulated that allegedly a radio-station, dollar bills, a large quantity of anti-Soviet propaganda literature of American origin had been confiscated from me and that all in all I was an American spy.

When the Lviv KGB convinced itself that it was able to hide the truth from the people, it changed the accusations from anti-Soviet propaganda to betrayal of the fatherland, and the representatives of the oblast and republican prosecuting offices sanctioned it.

TESTIMONIES FABRICATED

The following fact is also revealing. During his imprisonment in Mordovia V. Lutskiv began to have pangs of conscience and wrote statements to official agencies about the falsity of his evidence in our case; in particular in his declaration to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine he wrote:

"In January 1961 the Lviv Oblast department of the KGB arrested me in connection with the arrest of Lukianenko and detained me in the investigating isolator. Considering myself to be innocent, I believed the officials of the KGB that I was arrested in order to help them allegedly expose criminal activities of Lukianenko, after which they promised to release me. During this conversation some man was begging for mercy under intolerable blows from one of the workers of the KGB. I was clearly given to understand that in case of refusal the same tortures awaited me. It frightened me and I agreed to write information in my own handwriting which was needed by the KGB because of insufficient charges against Lukianenko, which were later re-

written to suit investigator Denisov, and were included in the case; I also agreed to sign protocols with evidence necessary for the workers of the KGB...

Investigator Denisov further forced me to sign protocols where he wrote than on November 6, 1960 I allegedly called Lukianenko, Kandyba and Vashchuk to an armed struggle against the Soviet regime and to subversive activity in the ranks of the army and that supposedly Lukianenko was also in favour of an armed struggle, which in reality did not occur either on my part or on the part of Lukianenko.

The investigators of the KGB, whom I trusted as representatives of my government, systematically deceived me: in the beginning they drummed into me that I was needed in jail only to expose Lukianenko prior to the trial (i. e. to sign protocols) and just before the trial I was persuaded that I should help to expose Lukianenko in court (i. e. to repeat everything which was stated in the protocols) and I was told that I would probably get several years, but if I would not listen to the workers of the KGB I would be sentenced to a much longer term with the help of some graver article...

After the trial the workers of the KGB assured me that I was not to worry about the sentence because it was passed only so that I could help the workers of the KGB a little in their work and here they needed an official signature (because I was also sent to court as a witness) to cooperate under the pseudonym of Havryliak.

After some time I was told to go to camp to investigate anti-Soviet nationalistic organisations supposedly existing in the camp. When I refused

to go to camp I was left in the investigating isolator to spy on the arrested citizens. The people having confidence in me, told me in their simplicity, their thought or facts, on the basis of which I wrote denunciations or verbally informed KGB workers, Poliaruk Dudnyk, Horiun, Denisov, Sergadeyev, Halskyi and others."

Approximately at this time Lutskiw wrote several declarations to the official organs about the falsity of his denunciations against R. Hurnyi, and also begged Hurnyi to forgive him for it. Hurnyi forgave Lutskiw. It is his personal matter how he evaluates the fall and the baseness of Lutskiw and others like him whose stupidity and lack of principle have to a large degree fostered the arbitrariness of the Chekists (and ended with the execution of Koval and Hrytsyna in their case). But how did the Attorney General's Office of the Ukr. SSR where Lutskiw turned with his declarations, react? According to articles 367 and 370 CPC Ukr. SSR in Hurnyi's case (as well as in ours) the sentence should have been overruled and a new investigation ordered. But the Attorney General's Office did not protest against an unlawful sentence. It seems it has also forgiven. Hurnyi forgave Lutskiw, and the Attorney General's Office of the Ukr. SSR has forgiven the Lviv KGB. Hurnyi's opinion is his personal concern, but the activity of the Attorney General's Office is not a private matter. The Attorney General's Office is a public institution which has been created to supervise legality in the state. And if it is serious about what has been collected and published under such names as the "Constitution", the "Criminal Code", the "Criminal

Procedural Code" it is duty bound to see that not only the citizens but also public servants, including such institutions as the Committee of State Security, should abide by these laws.

An open trial is one of the basic democratic rights of the Ukrainian people. Therefore it has been proclaimed by article 91 of the Constitution of the Ukr.SSR and included in the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukr.SSR as the fundamental principle of the democratic court trials in the Soviet state in Ukraine.

If *Salus populi suprema lex est* (the good of the people is the highest law) for the Soviet state and if the laws of the Soviet state guarantee the good of the people (and it has to be assumed that it should be so) then the adhering to laws by the executive branch of government or their violation serves as an indicator: does this executive branch of government work in the interest of the people, or does it place its own interests above the interests of the people?

Open trial gives the people an opportunity to supervise the work of the court and prevents unlawful sentencing of individuals: public trial is a guarantee of legality in the activities of the organs of justice.

RUSSIA AFRAID OF UKRAINE'S SECESSION

The Declaration of Human Rights proclaims the right of every man to an impartial trial. With the rise of bourgeois democracy the impartiality of the trial was hoped to be achieved by the jury system. Besides this, the judges were forbidden to engage in political activities: as long as a person

is a member of the court he cannot be a member of any political party. To what degree objectivity is achieved by these organisational measures is evident from the fact that in Tsarist Russia (according to Lenin "the prison of nations") the court acquitted Vira Zasulych who attempted to assassinate Trepov, the Mayor of Petersburg.

The oblast court, which is elected by the oblast Soviet of worker's deputies upon recommendations from the party organs, is the court of primary jurisdiction for political cases. The Head of the Lviv Oblast Court, Rudyk, under whose chairmanship the trial of our case was conducted, is a member of the CPSU. His political convictions are the policies of the CPSU. Political convictions are not garments which can be put on and taken off at will but an inner attribute of an individual caused by a definite world outlook and method of thinking. A Communist, whether at a party meeting or in court, remains one and the same person — going to court to decide the fate of an individual he cannot leave his party passions in the cloak-room of the court, like a pair of galoshes; he takes them into the court room and acts under their constant influence.

As is evident from the laws the Soviet state treats all citizens alike, regardless of their viewpoint: Moslem, Communist, Catholic — all have the same political, employment, pension and other rights. But the party treats them unequally: it propagates one ideology and struggles against all others.

The act for which I was arrested was interpreted by the Lviv Oblast Court as anti-party. To Rudyk, as a Communist, this meant that my actions

were contrary to his personal political interests. Seating himself in the judge's chair, he viewed us as his personal political enemies. Being a Communist, a judge in a political case, he became the judge in his own case, which is a violation of one of the fundamental principles of impartiality in court, i. e. *Nemo iudex in causa sua* (nobody can be a judge in his own case), which has been generally accepted from ancient Roman times.

The will of the punitive organs of the Lviv oblast has been done: for our love of Ukraine and our aspirations for its independent state existence we were placed behind barbed wire in Mordovia and forced to work. Such aspirations are considered normal and lawful for all people: for the Asiatics, for the Africans, for all others peoples of the world, but not for Ukrainians. Ukrainians cannot even think about state independence. Of course, there is a piece of paper in existence called the Constitution of the Ukr. SSR which states: the Ukr. SSR has the right to secede from the USSR, but Stalin with the bandits of Yagoda, Yezhov and Beria taught people to look at the constitution (as upon other laws of the land) as empty pieces of paper; laws are one thing but order is another. Laws are passed and changed; they exist in their own right, and the political regime in its own right. Each has its tradition and history which in practice are almost unconnected with each other.

At the preliminary investigation I told investigator Denisov that agitation to separate the Ukr SSR from the USSR does not constitute any crime because article 17 of the Constitution of the USSR guarantees the right of

secession from the USSR to the union republics (and therefore, a right to agitate to make use of this right) to which Denisov replied raising the constitution over his head:

"The constitution exists for abroad.

On another occasion, when I said that my aim was to refer the question of the secession of the Ukrainian SSR from the USSR for consideration by a popular referendum or the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR, Denisov said

"If you managed to organize demonstrations in Kyiv, Lviv and other large cities of Ukraine, if great masses of people with banners placards and slogans demanding Ukraine's secession from the Union took part in these demonstrations do you think that the government would not use troops to crush the demonstrations? Why do you think they are stationed in the cities?"

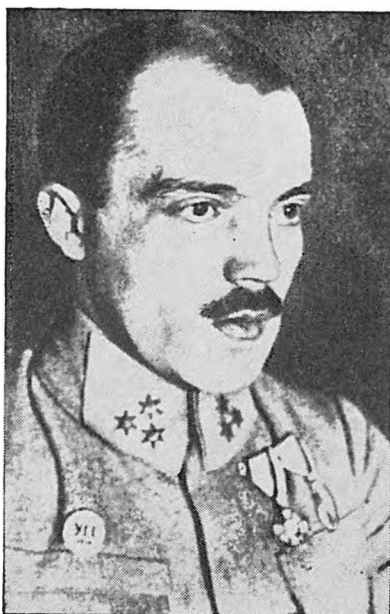
These are the words of a man who is not interpreting but making policies; this is grim reality!

In 1964 I wrote a complaint regarding my case to the Attorney General's Office of the USSR. In answer to this complaint Assistant Attorney General of the USSR, Maliarov, wrote that my actions were qualified correctly by the Lviv Oblast Court as betrayal of the fatherland, since they were allegedly harmful to the territorial integrity of the USSR. Indeed!

It seems that Maliarov does not consider the Soviet Union to be a federation, a union of republics having equal rights, but a unitary state! A very eloquent admission of a highly placid guardian of legality on the union scale.

From his explanation it follows that article 56 CC Ukr. SSR, speaking of

**50th ANNIVERSARY OF WEST UKRAINE'S ACT OF
INDEPENDENCE (NOV. 1st, 1918) AND REUNIFICATION
WITH ALL UKRAINE
(JAN. 22nd, 1919)**



Colonel DMYTRO VITOVSKYI,

one of the military leaders of the Ukrainian take-over of power from the Austrian occupying authorities in November, 1918, and of the defensive war against the Polish aggressors. Minister of War in the West Ukrainian Government.



ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL IN LVIV,
Capital of West Ukraine.

territorial integrity, has in mind not the territory of the union republic but the inadmissibility of the secession of the union republic from the USSR.

Well, such interpretation is in line with the superpower chauvinistic policy which the Tsarist government had applied to Ukraine from the times of Peter I. The aspirations of Ukrainians for autonomy were assessed by the Tsarist henchmen prior to the Revolution as treason of the fatherland. And now Maliarov, Diakov, Starikov, Sergadeyev, Denisov and others like them are also assessing the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for equal status with other nations of the world as betrayal of the fatherland. Brought up on the Russian chauvinistic traditions they hope, it seems, to continue the old policy forever.

RIGHT OF SECESSION TRAMPLED

This is reality. Denisovs are holding the state machinery in Ukraine in their hands. They determine what is treason and what is not; they send people to camps; they take human life and force people to work for more than ten years under inhuman conditions. This is reality. Nevertheless this reality reeks of deadliness, for it was begotten by yesterday's day; it lives by yesterday's ideas; it tries to make the present and the future like yesterday.

When the Romanov empire conducted a colonial policy towards Ukraine it acted within the spirit of its laws and ideology; it acted in the same colonial spirit as England, France, Austria-Hungary, Portugal, etc. of the time; it acted in the spirit which then prevailed in the whole world. But when the chauvinists try to conduct

a similar policy today, they are acting contrary to the laws of the Soviet state, against Marxist-Leninist ideology, against the anti-colonialistic spirit of the present era.

At present, when the Romanov empire no longer exists, but the Soviet Union, the chauvinists appear as the violators of laws and not as their defenders, because no matter by what sophisticated twists they would try to explain articles 17 and 14 of the Constitutions of the USSR and Ukr. SSR in the spirit of the absence of the right to self-determination, common sense is always victorious over sophism and persistently confirms that: a right of a republic to secede from the USSR is a right and not its absence, and the words about giving a right can never be changed by the words denying it, as the words "take" and "do not touch" cannot be casually interchanged.

The periodical *Radianske Pravo* (Soviet Law), No. 1, 1966) wrote:

"Ukraine, as well as any other Soviet republic, has the right to secede from the USSR any time it wishes. The right of secession of a union republic, which can neither be taken away nor changed by the Soviet Union authorities, gives the people of the union republic an opportunity to express their will on the most important question — the form of its statehood."

This is an interpretation of the constitutional law on secession, as set forth by the editors of an official juridical journal in an editorial. Clearer than clear. Ukraine has the right to secede from the Union; a citizen of the republic has the right to agitate for secession.

Whoever acts justly — acts openly; whoever tries lawfully — tries publicly. Denisovs know that they are avenging themselves on the Ukrainian patriots contrary to the Soviet laws and therefore they are trying to conceal their mock trials from human eyes.

The persecution of people desiring to make use of their constitutional right of secession is contrary to the Marxist theory which has always included the right of nations to self-determination. The right of nations to self-determination was always a component part of the CPSU programme. And if a person is a Communist in practice, and not only formally, he cannot be against the right of the Ukrainian people to self-determination. Therefore the actions of Denisov, Sergadeyev and similar survivors of the Stalinist era are a glaring contradiction of both the Marxist theory and the Soviet laws.

Millions of people in the universities and in the system of party education are studying the classical Marxist works and programme documents from which only one thing is evident on the national question — Marxist-Leninists have always upheld the right of nations to self-determination. In order not to show these masses how far Denisovs are from Marxism they are forced painstakingly to hide their work and the trials for so-called anti-Soviet nationalistic activities from these millions.

Finally the third factor — the spirit of the epoch.

In the 19th century it hardly got on the nerves of the executioners of Ukraine at all, because this was an epoch of colonialism. Colonial oppression was, so to speak, a legalized

phenomenon. Tsarist extortions in Ukraine could not have a major influence on the international prestige of the Russian Empire, because similar extortions took place in the colonies of Austria-Hungary, Portugal and other imperial states. But in the 20th century, when colonial empire fell one after the other, and from the whirlpool of stormy events strong forces of national liberation emerged when these forces determine the spirit of the contemporary epoch and give it a banner — in this epoch attempts to stifle the aspirations of Ukrainians for national freedom appear to be a terrible anachronism and a grave injustice.

The desire of the chauvinists to continue the old policies gave rise to great hypocrisy. On the other hand the Soviet Union and the Ukrainian SSR have signed the Charter of the United Nations which proclaimed the right of all nations to self-determination. On December 14th, 1960 the government of the Ukr.SSR signed the Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. At international rostrums from the lips of the Soviet leaders come the fiery words of support for the fighters for democracy and national freedom. Conferences are taking place at which resolutions similar to the one below are passed:

"We cannot live in peace where blood is being spilt on this earth for freedom, the sanctified blood of our brothers who courageously rose in defence of democracy, freedom and the independence of their people..."

"The Second Soviet Conference of Solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Africa in the name of the entire Soviet people voices an angry protes"

against the murderous imperialists and demands an immediate end to the persecution and punishment of the patriots and fighters for the freedom of peoples, an end to the widespread terror, genocide and apartheid, and the freeing of all political prisoners.

We call upon all who hold dear the ideals of freedom, democracy and justice, to come out in a single front against all repressions and persecutions of the fighters for national independence, for the liquidation of colonial and racist regimes.

We demand:

Freedom for the fighters for independence!" (From a resolution of the Second Soviet Conference of Solidarity with the peoples of Asia and Africa in Baku, May 8-11, 1964).

A real hymn to democracy and national independence! But what is this hymn worth when in the Soviet prisons and camps the fighters for independence and extension of democratic liberties are incarcerated, when the chauvinists are persecuting fighters for the freedom of Ukraine in the most brutal manner. At the same time, in order to cut the roots from under the revival of the idea of state independence, they are trying to destroy historical consciousness in the Ukrainian people (which is the only thing which could unite all the strata of the nation into one fist in the struggle for self-preservation) and to engraft it with a feeling of a bastard.

The present generations of our people are deprived of the spiritual achievements of their grandfathers and great-grandfathers. In the Russified institutions of learning Ukrainians are taught the history of the Russian Tsars, but not the history of our people. The contemporary Ukrainians

do not know what their ancestors lived by, for, from the great cohort of Ukrainian philosophers, only the works of H. Skovoroda (incomplete) have been published; the works of Ukrainian economists, historians, publicists (even those which were published in Russia prior to the Revolution) are now prohibited; many prose-writers have been banned completely, and others are published only partially; such spheres of spiritual life of our ancestors as music and painting have been completely neglected.

Having concealed the rich spiritual heritage of our ancestors from the present generations it was easy to instil the idea that in our past there is nothing which might be worthy of attention. Thus, in this way the consciousness of the spiritual unity of generations which for many centuries was a strong weapon of unity and made it possible for the Ukrainians to endure all trials of fate and to live through the Tatar-Mongol invasion, serfdom, the Turkish encroachments and the Tsarist occupation was being destroyed.

On the one hand the actions completely corresponding to the spirit of the contemporary era: all kinds of support to the foreign fighters for democracy and national independence, and on the other hand terrible conservatism: the stifling of fighters for democracy and national independence within the state, an attempt to fence themselves from the world historical process. From here stems the desire to conceal their persecution of the Ukrainian patriots from the wide world with the help of secret investigations, closed trials and isolated places of imprisonment.

Thus, the punishment organs in Ukraine are acting in secrecy from the people because persecution for the idea of the secession of the Ukr.SSR from the USSR is contrary, in the first place, to the laws of the Soviet Union, secondly, to the Marxist ideology, thirdly, to the spirit of the contemporary anti-colonial epoch.

The positions of Russian chauvinism in Ukraine today are much weaker than they were prior to the Revolution. And not only because of the above-mentioned factors. Serving as a brake of social progress and hindering the development of our language, literature, and the entire national culture, Russian chauvinism has no moral support whatsoever. It is based solely on brute physical force (army garrisons, as investigator Denisov stated) and the fear of our parents. But on force alone nothing has ever lasted for long, and fear is not permanent either. Like everything else in this world, it is a passing phenomenon. In order for it to exist it has to be constantly revived. It has been kept alive by deaths, thousands of innocent deaths. This is what frightened our parents. But after the war a new generation was born and has grown up which does not know the horrors of terror and is not bound by fear.

It is the new master of the land. The future belongs to it, and it is beginning to understand the danger to the fatherland of fencing off from other nations. It understands that self-isolation from other ideas means the impoverishment and the robbing of self. "He who shuns both people and ideals becomes spiritually poorer and poorer and sinks lower and lower", was said by Jules Michelet.

In a time of rapid industrial development and in particular of technical means of information it has become almost impossible to isolate people from outside ideas. The chauvinists could place philosopher Konovych-Horbatskyi and Kostelnyk, economists Osadchyi and Levytsky, historians Poletyka and Hrushevsky, ethnographers Nomys and Shukhevych, philologists Zhytetskyi and Potebnia, publicists Drahomaniv and Pavlyk under lock and key; they can even strew magnesium tape among their works in the library and set them on fire, but they cannot place locks on numerous channels of diverse external (and internal) information with new ideals. And every ray of new information brings fresh spirit which destroys the old foundation of a chauvinistic building. They still have enough power to strangle the prisoners, but it is impossible to imprison the contemporary spirit which constantly gives birth to thousands like us.

The Draft of the Programme of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants Union which constituted primary evidence of my "guilt" in 1961, ended with the words which I am repeating with even greater certainty:

"Triumph of the Soviet law will be our triumph as well."

If you, citizen Korotchenko, with the Russian chauvinists, together do not want, to play the role of a brake on the road of development of the Ukrainian nation, use all means at your disposal to reestablish the regime of legality in Ukraine.

Mordovia, Camp No. 11, Central Isolator.

May, 1967

Levko Lukianenko

III.

LETTER OF 139 UKRAINIANS TO BREZHNEV, KOSYGIN AND PODGORNYY

In April, 1968 a large representative group of the Ukrainian public sent a letter of protest to the leaders of the Communist Party and the Government of the Soviet Union in defence of the Ukrainian cultural workers arrested and imprisoned in the years 1965-67.

The appeal, addressed to the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Brezhnev, the head of the Government of the USSR, Kosygin, and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Podgornyy, was signed by 139 people. Among them there are representatives of the Union of the Writers of Ukraine, the Union of the Artists of Ukraine; scholars, scientists, corresponding members of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, cultural workers and artists, technical experts, students and workers.

Now we have the possibility to publish the full text of this document which is spreading in manuscript copies in Ukraine and has thus managed to reach the West. A translation from the Russian original was published in the Ukrainian American daily *Svoboda* (*Freedom*), (Jersey City, N. J.), on October 11th, 1968.

The following is the text of the letter:

To the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPSU Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev; the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Aleksey Nikolayevich Kosygin; Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Nikolay Viktorovich Podgornyy.

Esteemed comrades,

We are appealing to you in a matter which is deeply agitating various circles of the Soviet public.

In the course of the last few years political trials of young people from the milieu of creative and scientific intelligentsia have been staged in the Soviet Union. We are disturbed by these trials for a number of reasons.

First of all, we cannot fail to be disturbed by the fact that during the holding of many of these trials the laws of our country have been violated. For instance, all the trials in Kiev, Lviv and Ivano-Frankivsk in 1965-66, at which over 20 people have been sentenced, were held *in camera* — in contradiction to what is directly and

unambiguously guaranteed by the USSR Constitution, the constitutions of the Union Republics and their Criminal Codes. Moreover, the closed character of the trials favoured the violation of legality during the very course of judicial investigation.

It is our opinion that the violation of the principle of publicity in the administration of justice clashes with the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU concerning the restoration of socialist legality, and represents an insult to the supreme law of our country, the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics — and cannot be justified in any way.

The principle of publicity includes not only an open judicial investigation, but also a wide and truthful elucidation of its course in the press. Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's demand that the broad masses ought to know everything and to have the opportunity to judge everything themselves, that especially with regard to the

punitive organs "the masses ought to have the right to know and to check every, even the smallest, step in their activities" (Lenin, *Works*, vol. 27, p. 186), is well known. Our press, however, did not react at all to the political trials which took place in Ukraine. As far as the political trials which took place in Moscow are concerned, the brief reports in the press can rather evoke surprise and offend by their lack of respect for the common sense of the Soviet reader, than to provide him with real information about these matters and the course of judicial investigation.

This lack of control and publicity, which is what it is essentially, has made possible violation of constitutional guarantees and trial norms. It has become almost a rule that at such trials the court refuses to hear the witnesses for the defence and confines itself to hearing only the witnesses for the prosecution.

The facts cited in the widely known open letter of P. Litvinov and L. Bohoraz, are an eloquent testimony that the trial of Galanskov, Ginzburg, Dobrovolsky and Lashkova was carried through with gross violations of trial norms.

One's attention is drawn to the unfortunate circumstance that in many cases the accused are indicted for the views expressed and defended by them, which are not in any way anti-Soviet, but contain merely criticism of particular phenomena of our social life or criticism of evident deviations from the socialist ideal, of evident violations of the norms proclaimed officially. For example, the journalist Viacheslav Chornovil was tried by the Lviv regional court on November 15, 1967, only because he collected and handed over to the official organs materials which revealed the juridically illiterate character of the political trials, contrary to any laws, staged in Ukraine in 1965-66. And, despite the fact that the prosecution was un-

able to indict V. Chornovil with any thing convincing and was unable to put forward against him even one witness (from the two witnesses put forward, one failed to attend the trial for unknown reasons, and the other denied his previous testimony and testified in favour of Viacheslav Chornovil), despite the fact that the defence convincingly and graphically revealed the entire ridiculousness of the accusation levelled against V. Chornovil — the court nevertheless satisfied all the demands of the prosecution and sentenced the young journalist to three years imprisonment.

All these and many other facts mean that the political trials held in the last few years are becoming a form of suppression of those who think otherwise, a form of suppression of civic activity and social criticism absolutely necessary for the health of any society. They testify to the increasingly stronger restoration of Stalinism against which I. Habay, Yu. Kim and P. Yakir have voiced their warning in such a vigorous and manly fashion. In Ukraine, where the violations of democracy are augmented and aggravated by the distortions in the nationalities question, the symptoms of Stalinism are revealed ever more clearly and brutally.

We consider it our duty to express our profound anxiety on account of the facts quoted above. We appeal to you to use your authority and your mandates in order to ensure that the organs of justice and prosecution do strictly adhere to the Soviet laws and that difficulties and differences of opinion which come into existence in our social and political life are decided in the sphere of ideas, and are not handed over for the competence of the organs of prosecution and state security.

(Signatures) S. Paradzhanov — film producer, prize-winner of international film festivals; A. M. Korolyov

— Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; Yu. V. Tsekhmistrenko — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; I. S. Mirchuk — artist; V. H. Bodnarchuk — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; I. H. Zaslavs'ka — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; A. F. Lubchenko — professor, Doctor of Physico-Mathematical Sciences, Lenin prize winner; I. P. Dziub — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; Ivan O. Svitlychnyi — writer; V. A. Vyshnev's'kyi — mathematician; Ivan M. Dziuba — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; Z. S. Hrybnykov — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; I. N. Zhad'ko — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; N. N. Hryhor'yev — physicist; B. D. Shanina — physicist; F. I. Bilets'kyi — mathematician; V. Bondar — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; V. A. Tyahay — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; Yu. Kolyupin — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; V. Zuyev — physicist; O. H. Sarbey — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; P. M. Tomchuk — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; D. Abakarov — Master of Sport of the USSR; V. I. Shoka — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; H. P. Kochur — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; V. O. Shevchuk — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; L. Kostenko — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; E. A. Popovych — *littérateur*; M. Kotsiubyn's'ka — *littérateur*; Kharchuk — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; Z. Franko — *littérateur*; D. Hors'ka — member of the Union of Artists of Ukraine; B. Antonenko-Davydovych — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; B. Hopnyk — member of the Union of Journalists of the USSR; A. V. Skorokhod — professor, Doctor of Physico-Mathematical Sciences, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR; V.

B. Bohdanovych — senior engineer; V. N. Orayev's'kyi — Candidate of Physico-Mathematical Sciences; V. Pokrovs'kyi — physicist; P. Dibrova — senior engineer; A. O. Bilets'kyi — Doctor of Philological Sciences; T. N. Chernyshova — Doctor of Philological Sciences; Zh. Sklyarenko — physicist; T. Kalustian — artiste, winner of the Ukrainian singers' competition; Yu. D. Sokolov — professor, Doctor of Physico-Mathematical Sciences, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR; Yu. M. Berezans'kyi — professor, Doctor of Physico-Mathematical Sciences, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR; Ye. A. Sverstiuk — *littérateur*; Yu. N. Kovalenko — Candidate of Technical Sciences; A. M. Taran — journalist; A. A. Bratko — Candidate of Philological Sciences; H. T. Kryvoruchko — worker; T. A. Kolomiyets' — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; A. F. Serhiyenko — student; D. Ye. Tiufanov — engineer; H. V. Bolotova — saleswoman; V. V. Linchev's'kyi — student; V. A. Fomenko — student; M. R. Selivachev — student; L. H. Orel — teacher; M. A. Chernenko — editor; A. T. Bolekhiv's'kyi — physician; M. I. Paliy — (girl) student; Ya. V. Konopada — physician; V. B. Zdorovylo — engineer; N. P. Bezpal'ko — book-keeper; L. I. Yashchenko — member of the Union of Composers of Ukraine; T. R. Hirnyk — philologist; I. I. Rusyn — engineer; A. V. Zaboy — artist; V. O. Bezpal'ko — worker; B. F. Matushev's'kyi — engineer; M. Yu. Braychev's'kyi — Candidate of Historical Sciences; V. P. Savchuk — worker; D. Porkhun — pensioner; A. N. Datsenko — senior engineer; B. D. Shyrots'kyi — lawyer; V. H. Orel — engineer; R. O. Mel'nychenko — philologist; L. Prosyatkiv's'ka — teacher; L. I. Lytovchenko — (girl) student; E. Ashpis — conservatoire teacher; A. H. Sytenko —

(Conclusion inside back cover)

Nicholas L. Fr.-CHIROVSKY
Professor of Economics,
Seton Hall University, U.S.A.

THE SECOND YEAR OF THE SOVIET ECONOMIC PLAN 1966-70

I. Introduction

On January 29, 1967, *Pravda*, the paper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC of CPSU) published the official figures of the Central Statistical Office of the USSR. I was concerned with the progress in fulfilment of the planned targets for the first year of the Soviet Five-Year Economic Plan, 1966-1970 stemming from the planning Directives of the 23rd Congress of the CPSU, under the leadership of Brezhnev and Kosygin.¹ The results of that first year in the endeavour to implement the Directives were rather dubious according to the Western evaluation.²

The month of January 1967 initiated the second year in the process toward the fulfilment of the planning targets of the Directives for 1970. Then, on January 25, 1968, *Pravda*, following up its traditional practice, published the figures in fulfilment of the economic targets for the second year of the Plan. Hence, in 1968 the Soviet economy has been in the third year of its comprehensive plan. It is described by several Soviet officials and experts as being a crucial year in the overall attempt to make the Soviet plan of 1966-70 an economic success.³

Before, however, any step will be undertaken to evaluate the official figures of the Central Statistical Office of the USSR, as published in *Pravda*, concerning the achievements of the second year (1967), it will be more appropriate to attempt to make a progress

1) The Directives for the 1966-1970 Five-Year Plan, *Current Digest of The Soviet Press*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 7 and 8.

2) N. Chirovsky, "First Stage of the New Soviet Plan", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XXIII, No 4., New York, Winter 1967.

3) *Zviazda*, Jan. 23, 1968: Speech by P. Masharov, First Secretary of the Byelorussian Communist Party; also, *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Feb. 3, 1968: Interview with Ya. Kulikov, Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy of the Ukr. SSR.

report of the Soviet economy during that year on the basis of the Soviet press, which reported day-by-day some of the noteworthy successes and failures in the Soviet production, distribution, transportation, consumption and other economic fields. Then the figures of *Pravda* will have some meaningful background, against which to evaluate them.

II. Progress

The Soviets and the Soviet press have always been fully aware of the paramount difficulties of their planned economy. Hence, whenever any notable event takes place in Soviet business and economy, which can be registered as a success or achievement, it is immediately reported by the press to prove the efficiency of their planning.

In the early spring of 1967 the Soviet press reported the resolutions made by the agricultural workers, mechanical personnel, agricultural service employees and other workers in the collective and state forms, to increase labour efficiency, to reduce idleness of farm machinery and farm implements, to increase productivity in grain production, to raise the fertility of the pasture lands, to use more animal and artificial fertilizer in both cases, to work in two shifts — night and day, if necessary, to reduce the production costs of grain, meat and milk, and milk products, and to do everything else possible to enable the fulfilment of the yearly production targets in farming in 1967; the year of the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in October 1917.⁴ To make this possible, also along with some previous irrigation projects, various new ones were undertaken throughout the Soviet Union in order either to include in agriculture additional hundreds of thousands of acres of land or to increase the fertility of the existing lands to raise per acre productivity of wheat, rice, fruit, grapes and other crops. *Molod' Ukraïny* reported the initiation of a new irrigation project in the Kherson region, the Ukrainian SSR, the largest project of that kind in all Europe to be completed by 1975, however.⁵ On the other hand, the ministries of farming ordered an all-out mobilization of all labour and resources to successfully carry out the spring sowing campaign. All directors and specialists in the state and collective farms were appealed to to do their best; the importance of the managerial aspect in farming with regard to awaited success was stressed.⁶

With the advent of the harvesting time, the press carefully followed and regularly reported the progress of the field work and produce deliveries to the state receiving points. They were in particularly interested in some extraordinarily achievements in this respect. The Odessa, Ternopil, Mykolaïv, Kirovohrad, Chernihiv, Volhynia and

4) *Radianska Ukraïna*, March 31, 1967.

5) *Molod' Ukraïny*, April 11, 1967.

6) *Radianska Ukraïna*, April 9, 1967.

some other regions in Ukraine, and various districts in Byelorussia: Don-Volga area and Southern Siberia reported very good crops due to the successful sowing campaigns, and the fulfilment of the state delivery quotas. *Pravda* stated generally satisfactory crops in many regions, having stressed that good results greatly depend upon effective harvesting work organization, and performance. Satisfactory crops were also related to an ample use of fertilizers in spring.⁷ There were some most efficient collective farms, like the collective farm "New Road", in the Chernihiv region, the newspaper *Silski Visti* reported, which achieved spectacular results under the Soviet conditions: 28.5 quintals of grain, 225 quintals of potatoes and 7.5 quintal of flax per hectare, and that those farms planned to raise further their efficiency.⁸ The crops of sugar beets were generally satisfactory, too.

In many cases the produce deliveries for the state were not only on time but even exceeded the planned targets; in the Rozhyshch district in Volhynia, the Ukrainian SSR, the milk delivery was 10 p. c.; meat — 112; eggs — 100; and wool — 106 p. c. of the assigned quota by the annual planning targets.⁹

Housing has always been a weak spot of the Soviet economy. No wonder, therefore, that the Soviet press praised the case where the collective farm workers, aside of their regular farm work, were able in some instances to construct additional dwelling units.¹⁰ With the approach of winter, *Silski Visti* again reported rather satisfactory progress in preparing winter crops 1967/68, application of animal and artificial manure (fertilizer) and in several instances adequate provision of shelter and food for cattle.¹¹

Similar praises of satisfactory or extraordinary achievements in mining and manufacturing were reflected in the Soviet press, such as meeting on time the annual planning quota or targets in some mines; high economy in mobilization of human and material resources in the Podolia regions; large-scale construction of smelting furnaces and steel mills to be completed on the anniversary date of the October Revolution; progress in automation of industrial establishments; achievements in the oil and natural gas industry; discovery of new oil deposits and the use thereof of better equipment and advanced and improved techniques, resulting in several cases in over 100 percent fulfilment of the planning targets.¹² In the Ukrainian SSR alone having based the plans on its enormous resources of natural gas projects were initiated to deliver it to 60 more cities and hundred

7) *Pravda*, June 28, 1967; also, *Selskaya Zhizn'*, June 22, 27, and 28, 1967; *Radianska Ukraïna*, Dec. 28, 1967.

8) *Silski Visti*, Dec. 8, 1967.

9) *Radianska Ukraïna*, Aug. 29, 1967.

10) *Radianska Ukraïna*, July 21, 1967.

11) *Silski Visti*, Nov. 16, 1967.

12) *Radianska Ukraïna*, March 22, July 15, and Aug. 8, 1967; *Robitnychi Hazeta*, March 24, 30, 1967; and *Kultura i Zhyttia*, July 27, 1967.

of townships and villages, and to increase further its extraction in order to enlarge its supply to other parts of the Soviet Union. In Ukraine, 23 regions out of the total 25 were using already natural gas for home heating and cooking and for industrial processes as well.¹³ Substantial progress has been achieved in steel production and output. Cooperative factories in the meat and milk processing industries made all efforts to meet the planning targets.¹⁴

The Ukrainian SSR produced in 1967 more electric energy than the whole Russian empire did before the Revolution, although according to the American standards this is not a spectacular achievement. Electrification of the villages and collective farms in European Russia, Ukraine and Byelorussia has been progressing continuously, but it stays still far behind the planning targets for 1966-70. Respective authorities have been urged to do the utmost to improve the state of affairs.¹⁵ The paper *Sovietskaya Byelorussia* praises the achievements of the Byelorussian manufacturing by stating, that in one minute of the work time 125 pairs of leather footwear, 220 meters of linen and woolen material; in two minutes — one television set, and in four minutes — one tractor are produced in the Byelorussian SSR. At the same time, however, the paper complains about a very serious waste of time and material, which seriously undermines the efficiency of the socialist labour.¹⁶

By the end of October, the Soviet press reported in several instances meeting the planning targets for the ten-month period of 1967 in production of coal, oil, natural gas, iron and manganese ore, electric energy, chemicals, machines and machine tools, textiles, underwear, leather footwear, sugar, meat and other consumer goods.

In the area of transportation such achievements were noted by the press as the introduction of additional electrical trains on short distances to improve suburban traffic. The trains had automatic doors and electric heating. On October 6, 1967, the introduction of the long-distance train Moscow-Kiev-Prague has been reported. Continuously new gas pipe lines were being constructed to enlarge the distribution and usage of natural gas.¹⁷ During July and August 1967, one-and-a-half kilometre long shipping conveyor was installed in the Luhansk coal mines to swiftly get masses of coal to the surface. Production of motor vehicles was growing, although a shortage of spare and replacement parts was pressing and the quality of paints poor. Apparently the quality control has been inadequate.¹⁸

13) *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Aug. 31, and Oct. 28, 1967.

14) *Robitnycha Hazeta*, March 24, 1967; *Radianska Ukraïna*, Dec. 3, 1967.

15) *Silski Visti*, Dec. 20, 1967.

16) *Sovietskaya Byelorussia*, Nov. 15, 1967.

17) *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Oct. 28, 1967; *Molod' Ukraïny*, Sep. 3, 1967, *Radianska Ukraïna*, Aug. 31, Sept. 2 and Nov. 11, 1967.

18) *Radianska Ukraïna*, Sept. 2, 1967; *Zviazda*, Nov. 15, 1967 and Jan. 23, 1968.

These have been a few examples of the numerous press report about the progress made by the Soviet economy in the course of 1967 the second year of the Brezhnev-Kosygin Five-Year Plan. On the other hand there have been numerous press reports about serious shortcomings and drawbacks in the process of the plan fulfilment.

III. Drawbacks

Deplorable things and events happened in all sectors of the Soviet planned economy, seriously hampering the progress in meeting the planning targets and imposing considerable sacrifices upon the people of the USSR. This has actually been a traditional feature of the Soviet socialist economy since its initiation.¹⁹

Farming has always been a soft spot of the Soviet planning, and it appears that during 1967 things did not improve much in this respect. From the Sokal district in Ukraine an alarm was sounded about a bad shape of its sugar beet harvest. There were no combines and other equipment available in proper number to handle the crops in summer. Out of 126 combines more than a half were in the repair shops since winter. The shop managers gave as an excuse the absence of any spare or replacement parts. In the "Lenin" collective farm there were no combines in working order, and in the "Bolshevik" farm only one out of seven, and in that of "New Life" only three out of eight combines could work. Because of the repair difficulties, only a small percentage could be expected to be repaired in the foreseeable future. The author of the report concluded sarcastically that what the collective farms needed to proceed with their field work, was not combines but shovels.²⁰ Low productivity has been reported from many farms.²¹

In a different instance, another trouble was inflicted on the collective farming, which was not an isolated case by any means. In December 1966 lorries were sent for repairs. The farm was waiting five months. Then, it was told to pick up the vehicles. However, they were still not in workable condition and were again returned for repair. By 21st of July 1967 the farm lorries were still not ready for field and harvest work. Poor delivery system of crops, shortage of transportation vehicles, idleness on the delivery stations because of shortage of equipment, personnel and poor labour discipline have been standard drawbacks in handling the farm product.²²

Barns and other shelters for cattle being highly inadequate, feeding the cattle being irrational, and in result of this milk productivity being low in various so-called districts of Ukraine, were related by the Soviet press, along with the appeal directed to the Communist

¹⁹) Chirovsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 300-301.

²⁰) *Silski Visti*, Aug. 31, 1967.

²¹) *Silski Visti*, Dec. 30, 1967; *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Dec. 13, 1967.

²²) *Silski Visti*, Aug. 8, 1967; *Sovietskaya Byelorussia*, Dec. 15, 1967.

Party to intervene on behalf of the better farm economy. The dwelling facilities of the farm workers were highly inadequate as well, the same paper reported.²³

It was pointed out above that the Soviets have undertaken some large-scale irrigation projects in order to increase the sowing area and its fertility. There have been hopes expressed and even achievements reported in this respect. Especially wheat, corn and sugar beet production was expected to improve greatly. In several instances it was related that productivity increased as much as nine times per hectare; that some farms which years ago scored losses, recently not only overcame deficit but even achieved profit. However, very soon conflicting reports were brought by the press. Where the largest irrigation project had been started in the Crimean Peninsula, soon a major trouble developed. There was a shortage of water. Plans in construction were skipped; the main canal was not widened and necessary improvements were not made. Hence, 60,000 hectares of new, and hoped-for, sowing area for rice, wheat, corn and other cultures did not materialize.²⁴ Poor irrigation was also a trouble of the Byelorussian and South Siberian farming.²⁵

Masherov, First Secretary of the Communist Party of the Byelorussian SSR, reported at the plenary meeting of the Party Central Committee, that the farm productivity was still low, management was poor and ineffective in its attempt at plan fulfilment. Management continuously urged the farm workers to work harder, at the same time having neglected other essential aspects of farm economy. He appealed to make an all-out effort by all concerned to raise the agricultural efficiency in the essential third year of planning to make up the deficiencies and losses of the first two years of the Plan 1966-70.

Masherov also stated that the Byelorussian cattle raising and milk production had been exceedingly low, and the state farms being in this respect particularly inefficient. He concluded that technical possibilities had not been fully utilized, there was impermissible wastage and machinery standing idle. He said: "There has been no poor soil, but there has been bad economy." In fact, evaluating the winter crops of 1967, the press reported enormous weed damages in the fields. Another case of poor planning and management in soil utilization has been related from the Vinnytsia region, the Ukr. SSR., where numerous plots of a very fertile black soil instead of being used for farming, served as dump yards for cities and towns. Hundreds

²³) *Radianska Ukraïna*, Dec. 28, 1967.

²⁴) *Molod' Ukraïny*, April 11, 1967, Jan. 6, 1968; *Radianska Ukraïna*, Feb. 16, 1968.

²⁵) *Zviazda*, Sep. 7, 1967.

of hectares of land have been wasted in this way, since the case is not isolated by any means.²⁶

There has been trouble with labour in the Soviet agriculture as well. Agricultural specialists in particular run away from the village and farms, looking for better wages and more pleasant living conditions in the urban areas. Complaints about the shortage of specialized labour in the collective farms have been numerous, and the ministry of farming has been urged to curb this trend and force those specialists to stay and work where they were supposed to.²⁷ Otherwise from Byelorussia it was reported, that the working conditions in the farm fields were bad, thus causing considerable waste of working time and energy.²⁸

Apparently because of those serious drawbacks in the Soviet agriculture, the Soviet leaders were forced to introduce some new measures to alleviate the gravity of the situation. In January 1968 for instance, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR. established the Red Banner distinction for the victorious farms in the socialist emulation in agricultural productivity. The Red Banner would rotate annually from one farm to another and always held by the farms which would win the efficiency emulation in the given year. At the same time the Party agencies of all levels have been urged again to intensify their watchfulness and control toward securing an utmost increase of farm productivity.²⁹

Not much more encouraging has been the situation in certain manufacturing branches, in particular, in the consumer industries. Continuously complaints have been registered by the Soviet press that amidst of the advanced machinery and automated production in the industrial plants, still old and falling-apart wheelbarrows were being used as an indispensable equipment of internal plant transportation. For weeks some factories have been waiting for certain electrical spare parts necessary for their machines. They were waiting in vain. The press related that in numerous cases the workers were willing and eager to work, but because of poor management and shortage of the loading and handling equipment, the work stoppages were prolonged. In consequence large quantities of raw material and half-fabricated goods accumulate in the plant yards under the open skies, being exposed to damaging weather conditions.³⁰

Shortage of raw materials, inadequate and not on time deliveries of materials and their poor qualities have been permanently plaguing the Soviet manufacturing, causing serious breaks and stoppages in

²⁶) *Zviastda*, Jan. 23, 1968; *Radianska Ukraïna*, Dec. 15, 1967.

²⁷) *Radianska Ukraïna*, Jan. 9, 1968.

²⁸) *Sovietskaya Byelorussia*, Dec. 15, 1967.

²⁹) *Radianska Ukraïna*, Jan. 20, 1968.

³⁰) *Robitnycha Hazeta*, March 29, 1967, *Radianska Ukraïna*, March 17 and Sept. 21, 1967, *Zviastda*, Dec. 12, 1967 and Jan. 23, 1968.

the manufacturing processes in the Donets Basin industrial centre. Complaints followed complaints, bringing, however, no improvement; managerial personnel has been fully disinterested in correcting the chaos. Newspapers again called on the Communist Party to intensify its economic controls. It seems that in the USSR the party is considered a miraculous cure for everything.³¹

In one sugar refinery in Ukraine, inspectors needed six cars to do their job. Four of them needed to be repaired, but the spare parts could not be obtained. The refinery appealed to various agencies for assistance and always got a "no" for an answer. The agencies were not considered competent to help, since the refinery seemed to be outside of their business jurisdiction. Finally, the Ministry of Agricultural Produce Processing Industries ordered the Kievan Motorcycle Factory to supply the necessary spare parts, but the plant did not cooperate. The management of the refinery continued with its desperate calls for help in the matter with no avail. A chemical plant in Luhansk was receiving hundreds of telegrams requesting artificial fertilizer. Hundreds of tons of fertilizer of all kind were available for shipping and delivery. However, the railroad had no freight cars to spare. The fertilizer was not shipped. The freight cars have been ever more difficult to get during 1967, making industrial establishments unable to meet their planning targets in many instances. In the Lviv (Lvov) district raw materials and half-manufactured products have not been moved by the railway; fertilizer, grain, salt, and lime have been largely wasted by being stored under the open sky.³² Serious shortages developed, because hundreds of trucks waited months for repair due to lack of parts or their inferior quality.

The quality of the manufactured goods was often very poor; underwear of low quality and poor appearance, thread and needles although produced in sufficient quantities were too thick and too crude; refrigerators did not work, and there was a real hunt for spare and replacement parts to make them freeze and safely store the food. Basic household and kitchen appliances were not available in the department stores in the European USSR; and the working conditions in some plants were critically substandard; hazardous for employees' health, because of dirt and filth and no facilities to wash. In some places the workers engaged in real races to get first to the washrooms at the end of the work-day in order to avoid hours of wasteful waiting.³³

High officials of the Soviet planned economy, such as Comrade Kulikov, Minister of Ferrous Metallurgy of the Ukr. SSR., having mentioned over and over again that the third year of planning was

³¹) *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Sept. 17, 22, 1967; *Molod' Ukraïny*, Feb. 14, 1968.

³²) *Silski Visti*, Sept. 8, 1967; *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Sept. 22, 1967; *Radianska Ukraïna*, Sept. 17 and 21, 1967.

³³) *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Oct. 28, and Dec. 14, 1967 and Feb. 7, 1968.

the most crucial one, appealed for an increase of industrial productivity. Socialist work contests were introduced in the steel and iron mills and plants for the purpose of higher efficiency. The Party enlisted a million-and-half communist activists to push for more work and machine productivity.³⁴

Comrade Masherov from the Byelorussian SSR, mentioned earlier stated that cooperation, work organization, process rationalization, utilization of scientific and technical methods and potentials and use of labour had been highly inadequate in industrial management causing work stoppages and waste.³⁵

The Soviet consumer was suffering greatly because of those agricultural and industrial deficiencies; this being traditional for the totalitarian Soviet society and the planned Soviet economy. There has been no coal or wood for heating his living quarters; the price of coal being high and its quality being bad; "a half ton of dirt, good for flower beds", *Robitnycha Hazeta* reported.³⁶ Paints have been clay of only 2/3 of the can. Transistor radios did not work. The repairmen charged high prices for their services without really fixing the sets. Television sets could be bought, but aerials were not available. There was little choice of merchandise; especially in small towns and the countryside. There has been a dramatic discrimination in this respect against the countryside as compared with large cities. No nylons, nylon shirts, black elegant shoes, black suits or other good-quality wear could be obtained; there were only names of the stores and store announcements to confuse and discourage the consumers. Otherwise, bad quality and workmanship of the consumer goods; shirts with one arm longer and another shorter; television sets going from sales floors directly to the repair shops and remaining there for good; furniture being of an ugly style and inferior quality while priced as quality products; sugar from the Chernihiv refinery was bitter and poisonous.³⁷

In the state-owned apartment houses the heating systems did not work; the houses themselves had been poorly constructed and left without any maintenance and in bad shape; with water leaks in the walls and ceilings, cracked floors, and bathtubs being permanent pools of water. Complaints about the unsanitary conditions have been largely ignored.³⁸ Moreover, there has been a prolonged shortage of dwelling units in the USSR, but the construction of the new ones did

³⁴) *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Feb. 2, 1968 and *Molod' Ukraïny*, Feb. 14, 1968.

³⁵) *Zviazda*, Jan. 23, 1968.

³⁶) *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Oct. 18, 1967.

³⁷) *Silski Visti*, Sept. 29, 1967; *Robitnycha Hazeta*, March 3, April 5; July 26; Aug. 8; Sept. 20; Oct. 4 and 18, 1967; *Perets*, Aug. 1967; *Literatura i Mastatstvo*, Aug. 29, 1967; *Chyrvonaya Zmena*, Jan. 16, 1968; *Sovietskaya Byelorussia*, Dec. 16, 1967; *Radianska Ukraïna*, Jan. 14 and 17, 1968.

³⁸) *Perets*, Aug. 1967.

not progress successfully. Usually, the initiation of the new construction projects was accompanied with much noise and publicity, while in many instances later on the work was interrupted for good and grave silence followed. Otherwise, the construction work was substandard. In the case of a repair or remodelling of apartment houses, the work might drag for three or more years, and then suddenly stopped in the middle without resumption of it at any later time. Also in this case, complaints did not help much.³⁹

At one time in Byelorussia some large-scale construction projects were undertaken; 80,000 dwelling units, 5,000 clubs, 10,000 school buildings, 10,000 stores, hundreds of dining halls, kindergartens, hospitals and orphanages. The work has been substandard, however. Wall cracks developed right away, there was no hot water, windows did not open, sanitary conditions were terrible, in most cases.⁴⁰

The Soviet consumer suffered also because of abnormal conditions in the retail trade throughout the USSR. The paper *Sovietskaya Byelorussia* related serious drawbacks in the Soviet retail trade in 1967; arrogant and fresh sales personnel, shortage of merchandise, even shortage of bread, business held in irregular hours as it pleased the sales people, customers wasting their time by waiting for hours for the stores to be opened at odd times. Filth and dirt fill the stores and merchandise is chaotically kept. The working people can scarcely get to the stores, which close early, and the things can be bought personally only and only if you are on friendly terms with the sales personnel. Sales ladies are not ashamed to hide the merchandise in front of the customers and arrogantly declare that everything had been sold out.⁴¹ Empty bottles, from milk, wine, beer or other liquids, must be transported by the customers sometimes for 30 kilometres to be returned to specially designated places. Regular retail stores, selling the goods, do not accept those bottles. On the other hand, the sales personnel is poorly treated and cared for by the state management of commerce. Hence, the salesmen and salesladies are completely disinterested in doing a good job.⁴²

During 1967 there was in the USSR an unemployment which indicated a break-down of one of the most fundamental principles of the Marxist-oriented planning; it is that of a full utilization of economic resources, including labour. In the cities and towns of the Soviet Union there were over one million unemployed people, most of whom were women. Lay-offs followed in mining, fuel industry and transportation, in particular. At the same time in Siberia and Far East there was a shortage of skilled labour, while in the Ural

³⁹) *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Aug. 9 and Oct. 18, 1967.

⁴⁰) *Zviastda*, Dec. 10 and *Sovietskaya Byelorussia*, Dec. 16, 1967.

⁴¹) *Sovietskaya Byelorussia*, Sept. 9 and Oct. 25, 1967.

⁴²) *Vozhik*, No. 14, 1967; *Sovietskaya Byelorussia*, Dec. 21, 1967; *Chyrvonaya Zmena*, Jan. 1, 1968.

Mountains mines were abandoned and people laid off. Certain small towns in the Ural region could not develop, because they were not properly included in the Five-Year Plan. All this indicated serious faults of planned economics which fell far short of expectation.⁴³

Yanov in his article "Kostroma's Experiment", indicated several drawbacks in the Soviet labour economy. The young people by and large leave the countryside and migrate to the urban areas, where living conditions are much better. The unskilled and semiskilled youth either goes to trade schools in the cities or immediately joins industrial occupations with better pay and more regular working hours. Secondary school graduates never think to stay on the farms. The professional people keep completely away from the villages, hence the farm directors are the only representatives of the "intelligentsia" in the countryside, who in fact are the leaders of the village community life. This alone presents a threat to any democratic relations there.⁴⁴

The working people were exposed during 1967 to all kinds of harrassments after their work hours; the problems of transportation home being the most serious one. Trains were dirty and not heated; bus services were irregular, circulating at odd times and refusing to run on the scheduled routes. Whoever had to work late could not find any transportation home at all. Complaints were to no avail. Anyway, these conditions were reported from Boryslav, in Ukraine, from Byelorussia, and other places. Transportation agencies brought to their defense, as a justification of service delays and interruptions, the lack of spare and replacement parts and bad repair progress. Drivers were very rude, and there was no justification for that.⁴⁵

Otherwise, various authors brought to public attention other drawbacks in the planned economy. Melnikov complained, for example, that in the USSR until today there had not been made an overall evaluation of production resources, no effective protection of those resources, like an over-all afforestation programme, and no programmes for water and air pollution. Without those measures a planned economy can scarcely be efficient.⁴⁶ Khaliletskii, on the other hand, indicated the dramatic contradiction between the tremendous resources of the *Taiga* and its poor exploitation and waste due to inadequate labour.⁴⁷ These and other thoughts and ideas were being expressed in a continuous stream of criticism, indicating serious

⁴³ K. Novikov, "Problemy Trudovykh Resursov", *Trud*, Aug. 6, 1967.

⁴⁴ A. Yanov, "Kostromskoy Eksperiment", *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, Dec. 27, 1967.

⁴⁵ *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Feb. 13, 1968; *Zviastda*, Nov. 15, 1967 and Feb. 11, 1968. *Nastavnikskaya Gazeta* Dec. 16, 1967.

⁴⁶ N. Melnikov, "Prezhde chem reki povernut' vsplat", *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, July 12, 1967.

⁴⁷ G. Khaliletskii, "Taiga", *Ekonomicheskaya Gazeta*, No. 37, Sept. 1967.

shortcomings in the Soviet economy in the 40th year of its concentrated planning efforts.

IV. Official Declarations

The progress in meeting the planning targets of the Soviet economy during 1967 apparently did not make the Soviet leaders very happy and sure of themselves. Establishing the Red Banner to be given as distinction to the collective farms for winning the socialist contests in raising agricultural productivity, was one of the indications of the men from the Kremlin of having been uneasy about the performances of farming in the second year of the current planning era.

Then, on September 26, 1967, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of the Ministers of the USSR proclaimed *the Decree about the New Measures in Raising the Welfare of the Soviet People*. The new measures announced were to be put into effect on January 1, 1968, and they were largely as follows:

Minimum wages were raised to 60 rubles per month and for certain categories of the workers the increases have been up to 70 rubles monthly. A wage coefficient was established for the employees in the light and consumer industries, in education, social work, cultural and scholarly professions, and other fields, especially in the Far East and the European North, wherever such coefficient had not been yet in operation. Special wage considerations were adopted for those arctic and newly developing regions where the living conditions were particularly demanding. The vacation time for those areas, where it was only 12 days, was extended to 15. The taxes were lowered by 25 per cent for the lowest income brackets, ranging from 60 to 80 rubles a month. The social security system was improved; the pensions of the veteran invalids and other groups unable to earn were increased; the retirement age was lowered in general from 65 to 60 years of age for men and from 60 to 55 for women, while for certain reasons, such as health impairment because of the military service or working under some most demanding conditions, the retirement age might have been reduced by additional five years (55 and 50) for both, men and women. The pensions for the collective farm workers were increased too, in case of injuries or other disabilities. The pensions for the invalid veteran officers were substantially improved on the monthly basis.⁴⁸

The reasons for that welfare decree were numerous. First of all, the Soviet leadership wanted to mark in some impressive way, at least theoretically speaking, the 50th anniversary of the Bolshevik

⁴⁸) *Pravda*, Sept. 27, 1967; *Radianska Ukraïna*, Sept. 27, 67.

Revolution. Secondly, the inflationary pressures which continued throughout 1966 and 1967, made the old salary and wage scales at their bottoms too low and unrealistic even for the Soviet conditions. Third, the growing unrest within the Soviet society made such a government move, stressing welfare, mandatory in order to quieten down the discontent and to strengthen the position of those in power. And fourthly, the unsatisfactory performance of the planned economy urged the introduction of some new work incentives, the above decrees on welfare being one of them. It was an indirect admission of the terrible inflation and domestic difficulties, which on the other hand having raised labour costs, will complicate the fulfilment of planning targets for 1968.

A few days later, another document was published, *An Appeal of the CC of CPSU and the Council of Ministers to the Soviet People*, being a perennial self-praise of the Communist Party and the Soviet socialistic way of life and repeating the 50 years-old promises.

On the 50th anniversary of the Revolution the Soviet leaders promised again a construction of the socialist state and communist society in the USSR.⁴⁹ The liquidation of exploitation of man by man and raising the social prestige of labour; the introduction of the Socialist system of production and economy; building the brotherhood of all nationalities in the Soviet Union; the elimination of poverty and unemployment and building the socialist democracy had been achieved in the Soviet Union, the document insincerely maintained. The Document continued further to impress in the minds of the people that they were the bearers of the Marxist ideology.⁵⁰

On November 24, 1967 the decision of the CC of CPSU and the Council of Ministers toward enhancing the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan was announced. Something must have gone wrong, if still new measures were necessary to make the planned economy work. The new document approved socialist productivity contests with respect of meeting the planning targets. It called upon the Party again and the proper ministries of the Union Republics to mobilize all production forces in farming and manufacturing; to develop new productive capacities; to increase construction of dwelling units and cultural and educational facilities; to maximize utilization of resources; to accelerate the use of new scientific and technical inventions; to improve the quality of the products; to increase farm productivity; and to speed up the irrigation works.

Newspapers, journals, periodicals, television and radio were called upon to include themselves actively in the large-scale propaganda campaign and to cover systematically the work and efficiency progress in agriculture, industry, transportation and other fields of the Soviet

⁴⁹) *Pravda*, Nov. 5, 1967; *Robotnycha Hazeta*, Nov. 5, 1967.

⁵⁰) Chirovsky, *Ibid.*

economy. Since the end of the Five-Year Plan 1966-70 would coincide with the 100th anniversary of Lenin's birthday, the efforts for meeting the planning targets should be doubled, the documentary appeal of the Soviet leadership concluded.⁵¹ Then, on January 25, 1968 the official figures about the accomplishments of the second year of the seventh Five-Year Plan in progress, were published.

V. Official Figures and their Evaluation

One of the ways in evaluating the accomplishments of the Soviet economy in 1967 can be their comparison with the accomplishments of 1966, the first year of the 1966-70 planned period, and relating them with the planned targets for 1970 as announced by the planning Directives. This may right away disclose the rate of progress of the national economy of the USSR.

Having taken some major indicators of economic growth, the following comparative picture has suggested itself for evaluation of the Soviet economy for 1967:

<i>Indicators</i> ⁵² .	1966 As Percentage of 1965	1967 as Percentage of 1966
GNP	—	—
National Income Industrial Prod.	107.5	106.6
Group "A"	109.0	107.5
Group "B"	107.0	106.6
Agriculture	110.0	107.0
Capital Constr.	106.0	107.0
Personal Income per person	106.0	105.5

The indicators clearly show, that in terms of percentage the rate of Soviet economic growth in 1966 was greater than in 1967, although the former in absolute terms was somewhat shorter and as the initial one, somewhat more difficult one for the coordination of all planning activities. Hence the results of the latter one seemed highly dubious. No wonder, therefore, that the Soviet leadership has been uneasy about it.

⁵¹ *Pravda*, Nov. 25, 1967; *Robitnycha Hazeta*, Nov. 28, 1967.

⁵² *Pravda*, Jan. 25, 1968 p. 1.

Let us now briefly examine the major branches of Soviet production

<i>Industries</i> ⁵³	1966 as Percentage of 1965	1967 as Percentage of 1966
Electricity	108.0	108.0
Oil	109.0	109.0
Nat. Gas	112.0	110.0
Coal	101.0	102.0
Steel	106.0	106.0
Motor Vehicles	110.0	108.0
Textiles	107.2	107.0
Meat	109.0	112.0
Sugar	88.0	102.0
Butter	102.0	106.0
TV sets	121.0	112.0

Also in this respect the accomplishments have not been staggering. Several industries have indicated no increase in the percentage rate of growth; other indicated even a decline, like the natural gas, motor vehicles, textile and television industries. Only production of some foods supposedly increased, but in view of other disclosures in this connection, a slight credibility gap might develop there. Also similar conclusions can be drawn from the statistics of the plan fulfilment on the territorial basis of the individual Union republics:⁵⁴

<i>Republic</i>	1966 as Percentage of 1965	1967 as Percentage of 1966
Russian RSSR	108.0	110.0
Ukrainian SSR	108.0	109.0
Byelorussian SSR	113.0	113.0
Lithuanian SSR	112.0	113.0

No significant improvement over the previous rate of growth can be here identified, which puts the high hopes of plan fulfilment by 1970 in considerable doubt.

However, the gravity of the situation can be fully recognized by measuring present achievements of the Soviet economy against the planning targets for 1970 as fixed by the Plan Directives of February 20, 1966.⁵⁵

⁵³) *Ibid.*

⁵⁴) *Ibid.*

⁵⁵) The Directives..., *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 7 and 8. *Pravda*, Jan. 29, 1967 and Jan. 25, 1968.

Items	Plan Target For 1970	Produced By		
		1965	1966	1967
<i>Electricity</i> (Milliards of Kilowatt hours)	830-850	507.0	545.0	589.0
<i>Steel</i> (Mill. Tons)	124-129	91.0	96.9	102.2
<i>Oil</i> (Mill. Tons)	345-355	243.0	265.0	288.0
<i>Gas</i> (Milliards of cubic meters)	225-240	129.0	145.0	159.0
<i>Cement</i> (Mill. Tons)	100-105	72.4	80.0	84.0
<i>Leather Foot wear</i> (Mill. Pairs)	610-630	486.0	522.0	561.0
<i>Meat</i> (Mill. Tons)	5.9-6.2	4.8	10.8	11.4

On the basis of these figures, the plan fulfilment and meeting its targets have been clearly behind the schedule. Having used only some average rates of growth from the basis of 1965 and projecting them against the targets of 1970, by the end of 1967 the quantities produced by the Soviet economy of those selected commodities should have been as follows:

Items ⁵⁶	Quantity to be Produced by 1967 to meet the plan		Actually Produced
<i>Electricity</i> (Milliards kilowatt hours)	about	620.0	589.0
<i>Steel</i> (Mill. tons)	about	104.0	102.2
<i>Oil</i> (Mill. tons)	about	287.0	288.0
<i>Gas</i> (Milliards cubic meters)	about	203.0	159.0
<i>Cement</i> (Mill. tons)	about	82.0	84.8
<i>Leather Footwear</i> (Mill. pairs)	about	530.0	561.0
<i>Meat</i> (Mill. tons)	about	7.6	11.0

The traditional lack of balance in meeting the planning targets has been here clearly shown; certain economic areas have been behind the scheduled quotas; other areas have met their targets; in still other fields overfulfilment may be expected. This lack of balance in the economic growth certainly has been the soft spot of planning and its realization. Autonomous market forces of demand and supply do a better job in respect of a better proportion among various economic fields.

Furthermore, another drawback has been evident from the figures of the economic performance in the course of 1967; the industrial preference over the consumer interest has been evident as in the

⁵⁶) Computed from the sources as above.

previous planning eras. In 1967, industrial production increased by 107, while the agricultural barely by 103 per cent as related to 1961 levels. Furthermore, industrial group "A" (heavy manufacturing) developed better, by 1.1 per cent more, than group "B" (consumer goods manufacturing) to continue the trend.

A reference to the official statement about the economic development in 1967, as published in *Pravda* on January 25, 1968, reflects that lack of internal economic balance, when related to the whole body of the statement. The invocation begins:

"The workers of the Soviet Union have been realizing the directives of the XXIIIrd Congress of the Party and with dignity have met the 50th anniversary of the October Revolution, and have achieved in 1967, the second year of the Five-Year Plan new success in constructing the material and technical foundations of Communism."

Then, the official statement enumerated and praised various socialistic achievements of the economy. It stated, among other things, the facts of an increase in the agricultural productivity by 17 per cent in comparison to the average of 1961-65; of a substantial increase in the output of the consumer goods industries (Group "B"); of the improved transportation; and of putting some 700 manufacturing establishments on the new, libermanistic principles of profit motivation to increase efficiency.

However, some of those "achievements" might have raised serious doubts. A 17 percent increase in the farm productivity might not be so impressive for several reasons. First of all, during those years, 1961-67, the population of the Soviet Union increased by some 20 million souls, or by some 9 percent. Second, the shortage of food in 1961-64 was so bad that the Soviets had to import grain to avoid disaster. Hence, 17 percent increase, starting with such a low basis has not been much. It has been an improvement, but really a very modest one. Third, in fact in 1967 the over-all grain harvest was by some 23.6 million tons smaller than that in 1966. Hence, in this respect 1967 was a step backwards, considering the fact, that grain has been a very important component of the diet of the USSR population.

According to the statistics, the quantity of the manufactured consumer goods might have increased, but their quality certainly left much to be desired, according to the press reports throughout 1967, as was shown above. Also according to the press, the profit-motivation principle in the mentioned 7000 establishments was still not working satisfactorily; management remained largely indifferent. The situation was similar in the field of transportation, too.

In several instances the rate of growth was negligible. Production of the following items remained critically low, scarcely above the 1966 level:

Items ⁵⁷	Percent of 1966
Coal	102
Agricultural Machinery	105
Forestry (certain sorts)	104
Bricks	103
Roofing materials	104
Glass	102
Textiles	104
Sugar	102
Vegetable Oil	102
Soap	99
Cattle	101
Pigs	90
Sheep and goats	102

Agricultural machinery has been always dramatically short in the Soviet farming, hence its 5 percent increase meant little. Otherwise, in view of the population increase the above figures do show a really negligible progress.

The official statement about the performance of the Soviet economy could not cover up the deficiencies, and had to admit them by stating that planned targets were not met in numerous instances; in the over-all production, the production costs were not reduced; under-production took place in manufacturing, motor, heating, some plastics, turbines, transformers, certain farm machinery and implements, construction materials, refrigerators, fish processing, and other industries. There was during 1967 a slow progress in the utilization of technical capacity in metallurgy, chemical and paper industries and other industrial fields, although, during that year 3,000 new machines, 1,500 new types of equipment and many new products and technical processes were introduced. Progress was achieved in mechanization and automation.

The statement in *Pravda* admitted low productivity in farming and cattle raising, poor labour utilization and organization, and in particular, the shortcomings in the state farms, the socialist ideal of farm structure. Those agricultural shortcomings occurred in spite of heavy capital investments (10 percent over 1966), new machinery and equipment utilization and extensive use of fertilizers. Transportation and retail trade performances stayed below expectancy.⁵⁸

Hence, having taken all aspects in consideration, it seems that the progress in the fulfilment of the Five-Year Plan targets of the Soviet economy may have been below the rate of that of the year 1966.

⁵⁷) *Pravda*, Jan. 25, 1967 p. 2.

⁵⁸) *Ibid.*

Natalia POLONSKA-VASYLENKO

Professor of History, Ukrainian Free University

WAS THERE A UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH?

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* of 3. 6. 1967 published under the above title extracts from a letter to the Editor by Prof. Natalia Polonska-Vasylenko contributing to a discussion on the subject of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. The following is the full text of the letter.

Prof. Natalia
Polonska-Vasylenko,
Dornstadt near Ulm

The *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*,
Frankfurt-am-Main.

May I say a few words on the controversy: "Was there a Ukrainian Orthodox Church or is it only a 'fantasy' of the Ukrainian emigrants?"

Mr Claus Gennrich published in your newspaper of 4. 3. 67 an article with the title 'The Church of the Emigrants.' In this he wrote that the Russian Church and the Ukrainian Church did not recognise each other as being canonical. A reply to this article was written by Mr. Anfir Ostaptchuk: "The Ukrainian Orthodox Church." (*Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 20. 3. 67).

Mr. Ostaptchuk's thoroughly objective point of view unexpectedly drew sharp criticism from Prof. M. Hellmann. (*F. A. Z.*, 29. 3. 67) Even the title of his article — "No Ukrainian Orthodox Church" seems to show a lack of objectivity by the author. He begins his statement with the following words: 'The Ukrainian Orthodox Church, discussed in the letter of Anfir Ostaptchuk (*F. A. Z.*, 20. 3. 67), is, as a historical phenomenon, a product of the fantasy of the Ukrainian national emigrants.' This authoritarian statement he supports as follows:

When St. Volodymyr of Kyiv decided in 988 to accept Christianity openly he christianised not only the Ukrainians, but also the Byelorussians and Great Russians, all the East Slav tribes. Prof. Hellmann is wrong in this assertion. Under Volodymyr, at the end of the 10th century, the territory which later became Russian had

not yet been settled in by the Great Russians. At this time this territory was inhabited by Finnish tribes, the Merya, Muroma, Meshcherya and others. Slav colonisation was able to advance only with great difficulties into the Finnish area, partly by driving out the native inhabitants and partly by uniting themselves with them. The Slavs found on Finnish soil a culture preserved from the Stone Age and a developed pagan cult with sacrificial priests, who enjoyed great authority. It is a fact that Christianity under Volodymyr found a footing among the Ukrainian tribes, above all the *Poliany*. It is known that even before 988 Christian missionaries were at work among the *Poliany*. The work of the missionaries became more and more difficult towards the North. In Novgorod the Great Christianity came up against strong opposition from the population. Not without reason has the saying, which gives us information about the methods of Christianisation, been preserved: 'Putiata baptises with the sword and Dobrynia with fire.' The Christian missionaries had an even worse time in the Finnish areas, viz. in the territory of the later Great Russia. Not only under Volodymyr but also even in the 11th century the messengers of Christianity found martyrdom. The magicians and heathen priests with their supporters confronted them. In the 12th century there were still Christian martyrs there. Thus Mr. Ostapchuk was right to assert that the church founded in the year 988 in Ukraine was spread principally among the Ukrainian population.

The question of the beginning of the independence of the Ukrainian metropolis from the Moscow patriarch is surely of great importance. Mr. Ostapchuk is correct in writing that the Ukrainian Church, which was earlier under the Constantinople patriarch, was handed over in 1686 (he writes incorrectly 1689) to the Moscow patriarch. He also points out the circumstances which had given rise to this event. He emphasises that this act of transfer was not canonical, as was confirmed by the synod of the Constantinople patriarch in 1924. The author points this out as one of the many facts which give evidence of the independence of the Ukrainian Church from Moscow. Mr. Ostapchuk is not here stating anything new. The problem of the handing over of the Kyiv metropolis to Moscow by the Constantinople patriarch is in itself not new. There is much literature on this subject, above all on the decision of the 1924 Synod, which recognised the above-mentioned action as not canonical.¹⁾ But Mr. Ostapchuk's reference to this generally known fact calls forth from Prof. Hellmann a thoroughly unacademic reply, according to which everything that Mr. Ostapchuk wrote on the problem is 'pure fantasy and historical bias.'

Prof. Hellmann tries to give support to his deficient knowledge of the events of the years 1685-6, which had as a consequence the handing over of the Kyiv metropolis by the Constantinople patriarch Dionysios IV to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch, with the

theory of an absorption of the Kyïv metropolis as an unavoidable result of previous historical events. He claims that, after the Kyï metropolitan transferred his seat to Vladimir on the Klyazma and later to Moscow, there were no other metropolitans in Ukraine. "The Eastern Orthodox Church remained subject to the Moscow metropolitans from 1589 and not 1689, as Mr. Ostaptchuk writes." Mr. Ostaptchuk makes no single mention of the formation of the Moscow patriarchate. The Moscow metropolis changed into patriarchate. Prof. Hellmann leaves out of account the fact that in 1415 after some short-lived attempts in Ukraine a Kyïv metropolis came into existence, which remained under the jurisdiction of the Constantinople patriarchate until 1686, that is to say, until the time when it was handed over to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate. The founding of the Moscow patriarchate in 1589 had no importance for this Ukrainian church.²

The unclear statements made by Prof. Hellmann contain roughly the following ideas. Through the formation of the Moscow patriarchate the Orthodox and Catholic churches became united in 1596 in Ukraine, which belonged to the Lithuanian and Polish states. This new uniatic church existed until 1945, when it was banned.

In addition Prof. Hellmann mentions some Ukrainian Orthodox Church or other whose connection with the Kyïv metropolis is unclear for him. "There also remained in existence an Orthodox Church in the double kingdom of Poland and Lithuania, which as a result of the Cossack rising of 1654" and of the agreement on unification made by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi with Moscow passed over to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchate. Everything else is the product of Prof. Hellmann's "pure fantasy." He dismembers artificially the history, which should be considered as a whole, of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In all probability he considers all Ukrainians in the Lithuanian-Polish state after 1596 as Uniates and only a very small part as Orthodox. The latter took part in the rising under Bohdan Khmelnytskyi and automatically submitted themselves to the Moscow Patriarchate. (Incidentally the time of the rising is given by him as 1654 and not 1648). Everything which contradicts this Russophile conception is explained by Prof. Hellmann as fantasy.

Prof. Hellmann states decisively that the Ukrainians did not take part in the battle of Poltava in 1709. Peter the Great of Russia defeated Charles XII of Sweden. As Prof. Hellmann expresses it, one could understand it in such a way that it seems unknown why the armies of the two states came together on Ukrainian territory and that victory or defeat had no importance for the Ukrainians. It was in this battle that the last attempt of the Ukrainians was made to regain their independence from Russia. Hetman Ivan Mazepa was an ally of Charles XII. The defeat of Sweden signified to an even greater extent the defeat of the Ukrainians. We can endorse Mr. Ostaptchuk when he claims that Ukraine forfeited its political independence a

the battle of Poltava. He is also correct in reckoning the beginning of the Russification of the Ukrainian Church from Peter I on. In contrast to this, Prof. Hellmann has no valid reason to claim that the Ukrainian Church underwent no Russification until Nicholas I. On the contrary, the curtailment of the rights of the Kyïv metropolitan commenced even in the first days following subordination to the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarchs. In the first laws of the Tsars Ivan, Peter and their sister the Tsarina Sophia the Kyïv metropolis was assured of its rights. Immediately however after the assumption of jurisdiction by the Moscow patriarch, the curtailment of these rights began. At the time when the Kyïv metropolis was incorporated under Moscow jurisdiction, it contained six eparchies, that is to say, the whole of Ukraine. These eparchies were gradually lost, in as much as they went over to the direct administration of the Patriarchs. In the end only the Kyïv eparchy remained. The Kyïv metropolis remained as such only in name. After 1722 the title of the Kyïv metropolitan was abolished. (In 1741 the title of metropolitan was restored). Since the 17th century the Ukrainian Church has gradually lost her rights. Throughout this period it was "synodical." Its highest instance was the synod. All dignitaries of the church, from deacon to metropolitan, were chosen by the faithful. In the monasteries also the monks elected their abbots and archimandrites. After the loss of independence the Moscow patriarchs and after 1721 the Holy Synod, representing the patriarchs, often appointed not Ukrainians but Russians as metropolitans, archimandrites and priests. Gradually the great monasteries left the jurisdiction of the Kyïv metropolitan. They were henceforth put directly under the Synod.

Gradually also the Russification of the main source of Ukrainian culture, the Kyïv Academy, went forward. Prof. Hellmann is wrong when he claims that under Peter I it was ecclesiastical. It was concerned with many different studies. Russian was introduced there as the language of instruction and Russian professors were appointed. In 1817 the Academy was closed and a year later a Russian ecclesiastical academy founded. Parallel to this, the printing right of the Pecherska Lavra (Cave Monastery), which had been guaranteed in 1686, was curtailed. At the same time the publishing of books was placed under censorship. In 1720 Peter I banned the publishing of books which were different from the Moscow books.

Thus did the Ukrainian Church lose many of its rights during the 18th century and became Russified to a considerable extent. Prof. Hellmann ended his article with the following sentence: "Ukrainian national emigrants tried in 1924 to bring about the condemnation of the raising of the Moscow metropolis to a patriarchate. The 'historical' arguments brought forward were no more valid than those of Mr. Ostaptchuk. The German public, which is unfamiliar with the conditions in Eastern Europe, is being misled. Thus historical truth is being ignored."

We will not enter into a discussion with Prof. Hellmann, although all his statements need discussing. We will simply try to make Prof. Hellmann aware of a part of the copious literature which has escaped his knowledge. As the author himself will notice, we have not taken any from Ukrainian writings, which are equally extensive, in order to avoid possible remonstrations that we have followed the Ukrainian nationalist line. For this reason we have completely omitted all mention of Ukrainian literature. We have listed principally Russian sources (South-West Russian Archives, Documents on the history of the Kyiv Academy), as well as research from the 19th century, also mainly by Russian scholars, who can with difficulty be charged with 'Ukrainian nationalism.' An unbiased examination just of this literature will show how far Mr. Ostapchuk is from 'fantasies' and the 'historical truth' has not been ignored.

In conclusion we would like to mention that it is incomprehensible to us how a professor, even if historical truth were on his side, can make use in an academic discussion of such insulting expressions as 'fantasies' or 'historical bias.'

We list here the most important literature. N.B. None by Ukrainian emigrants.

- 1) *South-West Russian Archives*, volume V. Documents on the subordination of the Kyiv metropolis to the Moscow patriarchate. Kyiv 1873, edited by Professor Ternovsky S. A. of the Kyiv Ecclesiastical Academy, with his own introduction;
Einhorn, W. S., *Relationship of the Little Russian clergy to the Moscow government under the Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich*, Moscow 1899;
Kharlampovich, K. M., *Influence of the Little Russians on Great Russia Ecclesiastical Life*, Kazan 1914;
Lototskyi, O. A., *The Ukrainian Sources of Canon Law*, Warsaw 1931.
- 2) Makariy, Metropolitan, *History of the Russian Church*, Vol. II Moscow 1866;
Chistovich, N., *Outline of the History of the West-Russian Church*, SPB 1882-84;
Golubev, S., *The Kyiv metropolitan Peter Mohyla and his fellow-fighters*, Kyiv 1888-1893, Vol. I and II;
Yatsimirskiy, A., *Grigoriy Tsamvlak*, SPB 1904;
Titov, F., *West Russia in the fight for faith and nationhood in XVII-XVIII Centuries*, Kyiv 1905;
Bendov, V., *The Orthodox Church in Poland and Lithuania*, Yekaterinoslav 1908;
Lototskyi O. A., see above.
- 3) Yanakov, N., *The Northern Wars. Researches of the Imperial Russia Society for Military History*, SPB 1909, Vol. I and II;
Hallendorf, C., *Charles XII in Ukraine*, Stockholm 1915;
Nolde, B., *Ukraine under the Russian Protectorate*, Paris 1915;
Stille A. Tagemont, *Russia 1709*, Stockholm 1918.
- 4) *South-West Russian Archives*, T. I, Vol. V, Kyiv 1873;
Petrov, N., *Documents and Records on the History of the Kyiv Ecclesiastical Academy*, Vol. I-III, Kyiv 1904-07;
Solovyev, S., *The History of Russia*, Vol. III;
Titov, F., *Old Higher Education in Kyiv Ukraine in XVI-XIX Centuries*, Kyiv 1924.

Theodore MACKIW, Ph.D.
Professor, University of Acron

JEWS, KHMELNYTSKYI AND THE TREATY OF ZBORIV, 1649

Mr. Ze'ev Ben-Shlomo, in his review of *Ukraine: A Concise Encyclopedia*, (University of Toronto Press, 1963), complains among other things that the work, edited by Professor V. Kubiiovych, evades such "ticklish subjects" as

"the extermination of about 250,000 Ukrainian Jews in the Khmelnytsky revolt — the greatest mass murder of Jews before Hitler. All it says is that under the treaty of Zborov (1649) Jews and Jesuits were forbidden to live in the Cossack-dominated Ukraine."¹

It is certainly unjustified to evade problems merely because they are unpleasant or controversial, especially in a work of scholarship. One simply never can evade them, but on the contrary, should rather mention and analyze them *sine ira et studio*. It is the purpose of this article to remedy this one deficiency.

At the turn of the seventeenth century, the Ukrainians were an oppressed and frustrated people. The French engineer in the Polish service, Guillaume Le Vasseur Sieur de Beauplan, noted in his memoirs that the peasants in Ukraine:

"were very miserable... In short, they are obliged to give their masters what they please to demand; so that it is no wonder those wretches never lay up any thing, being under such hard circumstances. Yet this is not all, for their lords have an absolute power, not only over their goods, but their lives; so great is the prerogative of the Polish nobility (who live as if they were in heaven, and the peasants in purgatory) so that if it happens that those wretched peasants fall under the servitude of bad lords, they are in a worse condition than galley-slaves."²

1) *Survey*, London, April 1966, No. 59, p. 117.

2) G. de Beauplan, *Description d'Ukraine, qui sont plusieurs provinces du Royaume de Pologne*, Rouen 1650. I used an English translation: *A Description of Ukraine, Containing Several Provinces of the Kingdom of Poland, Lying Between the Confines of Muscovy, and the Border of Transylvania*, in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, London 1744, Vol. I, p. 449.

Another eyewitness, the Polish Jesuit, well-known theologian and preacher at the Polish Royal Court, Peter Skarga, wrote that

"there is no country in the world, where the peasants, subjects of the lords would be as oppressed as they are in our country under the unlimited authority of the *Szlachta*."³

The situation in Ukraine in the 17th century was characterized also very well by the Rabbi of the city of Zaslav, Nathan Hanover, in his chronicle:

"... King Sigismund, however, raised the status of the Catholic dukes and princes above those of the Ukrainians, so that most of the latter abandoned their Greek-Orthodox faith and embraced Catholicism. And the masses that followed the Greek Orthodox Church became gradually impoverished. They were looked upon as low and inferior beings and became the slave and the handmaids of the Polish people and of the Jews. Those among them who were trained warriors were conscripted by the King to serve in his army... The Cossacks therefore enjoyed special privileges like the nobility, and were exempt from taxes. The rest of the Ukrainians, however, were a wretched and enslaved lot, servants to the dukes and the nobles: "Their lives were made bitter by hard labour, in mortar and bricks, and in all manner of services in the house and in the field." The nobles levied upon them heavy taxes, and some even resorted to cruelty and torture with the intent of persuading them to accept Catholicism. So wretched and lowly had they become that all classes of people, even the lowliest among them (the Jews), became their overlords."⁴

The maltreatment of the Ukrainian population by the *Szlachta* and especially the oppression of the Orthodox Church by the Polish Catholic clergy (particularly by the Polish Jesuits, who were determined to convert the Ukrainian people to Catholicism by force) caused frequent tensions and uprisings against the Poles, which culminated in the great national insurrection in 1648 led by Bohdan Khmelnytskyi (Chmelnyčyj), *Hetman* of Ukraine, 1648-1657.⁵

³) George Vernadsky, *Bohdan: Hetman of Ukraine*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1941, p. 11.

⁴) N. Hanover, *Even Metzulah*, (first edition: Venice 1653). I used an English translation by the Rabbi Abraham J. Mesch, entitled *Abyss of Despair. The Famous 17th Century Chronicle Describing Jewish Life in Russia and Poland During the Chmielnicki Massacres of 1648-49*, New York: Bloch Publishing Co. 1950, pp. 27-28. Cf., Herman Rosenthal, "The Cossacks", *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, New York-London 1903, Vol. IV, p. 284.

⁵) *Hetman* literally translated means "Headman", the official title of Chief Executive of an autonomous Cossack military republic, better known as *Hetmanshchyna* (the Hetman State), at first independent and then under the Russian protectorate, 1654-1764; for details see: Hans Schumann, *Der Hetmanstaat 1654-1764*, Breslau 1936, (a dissertation), also in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, (1936), pp. 499-546.



OPERA THEATRE IN LVIV.



ST. SOPHIA'S SQUARE IN KYÏV,

the scene of the solemn proclamation of re-unification of West Ukraine
(for almost six Centuries under Polish and Austrian rule) with the Ukrainian
National Republic on January 22nd, 1919.

Regrettably, during this revolution, according to the Rabbi Sabbathai Cohen, 100,000 Jews, were slain or perished.⁶ However, the spontaneous national uprising of the oppressed masses of the Ukrainians under Khmelnytskyi's Cossacks was not against the Jews, but against all oppressors, or those who helped them. It is true the Jews were carrying out the orders of their masters, the Polish *Pans*, yet as the Jewish scholar, Herman Rosenthal, pointed out.

"they farmed not only taxes, but even the revenues of the Greek Orthodox Church. At every Christening or funeral, the peasants had to pay a fee to the Jew. The lords were absolute rulers of their estates, and the peasants their dependent subjects. When a lord or any member of the nobility leased his villages or estates to a Jew, his authority was also delegated to this latter, who even had the power between to administer justice among the peasants."⁷

Thus the Jew, being a middleman between the Polish landlord and the Ukrainian serf, appeared to this peasant as a tyrant and oppressor. The accumulation of animosity was built up till the Ukrainian serf could not bear the exploitation of the oppressor any more and revolted. The Ukrainian masses killed not only Jews, Jesuits, and Polish *Pans*, but also those Ukrainians who supported the Polish oppressors. At that time they killed such Cossack officers as Barabash, Haiduchenko, Illyash, Kalynenko, Olesko, Nestorenko, and others.⁸

It is possible, as Hanover noted, that personal indignities and injuries caused by Jews embittered Khmelnytskyi against them. For instance, the Jewish leaseholder of Chyhyryn, Zacharias Sabilenski, helped a Polish nobleman and the bailiff of this city, Daniel Czaplinski, who raided Khmelnytskyi's property, insulted his family, and killed his son. Z. Sabilenski also reported Khmelnytskyi's negotiations with the Tartars to the Polish authorities.⁹

But on the other hand, Khmelnytskyi had also some Jewish friends. According to Rabbi Hanover:

"... there lived another Jew in that city whose name was Jacob Sobilenski (Sabilenski), a close friend of Chmiel (Khmelnytskyi), who counselled the

⁶) See: Jacob Schatzki's introduction to the Yiddish translation of *Yeven Metzulah*, Yivo Wilno 1938, p. 83; cf., *Abyss of Despair*, p. 122.

⁷) *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV., p. 284; See also in the *Abyss of Despair*, p. 2. Some historians pointed out that the Jews leasing Greek-Orthodox churches hurt the feelings of the Ukrainian people and aroused their animosity. The Jewish scholar, I. S. Hertz in his work, *Di Yidn in Ukraine*, (New York, 1947, p. 197, analyzed this matter and came to the conclusion that these accusations have no historical basis and were written for propaganda purposes. However, another Jewish scholar, J. Schatski, disagrees with Hertz that those accusations were unfounded, (see: his article in the *Zukunft*, New York, December 1949. Cf., *Abyss of Despair*, p. 122).

⁸) Mykhailo Hrushevskyi, *Istoria Ukraïny-Rusy (History of Ukraine-Rus')*, New York, 1956, Vol. VIII, p. 2, pp. 183-184; Vernadsky, op. cit., p. 41.

⁹) *Abyss of Despair*, p. 36; cf., *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 40; Vernadsky, op. cit., p. 131.

latter to have his friends bail him out of prison, so that he would subsequently appear before the nobleman in the Church and on bended knee plead for his life."¹⁰

Khmelnyskyi's objective was to liberate the Ukrainian people from the Polish oppressors. What resulted, was a spontaneous uprising of the masses, whom Khmelnyskyi often could not control, and who acted on their own. It was actually a reaction of the accumulated animosity of the oppressed serfs against their oppressors, regardless of race, religion, or nationality.

As Rabbi Abraham J. Mesch pointed out in his introduction to the *Abyss of Despair*, Hanover, who certainly hated the Ukrainian Cossacks and pictured Khmelnyskyi as a "ruthless oppressor, a arch-enemy and a blood-thirsty tyrant", (at each mention of his name he added; "May his name be blotted out"), did not fail to emphasize the miserable plight of the peasants whose suffering at the hands of the Polish nobles may have justified their retaliation. Nor does he absolve the Jews of any guilt when he says: "Even the *lowliest* among them (the Jews) became their overlords."¹¹

It also has to be said that Hanover's chronicle has to be treated with caution, because he lived in 1648 only in the city of Zaslav, and fled from there before the city was attacked.¹²

Therefore Hanover could not see those terrible massacres in person but obtained his information at second or third hand.¹³ Referring to 1649, Mesch noted that Hanover "obtained various versions of the massacres" from the survivors, and used several publications, in which were described the events of 1648-49, (the main source of information was *Tzok Ha-itim — Troublous Times* by Meir of Szczebrzeszyn published in Cracow 1650). Furthermore, there is an understandable tendency on the part of Hanover to exaggerate the figures,¹⁴ thus

¹⁰⁾ *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 37-38; *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV. p. 41. Although Mesch pointed out that this story with the two brothers Sabilenski does not correspond with the historical fact, yet he did not bring sufficient proof otherwise.

¹¹⁾ *Abyss of Despair*, p. 8.

¹²⁾ Mesch mentioned that Hanover was an eye witness to the massacre. There is, however, no clear proof that he himself saw those terrible massacre in person. He pointed out, that for example "a messenger would be sent daily to observe the developments there" (Polonne)... When the enemy attacked Polonne, "I, and my family and my father-in-law, the master, Rabbi Abraham of the holy community of Zaslav... fled to the holy community of Miedzy recze...", pp. 64-65. It is not known how he was able to escape from the Cossacks to Germany, then to Holland. In 1652 he was in Venice, from where he went to Wallachia, and finally he proceeded to the city of Ungarish-Brod in Moravia, where he occupied the position of judge and preacher. During the Austrian-Turkish war he was killed together with other Jews in the synagogue as they gathered for morning prayers, by the troops of the Hungarian Count Emeric Tekely in 1683; see *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 16-18.

¹³⁾ Dr. Solomon Grayzel, preface to *Abyss of Despair*, p. X.

¹⁴⁾ *Abyss of Despair*, pp. 9-10.

involving a large segment of the Ukrainian people. In fact, the American historian, James H. Billington of Princeton University, referring to Hanover's *Abyss*, states in his latest work that the writers of that period were not objective in their presentations and analysis.¹⁵

However, not all Ukrainians participated in these massacres. For example: When the Cossacks left the city of Tulchyn, "the Ukrainian inhabitants of the city dealt kindly with them (the Jews) and sent them away."¹⁶ Moreover, some Cossacks married Jewish girls, who however, preferred suicide to being a Cossack's wife.¹⁷ Furthermore, after the peace treaty of Zboriv (1649), the Cossacks did not harm the Jews, but on the contrary, according to Hanover, "in those places where the Cossacks dwelt, business was good."¹⁸

During that time the Jews suffered not only from the Cossacks, but also from the Russians and the Poles. For example: at the end of the Summer of 1655, the commander of the Russian garrison at Mohyliv, Colonel Poklonskyi, found out that the Polish Army was approaching the city, and, fearing that the Jews might help the advancing enemy, ordered them to be escorted as Polish subjects to the Polish camp. But Rosenthal remarks:

'no sooner were the Jews, with their wives, children and belongings, outside the walls, than the Russian soldiers, acting upon them, killed nerly all of them and appropriated their possessions.'¹⁹

In 1655 most of the Wilna Jews, who were not able to escape, were "either slain or banished by order of the Czar."²⁰

During the Swedish-Polish War (1655-1658), he notes, that the Polish commanding general, Stefan Czarnecki

"manifested exceptional harshness in his treatment of Jews... (Czarnecki) retreating from the Swedes, devastated the country and vented his rage on the Jews. He is said to have killed 200 in Kobylin; 100 in Mezhirichi; 100 in Wreschyn; 300 in Lenczyc; 600 in Kalish, Posen, Piotrkov, and Lublin. Hundreds of families were exterminated in Cracow (1656); many Jews, in order to escape a worse fate, drowned themselves in the river; and others changed their religion. The Poles destroyed the synagogues and took great delight in tearing up the Holy Writings..."²¹

¹⁵ J. H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe. An Interpretative History of Russian Culture*, New York: 1966, p. 118; ("... The realities of the universal war in Eastern Europe were, if anything, even more harsh and terrible than in the Civil War in England or the Thirty Years' War in Germany. Historians of these eastern regions have never been able to settle on neutral descriptive labels for the periods of particular horror and devastation which successively visited their various peoples. Russians still speak in anguish and confusion of a 'Time of Troubles'; Poles and Ukrainians of a 'Deluge'; Eastern European Jews of 'The Deep Mire'; and Swedes and Finns of 'the great hate.'")

¹⁶ *Abyss of Despair*, p. 58.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 102, 105.

¹⁹ *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 126.

²⁰ *Ibid.*; for details see Vol. X, p. 520.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 286, 406.

In the works of many Jewish authors dealing with this period Khmelnytskyi is presented as a predecessor of Hitler. It is wrong and false from an historical point of view to compare Khmelnytskyi with Hitler. Hitler ordered the extermination of the Jews not because they oppressed or helped to oppress the German people but because of their race. In one of the best of recent studies, German historian, Andreas Hillgruber at the University of Marburg stressed that one of Hitler's motives in attacking the USSR was the extermination of the Jewish-Bolshevik leading strata and biological roots of Eastern European Jews.²²

In the 16th century, as Mesch pointed out in his introduction about the life and work of Nathan Hanover, many Jews, who were expelled from Germany, "where they suffered unprecedented persecution and oppression", emigrated to the Ukraine. "The Ukraine was especially inviting because the Jews there enjoyed some measure of peace and economic freedom."²³

H. Rosenthal noted that during the first Cossack uprisings against Poland under Nalyvaiko and Kosynskyi (1591-1593) and Taras "Triasylo" Fedorovych (1630)

"the Cossacks did not exhibit any special animosity toward Jews. The feeling against the Jews spread very rapidly from Poland into Ukraine in the reign of Sigismund III", (1587-1632).²⁴

Moreover, as N. Kostomarov mentioned, the Jews served in the ranks of the Cossack Forces: "Berakh the Hero" fought with the Cossacks and fell in the battle against the Muscovites in 1601; in 1637 a certain Ilyash (Elijah) Karaimovych was appointed as one of the registered Cossack officers; in one Ukrainian ballad reference is made to a Colonel Matvii (Matthew) Barokhovych (1647), whose name indicates the son of Baruch.²⁵

The accusation made by Mr. Ze'ev Ben-Shlomo that Jews under the Treaty of Zboriv were forbidden to live in the Cossack Ukraine is usually quoted from one of the various texts of this Treaty, which according to Hrushevskyi, have not been included in any official collection of documents, being preserved in handwritten copies with exception of one incorrect copy of this treaty that was published in the *Russian Collection of Documents and Treaties*

²²) A. Hillgruber, *Hitlers Strategie, Politik und Kriegsführung 1940-4* (*Hitler's Strategy, Politics and Warfare: 1940-41*), Frankfurt a. M. 1965, p. 519 ("Vier Motive verschlingen sich in Hitler's Ostkriegskonzeption miteinander 1. Die Ausrottung der jüdisch-bolschewistischen Führungsschicht (einschliesslich ihrer biologischen Wurzel, der Millionen Juden in Ostmitteleuropa."); see also pp. 525, 556.

²³) *Abyss of Despair*, p. 13.

²⁴) *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

²⁵) N. Kostomarov, *Bohdan Khmelnytskyi*, St. Petersburg 1884, Vol. I, pp. 55-135; cf., *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 284.

(*Sobraniye Gosudarstvennykh Gramot i Dogovorov*, Vol. III, p. 450),²⁶ and therefore must be treated carefully.

However, curiously enough, there is a contemporary text of this treaty, published in the London Weekly, *A Briefe Relation of Some Affaires and Transactions Civil and Military, Both Forraigne and Domestique*, which does not contain any terms about Jews or Jesuits.²⁷

There is no difference between Hrushevskyi's credible text and that in *Briefe Relation*, except in paragraph seven, which in Hrushevskyi's version reads: "Neither Jesuits nor Jews are permitted to establish residence there" (Ukraine).²⁸ In our opinion, the text of this treaty in the *Briefe Relation* is more valuable than that mentioned by Hrushevskyi, because it was published by the contemporary neutral English newspaper from a Latin copy (*relatio altera quae ad extros missa est*)²⁹ sent by the Polish Government for use abroad, and the London weekly had no reason to change its contents.

In later times, too, during the Great French Revolution, and even during the Great Russian Revolution in the 20th century, as well as in many other cases, many innocent people of various nationalities lost their lives. It is regrettable indeed that so many Jews lost their lives during the uprising of the Cossacks against their Polish oppressors, but neither the Jews nor the Ukrainian people can be made forever responsible for what happened more than three hundred years ago.

In conclusion, it is to be said that in later times, particularly during both the first and second World Wars, there occurred tensions and recriminations between Jews and Ukrainians.

Jewish people should know that the Ukrainian people certainly condemn those individuals or factions who participated in any anti-Jewish excesses, but neither can be condemned nor be responsible for them as a nation. Those individuals and factions can never be considered as an entire nation, especially when the nation is oppressed by others. As a young American of Jewish descent, whose parents came from the Ukraine, Eugene Sanjour, remarked,

"...The Ukrainian national movement, just as the Jewish National Moment, is not and never has been a monolithic, ideologically homogeneous group. It consists now, and always has consisted, of parties and factions, often at odds with one another. Some are liberal and democratic; others are chauvinistic and reactionary."³⁰

²⁶ *A Briefe Relation* . . . , October 16, 1649, No. 3, pp. 28-29.

²⁷ See the full text in Appendix. To our knowledge this is the first publication of this text from *Briefe Relation*.

²⁸ Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, part 3, p. 216.

²⁹ Hrushevsky, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 2, pp. 201-2.

³⁰ E. Sanjour, "Anti-Semitism in Ukraine", Letter to *The New York Times*, April 21, 1964.

The record shows that the Ukrainian people as an independent nation was the only nation, which in 1917-1920 not only granted the Jewish people national rights in the Ukraine as can be seen from the attached proclamation of the Ukrainian Central Rada of November 7, 1917,³¹ but also for the first time in modern history recognized Jews by law as a separate nationality. (Up to this time in all European countries the Jews have always been officially referred to as citizens of the "religion of Moses", and never had been officially recognized as a separate nation).

The mutual accusations will neither solve this problem, nor will they help to find a solution. A possible solution of the Jewish-Ukrainian question lies in the good will of the Jewish people, and should not be treated in the traditional hatred and emotional approach. It should be analyzed with judicious wisdom — *sine ira et studio*.

"For hundreds of years, Jews and Ukrainians have been oppressed by the same enemies: the Polish gentry, Russian autocracy, Communists and Nazis", wrote G. Sanjour. "During all this time, many Jews and many Ukrainians have been used as pawns against each other by their common oppressors. Is it too far-fetched to expect these two groups to refuse to be pawns any longer, and to combine efforts against a common foe?"³²

³¹) See the full text in Hebrew in the Appendix No. 2. For details see: Prof. Solomon I. Goldeman, *Zhydivs'ka natsional'na avtonomiya na Ukraïni 1917-1920* (The Jewish National Autonomy in Ukraine 1917-1920), Institute for the Study of History and Culture of the USSR, Munich 1963; Dr. Arnold Margolin, prominent Jewish leader, f. Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR), *Ukraïna i polityka Antanty* (Ukraine and the Policy of the Entente), Berlin 1922.

³²) E. Sanjour, "Anti-Semitism in Ukraine", Letter to *The New York Times*, April 21, 1964.

PROMISE AND REALITY

50 Years of Soviet-Russian "Achievements" An Indictment of Russian Communism

by SUZANNE LABIN

1/6

1/6

When the Communists seized power in 1917 they made many promises to the workers and peasants in the former Russian Imperial lands.

In "PROMISE AND REALITY", the distinguished French journalist shows the reality of the Communist world after fifty years of unlimited power.

Published by the **British Section of the European Freedom Council**,
c/o 200, Liverpool Road, London, N.1.

Anatol W. BEDRIY

Mykola Mikhnovskyi – First Theoretician of Modern Ukrainian Nationalism

(Continued from No. 2, 1968)

2. THE WRITINGS OF MYKOLA MIKHNOVSKYI

m) Shevchenko's Anniversary

signed: M. M-skyi ("Snip", March 10, 1912)

A great storm had shaken the life of our nation in the 17th century. Our Ukraine was then like a stormy sea, angry and frightening. The violent waves of national anger were carried to the unheard of heights. The 17th century — this was an epoch when the entire people was united by one emotion, was breathing with one spirit, was thinking with one thought. The lowest classes have joined the movement and the national anger exploded time and again as a volcano with fiery lava. These were the glorious times of the heroic struggle for liberation. The storm had passed but the national sea could not be calmed for more than one and a half century. From time to time, thunder roared again, the volcano erupted, the storm broke loose and the national sea began to rise. The last convulsive explosion dates back to the second half of the 18th century and is known to history under the name of "Koliyivshchyna" or "Haidamachchyna." The new circumstances of historical life which followed thereafter did not have the same influence upon all strata in our nation. The upper layers cooled off quickly and in the beginning of the 19th century could be considered a crust of warm ashes, but the bottom layers — they were still afire, too weak, of course, to break through the crust of ashes but strong enough to conceal in themselves the living energy. A great split occurred between the layers of our national organism. The top strata — quickly denationalized, accepted an alien

culture, became involved with foreign civic ideals and then after several generations became even estranged from its people. The lower strata withdrew strictly into themselves, not developing, not moving but firmly concealing in themselves those ideals of their forefathers which they gained through tortures and sufferings in the 17th century. The upper strata squandered the national strength; the lower strata were concentrating their energy on the basis of old ideals. This was, schematically speaking, the state of our nation at the beginning of the 19th century. The national sea had quieted down and it seemed that the book of life of our people has been closed for ever.

It was then that the Ukrainian nation gave birth to two sons of genius, so that they would deposit the pearls which have been created and born in the depths of its soul by the people itself in the world treasury of spiritual culture; so that their weapons would not consist of a sabre and a shot gun, but of a living word. Both were sent by the people, but only one went where he had been sent. One was born in a wealthy house of warm ashes, the other — in a peasant's house of hot steel. The one who was sent by the élite, became the most expensive pearl in the triumphal march of a foreign people; the one who was born on the bottom became an ornament and a defender of his own nation. One was Hohol, the other Shevchenko. This other great poet will be commemorated today according to his testament with "not a bad, quiet word." Let us remember him because he rightly promised:

... "I will praise
those little dumb slaves
And on guard besides them
I will put the word."

He stands at the border line of two historical epochs in the life of our people. Both epochs have touched him and one epoch, while dying has endowed him with ancient splendence and the mystery of our historical life from which our soul is still burning. The second epoch, itself being his offspring, carried from him as its source into the future the ideals of our forefathers reforged and remade to modern forms in the forge of the poet's soul. Like a double mirror he reproduced in his soul the shadows of the past and the dreams of the future, which fused and united in him as two currents in one sea, and he was the Bard of the past and the Tiresias of the future.

If it is true that the psychological components of every nation are made up not only of the synthesis of all living beings who make up the said nation, but mainly of the synthesis of all predecessors who were instrumental in the creation of a nation; if it is true that not only the living but also the dead play an important role in the contemporary life of every nation; if it is true that it is the dead who are the creators of morality in every nation and are the

unconscious movers of its method of conduct, then it is undeniably true that of all our dead ancestors Taras Shevchenko carries the most weight imprinted in the contemporary national psyche of the Ukrainian nation as a modern organism. But at the same time he himself was the carrier of traditions of several generations of our ancestors, was flesh of their flesh, was the expression of their ideals. And perhaps the best, the most appropriate characterization of Shevchenko was made by the one who said: He is the last *kobzar* (wandering player on the kobza, a folk musical instrument) and the first poet of his people.

And, thus, today we have an opportunity to express our love and respect to the one who himself represented love for Ukraine. In his name we are speaking today and he is here among us: the immortal part of him — his thoughts are burning clear and bright, so alive and strong as if he at this moment had pronounced them before us. The decades which separate us from his death do not frighten us with a dark and empty abyss, because in the midst of darkness his words are shining like the golden sickle of the moon upon the dark sky:

I love her so much
My poor Ukraine —
That I will lose my soul for her.

And we know that these were not empty words; we know that in reality his deeds were as pure as his words — great; we know that his words did not miss his deeds. And this is where we draw great joy, happiness and diversion because he is not only a poet but also a leader. The history of his life is as dear to us as his works, for a most beautiful harmony exists between his works and his life. Shevchenko's life history can be justifiably called "the history of a great struggle of a person of genius." At first his own step-mother was against him, then the master, then the state: his opponents, with whom Shevchenko had to struggle, changed with his size, and every new opponent was stronger than his predecessor. In this merciless struggle the adversaries could only destroy Shevchenko physically, but they could not break, could not kill his spirit. He died physically, but in his own words:

... And I will live again
And the free thought to freedom
From the coffin I will summon ...

The history of Shevchenko's life from the time when he became a poet is very short and very tragic. Captivity, then — glory; enthusiastic relations, the captivity again. From Petersburg the poet went to Ukraine, where Ukrainians greeted him as a prophet. A little bit later SS. Cyril and Methodius Society was formed; then came the arrest, Petropavlovsk prison, banishment and a harsh 10½ years' stay in the disciplinary battalions. Ten years' stay in Central Asia

— with the prohibition to write or paint! This last penalty was probably the hardest. It is almost impossible to imagine what sufferings had to be endured by Shevchenko, when his soul was full of pictures and images, when these pictures and images, as a baby ready to be delivered, were to be born to this world, but the poet had to keep them within himself without giving them an outward form. They cried, sobbed and yelled — these unborn children, and the poet had to kill them with his own hand in his soul . . . Arrested in 1847, Shevchenko was released only in 1857, and died in 1861 on Feb. 26th. But during his short life, Shevchenko created a whole national treasure. It can be justly said that it is the most expensive treasure, the most priceless treasure possessed by the Ukrainian nation. It is a treasure of such magnitude that Shevchenko's name became the synonym of the contemporary modern reborn Ukraine. If it were ever necessary to compare Shevchenko with some known figure from world history, then it would be possible to call Shevchenko a Ukrainian Jeremiah who cried on the ruins of Jerusalem and an Ezekiel who gave hope to his people for the future.

Angry and severe as an eagle he fell upon the hawks which were tearing his people to pieces. Among the negative phenomena he counted the renegades among small men whom he christened "Kyrpa Hnuchkoshyenko" ["Mr. Snob Neck-Bender"] and whose servile psychology was revealed even in the fact that they added [Russian "v" to their names and became "gospodin Gnuchkoshyenko"] to be the worst.

One of his greatest satires is "The Testament to the Living, the Dead, and the Unborn Countrymen in Ukraine and outside Ukraine." Something truly biblical breathes from his words:

Dusk is falling, dawn is breaking,
 And God's day is ending,
 Once again a weary people
 And all things are resting.
 Only I, like one accursed,
 Night and day stand weeping
 At the many-peopled cross-roads,
 And yet no one sees me.
 No one sees me, no one knows,
 Deaf, they do not hearken,
 They are trading with their fetters,
 Using truth to bargain,
 And they all neglect the Lord, —
 In heavy yokes they harness
 People; thus they plough disaster,
 And they sow disaster . . .

(Tr. by Vera Rich, "Song Out Of Darkness")

But time and again through stern expressions you will notice his unconquerable faith in the revival of his people. And if it had to be said what Shevchenko desired most, the answer would be: the happiness of his people.

Often, when the poet digresses from the main theme he paints beautiful female images, for example: Mary, the Mother of Jesus, the servant girl, the girl-lily. Then the grim words and thoughts give way to tender and kind expression of compassion, — pietism to a woman-mother, so to speak. The whole well of the pure, transparent soul of the poet, immaculate and beautiful as the soul of a child, appears before the surprised reader.

But as soon as the poet returns to the main theme, the well of clean water becomes a fiery sea and everyone who approaches this sea, no matter how cowardly and weak he may be, will feel the fire going through his veins and his muscles will get tense. This fiery sea of his poetry is working wonders, the greatest miracles, because it galvanizes even moral corpses. The influence of his poetry can be described in his own words:

And, oh, wonder, the corpses rose
And opened their eyes
And brother embraced brother
And spoke
A word of quiet love.

A constant spring of eternal love — this is Shevchenko's poetry, the greatest, the dearest, the most valuable treasure of the Ukrainian people. Shevchenko is the soul of the entire people since before Shevchenko the nation was slowly but unceasingly dying, but from his time on it is invariably being reborn to a new life. He passed through Ukraine as a life-giving sun, cutting through the darkness of despair, animating everything with its rays.

He is a pillar of fire for the Ukrainian people, just as the one which God had sent to the Hebrews when they were leaving Egypt.

As that biblical pillar of fire, he shows us the way to a happy future.

And in the days of sadness and grief, when the whole weight of Taras Shevchenko's death is more deeply felt, when the enemies are preying upon us, the new dangers are threatening our people, let his words bring us consolation and teach us a lesson:

"Brothers, do not fall into despair, but pray to God and work sensibly in the name of our Mother — Ukraine."

n) 22 April, 1912, Kharkiv ("Snip", April 23, 1912)

The life of recent years gives more and more evidence that the pretext for the neglect of our national rights comes not from the central government but from the Russian community that lives in Ukraine and the encouragement for this is provided by the disunity among Ukrainians themselves. Left and right, progressive and regressive elements in the Russian society have the same negative attitude to Ukrainianism as a movement which contains the seeds of a strong independent life. Not too long ago we witnessed a moving partnership of "Kadets" (Constitutional Democrats) and Nationalists, which had as its aim to keep Ukrainians in Poltava from holding influential government posts, to remove them and themselves to occupy their seats. Now, life has provided us with a new fact when a Russian Zemstvo activist removed two female doctors from their jobs only because they subscribed to a Ukrainian newspaper!

This latter event, it is well-known, occurred in the Chyhyryn Zemstvo. Not enough words can be found to express indignation against this act. It is clearly meted out against the Ukrainian culture, against the Ukrainian intelligentsia; it flows from the most disgusting Great-Russian chauvinism; it is something basically inhuman since it disregards the most elementary rights of a Ukrainian as an individual and a member of a nation.

And at the same time, how is the Ukrainian nation reacting to this and similar acts? In no way!

The papers have mentioned that fact... and that was all. What does this very fact and the relation to it of the Ukrainian public signify? The deep all-round decay of the Ukrainian people.

One's chest is rent and one's heart is torn to shreds by the realization that you are a son of a lazy people. Because of this consciousness one's face is covered with shame...

Our people is indifferent to everything. It does not care!

As a snake's nest, Sorrow, Hopelessness, the loss of Faith in its own strength, in the possibility of a better fate, and Laziness, Laziness without end are nesting in the abodes of the Ukrainian people.

"Only he is worthy of happiness,
Who has fought for it,
You have long been submissive servants
Of repulsive laziness.
You have long stopped being people — corpses
Without life or strength.
Your place — the cemetery,
Holes and graves."

Says the poet Hrinchenko with great indignation about the Ukrainians.

Only here and there you will see a bright flame — a figure of a Ukrainian illuminated by hope, warmed by faith, a figure of a hard working Ukrainian who attracts the eyes with his moral strength and even more greatly emphasizes the dark background of a lazy nation.

From all the maladies which cover our people as a rash, the worst, the most horrible is indifference.

It corrupts and ruins the nation, it destroys us as a people and as individuals. Through this indifference we are becoming half human,

This indifference demonstrates itself in various forms but its meaning is always the same: laziness of the whole nation.

Sometimes this indifference takes the form of high moral principles: cosmopolitanism, universal justice, etc., but more often it appears in the form of shameless idleness.

The Ukrainian people has become lazy; the members of the Ukrainian nation have become lazy. "As a rotten log it wallows in the mud" as Shevchenko expressed it so grimly.

No ideals have enthused the masses of the Ukrainian people; no accomplishments inspire them. The inert, lowly, lazy mass — is it able to think about a struggle? A struggle is motion, a physical and moral exertion, but every movement, every exertion is greatly abhorred by a lazy nation. To sleep carelessly in dilapidated houses, to lie in torn rags, to feed on the fragments of the thoughts of strong nations — this is the sleepy wish of the Ukrainian people, as long as it is not necessary to work!

This explains why the Ukrainian people have let loose such a flood of traitors and renegades: all of them energetic, but men of low moral standards who want to rise up from the dark mass and are forced to break relations with the inert, lazy indifferent environment in order to give themselves scope.

This explains why the people not only do not hate their traitors and renegades, but — wonder of wonders — respect them.

A village shark, Lovkobreshenko [crafty liar], who introduced the Russian language in his family (even though poor), who has a definite inclination to become Lovkobreshenkov and in the very near posterity even Lovkobrekhov — and a "Russian man" — is enjoying great respect among his countrymen . . .

In the same way, "former" Ukrainians, today Russian writers — all sorts of Korolenkos, etc. are enjoying great prestige among the Ukrainian intelligentsia.

That Lovkobreshenko and Korolenkos are nothing but horrible moral monsters — do not say that either to the peasants or to the

intelligentsia, because they will call you inhuman and will even insult you saying that you are a chauvinist. Not only the peasants but also the Ukrainian intelligentsia are not yet mature enough to hate because that is a spiritual attitude; it needs strength and energy because hatred calls for action just like love. Therefore, the lazy nation does not want to and does not know to love or even to hate very much. It is apathetic to everything. Let them pilfer the national wealth, let them destroy the culture and the language, let them disregard our interests, needs and history, let them insult and remove energetic Ukrainians, let them turn them to nought — the lazy sleep nation does not care. Let the enemies, together with the renegade hold pompous banquets upon the ashes of the native land — the indifferent nation will even murmur "Good health!"

Who and what can be done against this adamant wall of indifference? Against this idleness of the entire nation? Even the fire of Shevchenko was not strong enough so far to melt the thick layer of ice which envelopes the pulse of life of the Ukrainian people.

Only work, only great love and hate, only strong feelings could kill indifference; only heroic examples could carry the masses.

But who will give these examples; who will do the work, who will express great feelings — except for a few individuals, except for those flames which are shining in the dead background of the nation? But the mass of the Ukrainian intelligentsia is completely incapable of working for common interests, for the wood-worm of petty ambitions and personal feelings are greater than any other feelings. But the mass of conscious patented-patriotic intelligentsia does such things every day which undo the work which has been done by the few individuals.

And a stern warning is sounded by the words of the poet Hrinchenko, a man who was a bright flame on the dark background of our life:

Ukraine has not died yet,
But it can die,
You, lazy, yourselves
Are leading her to death.

Arkadiy LIUBCHENKO
(1899-1945)

BLOOD

One night in winter, wolves came slinking silently along the edge of a large dingle.

Only shortly before a snow storm had ceased, and now a thick coat of luscious flaky snow covered the ground. The wolves sank deeply into the snow. They waded along slowly, rocking to and fro softly on their limber legs. In a feverish motion, their backs, necks and muzzles pushed forward; their ears were pricked up attentively — all their efforts were directed passionately forward. Viewed from a distance, they did not appear to be wading — but to be swimming out of the dingle.

At the edge of the glen, where the steep wall of the forest came to a halt and a thicket patch glistened down below, the wolves came to a standstill. And precipitantly, as if suddenly blown away, they had let themselves down into the shadows of the shrubbery.

One wolf alone — cautiously and with a sense of dignity — slunk along a little farther, as far as the last shrub, which lay somewhat apart. This hidden spot offered a much better overall view of the dingle. Here the wolf let himself down, his eyes peering into the dingle.

A profound stillness ensued. The high thick wall of the forest rose up behind the wolves; a large winding glen stretched out before them. This glen, filled to the very brim with snow and hemmed in on both sides by the forest, gave the impression of being enclosed by two powerful, shaggy legs of an enormous, silent animal. And if this unknown animal should make the slightest movement with one or another of its legs, should loosen its grip a little, then certainly some sort of a sound would have to be emitted from beneath its shaggy, powerful legs. The wolf yearned for some sort of a sound. His desire was so strong that involuntarily he moved his own leg.

But hark! a rustling sound — a soft crackling. The movement of the wolf had touched a tiny twig of the shrub, and a little snow had trickled off. The wolf trembled and became still more attentive.

N. B. Arkadiy Liubchenko wrote short stories and novels in an impressionistic romantic style; was secretary of "Hart" and "Vaplite" literary associations in Soviet Ukraine. Died in exile in Germany.

Again a stillness ensued. It was night — a dark night. Innumerable stars sparkled in the heavens; down below the frosty snow burned with an intolerable persistence. Indifferent, and as if enchanted, the mute, and by its silence so exciting, dingle stretched out before the wolf. Immobile and sombre the forest rose up on both sides — so provoking in its inexorability.

This death-like stillness was always with the wolves, no matter how far they ran. It was as if everything had come to a standstill here, had died of the grim cold — as if there were no longer any living things beneath the sky, beside their exhausted pack.

Now and then, however, there was a soft rustle or crackle, which stood out with particular clarity against the stillness of this night. Then, in a body, the wolves would prick up their ears, stretch forth their muzzles, lift them up and suck in the air excitedly — greedily. Instantly, however, they would realize that it was only a deception: the sighing layers of snow murmured; the twigs, wincingly shaking off their heavy burden of snow, crackled softly.

Again a stillness pervaded the forest.

But the wolves longed to hear noises, thirsted for living, exciting sounds: for that strange sound which robbed one's breath: that mysterious sound, the very perception of which filled one's whole being with a sense of sweetness and excitement: for that subdued sound which betrayed the nearness of another living being: for that promising sound which made one's mouth watery, so that one had to swallow: for that sound which smelled of blood.

The wolves were hungry — many a night had passed, new day had arisen, without their having been able to find food, despite great efforts. With shaggy manes, thin, sunk in sides: their bodies shrivelled into the shape of a triangle — the picture of misfortune itself; their muscles hotly tensed, personifying greed; possessed by the torture of hunger. Humbly and inseparably they trailed behind one another beneath this entangled shrubbery, through snowdrifts and dingles.

Sometimes they moved away from a place only to hit upon it again. Two, three times they would return. They would run in a circle reduced to a state of confusion — a state of frenzy. And when they grasped that they would not find anything to eat at the places where they had already been, they showed their fangs to the leader with incredible fury. As an answer the leader of the pack bared his fangs and started off in a different direction.

The more they were tortured by hunger, the more their fury increased. Especially during the day, when there was less hope for food and they lay in their lurking places, it came out strongly. During the day they would usually crowd together in the shelter of a thicket — drawing near to one another, squeezing together tightly, they would warm themselves. Each one of them would lie there, his nose

buried in his mane — the smell of the warm wool stirring the memory of rousing, enticing, excitingly hot and excitingly desirable smells. Behind the veil of their closed lids in this state of half slumber, ever more frequent and ever more distinct memories and dreams would begin to take shape: hot, still trembling flesh; hot, still steaming blood. These mirages were so vivid and the smell of the blood so real, that their breathing would quicken and their nostrils swell up excitedly. They would visualize wild chases, frantic hunts; they would sense the intoxicating happiness of food, food . . . They would startle up and begin to wince softly in their enervating half-slumber. After having awoken, some of them would stare blankly before them — senselessly, confused and irritated. When they had realized the truth, they would again begin to look around gloomily, and resentment would rise up in them.

At such moments there would be a painful twinging in their stomachs, as if they were being lacerated by invisible claws. At such moments rage would well up in their eyes. They would be seized by a furious rage against this unknown, relentless animal, which incessantly lacerated their stomachs with its claws. A mad anger against their hot, useless mirages would arise in them. A bewildering anger against their neighbours who had become repulsive and who were just as furious and insufferable. An irresistible hatred against the intensely silent, intensely white, almost mocking day, filled with caution — the wrath of the wolves was directed against everything about them.

When the day parted softly into uncertainty and evening crept in stealthily on soft paws, the wolves felt a sense of relief. It approached gradually, sneakingly; it came from the ambush of the trees — this crepuscular evening: it appeared to harbour something threatening in it. The evening was always alert, gloomy, sly and treacherous. The evening was followed by more gloom — the accumulating gloom of night and mysteriousness. And precisely this mood offered relief. It offered consolation, for it contained hope. The evening brought new life; the things around them lost their monotony and took on new forms and a new content. From everywhere shadows, tones and half tones broke forth like a cautious, barely noticeable thronging, as if innumerable creatures were slowly approaching the forest. The old silhouettes took on new shapes and everything began to move — be it a treestump, a shrub or a little twig.

In this throng of shadows, in this mysterious mobility, a hospitable hiding place was created for everyone; for some a lifesaving refuge, for others a very cunning ambush. In the evening a relatedness, a strange conspiracy arose between the wolves and everything about them. As by a deep incomprehensible miracle, they perceived all life around them, divined and wondrously distinguished even the slightest crackling or rustling.

Hunger, which weakened their bodies, intensified their greed - sharpened and refined their senses. They were able to numb themselves to such a degree that they did not feel themselves anymore; they transformed themselves into a single, tensed nerve, and feared only that their hearts might beat too loud and that it might be heard in the forest. Many times before, such a silence-enveloped night had passed, and another dangerous, mocking day had dawned. But this day, too, would pass and another mysterious, conspiring night would fall.

But lately, something had changed: The air appeared to be mild — and then thick, flaky snow had begun to fall — snow that looked like many pieces of a white hare. In the air, there were fresh, far-off long-missed smells. It was their misfortune, however, that a soft whistling wind swept over the tree tops. The whistling had barely died down when a new gust of wind broke forth: a strong, tearing wind that daringly rattled the trees, which groaned and quickly began to shake off their burden of snow.

The wind seized the white dust, which it swept into the air, whirled around, howled and veiled the sky and the tree tops with flaky snow which a hurricane lashed through the air. This madness continued almost into the evening. It snowed incessantly — the wild hurricane swept the snow in all directions. During this snow storm, shrubs sunken out of sight, mountains of snow piled up; drifts, hollows and angles formed — just as rapidly changed their forms or even collapsed altogether.

The wolves had spent the entire day in a small lurking place sheltered by large branches that lay on the ground. Toward evening the snow storm calmed down. A strong, penetrating frost began to make itself felt. Already during the day the wolves had suffered from the biting cold. They felt only a painful disgust toward anything and everything about them. It cleared up. Now there was a hope for fresh trails in the new snow. A slight and hopeful stirring awoke in their hearts. They shook off their weakness and their disgust, as the despondency that had possessed them during the entire day. Some stretched themselves so impatiently that their bones cracked. Some licked themselves hotly, others let their ears drop and began to sniff the air along the ground. Their instincts told them that now every animal would leave its hiding place, just like they, to look for food. All that was needed was a diligent alertness and double caution — and they would have a prey between their teeth.

If they wanted to survive, they would have to summon up all their strength. Confidently now, tensely alert and doubly cautious, they trailed off through the blue winter evening into the night.

They sank up to their necks into the deep snow. Only seldom they found hard hollows, licked clean by the wind, which they were able to cover in large leaps. This troubled them, irritated them, tired them unnecessarily and made the hunt difficult.

The role of the old leader, however, was the most trying; he was the first to sink into the snow; he crushed it with his chest, pushed it aside with his legs; he had to beat the trail with every ounce of his strength. The leader of the pack dared not show that matters were bad with him. He had to affect self-confidence and hardness. He had to be indefatigable. After wandering about fruitlessly, they finally hit upon a fresh scent. Feverishly they plunged forward, prowled, ran or flew headlong — no one knew where he was going. It was as if an unknown power, which had suddenly taken possession of them, told them what to do.

They came to a stop only after some time when, after a stretch of hard running, they sunk into a snow hollow. The leader pricked up his ears. With hot eagerness, the other also pricked up their ears. Instantly, the whole pack was aware that the scent of the trail, instead of becoming stronger, was getting ever weaker, that they had erred, that they had to pursue the hunt in the opposite direction — that the leader, this stupid leader, this hated wolf...

But the leader grasped the situation and turned upon his heels — all of them after him.

It became a raging hunt. They ran like the wind. White powdery snow swirled behind them. The glen sprang away and approached them again. On both sides, the forest raced along with them. Up above, the sky raced to and fro. The stars revolved in circles — icy inhalation, hot exhalation. And their hearts — as if they wanted to pounce upon the snow.

Abruptly, they came to a stop. The leader had come to a stop very definitely — the others flew past him. In the excitement of the moment, the prey was already gnashing between their teeth. Jumbled together into a ball, they snapped at one another with bared fangs, blindly groping for a carcass which was not there — but somewhere nearby something exuded a distinct, palatable, stimulating scent.

A moment later they were aware that the not yet wholly frozen, dark droppings of a deer lay not far off. The mild stirring scent confused their senses. They felt their heavy swollen tongues. Their saliva began to flow thickly. Restlessly, they began to search about; the snow was piled up high in this spot and the scent lost itself into nowhere...

Torturedly they lunged in all directions. They moved away a little, ran in circles, fell into the snow, sucked in the air. And wherever they ran, the bold curves of their trail remained behind. Again and again they hit upon their own traces. Steadily their restlessness welled up in them. Despair seized them.

It happened that all of them came to a stop on a slight rising. Breathless and restless — they never even looked at one another. Suddenly, it struck them that their prey was gone. Exhaustion gripped

them. They hated one another madly, and each one hated himself. But where was their leader? Where was his experience? How could he have missed the prey? They stared at him in blind hatred. But soon a tormenting, painful hunger began to plague them; this torturing feeling made them want to close their eyes, to lift up their muzzles and from their very depths to howl a cry of lamentation — to howl irresistably and formidably. Exhausted, covered with frost heavily bent down they licked some snow, pulled in their tails and slowly, defeatedly, wandered off.

And one of them, the leader of the pack himself, tottered from exhaustion.

This was a terrible, decisive moment — if he fell, they would tear him to pieces in an instant.

Instinctively, he grasped this. Horror seized him and it appeared as if the skin of his back had burst and shifted a little. Although he was exhausted from the hunt, although everything around him was whirling about madly, the breath of death made him recover his senses. The fear of death awoke new, probably the last dregs of his strength. He, the old wolf, pulled himself together, bent a little to the side as if to avoid a blow, and flashed his fangs fiercely. He tried to maintain his inner balance, but nonetheless he wobbled, took a few steps to the side and lifted his hind leg indifferently . . .

This affected indifference, this ease of manner appeared quite natural to the others. There was so much real provocation and self-confidence in it that the danger for him quickly passed. Many of the others sniffed the wet spot — and repeated the act of their leader. The pack abandoned its plan and again trailed lonely and stealthily behind the leader — into the stillness, into the night.

But nonetheless they were waiting for something . . .

Not even for the flash of a second did any of the wolves assume that they might die, because the smell of strange hot blood was only too real in the workings of their phantasy. Their own restless wild blood made them believe that they would continue to live. It drove them on, stirred them with an inextinguishable vital instinct, with an indefatigable passion to look for food, with an irrepressible desire to fight.

In this way they finally ended up at the same glen, but at a different, farther away point. Here the steep wall of the forest came to an end. They stopped and hid themselves in the shadows of the bushes. The leader went a few steps farther, to the last bush. From this spot it was easier to survey the extended banks of the hollow. He laid himself down softly, keenly on the lookout, his eyes lowered into the open space before him.

Filled to the brim with snow, hemmed in by the thick vertical walls of the forest, as if it were enclosed between the legs of an

unknown animal that was eternally sleeping or slumbering, this glen appeared like a large lake, whose white smoothness would have to betray any living being. This glen was the centre at which all distant echoes of the most diverse sounds would have to meet. The wolves knew this by instinct.

Exciting living sounds that smelled of blood, however, were not to be heard. The leader felt bad: He was the number one wolf. At the last successful hunt, he had fought tenaciously to be first. Now he did not want to be the leader any more — he tried to mix in with the pack. But no matter how often he lagged behind and left the possibility to be passed by the others open, they grimly refused to allow him to relinquish his position: not, however, because he, the old wolf, was the most experienced wolf, but because to be leader was very dangerous for any of them at that moment, and no one wanted that position. The leader knew that the entire pack, which ran behind him on the lookout for food, directed its greedy attention not only on the objects surrounding it, but also on him. He knew that the pack could not forgive him the failure of the last hunt. The pack hated him, but it was a mutual hatred — he hated the pack also.

From exhaustion, his head appeared to be spinning. A confusing cobweb hung before his eyes. The burning coldness of the ice numbed his paws and the sharp painfulness of the run penetrated to his bones. He bared his fangs continuously. Now and then, when the cold had taken possession of his whole body and then fallen away again into the snow, he suddenly felt a sense of relief. Then the troublesome cobweb began to sway; it enveloped the old wolf with a feeling of mild indifference, enticed him to close his eyes a little — to doze.

The wolf dared not let this happen, but he could not master himself. And when he closed his eyes, a tormenting twitching awoke in his belly. His whole sense of life collapsed — screamed out. After this cry of distress, he felt numb. Instantly, a vicious weakness seized his body and chest, as happened usually only during the mating season. Quickly it penetrated the wolf's sinews, made his body intoxicatingly heavy, and pulled him violently down into the snow. The wolf wanted to lie down — but he dared not. Yet he knew that in the end he would not be able to hold out, that he would lie down — and die.

Unexpectedly, a rainbow appeared out of the lulling shimmering light. The extreme ends of this rainbow were lost in fog, which disappeared little by little into nowhere. The rainbow itself also slowly disappeared, leaving behind a long stretch of forest completely bathed in the light of a spring sun. A long-eared, grey little ball came rolling down from the edge of the forest. The wolf lunged

towards it. He could already feel the strong, enticing scent. He heard the rustling of the strange mad leaps . . .

He pulled himself back in fright; he opened his eyes distractedly.

He had actually heard a noise nearby — one of the wolves scratched himself. With a sense of annoyance and reproachfulness, the leader looked around in the direction of the noise, which would betray them. He was answered by flashing yellow-greenish, threatening sparks. Slowly, he turned away his head and affected indifference. But he had understood. In this mute, ominous primeval sound, which the green sparks emitted, he had detected that hatred, that silent grim hatred which awoke the smell of decay in him.

From this moment on, he was overcome by a great fear. To preserve himself, out of a sense of danger, a desire for revenge, he was prepared to put up a resistance immediately. Once again he looked toward the others; he too flashed his eyes threateningly.

This was a mistake. The entire pack bared its fangs, ready to pounce upon him at any moment.

Once again the leader attempted to affect indifference and self-confidence; slowly he turned his eyes to the side. But now he had finally convinced himself that behind him there was something that knew no mercy and that was full of determination. This conviction struck the very core of his being. And though he made efforts to do so, he could no longer conceal the great irrational fear that possessed him.

What concerned him most of all — what disturbed him most of all — was the fact that they were aware of his fear. They sensed his fear, his insecurity, his restlessness, his end. This intuitive awareness kindled their hatred even more; it ignited their resentment — drove them to their cruel design. In view of all their failures and their misery, all their conscious and unconscious aims seemed to lie in the same direction. And finally, by dint of their herd instinct, they began to see in this design the only possibility for the overcoming of their common, threatening danger — to see their only way out. They were on the lookout. They were only waiting for the last decisive moment, which would sever the invisible spider thread between them and him that still held them back.

The leader was aware of this. He knew with certainty that it would be enough if only one of them dared it. Only a minute movement and the end would be there. From the strain of his situation, there was a thin humming in his ears. The hollow began to tremble. A shivering, feverish trembling ran through his body, and a distinctly disquieting smell of decay arose.

To jump up? To flee?

But they would certainly overtake him.

Come what may! Better fight!

Softly, cautiously, he shifted his weight from paw to paw. Ice sparks circled through his body and painfully pierced through his skin back into the snow. He no longer dared to look around; he feared even to make the slightest movement. He was a prisoner of the invincible power of the pack, which came to him, burdened him, paralysed him.

He sat stooped, motionless. At least this had an effect on the wolves which were behind him; it forced them to the same immobility.

He groped for his last hope — he stiffened.

And suddenly he began to howl! Torturously, hopelessly, inaudibly. No one heard his howling. He lay there silently, as if made of stone. But seized by a deep despair and fear, his teeth shut tightly together, he howled inwardly. To himself, he appeared so pitiable, so weak and miserable, that he wished that he could lie at someone's unknown, powerful feet, to rub himself against them — to lick, to beseech... No one heard it, but the echo of his own sobbing, of his burning pain, resounded in his ears.

Then he could no longer bear it. He was prepared. He wished that it would begin sooner. His gums were parched. His heart stopped. There was a stupefying pounding of his blood in his temples. There was a buzzing in his head.

Then suddenly something jumped from behind and flew past him into the hollow.

In the same instant, he also took to his heels.

Behind the two — the entire pack. Everything happened as quick as a flash of lightning.

He flew across the hollow, flew behind the wolf who had been the first to run off from the pack. He knew that this was a challenge, that now it would be easier for the others to attack him. At all cost he would have to catch up with the wolf in front of him and bury his fangs in his throat, or else the others would catch up with him and would bury their fangs in his throat. Headlong! Flying!

The white snow masses bubbled and whirled beneath their paws. At some spots, the ditches were very deep. Now and then, they had to wade through the snow, as through water or through swamps. The snow was flung aside so quickly, the bushes and twigs cracked so distinctly that it appeared as if everything about them had moved from the spot, was rushing, flying... Never had any one of them felt so nimble, so agile as at that moment.

And the old wolf had never before experienced a similar hunt. The distance between him and the wolf before him became less and less. But he also noticed that the distance between him and those who were behind him was also lessening. They were approaching.

He could already hear their gasps.

They had almost caught up with him.

They had caught up with him.

They had reached him.
They were running alongside one another.
Alongside one another.
And they did not attack him.
Did not attack him yet.
Why didn't they attack him?

After the first wave of fear had passed, he suddenly realized, as if scales had fallen from his eyes, what was really going on. He scented the strong, enticing smell of an animal; he heard the excited rustling of the victim; he grasped that once again they were hunting a prey together, a prey which the wolf in front of him, who he had flown past him, had scented first.

Then they would not attack him? Then he would continue to live? Live and eat? He would eat! For the victim was already very close. Already it could be seen through the trees.

And he himself hardly believed in his strength; happy, intoxicated he flew more quickly to the front, so quickly, that his old heart could hardly take it.

All the wolves ran as fast as they could — forward, overtook one another, bit one another, passed one another to tear off a better piece.

In this feverish frenzy, this enthusiasm, this mixture of feelings, he no longer knew what was happening. Blindly he was thrown upon the fallen body of a deer. His muzzle opened mechanically and his fangs buried themselves quickly . . .

What happiness! Hot, trembling flesh, hot steaming blood. Cramp flashed through his body; his fangs no longer wanted to loosen their grip. Meanwhile, the other wolves pushed each other aside, vied with one another in lacerating and tearing their victim apart. They choked from greed, voraciously sucking in the hot blood — everything happened like a flash of lightning!

He tore himself up again, but was not able to loosen his cramped jaws. Then everything began to move, to whirl around, to fall into an abyss, pulling him along. Somewhere in the depths, when he had already hit the ground, he felt such a sudden, such a terrible and sweet pain in his breast that his heart could no longer bear it and burst.

With his eyes wide open, he could still see how the dew-transformed stars were riding across the sky and were falling down as drops — drops on the snow. He still thought that he would have to get onto his feet, but he didn't know that he was already in the painful twinging clutch of death.

He obstructed their way — so strangely heavy and immobile. They bared their fangs, threatened him, even bit him. One of them ventured to tear the piece of flesh which hung from his already stiffened jaws

Dr. Baymirza HAYIT

(Vice-President, Turkestanian Unity Committee)

METHODS AND SLOGANS OF RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM

(Speech at the Open Session of ABN Conference in London,
October 18th, 1968)

We are well aware that it is impossible in a few words to show the history, and the methods and action of Russian imperialism as this imperialism is precisely the same age as the Russian state itself. It is also well known that in the whole of the world there is none second to it, or even comparable with it.

It knows no boundaries; it is universal and determined to appear as the ruler wherever possible.

There are a lot of people outside the sphere of Russian imperialism, who are convinced that imperialism is connected only to a certain regime in Russian history. They try to show differences, or even show a complete gap between the imperialism of Tsarist Russia and that of the Soviet Union.

One could often hear in the West, talks about Tsarist and Soviet imperialism without any clear statement about Russian imperialism as such. The regime is but a mere instrument of imperialism. No regime can exist

in the world if not supported by a group within the nation and the changes in regime in Russia do not mean changes in the nature of Russian imperialism.

Obviously, during the Soviet period of Russian imperialism one can see certain shades of difference. According to the definition by Professor Seton-Watson of the University of London, one can classify it as *New Imperialism*.

If we wish to explore the very roots of Russian imperialism we have to analyse the basic character of the Russians.

In fact, in their history the Russians knew no respect towards other peoples. Only in 1480 Russia freed herself completely from the Mongolian overlordship. But already 12 years later, i.e. in 1492, she began her first war against Lithuania.

The Russian leadership discovered with their Russian subjects a lust for expansion and the itch for robbery and domination. Russian imperialism

operated at first under the motto of: "Collecting the Russian lands" which meant at the time the conquest of independent Rus' principalities by the Muscovite prince. After this goal had been achieved, they tried hard in Moscow to find a new "idea."

After the seizure of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453, the Muscovites conceived the ambition to take the place of the Byzantine empire. Hence the idea of "Moscow as the Third Rome" which came into being then. In 1473 Ivan III married (for the second time) Sophie Palaeologus, the niece of the last Byzantine emperor in order thus to secure for Moscow the right to Byzantine inheritance. Shortly afterwards the Venetian Senate acknowledged Ivan III as the rightful heir to the Byzantine empire hoping thus to turn Russia into a Catholic state. Since that time the tsar showed the Byzantine double-headed eagle in his arms and crown, yet neither the tsar nor Russia became Catholic. Already in the middle of the 16th century the following idea gained currency in Russia: "The first and the second Rome have fallen, but Moscow stands as the third. The great and holy Russia and the Great Russian tsar alone defend and lead Christianity." This became a popular belief and a clear aim for action. Such was the origin of Russian messianism which became the *leitmotiv* of the Russian imperialism. In order to provide a proof for her "mission", Russia engaged in anti-Islamic expansion in the East and in anti-Christian conquests in the West.

Finally, in the 19th century there emerged the idea of Pan Slavism. However, the idea of messianism was not abandoned. Pan Slavism was to bring all the Slav nations under the domination of Russia, and Russia intended, by means of the annexation of other Slavonic countries, to strengthen her imperialism. The idea of Pan Slavism did not prove an effective

tool. Nevertheless it was abandoned.

At its inception the Russian state extended over an area of 16,200 sq. km. In the 16th century its possessions spread over more than 12 million square km. At the beginning of the 20th century this empire encompassed 22.8 million sq. km. of world surface. According to Lenin, 17.4 million sq. km. of that area were sheer colonial possessions of Russia. It was Lenin himself who said: "Russia is a prison of nations." So far nothing has changed in this respect, for the Russian Bolsheviks became direct heirs of the Russian empire.

After the Bolsheviks took over power, they refused to give the promised freedom to the nations. As a result of the freedom movements of the subjugated nations, there arose, in the years 1917-1919, on the ruins of the Russian empire, the national states of Finland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Ukraine, North Caucasus, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Georgia, Idel-Ural (Tatar-Bashkiria), Turkestan and others.

This time Russian imperialism attacked these states under the mask of Communism-Marxism as the dictatorship of the proletariat and succeeded in annexing them again to the Russian empire. It became quite clear that the Russian philosopher Nicholas Berdyaev was right when he wrote:

"In lieu of the Third Rome the Russian people have set up the Third International. The fatal marriage between the Russian national messianic idea and the international proletarian messianism was concluded in this Third International."

Berdyaev teaches us: "*Bolshevism is a purely Russian national phenomenon.*"

This modernised imperialism became increasingly aggressive and tried to

conquer systematically ever new territories, or to turn them into the vassal dependencies of Russia. After the Second World War countries of East and South Europe (Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc.) became direct vassals of Moscow.

One of the specialists on Russia in Western Europe reported at the end of the 19th century: "*The idea of world supremacy determines the political ideas of the Russians*" ("*The Antagonism between the Russian and British Interests in Asia*", Vienna, 1890, p. 58). The idea of world supremacy became the *leitmotiv* of Bolshevism, too. When Moscow speaks today about world Communism and the Communist world revolution, then it has no other meaning than its firm intention to dominate the world by Russia. The Soviet leadership admits it itself that at the present time more than 1,170,000,000 people are living under the Communist regimes. Moscow hopes to establish its hegemony everywhere with the help of Communism. But the calculation has not worked. Yugoslavia, China, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia have certainly tried to remain Communist, but they refused to recognise the hegemony of Moscow. The position of Russia towards these countries is generally well known.

The methods of the Russian imperialism in its striving to conquer the world have not changed at all. They remain not only unshaken but are being intensified. The most important methods of the Russian imperialism are as follows:

1) Gradual conquest of the lands neighbouring on Russia under the motto of securing Russian interests;

2) furthering unrest among the nations whose conquest is envisaged in order to create preconditions for a military occupation;

3) political, economic and diplomatic pressure on the free governments or

even threats against them in order to make them pliable towards Russia;

The slogans for the realisation of the dreams for world domination run parallel to the methods employed. These slogans can be summarised approximately as follows:

1) at first socialist-communist revolution in one country, and then progressively in the entire world;

2) liberation of the subjugated working people and peoples from capitalism and imperialism in order to achieve world domination in the name of the workers;

3) the policy of coexistence towards the non-Communist countries in order to lay the most important foundations for the Russian activities within the countries concerned, without giving up the ideological struggle;

4) propagandist show of the alleged national freedom of the nations in the Soviet Russian empire, with simultaneous continuation of the campaign against the freedom aspirations of the nations concerned;

5) the so-called brotherly and selfless aid for the peoples of Asia and Africa, in order to bind those countries more tightly to Russia. At the same time Moscow intends to make use of the national bourgeoisie in order to prepare conditions for the take-over of power by the so-called "progressive forces", i. e. the Communist elements.

Russian imperialism changes its tactics according to situation and conditions. Russian intellectuals describe the Russians as faceless. It means ruthlessness with regard to other nations.

We can state as proved that from the ranks of the Russian nation there arose ever new despots and driving forces of the Russian imperialism. This happened because the Russian people, in the course of its history, never knew anything like freedom, democracy or human rights which even in the times of classical Europe

became characteristic marks of the normative way of life. Therefore the leading forces of Russia guide the Russian people in the direction desired by them, utilising the entire people as a means for imperialistic expansion. It is also worth nothing that so far no one from the Russian ranks has felt able to condemn Russian imperialism. If anyone tries to come out against it, he will never succeed in making himself listened to. This is the main difference between the Russian imperialism and the classical imperialism of other European countries. As is known, the British and other kinds of imperialism were fought against by their own internal forces. Each variety of West European imperialism granted their dependent nations the right to establish their own national organisations and to free expression of opinions by means of publications and meetings. Thereby they furthered the freedom of numerous nations of Asia and Africa after World War II. The Russian imperialism recognises no elementary rights for the peoples. While West European imperialism made a retreat after World War II, Russian imperialism has marched triumphantly onwards.

Everyone of us may ask himself: will the Russian imperialism retreat voluntarily from its idea of world domination and its sphere of domination? No, it cannot do it. Why not? Because it is a combination of human tragedy and comedy from the tradition and brutality of Russian leading strata, of the weakness of the neighbouring peoples and finally the consequence of its own national character of the Russian whom Saltykov-Shchedrin described once as "eternally devouring but never satisfied."

One component of the Russian imperialism is also constant suppression of the non-Russian peoples. The smallest endeavours of any people or even a group of any people to stand

up for any other opinion than that Moscow, is severely punished.

That is a regular experience of the peoples of the Russian empire. In 1956 the true face of the Russian imperialism was revealed in Hungary. In August 1968 it was newly shown in Czechoslovakia, and proved to be nothing else but the continuation of the traditional Russian imperialism.

The present-day Russian imperialism is enriched by the historical past of Russia. We know from Russian history that Peter I demanded: "Keep the Russian nation in constant state of war." He said further: "In the interests of the expansion of development of Russia war must serve peace and peace must serve war." Such proclamations, of course in different formulation, as for instance: constant readiness of the Soviet troops and vigilance towards the so-called imperialism are continued even at present.

In spite of the harshness of the Russian imperialism the peoples have been able to uphold their existence. The peoples of the Russian empire could not be Russified as quickly as could be expected, then the reason for this lies in the ability of these peoples to resist oppression.

It seems that the free world has realised that Russian imperialism has become world problem No. 1. For the subjugated peoples of the Russian empire there remains only one way for the preservation of their existence. And this is: Dissolution of the Russian empire and the restoration of national independence of the nations. The Russian people should not feel endangered in any way by this demand, for national independence of the nations does not threaten the existence of the Russian people. Without the liquidation of the Russian empire the world cannot ever feel peaceful and secure, for we do not know when and where and under what pretext will it (Russian imperialism) reveal its explosive power.

Prof. Ferdinand DURČANSKY
(Former Foreign Minister of Slovakia
President, Slovak Liberation Council)

National Independence as a Prerequisite for the Realisation and Safeguarding of Human Rights

(Address at the Session of ABN Conference in London)

The General Assembly of United Nations has unanimously resolved that 1968 should be remembered in the whole world as the International Year of Human Rights. The United Nations wanted therefore to remind mankind of the fact that on 10 December 1948, that is, 20 years ago, a Universal Declaration of Human Rights was accepted by its General Assembly.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights without doubt represents a milestone in the development of mankind. This, it is hoped, will encourage world opinion to take action for the consistent realisation of human rights. It is certainly a favourable opportunity to put both political and psychological pressure on tyrants, autocrats and dictators, and thus to force them to cease abusing their power and to call a halt to placing obstacles in the way of making constitutional rights a real fact.

If we draw a balance sheet on the realisation on human rights on the international level in the past twenty years, we can state with satisfaction that, since the announcement of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the members of the United Nations have concluded several agreements seeking to assure human rights. Some of them, by reason of their ratification by the signatory states,

have acquired legal force. For example, the agreement against genocide, as well as some agreements on the abolition of slavery, forced labour, the elimination of discrimination, etc.

In theory, however, the decisive advance is represented by the two world pacts accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 16th December, 1966; these were: International covenant on economic, social and cultural rights and International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights with an Optional protocol. These two world pacts could mean an important advance in the promotion of human rights, if all freedom-loving people were to work seriously for the realisation of their provisions. It is true that up to now only a small number of states have signed them and none of them have yet given their ratification. This means that neither of these two world pacts have yet entered into force. Since, however, the provisions of these pacts can be regarded only as more precise formulation of human rights and basic freedoms, which were contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and which are printed in the Article 55 of the Charter of the United Nations, and since these world pacts were unanimously accepted by the General Assembly of the United Nations, it

would be possible to consider these provisions as politically and morally binding for the members of the United Nations.

If in addition we look more closely at the constitutions of the existing states, we can see that there are hardly any states whose constitutions do not give an important place for the human rights and basic freedoms of their citizens.

If, however, we draw up the balance sheet of the actual position we must state with regret that it is more dispiriting than encouraging. The hand of the clock of development seems to prove exactly the opposite of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the two world pacts mentioned and the fine constitutional provisions.

Certainly, in most of the states of Western-Europe, in the USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and in some Latin American republics, respect for human rights has become more important than before. Doubtless about 67 new independent states have come into existence since 1945. Their populations were thus given the chance to realize their right to self-determination. Unfortunately this was carried out in too automatic a fashion and the former colonies were simply proclaimed independent states, without the wishes of the population concerned being considered. If there had been more understanding for the fate of the coloured peoples, some of independent states would have been joined together with others, whilst on the other hand the division of some unities in accordance with their ethnic factors would not have been hindered. In this way much of the sufferings of the coloured peoples, for example in the Congo, Nigeria, Sudan etc. could have been avoided.

At the same time the area in which freedom does not exist has been considerably extended in the World. The countries ruled by the Russian and communist tyrants now extend

to over 25% of the World's surface and comprise more than 36% of the whole mankind. Whether this system will be extended to the whole of South-East Asia is being decided in the present armed conflict in Vietnam. In addition at the moment active subversive movements are in progress in some African countries and in Latin America, as well as accelerate preparations for war are being made in the Near East. Thus the general world situation, as well as the prospects for peace, are not in accordance with promising provisions of the Charter of the United Nations.

It is not only a question of the Communist system depriving great masses of people of almost all human rights and basic freedoms, and reducing these peoples to modern slaves, but even more of the thoroughness and ruthlessness with which the Russia and other Communist tyrants ignore these rights. If, for example, the majority of coloured people were forced to live in colonies until the end of the Second World War, the colonial powers have nevertheless in most cases respected the majority of human rights and basic freedoms of the local population. If in some few areas of the World colonial conditions exist even today, and the rights of self-determination of the local populations have been till the present refused it is impossible to compare conditions there with those in Communist-rule countries. A complete independence and constitutionality is often only a question of the eventual development without any revolutionary measure being necessary. There are regimes which do not seek to extend their system abroad, which thus threaten neither the independence of other nations nor the stability of international relations.

At the same time all leading Communist ideologists make no secret of the fact that they are determined to acknowledge no human rights and

basic freedoms to the opponents of this unnatural system.

Since not only the introduction but even the existence of the Communist system is to be equated with a permanent state of war, it is natural that in the countries under Communist rule, not only in theory but in practice, there can be no place for human rights. It is true that the constitutions of the communist ruled countries list a long catalogue of human rights, which however are only intended to deceive the public. The communist tyrants cannot allow themselves to tolerate the realisation of human rights, since such a thing would lead at once to the elimination of the system by the overwhelming majority of the population especially in the subjugated countries where Communism was forcibly introduced by Moscow.

The communists take into account neither civil, political nor economic, social or cultural rights. They pay no heed either to the rights of individuals, their religious, economic, social and other groupings, or to the rights of the conquered nations. They cannot respect these rights, since otherwise they could not construct the totalitarian imperial state, for which they are striving with every means. This must lead to the conclusion that any hopes are groundless that human rights would be in time respected by the evolution of the Communist system.

Besides the intensity of terror, brutality and ruthlessness with which the Communists treat all their potential opponents, they go beyond everything which humanity has experienced for centuries. This can be seen in the methods with which Stalin and his collaborators in different countries subjugated by Russia, as well as their successors, had even the leading Communist officials liquidated.

The Russians and other Communist tyrants have succeeded through the

boundless terror which they have exercised ruthlessly for decades in creating in all sections of the population such psychosis of fear that the people living there have lost the courage even to think freely.

The fact that Russia is blocking the realisation of human rights in the satellite countries which it controls was once more clearly revealed by the military occupation of the CSSR on 21st August 1968. In order to be able to secure also for the future the countries conquered by the advance of the Red Army into Europe in the years 1944-1945, the Kremlin despots have been constantly forced to intervene into the domestic affairs of the satellite countries. For it is only by force that Russia is able to maintain its rule over the enslaved nations, who long for freedom, independence and democracy. The Kremlin despots consider it necessary to make immediate and ruthless action against even the smallest liberalisation measure and tendency towards democracy in the satellite countries. Any loosening of the rule of force is considered by them as endangering the Communist system existing there and the Russian empire. The military interventions carried out by Moscow in 1953 against the Germans in the Soviet occupation zone and in 1956 against the freedom struggle and claim for independence of the Poles and the Hungarians, as well as the military rape of the Slovaks and the Czechs on 21st August 1968 — all this is clear proof that the elimination of the Russian empire and the independence of the nations enslaved by Moscow are necessary preconditions for the realization of their human rights.

When the Kremlin despots held it to be necessary to march over 600,000 soldiers into the countries of the CSSR, they thus admitted that the Communist system, even after 23 years of continuous rule, rests on such

a small section of the population of Slovaks and Czechs that it cannot be kept up without the military help of the Soviet Russia. In other words Moscow has, by the repeated military interventions in these countries, confessed that the maintenance of the status quo created after 1945 and of the Communist system then introduced is incompatible with the self-determination of nations.

Since the Kremlin has resorted to military intervention to suppress the desire for freedom of the population, this is a proof that the Communist tyrants consider the realisation of human rights as jeopardising the maintenance of the system introduced into Central Europe after 1945. In other words, the Kremlin rulers have admitted that the realisation of human rights on the one side and the continuance of the Communist system and the Russian empire on the other cannot be reconciled.

It is necessary in this International Year of Human Rights for everyone who originated in the Communist-ruled countries, for everyone who feels threatened by the expansionist force and subversive activities of the Communist professional revolutionaries, for everyone who is for any reason at all interested in the humanisation of the conditions of the world, to join in the world campaign for the realisation of human rights. For progress in this direction can only be to the profit of everyone, indeed, of all mankind.

Everyone should take action, not only for theoretical advance, but also for an actual realisation of human rights. Mankind should work in the first place for the realisation of political and national rights, since the realisation of the other human rights is a logical consequence of this.

Since the existence of the Communist system is in principle incompatible with realisation of the

human rights, and since the Communists are consistently working for the enslavement of all mankind, it is necessary for world public opinion to become conscious in this International Year of Human Rights of the necessity for the Communist system to be eliminated and to work without equivocation for the realisation of this aim.

Since the expansion of Communism is occurring today from two centres of power, Moscow and Peking, every one actually concerned with the realisation of human rights and basic freedom should work for the realisation of the rights to self-determination of all the 30 countries ruled by the Communists in accordance with Article I of the world pacts. The basic conditions necessary before human rights can be assured are the national independence of the nations in the question and the liquidation of imperialism and colonialism presently in Communist form. The best guarantee of human rights would be the disintegration of the Russian empire, Czecho-Slovakia and Yugoslavia into the sovereign national states of all the nations living there and the introduction of democracy into all these states. The destruction of Communism alone would not mean the assurance of human rights.

This should not be a new act of deception of public opinion through the repeated proclamation of the right to self-determination of these nations, but a real independence of all these countries enslaved by the Russian and other Communist tyrants. Only in this way can the necessary conditions of world politics be created for the liberation once more of many hundreds of millions of people from fear into a state worthy of a human and thus for the creation of the basis of freedom, justice and longed-for peace.

LETTER OF 139 ...

(Concluded from p. 39.)

professor, Doctor of Physico-Mathematical Sciences, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR; I. Ya. Boychak — Candidate of Philological Sciences, member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; V. Kolomiyets' — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; L. Semykina — member of the Union of Artists of Ukraine; H. F. Dvorko — Doctor of Chemical Sciences; A. L. Put' — Candidate of Biological Sciences; H. A. Bachyns'kyi — Candidate of Biological Sciences; P. F. Hozhyk — Candidate of Geological and Mineralogical Sciences; P. Matvienko — biologist; I. B. Lyurin — biologist; A. Shevchenko — journalist; L. Kovalenko — Candidate of Philological Sciences, member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; I. Drach — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; M. Vinhranovs'kyi — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; Yu. Serdiuk — member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine; H. Sevruk — artist-painter; A. Osyns'ka — artiste; L. P. Karmazyna — engineer; K. B. Tolpyho — professor, Doctor of Physico-Mathematical Sciences, corresponding member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR; S. Kyrychenko — Merited artist of the Ukrainian SSR; A. Semenov — engineer; V. Zarets'kyi — member of the Union of Artists of Ukraine; Semenova — biologist; I. Lytovchenko — member of the Union of Artists of Ukraine; Plaksiy — artist; V. Nekra-

sov — writer, member of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, State prize winner; Komashkov — locksmith; Nazarenko — electrician; Erdan — worker; Berlins'ka — worker; Pedoshkovs'kyi — steel-frame worker; Mohyl' — hydro-insulation worker; Dyrov — electrician; Bulay — electrician; Mapakseyev — worker; Vynohrad — worker; Kasymchuk — foundry worker; Hromadiuk — concreting worker; Suhoniako — joiner; Riabokin' — air-conditioning worker; Stefanchuk — hydro-insulation worker; Horbats — electrician; Tsebenko — driver; Chyzhevs'kyi — concrete sections assembly worker; Hodun — stone-worker; Kyrev — electro-welder; Ivanenko — engraver; Syrosh — locksmith; V. Stus — *littérateur*; R. Dovhan' — journalist; R. Korohods'kyi — art expert; A. Zakharchuk — artist; V. Lutsak — sculptor; V. Dovhan' — sculptor; V. Bohoslovs'kyi — physician; Ya. Stupak — *littérateur*; Ya. Kendzior — worker; V. Yaremenko — *littérateur*."

This document which is spreading in manuscript copies in Ukraine was mentioned at the beginning of May, 1968 by the Moscow correspondent of *New York Times*, Raymond Anderson. As he probably did not have a full text of the letter, his report contained several inaccuracies. We publish the full text for the information of the English-speaking public about significant developments in the public opinion of Ukraine.

Read

Read

ABN Correspondence

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67, Germany

Annual subscription: 12 shillings in Great Britain and Australia, 6 Dollars in U.S.A., DM 12.- in Germany, and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries.

