

*The*  
**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



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## 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,

# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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Vol. XVI No. 1

Spring 1969

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A Quarterly Magazine

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

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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.

*Volodymyr BOHDANIUK*

## RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The basic fact of the world political situation in the last 50 years has been the growth of the power of the Russian Communist Empire and of its ambition to dominate eventually the whole world, establishing a world Communist government patterned on the Russian system and directed from Moscow. One after another many once free nations have fallen directly into the clutches of the totalitarian Russian communist regime, or are gradually being prepared for complete enslavement by subservient puppet regimes or opportunist stooges. Moscow's political, economic and military might and influence, despite various setbacks and apparent splits in the communist world movement, is constantly increasing, as is witnessed by the growth of the crowd of Russia's supporters in the United Nations, by the gradual taking over of Middle East oil production by Russia and by the appearance of Russian navy, comparable in strength to that of the US, in the Atlantic and the Mediterranean.

Another basic fact which has contributed to the rapid growth of Russian power and the weakening of the free world has been endemic underestimation of the Russian threat by the rest of the world from the very beginning until today. Free world politicians attribute to the Russian communist dictators the same mode of thinking as they have themselves and are unable to grasp the fact that the latter are motivated by an insatiable quest for world domination, and are equipped with a spirit of Russian global messianism, an iron will, ruthlessness and cynicism almost unmatched in world history. From this underestimation and superficiality of the short-sighted thinking of free world's politicians arise many mistakes and blunders that have



been committed by the free countries in their relations with Communist Russia, such as the refusal to support Ukraine and other non-Russian nations in their struggle against Russia in 1917-1920, the handing over of East-Central Europe to Russian mercies in 1945, the consent to split Germany, Korea, Vietnam and to respect Moscow's "sphere of influence", while Russia made no concessions at all to the West, and continues to foment subversive activities and civil strife in all the free countries.

The strongest and leading power in the free world, the United States, has reluctantly recognised in the end the threat emanating from the area ruled by dictatorial Red tyrannical cliques, but she still refuses to draw correct conclusions from the facts of reality, preferring to believe in the mirage of "coexistence" and the "balance of power", "spheres of influence", "building bridges" and allowing herself to be absorbed predominantly by the secondary conflict with Communist China instead of concentrating on the main threat coming from imperialist communist Russia. American statesmen, and, following them, those of other free-world countries, mistakenly regarding the situation in the Communist ruled countries as in many respects analogous to that in other areas show a negative or at best contemplative attitude towards nationalistic liberation movements in the communist dominated countries. They fail to distinguish between liberating nationalism which aims at national and social liberation of a given nation and degeneration of nationalism, or rather chauvinism whose aim is the enslavement of other nations. In their blindness they have for many years now been condemning their best friends in communist-dominated countries to absolute lack of support, throwing them to the wolves of Russian communist imperialism, washing their hands like Pilate of the blood of innocent victims of Moscow's thirst for power. The latest example has been that of Czecho-Slovakia's invasion by Russia. This behaviour of the Western politicians is not only immoral and sometimes even criminal, but also directed against the best interests of their own countries. In the long run the West is digging its own grave and to the Russians will one day remain only the chore of burying the lame and blind Western "capitalist" and "democratic socialist" and "liberal" politicians and the freedom of the nations they once so conceitedly ruled.

The establishment of the Russian communist empire with its repressive totalitarian system denying all freedom of thought, expression, assembly etc. and its spread to other countries was a catastrophic retrograde backsliding in the development of the world. It runs contrary to the best ideals of mankind, to the aspirations of all nations to national independence and of all individuals to individual liberty and dignity. It is impossible to visualise that the entire world should be allowed to slip back into an era of barbarism which would inevitably encompass the entire world if the Russian communist empire attained full mastery of the world. The aim of all

honest and freedom-loving people must surely be the elimination of this malignant growth on the body politic of humanity and the assuring of a better and more hopeful future for all nations in the world and all individuals.

Unfortunately, too many leading people in the free world have reconciled themselves with the existing situation, have become paralysed by the fear of a Third World War or an atomic war to such an extent, that they are afraid to express even a hope that this situation can be changed in any way by deliberate action on the part of the free world. They are afraid not only of lending any material support to the liberation struggle of the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism, but most often refrain even from expressing solidarity and moral support for them. They have resigned themselves to complete impotence. The media which express and help to form public opinion in the West deliberately avoid speaking the whole truth about the situation of the enslaved nations and their freedom aspirations, their struggle for liberty, in order not to upset Russian tyrants, and thus they keep Western public opinion ill informed about the real situation and unprepared to any future eventualities.

Deliberate suppression of information about real situation in the enslaved countries and the liberation fight of the oppressed nations against Russian imperialism and communism has resulted in the spread of a distorted image of reality, especially among wide circles of the young generation of the western public which does not know much about the plight of the enslaved nations and sees the greatest evils in the world in the U.S. action in Vietnam, in certain racial inequalities in various countries and in the existence of a few authoritarian conservative regimes, as in Spain, Greece, Portugal etc. Certain comparatively minor wrongs committed in the free world are exaggerated, not without Moscow's hand, into crucial world problems, while genocide practised on mass scale with regard to ancient civilised nations in Eastern Europe and Central Asia remain largely unknown for the masses of people in the West. The arrest of a Communist subversionist in any Western country calls forth a storm of protest on the part of thousands of students, trade unionists, politicians etc., while shootings and imprisonment of completely innocent people behind the Iron Curtain rarely brings even a mention in the Western press, radio and television, not to speak of Western parliaments and the United Nations bodies. There is at hand a complete lack of balance in the evaluation of things, a double standard, a false yardstick. And although in the last few years there has been some improvement, a slight correction of this imbalance, there is still a long way to go, and the apathy, inaction and sheer indifference on the part of the influential intellectual circles in the West, not to speak of governments, is still immovable. Communist Russian propaganda, which has at its disposal huge financial, material and personnel resources, is too often swallowed by the popular opinion in the free world and

Western politicians even, at a time when the truth which the spokesmen of the enslaved nations try to disseminate is often passed over in silence and suppressed.

### **Nationalism — Dynamic Factor of the Present-Day Development.**

While Russian world empire has been fortifying its positions and probing the defences of the rest of the world, over the last 50 years another dynamic force has been agitating the popular masses and changing the map of the world. This is nationalism which, far from dying, as its deprecators prophesied, has been exerting ever increasing influence in the affairs of mankind. Following World War I under the assault of nationalism of the subjugated peoples the Russian tsarist empire crumbled, Austro-Hungary fell to pieces, the Ottoman empire collapsed, and the German Hohenzollern empire shrank. New independent countries were set up in Central and Eastern Europe, only to be again subjugated by the Red Russian empire as a result of World War II. In the aftermath of World War II the British empire lost its colonies and was transformed into the Commonwealth of Nations, the French, Dutch, Belgian and other empires released their overseas possessions. Asian and African countries became independent. Only insignificant remnants remain from the old Western empires.

The only force which at the present time opposes the liberation movements of the subject peoples and maintains a ruthless colonial regime is Russia. In the deceitful form of the U.S.S.R., supposedly a free union of independent nations, the Russian chauvinists are brutally enslaving dozens of nations in the worst possible manner. These nations have the same aspirations as other nations of the world, i. e. to national freedom and independence, to a democratic form of government. However, the cruel and inhuman regime of occupation imposed by the force of bayonets upon the enslaved nations by imperialist Russia helps to maintain a retrograde system of oppression of individual and national freedom and independence behind the Iron Curtain. This fact is the greatest tragedy for the freedom of mankind at the present historical moment. On the other hand, the liberation struggle of the enslaved is a potential source of hope for the liberation of the world from the thermonuclear catastrophe. The hope of the world lies in the liberation of the nations subjugated by Russia from Moscow's colonialist grip.

The struggle of the nations enslaved by the Russian imperialists has never died down. It went on during the tsarist times and has been continued under the Bolshevik Russian rule. In the period of open armed struggle, following the 1917 revolution in the former tsarist Russian empire and the Bolshevik counter-revolutionary war of reconquest of former tsarist colonies, the non-Russian nations defended their independence.



At that time already the idea of a common front of all non-Russian nations against Russian imperialism was gaining ground and found its expression in a conference of the leaders of non-Russian nations which took place in Kiev in the autumn of 1917, as well as in subsequent efforts to establish close co-operation and consultation.

Between the wars there were repeated attempts to form a co-ordinating centre of the liberation movements of the non-Russian nations in exile.

Following the outbreak of the German-Russian war in June 1941 the question of the joint struggle of nations enslaved by Russia for their national independence became topical. Crushed between two mighty military machines of Nazi-German and Russian imperialistic tyrannies the enslaved nations saw their only chance of national liberation in a joint fight against both. This idea was above all propagated by the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Upon their initiative a conference of the leaders of the national liberation movements of the non-Russian nations enslaved by Communist Russia took place in Ukraine, in November 1943, under the protection of the units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. This conference initiated the formation of a co-ordinating centre to guide the joint fight for liberation.

Recently we have been celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

After the end of World War II in Europe, the struggle of the enslaved nations was gradually transformed from the military fight into ideological penetration and underground methods of resistance. In 1946, the ABN was formally set up in emigration as a co-ordinating centre of the revolutionary underground liberation movement in the countries behind the Iron Curtain.

From the perspective of 25 years of the struggle of the ABN for the joint action of the liberation movements of all the oppressed nations, it can be stated that the political principles, on which that organization is founded, its noble aims and its methods of struggle have stood the test of time, even though in the most difficult and unpropitious circumstances of an almost complete lack of understanding and support among the leading powers of the West. The ideas of ABN have gained considerable ground in many countries of the world, as well as among the emigré communities and in the enslaved countries themselves.

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*From the Second Congress of the World  
Anti-Communist League  
(Saigon, December 16-18, 1968)*

*His Excellency President Nguyen Van THIEU  
of the Republic of Vietnam*

## **MANKIND IS AT AN IMPORTANT JUNCTURE OF HISTORY**

I am very happy to welcome you in our midst tonight. It is highly significant that your Conference is held this year in the Capital of our Republic which has been and continues to be on the front line of the struggle for freedom, in the face of the relentless efforts of International Communism to extend its rule over this part of the world.\*)

Our thoughts today go to all the noble fighters who have given their lives for the defense of freedom, and to all the peoples who are now suffering under the yoke of Communist Imperialism.

How the peoples in the Countries occupied by the forces of Communist tyranny feel about Communism have been made abundantly clear on many dramatic occasions: At the conclusion of the Korean war, over 22,000 Communist Chinese and North Korean prisoners of war under the custody of United Nations Forces chose freedom in the face of Communist threats and blandishments. The Communist Chinese soldiers were supposed to be "volunteers" fighting against the United Nations Forces. And yet, they chose not to return to their homeland, when they were given an opportunity to escape Communism.

In Viet-Nam, when the 1954 Geneva Agreements partitioned the country and placed the Northern part of Viet-Nam under Communist rule, nearly one million people abandoned all their possessions, their homes and their ancestral lands to seek refuge and freedom in South Viet-Nam, in spite of Communist obstructions and intimidations. Many more would have followed the same path to freedom if they had the possibility.

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\*) Toast at the dinner in honour of the Delegates and Observers to the Second WACL and XIV APACL-Conferences in Saigon, 16. XII. 1968.

In Eastern Europe, the valiant insurrection of the Hungarian people in 1956, and the recent attempt of the Czech and Slovak peoples against Soviet Russia's domination have indicated eloquently that in the East as well as in the West people everywhere have the abiding attachment and deep aspirations for freedom.

However, since the end of World War II, the Iron Curtain of Communism has not receded. On the contrary, it has stretched over Eastern Europe, the Chinese Mainland, North Korea and North Vietnam. It is menacing to extend over the whole of Southeast Asia if the frontline of resistance against Communist expansion in the Republic of Vietnam is to yield under Communist pressures.

What accounts for the advance of the Iron Curtain? According to an old Asian adage, we have to analyze the past in order to face the future.

It appears to me that there are four major reasons which account for the expansion of Communism in the past two decades:

- 1). The *illusions* in the Free World about the reasonableness of Communist leaders,
- 2.) The flaws and weaknesses in the practice of *containment* in facing Communist expansion,
- 3). The method of *war by proxy* used by the major Communist powers, and the Communist strategy of war by *infiltration* and *subversion*,
- 4). The greater *solidarity* of the Communist bloc in comparison with the divergences of views and self doubts among the free nations.

I believe that an objective examination of these main points will help us to meet the Communist challenges more effectively.

First, the Communist expansion at the end of World War II was due in no small measure to the *great illusions* in the Free World based on the wishful thinking that the Communist leaders were essentially social reformers who had been pushed by circumstances to extreme methods, and who could become reasonable and constructive if only we gave them the chance. We have seen that the great hopes that the idealists in the Free World placed on "Old Joe", the late Joseph Stalin, during World War II have ended in tragic disillusionment.

Another example of dangerous wishful thinking was the belief during the Chinese Civil War that Mao Tse Tung and his colleagues were only agrarian reformers. The rude awakening which followed the Communist takeover of the Chinese Mainland has not dampened the feeling among certain segments of public opinion in free and neutral countries that the Peiping regime has behaved in an irresponsible manner only because it has been isolated, and that the remedy

to this situation would be the recognition of the Peiping regime by the Free World, and the acceptance of the participation of the aggressive and tyrannical Peiping regime in all the activities of international life.

Today, another dangerous wishful thinking is in the making among some quarters in the Free World. That is the theory that Ho Chi Minh in North Viet-Nam has been pushed by circumstances to be a Communist although he is a nationalist at heart, and that, given adequate opportunities, he can become a Tito of Southeast Asia.

### **No belief is more illusory and more dangerous.**

Ho Chi Minh has become for a longtime a fanatic Communist, and he has never hesitated to sacrifice the national interests of Viet-Nam to promote the interests of International Communism. An evidence of this is his liquidation of the nationalist patriots during the Vietnamese struggle for National independence, and his establishment of a Communist regime when this was highly damaging to the cause of Vietnamese independence, at a time when Mainland China was not yet Communist, Russia was too far away for help, and the establishment of a Communist regime in Viet-Nam discouraged any help which might have come from the victorious Allies at the end of World War II.

Besides, we should not lose sight of the fact that Tito has been able to maintain an autonomous Yugoslavia because Yugoslavia does not have any common borders with Soviet Russia, otherwise it would have already suffered the fate of Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia. North Viet-Nam on the contrary has a long common border with Communist China, and could never maintain a defiant or independent line of action from Communist China.

We should also keep in mind that a Communist Viet-Nam can become another center of Communist aggression and expansion regardless of whether it can be independent or not of Communist China, in the same fashion that Communist China has become another center of Communist aggression regardless of whether it is in harmonious relations or not with Soviet Russia.

The *second factor* in the Communist advances since the end of World War II is the nature and practice of the *containment policy* against Communism in the last two decades. In the face of a wholly defensive policy of the Free World, International Communism has been constantly probing in various areas of the world in their relentless drive for expansion. Unless containment *at least* strictly guarantees the *status quo*, each gain for the Communist camp is a net and definite loss for us.

Against an aggressor who has made no secret of his ultimate purpose of world domination, we should keep him on the defensive, and maintain the flame of hope in the hearts of the multitude of people now living under Communist tyranny.



In its drive for expansion, International Communism has been skillfully alternating armed aggressions and negotiations. But as the late President John F. Kennedy pointed out the Communist approach to negotiation is "What is mine is mine, what is yours is negotiable." The Free World should be constantly aware of this warning if we want to hold our ground against Communist expansion.

The *third* element in the struggle between International Communism and the Free World is the fact that the Communist powers have, in the context of the nuclear stalemate, invented the method of *war by proxy*, by instigating, supporting, and arming insurrections and aggressions committed by their satellites and agents. In this fashion, they intend to bog down and wear out the great powers of the Free World, while avoiding direct retaliations against themselves.

As you remember, as early as 1961, Khrushchev publicly supported the so-called "wars of national liberation."

A few years later, in 1965, Lin Piao developed the theory that Communism should be expanded first over the underdeveloped areas of the world leading to the gradual isolation and collapse of the great powers of the West, in the same fashion that the Chinese Communists first took over the rural areas before they surrounded and submerged the cities on the Chinese Mainland.

In this machiavellian strategy, the Communists have perfected the tactics of aggression by infiltration, subversion and terrorism.

Nowhere are these strategy and tactics put into practice more vividly than in Viet-Nam.

The war in Viet-Nam is a test case. If successful in Viet-Nam, the Communists will certainly apply again these strategy and tactics, with more fervour than ever, not only in the surrounding areas of Southeast Asia, but in other areas of the world as well.

The *fourth* factor which deserves consideration is the fact that, in this ideological struggle, the Communists enjoy far greater solidarity among the Communist bloc than a free country, fighting for self-defense, can enjoy from other countries of the Free World.

In the Viet-Nam war, militarily the North Vietnamese aggressors have been receiving large supplies in modern weapons from Soviet Russia, Communist China, and the Communist countries of Eastern Europe. A part of these supplies are even transported to North Viet-Nam by ships from free countries of the West.

While a number of people in the West criticize our defense of freedom in Viet-Nam, one of the big arguments between Soviet Russia and Communist China is as to who, between the two, is actually helping more the North Vietnamese Communists, while each of them claims to contribute the greater share, and to support more fully the North Vietnamese aggression.



In political warfare, not only all the Communist countries but also Communist and leftist organizations everywhere, in neutral as well as in free countries, give the Viet-Cong constant and enthusiastic support, while the free peoples are divided by divergences and self doubts and sometimes dwell more on the shortcomings of the defenders than on the crimes of the aggressors.

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Mankind is now at an important juncture of history.

To defend freedom, free people everywhere must stand solidary and united. We must maintain our firm purposes and persevere in our efforts.

The answer to Communist expansion is not in unilateral concessions, but in the establishment of conditions which could strengthen our common defense, and would hopefully bring back some day the light of freedom to the oppressed peoples now suffering under Communist slavery.

In the Free World, the classification has been made between the "hawks" and the "doves."

Among those who are dedicated to the ideals of freedom, I do not think that the differences are really substantial between the hawks and the doves.

I do not believe that the so-called hawks love to wage war for the sake of war, and I do not believe that the so-called doves are willing to sacrifice freedom to have a peace which can be only temporary.

I am however concerned about the "ostriches" who think that they can conjure away the storm by putting their heads under the sand.

To achieve the peace of the free and of the brave, we should be constantly vigilant, and be ready and willing to make sacrifices if need be, and to have the courage and the wisdom to persevere until freedom is preserved and secured.

In this pursuit, may I ask you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to join me in a toast to the triumph of freedom and justice throughout all the corners of this world, and to the everlasting solidarity among free men everywhere.

---

*Yaroslav STETSKO*

Former Prime Minister of Ukraine, President of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations.

## WE APPEAL TO THE FREE WORLD

(Address at the Second Congress of W.A.C.L. in Saigon)

I have the honour to represent the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), the European Freedom Council (EFC) and the Ukrainian Revolutionary Liberation Movement. The ABN is an international organization set up to coordinate the struggle for liberation of all the nations enslaved by Russia and Communist regimes.

Our aim is dissolution of the Russian colonial empire, otherwise known as the Soviet Union, into fully independent nation states in their ethnic boundaries.

Our aim is also restoration of national independence to all the nations in Communist-dominated states including Yugoslavia and the CSSR, as well as re-unification, in freedom, of all forcibly divided countries — Germany, Vietnam, Korea and the liberation of mainland China.

The way to achieve our aim lies in supporting coordinated and simultaneous revolutions against Russian and Communist domination in all our subjugated countries.

In a period of nuclear stalemate Russia has found a successful method of expansion by means of subversion and partisan warfare in the free countries. We believe the time has come to turn the tables on Russia. Revolutions in the Communist Russian empire are alone capable of averting a nuclear war in the future, for Russia is bent on world domination.

The only remaining empire, and the worst in history, is the Russian empire, and Communism is its offspring. There is no justification for its preservation and its appeasement. The nations oppressed by it demand its liquidation and their freedom and independence.

We call on the leaders of the free world and the public opinion to condemn Russian imperialism and Communist tyranny, and to work, together with us, for their abolition, and for the realization of human rights and national independence of all presently oppressed peoples.

The suppression of the Hungarian revolution in 1956 by the Russian army, the suppression of revolts of Ukrainian, Byelorussian,

Baltic, Caucasian and Turkestanian prisoners in concentration camps in 1953-1959, mass strikes and demonstrations of workers and young people in Ukraine, the Caucasus, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Turkestan not only against the social but primarily against the national enslavement in 1959-1968, the persecution in all countries enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism of the young intellectual elite, which is fighting for national independence and for the rights of man, the brutal Russian invasion of CSSR, the Communist aggression against South Vietnam, the danger to South Korea, as well as the Middle East, when the Mediterranean is beginning to be dominated by the Russian fleet, the Communist disturbances in the countries of Western Europe and Latin America, the provocation of racial unrest in the United States and the rousing of the indignation of students are all first-hand examples to prove that the policy of so-called peaceful coexistence is a complete failure. The Russian empire is expanding while the West has not only found itself on the defensive but is retreating.

We condemn most strongly the ruthless Russian invasion of Czech and Slovak soil and support the fight of the Czech and Slovak nations for their independent states and human rights.

We appeal to the free world to assume an offensive attitude, to support with arms if necessary, the national liberation revolutions of peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism, so as to topple from within, the Russian empire and the Communist system! Let's reestablish national independent and democratic states of all enslaved nations.

We bow our heads before the heroic Vietnamese people who are fighting for their independence and unification in freedom. We pay tribute to their fallen heroes.

The Vietnamese people are fighting not only for their freedom and independence but here in Saigon the freedom and independence of free nations and the dignity and rights of mankind are also being defended!

We are warning the free world, especially the United States against a compromise with the Communists for this will be a capitulation before tyrants, before inherent evil!

We remind the free world that its freedom is being defended by the blood and sufferings of the enslaved nations.

The key to the solution of the world political crisis lies in the liberation struggle of the peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism!

They are the Achilles' heel of the Russian prison of nations and of the Communist system!

Whoever helps us is helping himself!

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*Dr. Alfredo FERLISI*  
(Italy)

## ADDRESS ON BEHALF OF THE EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL DELEGATION

On behalf of the European Freedom Council I have the honour and pleasure to extend my sincere greetings to the Second Conference of the World Anti-Communist League and to wish it much success in its deliberations.

The European Freedom Council is a coordinating body for organizations fighting for freedom and against Communism. It stands for self-determination of all peoples, human rights and liberties, for human dignity, for freedom of practising all religious faiths, for social justice, for the re-establishment of the national independent and sovereign states within the ethnical boundaries of all peoples subjugated in the Soviet Russian empire, for the dissolution of artificial state structures, created by force or through foreign intervention, for the liquidation of the Communist system, for reunification in freedom of all divided countries.

The European Freedom Council condemns and fights conspiracy, subversive activity, terrorism and guerilla warfare in the free countries. The EFC condemns and fights Communist imperialism — Russian, Red Chinese and others. It stands against Communist totalitarianism and its police state and one-party system. EFC condemns genocide, persecution of religious beliefs and national traditions and cultures, as for instance, the compulsory Russification of non-Russian peoples.

The European Freedom Council notes that since the First Conference of the WACL 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 war-heads — all these are the active preparations for the destruction of the free nations.

In view of these developments, the EFC condemns Russian and 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 their national and independent states within their ethnic boundaries and unify in freedom all divided countries. The EFC strongly condemns Russian invasion of the Czech and Slovak soil and calls upon the free world to be ready to wage armed resistance to counteract future Russian armed aggression. The EFC defends the right of unification in freedom of Germany, Vietnam and Korea and the liberation of mainland China from Communist tyranny and feels that all coalition governments in South Vietnam which would include the Communists would lead to the occupation of the whole of Vietnam by Communist totalitarians and tyrants. Therefore it calls upon the Government of the United States not to seek a compromise with Communists, who are no more than puppets of Russian or Peking imperialism, but to be instrumental in the liberation of the entire Vietnam, Korea, mainland China, as well as all the nations subjugated by Russia and Communism such as Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, the Baltic states, Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, Czechia, Slovakia, East Germany, Albania and others, and to liberate and grant sovereignty to the peoples subjugated in Yugoslavia — Croats, Serbs and others, and in general to dissolve artificial state structures established by force of the CSSR type.

The EFC calls on all free nations to:

- assert their power, based as it is on strong spiritual and political values, which recognize the dignity of man and his rights to all the human rights specified in the UN Declaration including the right to national independence;

- to strengthen NATO and SEATO forces as the only possible way in which to resist Russian and Communist adventures against the free 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, in view of the fact that Russians are constantly attacking non-existing American, British and French colonialism;

- to bring the matter of Russian, Red Chinese and other imperialism for consideration by the parliaments of the free nations;

- to establish a Captive Nations Week dedicated to the enslaved nations robbed of all the national, social and human rights guaranteed in the United Nations Charter;

- EFC calls for the full implementation of the Charter of the United Nations 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”;

— to condemn Russian and Communist imperialism and to support the persecuted fighters for national, religious and creative freedom and to demand the release of those imprisoned for demanding these basic rights. In particular the EFC condemns the tyrannical persecution of Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Georgian, Hungarian and other creators of spiritual values and intellectuals of all nations subjugated by Russia and Communism. Documents from Ukraine found in *The Chornovil Papers* by Vyacheslav Chornovil, published by McGraw-Hill, and *Internationalism or Russification?* by Ivan Dziuba, published by Weidenfeld and Nicolson in London are living proof of the horrible persecution of freedom of speech, freedom of thought, freedom of conscience and the desire for national independence and human rights among the subjugated peoples.

The EFC raises a strong voice of protest before the whole world in defence of all the subjugated nations and individuals and appeals to the governments of Western powers to exchange their policy of so-called peaceful coexistence, that is, the preservation of the status quo of subjugation, for a policy of liberation.

By helping the subjugated nations we are helping ourselves by safeguarding our freedom in view of Russian and Communist aggression.

**FREEDOM FOR NATIONS — FREEDOM FOR INDIVIDUALS!**

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### **JOINT COMMUNIQUE OF THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE W.A.C.L. CONGRESS**

At the conclusion of the Second Conference of the WORLD ANTI-COMMUNIST LEAGUE, 110 representatives of 51 countries and 19 organizations, dedicated to the defense and preservation of freedom against Communism, expressed their gratitude to the Vietnam Chapter and issued the following Joint Communique:

In the past three days we reviewed the world situation as it has developed since the First Conference in September, 1967, and concluded that while the advance of Communist forces on all fronts has been stopped superficially, there still remains the critical task of marshalling our forces and carrying on the fight to the finish until Communism is defeated and supplanted by national independence, freedom, peace, and justice.

In this continuing battle with the dark forces of evil we pay tribute to the gallantry and determination of the Government and People of Vietnam which with sterling courage and devotion are manifesting to all peoples — the free as well as the enslaved — how to deal with an enemy that recognizes neither human nor divine law. The rest of the Free World, necessarily, must follow Vietnam's incomparable example for the Vietnamese by sheer grit, dedication, and sense of mission, have definitively ripped the blueprint of Communist conquest by Hanoi and the "National Liberation Front."

But Vietnam is not the only field of battle in Asia. The Republic of Korea and Thailand are also actively engaged in battling Communist aggression. We recognize the devious means employed by the enemy in seeking to destroy other bastions of freedom. In viewing the struggle in the Asian sector we seek to enlist the active and positive support of the Japanese people whose freedom is likewise endangered.

Here, too, having taken cognizance of the bloody chaos in the vast Chinese mainland we pledge our unstinted support to the Republic of China which must now mount the long-awaited offensive against the badly riven and confused forces of Mao Tse-tung and capitalize on the deepening rift between Soviet Russia and Chinese Continent.

We view with alarm the recent insidious penetration of the European complex by the red hand of Soviet Russia that now grips defenseless and liberty-loving Czecho-Slovakia by the throat, keeps her heavy boot on Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Poland, the Baltic States and other captive nations whose cherished dream is to live in freedom, justice and national independence. With that Red Hand menacing West Germany, France, Spain, Italy and the North European sector we feel that there is an immediate urgency in strengthening the NATO forces lest the world face again another and a more terrible Armageddon.

With apprehension we see the communist octopus now actively at work in the Middle East and the Mediterranean, among the emerging nations of Africa, and the Republics of Latin America where Fidel Castro continues to breed and export Vietcong-type revolutions, in the student and racial riots and the wanton destruction of lives and property in the United States, Mexico, Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and other sections of the Americas.

We have come to the inevitable conclusion that our salvation lies in unity, and that a global strategy against Communist aggression is imperative. We find that in the present crisis there is no room for complacency, indifference and petty intramural wrangling.

Thus, we are influenced to pledge unequivocal support and positive assistance to the Republic of Vietnam. We believe that in the Paris peace negotiations she must play the leading role, never recognize the NLF as a co-equal contracting party, never yield to pressures to accept a humiliating coalition government with the lackeys of North Vietnam, and firmly assert her right to carve her own destiny.

We salute the gallant fighting forces of the United States and other Allies — Korea, Thailand, Australia, and New Zealand for their unflinching defense of freedom for all mankind.

To the illustrious and brave President of the Republic of Vietnam and to his fearless people we pay humble tribute in this hour of crisis and earnestly hope that their cause may be vindicated.

Inspired by their incomparable example we are determined more than ever to keep the torch of freedom unflickering and bright, to pass it from hand to hand so that in our time, we may all see the passing of the Red night of fear and the coming of the dawn of peace, freedom, justice and national independence.



## **A RESOLUTION OF FULL SUPPORT TO THE REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM AT THE PARIS TALKS**

Since the Republic of Vietnam now fighting in self defence has taken the only logical and honorable position that any self-respecting nation could possibly take at the Paris negotiations in dealing with transgressors of human and divine laws;

And in view of the fact that the outcome of the present struggle in the Republic of Vietnam will decide the freedom of not only the Vietnamese people, but also that of the peoples in many other nations of Southeast Asia and in other parts of the world, therefore any concessions intended to appease the Communist aggressors will endanger the Free World by bolstering their agents to absorb one by one the free countries.

And in view of past experiences the Communists from North Vietnam and their sinister terrorists, the so-called "National Liberation Front", will continue to make use of the negotiations in Paris as an instrument of propaganda, to regain what they have lost in battle and to distract world attention from their insidious heightening of the tempo of war, terror and infiltration in the long embattled land of the Republic of Vietnam;

And in view of the long Communist record of duplicity, evasion and hypocrisy as evidenced at Panmunjon, Korea during the last 14 years, while it is the hope of many people in the world that much should be accomplished, damage can be done to the cause of lasting peace and freedom by any concessions at the Paris talks;

And in view of the fact that history attests that the only language that Communist can understand is firmness and that Communist forces are only effective when they take the offensive and never when they are on the defensive;

And in view of the fact that the war in Vietnam originated in the armed aggression of Communist North Vietnam, abetted and supported by the Chinese Communists, the Soviet Russians and other Communists peace in Vietnam can only materialize through the complete cessation of Communist aggression from the North;

Therefore be it resolved that:

1. The World Anti-Communist League now assembled at its second conference in the very nation which has suffered such inhuman and merciless carnage at the hands of Ho Chi Minh give unequivocal support to the firm and undaunted stand of the Republic of Vietnam which has rightly refused to be intimidated by the treacherous Communists despite tremendous pressures from outside forces.



8. The World Anti-Communist League firmly support the determination of the Government of the Republic of Vietnam never to yield an inch at the Paris talks and, in the full light of the tragic experiences of East European countries, never to accept the formation of coalition government with the so-called "National Liberation Front", the creation and tool of Communist North Vietnam, as a price for expedient peace which at best can be short-lived;

3. The World Anti-Communist League strongly urge the Government of the Republic of Vietnam and its allies never to let the criminal hordes of the so-called "National Liberation Front" be represented as a separate entity at the conference table in Paris;

4. The World Anti-Communist League pledge every support to the democratically elected Government of the Republic of Vietnam in its negotiations from a rightful position of strength, so that as the aggrieved party it can successfully demand the immediate withdrawal of the Ho Chi Minh's troops and agents from its bloodied, ravaged soil.

5. The World Anti-Communist League also urge that every effort be made to secure from the free world substantive guarantees for a lasting peace and freedom in order that the Republic of Vietnam will be able to develop its total potentiality and carve her own destiny in consonance with the best and true principles of democracy and self-determination, for which incalculable sacrifices have already been made by the people and armed forces of the Republic of Vietnam and its allies.

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

### ON SUPPORT OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE NATIONS ENSLAVED BY RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM FOR NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Whereas, in this year all mankind is marking the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the United Nations, we bring to the notice of humanity the fact that these inalienable rights are brutally violated by Communist Russia within her colonial empire (USSR) and by all the brutal Communist regimes directly or indirectly installed and supported by Russia in North Vietnam, Korea, Mainland China, etc.

Whereas, neither freedom of speech, nor of conscience, nor of press or assembly, is respected in the Communist and Russian sphere of domination since both in the USSR and in the "satellite" states there is no guarantee of the security of the security of person, no possibility to elect free governments truly representative of the peoples and no opportunity for peaceful restoration of independence to the enslaved nations;

THEREFORE, be it resolved:

— That The League solemnly declare that justice and freedom are indivisible and that their equal application to all nations and peoples is mandatory for the preservation of human rights in the world;

— That nations subjugated by Russia in the USSR and in the "satellite countries must by natural right regain their independence and truly sovereign status;

— That all artificial state structures, forcibly imposed on some nations, must be dissolved; that artificially divided countries must be reunited in freedom and justice;

— That the Russian Communist colonial empire must completely and finally be liquidated and dismembered and that in its place the subjugated people be supported in their efforts to re-establish their independent national states;

— That democratic forms of government must replace Russian Communist tyrannical rule in all non-Russian nations subjugated in the USSR and "satellite" states, and be it further resolved that:

The League specifically demand:

1) That all Soviet Russian occupation forces be withdrawn from non-Russian countries in the USSR and the "satellites";

2) That basic human rights, as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, be respected and put into effect in the countries presently subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism;

3) That Moscow's Russification and colonisation policy in the enslaved countries be caused to cease forthwith;

4) That writers, intellectuals, religious and political leaders, and all patriots now incarcerated in Russian concentration camps and Communist prisons, be released immediately;

5) That it be made possible, by whatever means necessary to hold free and democratic elections in all the subjugated countries;

6) That national independence and sovereignty, ensuring the full flourishing of human rights and freedom, be restored to all the enslaved countries, both those now included in the USSR and in the "satellite" states.

7) That the second WACL-Conference strongly condemn the ruthless Russian invasion of Czech and Slovak soil and wholeheartedly support the fight of the Czech and Slovak nations for their independent states and human rights.

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

### **on the urgent necessity to render support to the liberation movements of the enslaved nations.**

BEARING in mind that the Red Russian and other communist oppressors have kept in bondage, individual and national, many formerly free and independent countries, and

CONSIDERING that the oppressed nations have waged, and are waging at present, a very determined and heroic resistance against the communist oppressors, and

MINDFUL of the fact that the said resistance and struggle of the subjugated nations is being carried on without any assistance from the Free World, and

NOTING that the oppressed nations have suffered enormous casualties and loss in their uneven fight against the communist forces of slavery, and

REALIZING that no nation or country can carry on indefinitely its fight for liberation without an effective assistance from abroad, and

KNOWING that the enslaved nations are the best and natural friends and allies of the Free World, and further

REALIZING that it is of utmost importance to the cause of freedom as a whole that the enslaved nations never lose hope of regaining their rightful national independence and individual freedom, therefore,

The Second Conference of the WACL resolves to undertake immediate steps through appropriate channels and media to render the necessary assistance to the enslaved nations in order to stimulate and to strengthen their fight for liberation from the bonds of communist slavery.

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

### **OF THE 14th CONFERENCE OF APACL**

The 14th Conference of the APACL condemns and fights Russian imperialism which has demonstrated anew its insatiable desire to dominate the world. The case of the invasion of Czecho-Slovakia and the presence of the Russian fleet in the Mediterranean Sea are the most recent examples.

The 14th APACL Conference condemns and protests against the conviction and imprisonment of the intellectual elite and freedom fighters of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism

The 14th APACL Conference supports the liberation struggle of all peoples enslaved by Russian imperialism and Communism for the reestablishment of their national independent states in their ethnographical boundaries and the realization of human rights.

*From the Resolutions of the IV Congress of the Organisation  
of Ukrainian Nationalists.*

# THE UKRAINIAN STATE AND ITS ORGANISATION

## INTRODUCTION

1. The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists fights for the restoration and construction of a sovereign, independent, united Ukrainian State as the highest form of existence of the Ukrainian nation.

2. The Ukrainian State will be created by the will and by the own forces of the Ukrainian nation by way of a nationwide revolution against the Russian occupier and enslaver.

3. The state-political, social, religious, cultural and economic system of the Ukrainian State will arise from the creative traditions of our statehood of the Princely, Cossack and Modern eras. It will be founded on traditional Ukrainian Christianity, the legal conscience formed throughout centuries and the morality of the nation, the feeling of justice and hierarchy of values that are deeply rooted in the depths of the people's soul and in its traditional political, religious, cultural and social institutions.

4. The attention of the state authority will be centred on Man as a spiritual being, and through him on the family and the entire nation whose rights and freedoms and an all-round development of their creative forces will be guaranteed by law. A harmonious union of individual and social efforts in conditions of free political life will strengthen the growth and power of the Ukrainian nation in all the expressions of its internal life and in the international creative contest.

## A. GENERAL STATEMENTS

1. The State is the highest political form of organisation of the nation, which alone guarantees the sovereign power of the nation on the Ukrainian national territory, assures the necessary conditions indispensable for a free and all-round development of national forces and guarantees to the living and the future generations development and security in every particular system of international forces.

2. The Ukrainian State will be:

a) *national* — which means that it will be a state of the Ukrainian nation and will embrace all Ukrainian ethnic territory. National minorities in Ukraine will enjoy equal rights and their development will be guaranteed by the legislation of the Ukrainian State;



b) *lawful* — i. e. the exercise of power will be regulated by laws and will be subject to control by the people. Lawlessness in any form will be excluded in it;

c) *nationwide* — i. e. a State in which the source of power will be the people and which will assure social justice for the inhabitants of the Ukrainian land.

9. The Ukrainian State will ensure the freedom of speech, thought, conscience, religion, political convictions, assembly, political, social and trade organisations, the choice of work and place of residence, personal security against illegal search, arrest, violation of residence, property and the right of inheritance.

## B. THE PRINCIPLES OF THE STATE ORDER

1. The State order of Ukraine must grow out of the spiritual character of the nation and correspond with the character, mentality and social structure, historical traditions, requirements of life and strivings to a great future of the Ukrainian nation.

2. The source of power in the Ukrainian State will be the sovereign people. The State political democratic order will be built on the authority of power which will be derived from the direct representation of the people, ensuring its participation in the management of the State.

9. The Basic Law (Constitution) which will be approved by the National Constituent Assembly of Ukraine will lay down the rules for the State, political, social and economic life of the Ukrainian State and will form the basis of the legal order (it will specify the obligations and will guarantee the rights of the individual and the community).

4. There will be division of power in the Ukrainian State into three branches: legislative, executive and judicial.

5. Local organs of power (rural, urban, regional or territorial) will be set up on the principle of self-government which will create the necessary preconditions for the expression of State-creative initiative of the citizens.

6. State administration will be formed on the basis of professional qualifications and not in accordance with party political affiliations.

## C. LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY

1. The Parliament consisting of two chambers will be the highest organ of legislative authority.

2. Representatives to the first Chamber will be elected by means of a direct and secret ballot of all the citizens of the State.

3. The Second Chamber will consist of merited statesmen, political and military leaders, representatives of the Churches, cultural and scientific establishments, trade organisations and producing strata.

#### D. HEAD OF STATE

1. Executive power will be implemented by the Head of Government and the Council of Ministers. The Head of Government will be appointed by the Head of State. The Head of Government will form the Government and propose it to the first Chamber for approval. The Government will be answerable to the Parliament and the Head of State.

2. The Government will be formed by that organised political force which in the elections will gain a majority required by the Basic Law and the electoral law.

3. Organs of self-government will be formed by way of direct elections. Rural, urban and regional (or territorial) councils and their executive organs will be organs of self-government.

#### F. COURTS OF JUSTICE AND OFFICE OF ATTORNEY

1. Jurisdiction in Ukraine will be implemented in accordance with the spirit of traditional Ukrainian legality, in accordance with Ukrainian legal conscience and the Basic Law. Courts of justice and office of Attorney will stand on guard of legal order in the Ukrainian State.

2. Jurisdiction in the Ukrainian State will be implemented by a system of courts which will be headed by the Supreme Court appointed by the Head of State.

3. The courts will be independent and will be subject only to law.

4. Interpretation of the Basic Law will belong to the Supreme Constitutional Court.

5. The Attorney General will be appointed by the State Government. The Attorney General will watch over the preservation of the laws.

#### G. THE STATE AND THE CHURCH

1. Considering the special role of the Christian religion and Church in the life of the Ukrainian nation, all conditions for a free development of the Church and religious organisations will be assured in the Ukrainian State.

2. The Church and the State are two independent sectors of a single organism, which ought to cooperate and assist one another as closely as possible.

3. The Ukrainian State will favour a patriarchal completion of our Churches.

4. Beside the freedom for Christian denominations there will be ensured in Ukraine complete freedom for other religions and cults.

5. Militant atheism, as well as the activities by groups disrupting the Church and State will be prohibited.

6. The Church, as a legal entity in the State, will have the right to own immovable and movable property within the limits regulated by the law.

## H. DEFENCE OF THE STATE

1. Sovereignty of the Ukrainian State, integrity of its territory and the freedom of its population will be defended by Ukrainian armed forces. The Government of the Ukrainian State will look after the development of the Ukrainian army, well trained and equipped with all the most modern military technological means.

2. All healthy males, citizens of the Ukrainian State will bear obligation of military service which is their honourable duty.

3. The State Defence Council headed by the Head of State as Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces will be the highest directing organ of state defence.

4. Taking into account the geopolitical situation of Ukraine, the Ukrainian nation, to ensure its own security, ought to cultivate the spirit of military preparedness. Various bodies, in particular paramilitary and combatants' organisations, ought to act in this plane, and Ukrainian military traditions of an armed people also ought to be cultivated.

5. Implementing the policy of securing the integrity of the Ukrainian State, in particular with regard to Russia, Ukraine ought to initiate political and military alliances with the States whose interests and security will coincide with the interests and security of Ukraine. A planned defence policy, based on well prepared armed forces and a system of defensive alliances, will ensure permanent existence of the Ukrainian State.

## I. INTERNAL PROTECTION OF THE STATE

1. Protection of law and order, in particular against foreign enemy subversion from within, directed against the independence of the Ukrainian State, will be implemented by the organs of the protection of the State.

2. The organs of internal protection of the State on all levels (organs of police, militia, border guards etc.) will function on the basis of the Basic Law and other generally obligatory laws.

### *Culture and spiritual life*

## A. THE BASIS OF CULTURAL POLICY

1. The prolonged struggle of the Ukrainian nation against the Russian conquerors is not only a political struggle but a struggle between two opposite cultures, world outlooks and conceptions of life as well.

2. The Ukrainian nation is living through a decisive period in her struggle for the preservation and strengthening of her cultural values against the Russian concepts for centuries imposed on her.

3. The motive ideas of the cultural struggle are the ideas of God Country, Truth, Justice, Glory, Freedom, Chivalry and Power of the Ukrainian nation on her own soil. They stem from the depths of the spiritual make-up of the Ukrainian nation, they constitute the very essence of being Ukrainian, are derived from the heroic traditions of the struggle in our historical past, placing in the centre liberating nationalism, heroic humanism of Shevchenko, the mission of the eternal city of Ukraine — Kiev, its militant Christianity, in the age-old struggle against Moscow — the centre of tyranny, aggression and militant atheism.

4. The cultural process takes its origin in the very depths of the people's soul, in the spirit of the nation and embodies its ideas in the literary, artistic as well as scientific creative work. The true contents of humane sciences shall be in the centre of the cultural order.

5. The deepening and development of a true Ukrainian culture preservation and reconstruction of historical, national and religious monuments in the conditions of free creative work — will be the subject of care of the State authority, in particular in such fields as language, literature, art, architecture, music, religion, ethics, law and science — including political science, philosophy, pedagogy, folklore. In the Ukrainian State particular attention will be paid to the raising of cultural and ethical level, including popular theatres, cinemas, television, radio broadcasting, amateur artistic groups and other forms of artistic creative work.

6. Cultural policy in the Ukrainian State shall satisfy the all-round spiritual needs of the people and raise continuously its cultural and ethical level.

7. In order to ensure an all-round development of culture and the enrichment of the spiritual, ethical and moral life of all the citizens, the Ukrainian State has the task to secure in Ukraine:

a) the freedom of speech and of the press, conscience and convictions;

b) the freedom of religion and those cults which do not contradict public morality;

c) the freedom of creative work and development in the scientific, artistic, literary and other fields;

8. The Ukrainian State shall make possible and shall strengthen cultural relations with other peoples by way of mutual exchange of cultural values and cultural co-operation.

9. The Ukrainian State will help to ensure material security for cultural, scientific and artistic workers and will care for the training of appropriate new cadres.

10. National minorities in Ukraine will have the right to develop their own national cultures in all their forms.



## B. PUBLIC EDUCATION AND UPBRINGING

1. The Ukrainian independent State will devote great attention to public education and upbringing of the youth, ensuring equal rights to education to all citizens.

2. The Ukrainian school shall be national not only as regards its language of instruction, but also as regards its contents. It shall raise the general education of the entire population of Ukraine, ensure an all-round development of individual faculties of the youth and give it professional training, preparing experts and researchers in various fields of life.

3. The principle of unity of the school system will be applied in the development of the Ukrainian school system, under which pupils will be able to pass without hindrance all grades of schooling, starting from the lowest and finishing with the highest.

The system of education shall embrace: pre-school education up to the age of six; compulsory primary schools, compulsory secondary schools of various types (grammar schools, modern schools, technical, commercial and agricultural schools); higher educational establishments of various types (universities, polytechnics, pedagogical academies, higher military colleges, theological academies, academies of arts, conservatoires and scientific research institutes); extramural education; youth organisations and schools for handicapped children.

4. In the Ukrainian educational system religious knowledge will be included in the school teaching plan as a compulsory subject. The teaching of religious knowledge will be organised in such a way as to satisfy the religious needs of pupils of all denominations.

5. The youth in the Ukrainian State will receive free upbringing in the nursery schools, free education in primary schools and secondary schools of all types. Apart from this the State shall take care to ensure free studies for capable youths in higher educational establishments.

6. With the purpose of development of theoretical pedagogy and the raising of the level of education in Ukraine, an academy of pedagogical sciences shall be set up in Kiev with branches in the big cities of Ukraine. Also scientific research pedagogical institutes to study and improve the teaching processes, pedagogical stations and laboratories, as well as exemplary schools shall be organised.

7. Education in Ukraine in all its forms will be guided by the Ministry of Education, taking into account the peculiarities and special needs of the regions, i. e. of the local population, private schooling and social factors. The tasks of the Ministry of Education will include the publication of various works on pedagogy, school textbooks and literature for the youth of various age groups, organisation and maintenance of libraries and museums necessary for the educational establishments.

8. Private schools, educational institutions and schools for children and youth of other nationalities will be permitted in Ukraine. They will be subject to supervision by the Ministry of Education.

*National economy, foundations of social policy*

A. GENERAL STATEMENTS

1. The centuries-old colonial dependence of Ukraine on Russia has resulted in an uneven development of the economy of Ukraine which took place under the influence of the needs and interests of Russian imperialism. The considerable and varied natural riches of Ukraine provide every basis for her to exist as a separate national economic entity, an important factor in international economic relations.

2. The national economy of Ukraine shall be the basis of the strength, growth and might of the Ukrainian nation in the Ukrainian Independent United State and a guarantee of her full political independence. In order to realise this the national economy shall rely on an appropriate economic system.

3. This economic system shall grow from the spiritual make-up and social and economic characteristics of the Ukrainian nation, i. e. it shall take into account the psychologic characteristics of Ukrainians and their social traditions, as well as take over the experience of the peoples of the world advanced in the economic development. The communist and capitalistic systems shall be fully rejected as anti-popular.

4. The basis of the organisation of the national economy will be formed by private ownership of the means of production on a mass scale and the widest possible economic initiative in the production of goods and their distribution on the basis of economic and social justice.

5. The principle that a healthy all-round development of the Ukrainian nation demands the elimination of an exclusive monopoly of the State in the economic life will form basis of the economic policy of the government. The State factors shall create conditions for the development of personal initiative and enterprise. The main regulator in the economic life shall be market relations and not a single central plan and a single central management of the national economy.

6. The State shall secure for itself the ownership of such means of production and components of the national economy which are of general national importance and nationalisation of which has been justified by experience.

B. THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF ECONOMIC SYSTEM

Economic policy in the Ukrainian State shall develop along the following principles:

1. Private-individual, co-operative, municipal and State ownership of the means of production.
2. Private initiative and the right to make profit, but without exploitation of a man by the State or by another man.
3. Regulation of capital investments in the most important sectors of the national economy and prevention of excessive accumulation of capital and means of production in the same hands and of the creation of trusts and cartels.
4. A harmonious co-operation between all producing strata as a negation of the class struggle.
5. Complete de-collectivisation of agriculture and introduction of private ownership of the land.
6. Co-ownership by workers and technical personnel of certain, until now nationalised, means of production and creation of new undertakings on the basis of special shares.
7. Separation of trade unions from the State and securing of the right to strike for the workers within the limits envisaged by the law.
8. Intensive trade relations with abroad.
9. State control over the banking and credit systems.
10. Taxation policy, beside its budgeting function, shall have the task of regulating the distribution of the national income, thus eliminating exploitation.
11. Foreign investments will be an exclusive concern of the central government.

### C. AGRICULTURE

1. Agricultural population in Ukraine will form not only an important production factor but will also be a great reservoir of manpower among whom Ukrainian national traditions and original social style are preserved, opposed both to Muscovite collectivism and to landlordism imposed on Ukraine in the past, as well as to the degradation of the peasant to the role of a mere producer of bread.

8. Agriculture of Ukraine shall play a prominent role in the national economy. Its strength relation with regard to industry will be dictated by social and economic expediency in full realisation of the fact that normal development of all other branches of the national economy depend on the development of agriculture.

3. Apart from the interests of the nation, the welfare of the family, and in the perspective of the future — the welfare of the family-kin, i. e. of generations — will be the decisive criterion in the agrarian changes in Ukraine.

4. The land belongs to the people as its only master, therefore it will be handed over without payment to private ownership of the farmers in the size of a medium type of farms, within the upper and lower



limits of these farms permitted by the law; land speculation will be prohibited.

5. Individual farmsteads will be able to unite in agricultural co-operatives or organise production associations.

6. The State shall assure an all-round technical and financial assistance for agriculture. An agricultural bank will be set up for this purpose. State research stations, seed and pedigree animal farms will be created with the aim of continuous improvement of agriculture.

7. A fund of agricultural land necessary for public, scientific and military purposes will remain for the disposal of the State.

#### D. INDUSTRY, NATURAL RESOURCES (MINERAL WEALTH), FORESTS, WATER RESOURCES AND TRANSPORT

1. The industry of Ukraine, on the basis of her natural resources will determine a leading place of Ukraine in international co-operation and will provide her with great defensive capacity.

2. The initial stage of the reorganisation of the industry shall proceed along the line of an expedient localisation of industrial centres, its all-round development, harmonisation among its various branches and the reconstruction of the ways of communication (in accordance with the national interests of Ukraine in opposition to the present system of colonial dependence on Moscow).

3. The development of industry will provide firm foundations for assuring the welfare of the population, will create material preconditions for an all-round development of science and culture and will ensure for the Ukrainian State a proper place in the technological contest with the advanced States of the world.

4. The mineral wealth of Ukraine is a national State property. Forest and water resources of Ukraine shall be State, municipal, and within certain limits, private property.

5. Heavy industry, power industry and transport (railway, water and air transport) of nationwide significance shall be State, State-and-municipal and municipal property.

6. Light industry, production of consumer goods, handicrafts, certain kinds of transport and power industry and the sector of personal services will be based on private property: individual company and co-operative ownership. The State will stimulate them to create wellbeing and to ensure an appropriate standard of living for the population.

#### E. TRADE AND FINANCES

1. Trade in Ukraine shall develop along the lines of the fullest possible satisfaction of the needs of all the strata of the population and shall be an additional factor in the harmonisation of particular



branches of the national economy. Foreign trade shall ensure the marketing of the surplus of commodities of the Ukrainian industry and agriculture, the importation of the necessary foreign products, the winning and strengthening of Ukraine's position in international markets, according to her economic potentialities.

2. Commercial enterprises shall be private, co-operative and company-owned.

3. The State shall stimulate, initiate, regulate and control the trade with foreign countries in accordance with the national State interests.

4. The State bank of Ukraine, as an emission bank, will have the task to regulate and control the entire banking system.

5. The development of general and special banks of private, company-owned or municipal character will be permitted.

6. A strong currency shall be the basis of a sound financial system.

7. The financing of State expenditure will be implemented from the State budget the source of which will be receipts from the State property, enterprises and direct and indirect taxes.

8. The taxation system will be progressive. It will serve as an additional means for a just distribution of the national income.

9. Apart from progressive taxation, there will be instituted a system of tax reliefs for the economically weak enterprises and those enterprises which will make capital investments for the means of production or for the development of social welfare establishments.

10. Financial policy, in particular in its initial stage of re-starting the national economy in a free Ukrainian State, will require full concentration of State financial resources on investments in the key branches of the national economy. The State will favour private initiative in the development of these branches.

11. Foreign investments in Ukraine and Ukrainian investments abroad will be controlled and regulated by the State.

## F. FOUNDATIONS OF SOCIAL POLICY

The task of the social policy in Ukraine, guaranteed by legislation, will be:

1. To create conditions under which all spiritual and material needs of the citizens of Ukraine would be assured to a maximum degree.

2. To introduce such minimal wages which would sufficiently assure the living and cultural needs of the working man and his family.

3. To create conditions under which citizens of the Ukrainian State would be able fully to enjoy political freedom and opportunities for showing economic initiative provided that the limits of freedom of each citizen are determined by the limits of freedom of other citizens and the entire society as well as by social justice.

4. To ensure physical and moral health of the nation. To introduce a system of protection of public health taking into account all the achievements of medical science, in particular the protection of the working people from occupational diseases.

5. To assure employment for all citizens able to work with the right of free choice and change of profession and change of the place of work; to institute upper limits of the hours of work.

6. To ensure equality of women with men, free access of women to all schools and professions, equal remuneration with men for the same work;

7. To prohibit hired labour of persons under age and women in heavy industry and in production harmful to health.

8. To ensure paid holidays, establishment of rest homes, sanatoria etc. for the working people.

9. To introduce a system of social insurance during periods of sickness, inability to work, old age; to establish a system of pensions for the working people in the amount which would assure a normal living standard of the pensioners and their families; to provide security in cases of unemployment; to organise social welfare in particular cases.

#### G. COMPENSATION FOR PERSONS WHO LOST THEIR HEALTH AND PROPERTY DURING THE ENEMY OCCUPATION AND THE STRUGGLE FOR STATE INDEPENDENCE

1. The Ukrainian State shall take full care and give appropriate material security for the participants in the revolutionary liberation struggle and to their families, to political prisoners and their families, to those deported beyond the borders of Ukraine, to all persecuted by the enemy, to the victims of the terror of the occupier.

2. The Ukrainian government shall include in the framework of occupation and war compensations which the Ukrainian State will demand from the occupier for genocide, cultural extermination, economic exploitation and robbery, the demand to provide compensation also for all those who suffered from them.

#### H. WOMAN AND FAMILY

1. Woman has a particularly responsible role in the life of the nation. Woman is above all mother, upbringer of the young generation and the foundation of a family. Therefore the position of woman in society and her work will be secured by a special law in the Ukrainian State.

2. The family as the basic cell of society is of particular importance for the nation, because young generation grows up and is brought up in it. The Ukrainian State will create all conditions in order to ensure that the family in Ukraine has every opportunity for the carrying out of this responsible task.

3. A special law will protect marriage, family, motherhood and children. In order to ensure that the woman-mother is able to devote necessary time to the bringing up of children, and does not seek additional earnings, the family will receive appropriate assistance.

## I. PROTECTION OF PUBLIC HEALTH

1. The principle of an all-round strengthening of the physical and spiritual forces of the Ukrainian people as a whole, as well as of each particular person and citizen without regard to his property status shall be laid in the basis of the health service system.

2. In order to implement this principle there must be a harmonious combination of the State, social and private initiative with regard to the construction and functioning of the health service system.

3. The health service system in Ukraine shall embrace measures directed towards:

- a) a general improvement of the health of the population, strengthening and betterment of its health;
- b) strengthening of the physical and mental health of the nation;
- c) prevention of diseases, reduction of sickness, reduction of the rate of death, increase of the birth rate, prolongation of life, raising of the working ability of the population;
- d) organisation of medical-sanitary and prophylactic centres;
- e) organisation of reconvalescent and therapeutic centres;
- f) the best possible provision of the Ukrainian army with every kind of medical service.

4. The measures for the protection of the health of the population as a whole, i. e. legislation in the field of the health service, the protection and strengthening of the health of the nation, measures of sanitary-hygienic and prophylactic character, general planning of the measures of the protection of health, the planning of the network of sanitary, prophylactic and therapeutic and sanitary-hygienic establishments, control over the whole system of health service, control over medical assistance, legislation in the field of health service, shall be mainly in the hands of State authority and will be secured by the State budget.

5. In order to avoid bureaucratisation of medical assistance in the Ukrainian State, the dispensary aid, i. e. outside hospitals, will be based on a network of privately operating general practitioners.

6. Medical establishments, as well as pharmaceutical industry and the network of pharmaceutical shops can be managed by the State, municipal or co-operative institutions as well as private individuals. Control over all these establishments and enterprises will be implemented by the State organs of health service.

# *VOICES OF PROTEST FROM UKRAINE*

## I.

*Valentyn MOROZ*

### *A REPORTAGE FROM BERIA RESERVATION*

To the Deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR  
From the political prisoner Valentyn Moroz,  
illegally convicted in Lutsk on January 20th, 1966.

The chase ended. A fugitive came out from behind the bushes. "I am giving myself up, don't shoot! I have no weapons!" The pursuer approached him almost to breathing distance, reloaded his automatic gun in a businesslike manner and placed, one after another, three bullets into the live target. Two more series of shots rang out: two other fugitives who had given themselves up, too, were shot. The bodies were brought out and laid on a road. Sheepdogs were licking the blood. As always, the victims were brought to the camp and thrown to lie at the gate to frighten off the others. But suddenly the corpses moved: two of them were still alive. And it was not possible to shoot them now: there were people around.

This is not the beginning of a crime story. This is not a story about fugitives from Buchenwald or Kolyma.<sup>1</sup> This did happen in September

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<sup>1</sup>) Kolyma — a huge system of forced labour camps in North-East Siberia on the river Kolyma.



1956, already after the 20th Party Congress had condemned the personality cult, and criticism of Stalinist crimes was in full swing. Everything written here can be attested by Algidas Petrusiavicius, inmate of camp No. 11 in Mordovia . . . He alone remained alive while the other two men — Lorentas and Yursha — died. Such incidents used to be an everyday occurrence.

The green land of Mordovia extends in a not very wide belt from West to East. It is marked green on maps and it is green in fact. Among a Slavic sea it is an islet of strangely sounding Mordovian names: Vindrey, Yavas, Pot'ma, Liambir. In its North West corner there is the Mordovian state forest reservation. The law reigns supreme there, hunting is strictly forbidden. But there is another reservation, unmarked on any maps, where hunting is permitted all the year round, man-hunting that is. If one was to compile an exact map of Mordovia one would have to divide its South-Western corner into squares fenced off with barbed wire and dotted with watch-towers. These are the Mordovian political camps — the land of barbed wire, sheepdogs and manhunting. Here, among the barber wire, children are growing up. Their fathers mow hay and dig potatoes after duty. "Daddy, was there a search? And what did you find?" Later they will grow up and will acquire the first worldly wisdom of these parts: "The camp is our bread." They give one *pud* (35 lbs) of flour for every fugitive caught. It was simpler in the Aldan<sup>2</sup> camps: a Yakut brought the fugitive's head and received gunpowder, salt and gin. Similarly as with the Dayaks on the island of Borneo, only the head was not brought to a chief adorned with necklaces made of teeth, but to a Major or a Captain who studied externally at a university and gave lectures about legality. They have been compelled to give up this tradition in Mordovia: Moscow is too near for that. Suppose that such a trophy falls into the hands of a Western correspondent — try to prove then that this was a false report invented by the "yellow press."

The three Lithuanians were shot although they had not been sentenced to death. The Article 183 of the Criminal Code permits to punish an attempt to escape with three years of imprisonment, and Art. 22 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR even prohibits "to inflict physical sufferings or to humiliate human dignity" of the prisoners. The court of justice of the Lithuanian SSR (a sovereign state, according to the Constitution) permitted the KGB men to keep escapees in isolation — no more. Ukraine is also a sovereign state, according to the Constitution, and even is represented at the United Nations. Her courts of justice sentence thousands of Ukrainian citizens

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<sup>2</sup>) Aldan — forced labour camps for prisoners working in gold mines in the region of the town of Aldan in Southern Yakutia, North-East Siberia.

and . . . send them abroad. Is it perhaps because Ukraine has no room for the camps, like the principality of Monaco? Nevertheless, place has been found in Ukraine for seven million Russians, but for Ukrainian political prisoners no place has been found on their native soil. Thousands of Ukrainians have been deported to the East and they have been swallowed up by grey oblivion. They have been swallowed up by the dungeons of Solovki,<sup>3</sup> by the sands of Mangyshlak,<sup>4</sup> late on by the Stalinist construction projects — the pyramids of the 20th century which devoured millions of slaves. They were transported not only in the prison wagons — the Russifying meat-mincer devour also those “voluntarily” resettled in the boundless expanses of Siberia and Kazakhstan, and they are forever lost for the Ukrainian nation. Where the sun sets the primitive peoples placed their Country of the Dead whence people no longer return. In some future Ukrainian legends such a country will be situated in the East.

The level of civilisation of a society is defined by the fact to what extent it cares about the fate of its citizens. A disaster in a Belgian coalmine caused several scores of Italian emigrants to be buried alive. Italy exploded with protests, government notes were sent, there were questions asked in parliament. In Ukraine, too, there is a parliament — the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. I do not know whether there are people in it who remember their right to put questions to the government. I do not know whether these people remember any of their rights of a deputy, except the right to raise their hands in approval during voting. But I do know that the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR is supposed to be the supreme authority in Ukraine, according to the Constitution. It has empowered one of its subordinate instances — the KGB — to arrest, put on trial and dispose of the further fate of the people accused of “anti-Soviet activities.” Let us, esteemed deputies of the Ukrainian Parliament, for once awake from the slumber, let us put aside talk about sows concrete-mixers and the effect of the use of superphosphate on the national economy. Let these problems be decided by specialists. Let us for once leave behind the Country of Sweet Yawns, let us transfer ourselves to Mordovia and try to find out: a) who are the people who have been torn out from their normal life and handed over to the undivided mercies of the KGB men; b) to whom is it that the fate of those men has been entrusted.

<sup>3</sup>) *Solovki* — a cluster of islands in the White Sea where the first Soviet concentration camps were established in the 1920s. There is a grim monastery on the main island where the last Chief of the Ukrainian Cossacks Petro Kalnyshchuk, was imprisoned by the tsarist Russian government for many years in the 18th C.

<sup>4</sup>) *Mangyshlak* — waterless desert peninsula on the east coast of the Caspian Sea, where oil deposits have been found. In the 19th C. the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko spent part of his exile there.

## HOW IDEAS ARE DEALT WITH

In 1958, Makhmed Kulmagambetov, lecturer of philosophy at the Institute of Medicine in Frunze [Kirghizia] (now in Camp 11 in Mordovia), gave notice to the Rector's office: kindly pay me off. The reason? — Inability to agree with the programme of teaching. This was received as a bombshell. The pack of careerists who pushed and elbowed one another headlong to the trough, trampled underfoot conscience, dignity, convictions in order to reach higher and to wrest the prey from his neighbour, could not understand how a man could give up 120 roubles only because his views had changed! Kulmagambetov became a worker. Then in 1962 he was arrested. The court in Kustanay [Kazakhstan] sentenced him to seven years imprisonment and three years deportation for "anti-Soviet activities." In what did they consist? The head of the department of cadres of the "Sokolovrudstroy" Trust, Makhmudov, was the chief witness for the prosecution. The only thing he could say in court was to quote Kulmagambetov's words: "I do not wish to teach what I do not believe in." For this is how Kulmagambetov replied to the question: "Why do you not work in your profession?" Other accusations were in the same vein. The prosecutor himself confessed: "Generally speaking, there is nothing you can be tried for, but you entertain a *dangerous set of ideas*." This is a typical case which one meets every day in the practice of the KGB. However it is unique as far as the frankness of the arbitrary power is concerned. As a rule, the KGB men make efforts to concoct at least an appearance of "anti-Soviet" *activities*. Here, however, in the outlying province they did not even deem it necessary to bother with it and admitted that Kulmagambetov had been *convicted for his views*. Thousands upon thousands of people are being tried in accordance with this system, although the KGB play the farce in a much more sophisticated way. Art 126 of the Constitution of the USSR proclaims the freedoms of speech, press, manifestation and organisation. Art. 19 of the UN Declaration of Human Rights speaks about "freedom to seek, obtain and disseminate information and ideas by any means and irrespective of state frontiers." Hence Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR is nothing but violation of the documents quoted above, a Stalinist survival. The formulation, "agitation or propaganda carried on with the aim of subverting or weakening the Soviet power", in conditions when KGB themselves determine the degree of "subversiveness" of the material, serves the purposes of unlimited arbitrariness.

Each year dozens of books by foreign authors, stuffed with sharp critique of the Soviet system and communist ideology, are published in Moscow. If Art. 62 of the Criminal Code is in fact law, the publication of these books is a punishable offence. Law is only then law if it is equally binding on all. Where is logic now: I may freely propagate Hitler's views published in the journal *Voprosy Istorii*, but I would



be put on trial if I attempted to publish Hitler's memoirs on my own. Thus, Art. 62 is simply an instrument of arbitrariness in the hands of KGB which makes it possible to throw an inconvenient person behind bars for keeping a book not published in the Soviet Union.

I and my colleagues have been convicted for "propaganda aimed at separation of Ukraine from the USSR." Art. 17 of the Constitution of the USSR clearly states the right of each republic to secede from the USSR. The right of every nation to separation is fixed in the Pact concerning civic and political rights of man adopted by the 21st session of the UN General Assembly.

The KGB is fond of the expression "nationalist literature." What is the meaning of this phrase and what is the criterion of the definition of a thing as "nationalistic?" Not so long ago the works by Oles',<sup>5</sup> Hrinchenko,<sup>6</sup> Zerov<sup>7</sup> were regarded as "nationalistic" — now they no longer are nationalistic. Mice have not yet managed to gnaw through the brochures in which "theoreticians" of Malanchuk<sup>8</sup> type used to call Hrushevs'kyi<sup>9</sup> "a fierce enemy of the Ukrainian people", but the *Ukrains'kyi istorychnyi zhurnal* (Ukrainian Historical Journal) (No. 11, 1966) considers him "a scholar of world renown" and quotes a government decision which speaks about Hrushevs'kyi's merit with regard to Ukraine. Hrushevskyi's and Vynnychenko's<sup>10</sup> works are being prepared for publication. Where after all is the criterion? It is precisely the point that the KGB men have not had and do not have any criterion based on logic. They make use of the old Stalinist line with regard to Ukrainian culture. The great Shevchenko's words: "Why did we battle with the Poles, why did we fight the hordes, why did we harrow with our pikes Muscovite ribs?" were too well known and he was too great a man to consign him to oblivion — therefore "academicians" from Kiev had been given the task to scratch out these words from the *Kobzar*<sup>11</sup> with their dirty hooves. "Muscovite

<sup>5</sup> Oleksander Oles' (pen-name of Oleksander Kandyba), 1878-1944, Ukrainian poet who, since 1919, lived as a political emigré abroad.

<sup>6</sup> Borys Hrinchenko (1863-1910), Ukrainian writer, folklorist, ethnographer, philologist, teacher and politically active figure of national democratic tendency.

<sup>7</sup> Mykola Zerov (1890-1941), Ukrainian literary critic, professor, poet and translator. Because he belonged to the neoclassical literary group, he was hounded and imprisoned by the Communist Russians and died in a forced labour camp.

<sup>8</sup> V. Ye. Malanchuk — ideological secretary of the L'viv region committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, author of malicious attacks against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists."

<sup>9</sup> Mykhailo Hrushevskyi (1866-1934) — the greatest Ukrainian historian, President of the Ukrainian Central Council (the *Rada*) in 1917-18.

<sup>10</sup> Volodymyr Vynnychenko (1880-1951) — Ukrainian writer; one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Worker's Party, of the Ukrainian Central Council (1917-18) and of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic (1918-19); later in exile, died in France.

<sup>11</sup> *Kobzar* — the famous collection of poetical works by the Ukrainian national poet Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861).



ribs" have become "Tatar, Polish, English." Shevchenko has to be tolerated. But, had a modern poet written something of this sort, "Muscovite ribs" would have cost him dearly.

In the 1930s the majority of names have been expelled from Ukrainian culture. It is not difficult to guess why. The point was to prevent the Ukrainian culture, by letting its blood, to become a dam against a Russificatory wave. The most outstanding Ukrainian historian, Hrushevskiy, was hidden from Ukrainians: instead a pitiable "History of the Ukrainian SSR" in two volumes where Peter I, the executioner of Ukrainian freedom, figured as the main hero of the Ukrainian people was thrust to them. At the same time, Solovyov and Klyuchevskiy, just as "bourgeois", just as "un-Soviet", were freely available on the bookshelves — for they were Russian historians. Everything was done to make a young Ukrainian find spiritual nourishment only in Russian culture and thus make him susceptible to Russification.

And if the KGB men were to be consistent in their Stalinist interpretation of nationalism — they would proclaim all outstanding Ukrainian headed by Shevchenko as nationalists, not excluding Great Prince Volodymyr (979-1015) himself who even as far back as in the 10th century engaged in nationalist agitation "by way of manufacture of tridents" on his coins. For that matter, if anyone from among the KGB men wishes to obtain a new pip on his shoulder-straps and demonstrate his "vigilance" in the struggle against Ukrainian nationalism, an interesting "case" can be suggested to him. It appears that Ukrainian nationalism existed even in the 7th century, as is witnessed by the finds of depictions of tridents during the excavations of the Old Kiev Hill. True, there is a snag: the name of the "Bandera-man" who made these depictions is unknown, but for Beria pupils who had once been able to discover Stalin's pipe in 10 places at the same time, all this is a mere trifle.

The story with the Trident goes even deeper: as a symbol of the tree of life it was known among the southern peoples even before the new era [i. e. B. C.], it is also known as symbol of authority of the sea god Neptune. But this is a subject for Malanchuk already: to discover the connections between Ukrainian nationalism and international imperialism prior to our era, which had the aim of undermining the maritime power of the one and indivisible Russia on which no research has been made so far. True, prior to the new era there existed no name of "Ukraine" but this is no problem for Malanchuk. After all he was able to make out of the leader of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers' Party, Lev Rybalko (Yurkevych), an activist of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, although Yurkevych and his newspaper *Borot'ba* were opponents of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine...

... After the last war some fervent fighters against Ukrainian nationalism in L'viv have even sawn off the trident from the statue of Neptune which stood in the Market Place. And this was how the disarmed nationalistic Neptune stood until 1957 as a monument to the undying cretinism of the Black Hundreds<sup>12</sup> in a new guise...

... It seems enough facts have been quoted. One may now make the conclusion: people convicted for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" are people who think differently, or are simply thinking people whose spiritual world could not be squeezed into the Procrustes' bed of Stalinist standards carefully protected by the KGB men. It is those who dared to make use of the rights proclaimed in the Constitution, who raised their voices against the shameful dominance of the KGB, against the violations of the Constitution. It is those who have no wish to absorb the slavish wisdom with a double bottom, which orders one to read the words of the Constitution, "Ukraines' right to secession from the USSR", as: "keep quiet if you wish to live."

### THE DESCENDANTS OF YEZHOV AND BERIA

Character reference of a person or milieu can always have the disadvantage of being subjective. Therefore it is best to have to deal with self-characteristics. And it is extremely convenient that the author of these lines has in his possession a splendid bouquet of self-characteristics given by the KGB men to themselves and to their system. The KGB men were not stingy with their words and in general did not stand on ceremony in their conversations with the prisoners, for they were firmly convinced that their words would not fly outside the hermetically upholstered doors of their studies, that the icy terror of silence, on which they had built their Golgotha, would never thaw. However, every ice thaws sometime, and words barked in our faces during the investigations and in the camp have resounded throughout the world with a thousand-voiced echo, as if spoken into a huge loudspeaker.

Where are the roots of the KGB? If we retrace those paths along which the KGB have descended into our present reality, we shall find ourselves in a nightmarish thicket of Stalinist jungles. Thus General Shul'zhenko, deputy chairman of the KGB at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, has been elected deputy to the Ukrainian Parliament from the Khartsyzk constituency of Donetsk region. Where did this parliamentarian make his career? In order to become General of the KGB in 1967 it was necessary first to be Beria's lieutenant or captain in 1937. What were KGB captains occupied with in 1937? They killed people for their failure to fulfil a work norm (or simply for entertainment) in Kolyma. This is no secret

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<sup>12</sup>) *Black Hundreds* — chauvinistic Russian gangs in Tsarist Russia which used violence to combat the Ukrainian and other national movements.

to anyone, even Moscow journals are writing about it. In Ukraine they used to shoot innocent people three days after arrest. If one listens to them, then all the blame lies with Beria, for they simply carried out their orders. It is precisely these arguments that defence lawyers employed at the Nuremberg trial. It seemed that Hitler alone was to blame. But this item did not pass. A new concept appeared in the German language: "Killer behind the desk." I have no doubt that one day it will win citizen's rights in the Ukrainian language, too.

Or maybe KGB men have changed, have become different? No, they look upon themselves with pride as Stalin's descendants. The plenipotentiary of the Ukrainian KGB in the Mordovian camps, Krut', stated to me: "And what have you against Stalin? Well, there were some shortcomings, but on the whole he deserves high marks"; and in a conversation with Mykhailo Horyn', Krut, frankly regretted: "Pity that you are in Mordovia and not in the North." The head of the investigation department of the Georgian KGB, Nadiradze, said to the poet Zauri Kobaliya (he is at No. 11 camp) during the investigation in 1963: "Do you realise that I used to be here in 1937? Keep this in mind!"

Now they do not wear Stalin tunics any more and "study" at higher educational establishments. The studies are external in the full sense of the word. A students' book is brought to the Institute and "professors" hypnotised from the cradle by the word "KGB" give him marks without ever having seen the student. Kazakov, representative of Ivano-Frankivsk KGB, confessed to me: "You have talked about totalitarianism, but I am no totalizator." And a plenipotentiary of the Ukrainian KGB in camp No. 11, Harashchenko, dealt in one blow with all the proofs given by Masiutko concerning the unsolved national problem in Ukraine: "You talk about the national problem. But should a widow ask for some straw from the chairman of a collective farm, would he refuse?" And these intellectuals have been entrusted with deciding questions which even in specialist journals are considered debatable, but against their decisions there can be no appeal. Kazakov, Krut' and a KGB man from Kiev, Lytvyn, tried to "re-educate" me, all three together. "Well, what more did you want? You had a good job, a flat..." For several hours they went on arguing that a man possesses nothing except his stomach, and so many yards of intestines. Ideas? Defence of Ukraine from the threat of Russification? For my partners the conversation clearly detached itself from reality and was transferred into the sphere of children's fairy tales. They did not hide the fact that they did not take it seriously.

Ideas... Usually, they write a lot about them in books and altogether it is not done to say frankly that one is not an idealist. But for an idea to become a motive of human activities in actual fact — this they have never encountered in their own milieu. Mykhailo



Horyn' heard at L'viv KGB: "Today is chekist's day." "What chekist's day?" "They're paying out our wages." But if one is to talk seriously about an idea — well, then this is a myth with which someone has doped people's heads, and which leads people astray from normal existence based on three principles: money, lust of power, women. And idea is a kind of psychical disturbance, not entirely comprehensible, it is true; but one with which one has to reckon as a factor alongside the other three factors that are normal and comprehensible. Captain Kozlov (from Ivano-Frankivsk) lectured me as follows: "One person is bought with money, another with women, and some are caught on ideas." That idea could independently originate in a human head — such a thing is not even assumed.

It would be naïve to consider such a state of affairs a chance "violation" of the social development of society. The system under which a poet receives a catalogue of permitted images, and an artist — a list of permitted and prohibited paints, has its roots in the past, is the offspring of certain forces and conditions. These forces are gradually thawing in front of our eyes, and the conditions are ceasing to be the norm of intercourse among people. The KGB men feel it and put all the blame on Khrushchov who, allegedly, overturned the idols whom they once had worshipped without thinking. One could, with the same success, regard a cock the author of the dawn, but this is too great a truth to be squeezed into the skull boxes of generals and majors with sky-blue shoulder-straps.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup>) KGB-men.

*(To be continued.)*

### 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").

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## II.

I. DZIUBA, I. SVITLYCHNYI,  
N. SVITLYCHNA, L. KOSTENKO

## LETTER TO P. SHELEST

To the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Yu. Shelest.

Copies to:

Chairman of the State Security Committee (K.G.B) of the Ukrainian S.S.R., deputy V. F. Nikitchenko; Chairman of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, deputy O. T. Honchar;

Chairman of the Union of Artists of Ukraine, deputy V. I. Kasian; Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., deputy D. S. Korotchenko; Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian S.S.R., deputy A. N. Zlenko; deputy S. V. Stefanyk; deputy M. S. Kikh.

Esteemed Petro Yukhymovych [Shelest],

We address ourselves to you in a matter which causes us deep agitation and anxiety.

On 15th November, 1967, we all attended the trial of V. M. Chornovil in L'viv. Unlike the political trials staged in 1965-66 this case was heard at an open session of the court. The accused was able to express his point of view on the matter of the case in

question and to refute the accusations brought up against him; the court did not hinder the accused to make his final plea and did not limit the time for this plea. As a matter of fact, all this is guaranteed by Soviet laws, and, it would seem, one should not express any particular satisfaction on this account, as it should be self-understood. However, it is known that during the political trials in 1965-66 these elementary procedural norms had been violated on many an occasion. Therefore, the restoration of legality, even in these limits, if it becomes general norm, should be viewed as a considerable progress in the practice of our courts.

In view of the above, other violations of procedural norms were the more regrettable, as was a striking incongruity of the sentence in relation to the importance of the evidence which figured at the trial, and in relation to the justification and proofs submitted by the accusation. This is precisely what we wish to draw your attention to, insofar as the trend which became evident in this case, by far exceeds one particular case, or, at least, may serve as an incorrect precedent.

The violation of procedural norms began from the very beginning of the

trial in court. The accused, V. M. Chornovil, asked the court to disallow the participation of the prosecutor, Sadowsky, and the chairman of the court, Nazaruk in the trial, on the grounds that both of them were not uninterested parties in the given case. In the manuscripts the authorship of which was attributed to Chornovil, and which served as the basis of the accusation against him, V. M. Chornovil sharply criticised the above-named persons for the gross violations of socialist legality and procedural norms which they permitted themselves at the previous political trials. Hence, they are directly involved in this case and might appear during its investigation by a court as, let us say, the damaged parties, but in no case as a prosecutor or a judge. In such a case, according to the Soviet procedural norms in criminal cases, parties in the court trial should announce their withdrawal from the court organs, but neither the prosecutor, nor the judge did this, and the lawful and justified appeal by the accused fully supported by his defence-lawyer (referring to the appropriate article of the Procedural Code) had not been taken into account. It was rejected without any legal argumentation. This, most certainly, became one of the reasons why the entire course of the trial was directed not towards an objective investigation of the evidence in the case, but by many of its features it appeared to be a settlement of accounts by the damaged parties with a man who dared to criticise them.

The indictment accused V. M. Chornovil of "preparing and disseminating" consciously libellous inventions about the actions of the state security organs. In fact what it was all about was that Chornovil compiled and sent to four addressees — the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Yu Shelest; the Chairman of the State Security Committee,

deputy V. F. Nikitchenko; the Chairman of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, deputy O. T. Honchar; and Chairman of the Union of Artists of Ukraine, deputy V. I. Kasian — materials about the political prisoners sentenced in the years 1965-66 under the title "Woe from Wit" ("Misfortune of the Intellect"), as well as sent an article-statement by V. Ya. Moroz at the author's request, also to four addressees — to the deputies D. S. Korotchenko, A. N. Zlenko, S. V. Stefanyk and M. S. Kikh. No other addressees had been named in court, no facts had been quoted that Chornovil handed over these materials to anyone else, no witness corroborated any such things (as a matter of fact, only two witnesses figured at the trial and the evidence given by them bore no relation to the matter of the case, i. e. they neither confirmed that Chornovil distributed his materials, nor that he indulged in "consciously libellous inventions", that is that he invented non-existent things making them out to be real facts). Nonetheless V. M. Chornovil was accused precisely of "distribution" of the above-mentioned material.

It is easy to see that all the addressees are people holding official positions and are seriously-minded, hence — irrespective of the contents of the manuscripts — it would be a great exaggeration to claim that V. M. Chornovil had thus "prepared and distributed libellous inventions denigrating the Soviet political and social order", even if one would not call it an inadmissible offence against the truth. Surely Soviet citizens have the right to write to their deputies and statesmen about any matters, to approach them with any requests and proposals? And there were no other facts about the distribution of his materials by V. M. Chornovil cited at the trial. We refrain from elaborating on the fact that neither the prosecutor nor the court took any interest in

checking the facts and did not even try to establish which from the things written by Chornovil were documentary, and which were invented. No material in V. M. Chornovil's case was discussed, checked, confirmed or disproved from the point of view of its factual character and truth. None of the requests of the accused — such as to call witnesses and to attach supplementary material to the case which would confirm the documentary character of the materials collected by him — had been satisfied. Meanwhile it is precisely for "libellous inventions" that the court sentenced V. M. Chornovil by the most severe sentence provided by the article in accordance with which he was tried — namely three years imprisonment in the corrective labour camps. And this happened despite the fact that during the trial all the accusations levelled against V. M. Chornovil and all "proofs" submitted by the prosecutor and the investigating organs had been disproved by the accused and his defence-lawyer, despite the fact that the court failed to find any concrete testimony proving that V. M. Chornovil occupied himself with "dissemination" of the above-mentioned materials, despite of the fact that all the indictment was based on nothing but empty words.

It is possible that the court was indeed convinced of the guilt of V. M.

Chornovil. Nevertheless subjective mood of the participants in the trial cannot have any legally-binding validity and should not influence the decision of the court. The court is duty-bound to prove the guilt of the accused by irrefutable facts, testimonies and other legal evidence.

We who had been present at the trial of V. M. Chornovil saw that the court failed to carry out its duty. It was conducted in an unqualified and biased manner. Its verdict is in striking incongruity with the materials of the investigation and the indictment and appears to be a personal vendetta, a mock-trial by persons invested with power over a man who thinks in a different way and dares to criticise actions by particular representatives of Soviet institutions, i. e. exercises his constitutional right.

This is why we address ourselves to you with the request to intervene personally in the case of V. M. Chornovil and to prevent the perpetration of one more gross violation of socialist legality, to prevent one more sinister precedent. We attach to this letter of ours the statement by V. M. Chornovil of 30th October 1967, and the text of his final plea.

*Ivan Dziuba, Ivan Svitlychnyi,  
Nadia Svitlychna, Lina Kostenko*

*[Written probably in May-June 1968  
— Ed.]*

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## III.

*Viacheslav CHORNOVIL***LETTER FROM A RUSSIAN  
CONCENTRATION CAMP**

My dear People,

Do not be surprised that I am still in good health and am able to write to you. On the eve of the first of May, when I was about to begin a hunger strike, I was summoned by the camp commandant who promised me the sky.

As I do not believe very much in these promises (this could have been a not very ethical trick to ensure that everything was quiet in the camp on May 1st), I merely postponed the dateline for my "ultimatum" by 15 days. I shall see how these generous promises will be realised during this period and thus will check the lieutenant-colonel's ethics.

I shall not go back on my intention until I achieve satisfaction of at least my principal demands. And although hunger-strike means not only physical pain from offence against human dignity — I had nothing else with which to oppose the politely frigid barbarity which even tries to don a toga of intellectuality.

The main reason for my step, of course, is not the groundless prohibition of all visits, not the prohibition to receive letters, not the rough treatment (this latter happens rather rarely, in the main they treat me with polite formality), — although all these pinpricks are rather painful for one who is in the position of a prisoner.

The main reason is the completely unjustified taking away from me of all documents of the trial and investigation: not only my notebook with the systematical exposition of all materials in my case, in which some flattened imagination saw a "publicistic work", but even of individual copies of completely official court documents (decision of the Supreme Court, my appeal to the court of cassation, remarks to the record of the trial etc.).

I have repeated again and again: formally, there was nothing for which I could be put on trial, even the far from constitutional article of the Code, newly-baked so to speak, had been artificially adapted for me. The facts quoted in my works were not libellous either knowingly or unknowingly, and the investigation did not find any "distribution." And only fearing the truth, fearing revelation of their falsifications and their shuffling the cards for foul play, people put on guard of legality resorted to such a lawless arbitrary act as taking away from me of the material of the investigation and trial.

Both in the prison and here, in the camp, by way of various channels, rumours reach me that, powerless in view of the logic of the facts and arguments, some base individuals resort to a trick which had already been regarded base two or three thousand years ago: instead of a



critique of the views of their opponent they resort to denigrating his person. At first, apparently, they were hatching the idea of publishing in the press (it seems, in that very *Perets*), a feuilleton about Chornovil's "amoral-ity." But, obviously, they were unable to suck even from the big toe of a left foot anything even a little plausible with regard to that "amorality", or maybe they had second thoughts because of the confusion after the publication of the lampoon against the critic Ivan Dziuba.

Afterwards it was stated from a not very low official rostrum: "We have not heard anything about such writers as Osadchy and Chornovil." I shall not speak about Osadchy, let his poetry better speak for itself, for its best examples might be envied by many a graphoman who has been made member of the Union of Writers. But where and when did Chornovil call himself a writer? What is this — also a newly fashioned trick of official criticism; to attach to someone some non-existent attributes, and then to refute them themselves? The middle-rostrum orator, however, was unable to say that there was no such journalist and publicist — for this would have been a lie. If now he is interested in my person, then he could have noticed also the fact that after all there have appeared some book reviews and articles on literary subjects by Chornovil in journals and newspaper periodicals, although they constitute merely a small part of his not big literary achievements. The reason why the greater part of his written work had not seen the light of day should be sought not only in the creative abilities of the author, but perhaps also in the conditions which have encountered new recruits of literature and criticism in the last few years. After all no one will try to deny the knowledge of the talented critics, for instance, Ivan Dziuba and Ivan Svitlychnyi, who have been

recognized as such in the first half of the sixties. But is it often that we have come across their names in the pages of the periodicals in the last three years? Why now, have the undoubted talents suddenly expired and are they unable to create anything worthwhile for years? And what would have happened if they had to begin their creative work precisely in these years? Perhaps contemporaries would have never heard of them, as they do not know or know very little, even in literary circles, for example, about Vasyl Stus, literary critic and a very talented poet (and he is not alone by any means).

Finally, I learned about completely unbelievable things. It seems they started to work on those people who come out in my defence, trying to obtain my release. The following statement was, allegedly, made to one particular person: "Do you know whom you are defending, on whose behalf you are writing? After all Chornovil declared that it is necessary to cut open bellies of all communists and Komsomol members and to stuff them with their Programme." It is difficult to invent anything more wild and absurd. If one should believe these words even for a moment, then I should first commit *harakiri* myself, because up to the age of 23 I was a member of the Komsomol, I participated voluntarily in two shock Komsomol construction projects and even worked in an elective Komsomol official position. Among my friends and comrades I count many Komsomol members and Communists. Is it for them that bloodthirsty Chornovil has invented such a terrible punishment? Nevertheless, it seems to me, that a surgical intervention of a somewhat different kind would not do any harm.

It would do no harm to cut open the skulls of the creators of such absurdities and to pour in some oil. It

would be advisable for their own benefit.

I state categorically that, contrary to all alogical assertions (as for instance: Melnyk supporters abroad are writing about him, this means that he is tied up with them with the same rope), I have firmly stood and continue to stand on the positions of socialism. But not that socialism which attempts to regulate not only the actions but the very thinking of an individual. I do not imagine *true* socialism without guaranteed democratic freedoms, without the widest political and economic self-government of all the cells of the state organism down to the smallest ones, without real and not paper safeguarding of the rights of all the nations of this multinational state.

Historical practice shows that at present two paths have become outlined in socialism: the one which is being probed by Yugoslavia, and at present by Czechoslovakia, and the path of Stalin and Mao Tse-tung.

Centralism is a very shaky and uncertain position which inevitably must gravitate to one of the two paths disorienting by its vacillations the masses and undermining in them their faith in any ideals apart from the ideal of a more or less secured and neutrally quiet existence.

Forgive me for such a very superficial exposition of very complicated questions. But I wished to set out, at least in such a primitive manner (I am deprived of other opportunities) my social position, in order to put an end to dirty insinuations which, after all one could have ignored, had they concerned only myself personally.

Thinking about you, my known and unknown like-minded friends — thinking about Freedom, Reason and Justice, I am finishing this letter in order to return to the disgusting reality by which I am surrounded.

3rd May, 1968.

Yours,

Viacheslav Chornovil.

(Translated from *Suchasnist*)

#### IV.

## APPEAL BY THE MONKS OF THE POCHAÏV MONASTERY

*Introduction:* The Communist suppression of the churches in the Soviet Union is a matter which is primarily carried out by the state authorities. It is accomplished administratively. How intolerable the position of the churches, monasteries and the faithful in general has become, is attested by the pressing cries for help by the priests, monks and the congregations. In a state of acute distress, the monks and devotees of the Holy-Mary-Ascension Monastery of Pochaïv have appealed to Khrushchov, Kennedy and the World Council of Churches for help in recent times. Before World War I, the famous Monastery in South Volynia, now in the region of Ternopil (Ukraine), counted over

1000 monks; in 1961, they numbered 140. At the end of 1962, there were only 36 monks in this 700-year old Monastery which belongs to the most treasured Orthodox sanctuaries of Ukraine.

In a letter which the monks of Pochaïv addressed to Khrushchov in 1962, they described the measures and methods applied by the Soviet Russians in their suppression of the churches. Pochaïv is not an isolated case. The context of this letter, therefore, is a documentation of the martyrdom which the devotees of the churches in the Soviet Union endure.

“Esteemed leaders and rulers of our freedom-loving country!

Imploringly we turn to you with the request that you put an end to the unlawful treatment, to which we, the faithful, are subjected at the hands of our authorities. We live in a land of freedom, a freedom guaranteed by the constitution and regulations of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. But these guarantees are only on paper! We are subjected to all manners of suppression, degradation, molestation, ridicule and assault; we are outside the jurisdiction of the law; we are treated just as one pleases. Our complaints do not reach the proper authorities. Indeed, is there an official office at which unlawful mistreatment can be reported? The authorities, the officials and the godless have adopted reactionary methods in their suppression of religious people — they carry bludgeons in their hands. They are abolishing our spiritual heritage; they are destroying and desecrating our churches and our sanctuaries. Lenin’s formulations for the freedom of religious belief, which pertain to the devotees of the Orthodox Church, are purposely misconstrued, ridiculed, wickedly abused and trodden under foot. We suffer unbelievable degradations. The history of the persecution of the Christians during the earliest centuries is repeating itself; the era of the faithless emperors, Maximin and Diocletian, is here again. In our beloved city of Pochaïv, the monks are abused, just as they were during the first centuries of Christianity. The local persecutor and head of the Committee for State Security in Pochaïv, Maximov, has been baptized “Maximilian” by the people; and Danilov, the head of the local Committee for State Security KGB in Ternopil, has received the name of “Diocletian.”

But these two government leaders are not the sole authors of the abuses, persecutions and derision in Pochaïv. All the leading officials of the government body and organizations of Pochaïv and the district of Ternopil are engaged in these disgraceful activities. The local Pochaïv militia brigade, which consists of numerous militiamen and the so-called collaborators, are also engaged in these activities. They have prohibited the people from attending the Holy Lavra Monastery for the purpose of divine service and prayer every day during the past two years. They post guards; at the Holy Gate of the Monastery,



they have stationed a staff of the people's militia; they overtake the pilgrims by force, put them in cars, drive them to distant woods (to Brody, Smyzhske and others) and threaten them with five years' imprisonment for "vagrancy", if they show themselves in the vicinity of the Holy Lavra again. This has actually happened. The public transportation authorities have forbidden the pilgrims the use of all means of public transportation. Consequently, if a driver of a public vehicle disobeys this injunction, he is discharged from service and threatened with imprisonment. Thus the pilgrims are compelled to go on foot, as they were two hundred years ago. But even so, they do not complain. If only to be permitted to visit the holy sanctuaries of Pochaïv, to partake of the blessing of the holy hills and to drink from the source of the Blessed Virgin, they would be happy to take upon themselves the heavy yoke of going on foot — but they are barred from entering these places. They are searched; they are stripped of their possessions and money; they are taken into custody; they are abused with all manner of shameful speech; they are beaten, and neither by day nor by night can they find a place to hide for a few days. The people are in a state of feverish excitement. Passports are checked every day, and on holidays, even twice: once during the day and again at night. Militiamen accompany the head of the Passport Office from door to door to check that no newly arrived pilgrims are being housed among the population. Should one be discovered, the possessor of the apartment is required to pay a fine of 50 roubles, and is threatened with banishment from Pochaïv if he repeats the offence.

The people of Pochaïv are forbidden to visit the Lavra. Anyone who does not obey this injunction, loses his employment and is banished from Pochaïv. All these restrictions and measures are imposed on the people to prevent them from partaking of the grace of God by communal prayer in the Holy Lavra of Pochaïv, and to prevent the monks of the Lavra Monastery from receiving subsistence from them. In this way, they want to disperse the monks as superfluous. Where is the freedom of religion in all this? Where is the freedom of conscience? In sober fact, everything is trodden under foot; everything is desecrated. Neither are the aged respected, nor is youth treated with love.

The division of Church and State is understood in the following way: The monks are not permitted to have anything which is produced by the state. Under this pretense, the local authorities have stripped the Monastery of everything it possessed at the time of the Polish Republic. We do not even want to speak of those things which it possessed more recently. The Lavra has been dispossessed of all its buildings, even those without which the Monastery cannot exist, as, for example, the Monastery cemetery, the Holy Gate, the water tower, its own source of electricity, and all the building supplies and materials which were essential to the Monastery, the roof tiles, the



marble and metal plates, coloured metals, the vegetable garden as well as the fruit orchard. In short, the monks have no place where they can go.

But the material possessions of the Monastery did not satiate the authorities; more recently, they have turned their attention to the purely spiritual things. They have made a search of the sacristy, the library, and even of the chapels and cells of the monks; and they are making preparations for the closing and confiscation of the Holy Lavra, which is so beloved by the people of Pochaïv. To anticipate a cry of protest from the people, however, these preparations for the closing of the Holy Lavra are not made public. Instead, the compulsory expulsion of the monks from the Lavra is being carried out with dispatch. In this way, they hope to so reduce the number of monks that no one will be present to attend to the pilgrims. The expulsion is carried out in the coarsest and most inhuman way. Every day for the past two years, the monks are brought before the authorities of the KGB and the Ministry of the Interior, where they are derided with all manners of shameful invectives, which we would not think of mentioning here. They are mocked, beaten, martyred. It is demanded that they voluntarily leave the Monastery. Last year, for example, the monk Izydor, who was on watch at the Monastery, was beaten; the monk Hryhorii was martyred to death in prison. Another monk was bludgeoned to death.

But most of the monks, though they must suffer different forms of martyrdom, will not consent to voluntary removal from the Monastery. They would rather suffer death, they declare; but they will not leave. Against these, even more severe measures of violence are applied. The younger ones, who were exempted from military service due to ill health and who were in possession of the proper certificates, are required to appear before the Committee of State Security, where they are found fit by doctors and are mobilized for active duty. Although some of them are actual invalids, they are taken from the Holy Lavra in this way. Others, who were completely disqualified for military service because they had only one leg or one arm, were declared unfit, only because they were visibly unfit. But access to the Holy Lavra was forbidden them. Even to remain in the city of Pochaïv was forbidden them. They were required to settle outside the limits of Ternopil region.

As far as the older monks are concerned, they are treated in the following way: Medical examination of the monks are held in the Monastery every day, and they are diagnosed as having various illnesses. By force they are taken from the Monastery and placed in hospitals to convalesce, although they are in a state of complete health. Last year a dozen monks were committed to the convalescent home in Pochaïv for a longer period. They were given a series of damaging injections, so that they barely remained alive. Other monks were diagnosed as having dysentery and were, though entirely

healthy, committed to the hospital, where they were held for more than two months. It was demanded there that they leave the Monastery voluntarily, after they had been discharged by the Moscow Board of Health. Those monks who remained steadfast and who refused to submit to this kind of "cure", had their passports seized, and were then given over to the police because they did not have any identification papers. This was the case with the elderly monk, Vasyl, who declined to receive injections. He was given a sentence of two years' imprisonment. The religious people were so incensed by this injustice, that a tumult arose. But the people only became vicariously guilty. In this way, ten monks, whose spiritual offices ranged from that of abbot down to the last novices, have already been sentenced.

So it has come to pass that the authorities of the Committee of State Security have reduced the standing of the Monastery from 140 to 36 monks in the course of the years 1961 and 1962. But the same fate awaits the remaining 36, for at the last medical examination, 23 monks were declared ill. And this, despite the fact that they are in a state of excellent health, are all performing their offices in the Monastery and not want to be sent to a convalescent home. They will receive the same treatment as the other; they will be transferred to the hospital.

... By these procedures, those who have worldly power have completely usurped the Monastery and assumed authority in the Ecclesiastical Council, where they do as they please. Consequently, the session of the Ecclesiastical Council of the Monastery [Dukhovnyi Sobor, the ecclesiastical monastic leadership of the Monastery] is controlled by the militia. By instructions received from the Committee of State Security, the militia determines the sessions of the Ecclesiastical Council, at which the leading authorities of the town and the local Party Committee, the militia, the head of the Passport Office and other Party functionaries take part and force the Ecclesiastical Council to pass the resolutions which they want. They compel the member of the Ecclesiastical Council of Lavra to sign these resolutions. As we can see, an unwarranted meddling by the secular power and the police authorities takes place in the inner affairs of the church. All the orthodox people of our country are incensed by the outrages of the Party organizations. From all parts of our country, letters of protest are directed to the highest authorities, to Khrushchov, to the head of state, Brezhnev, to the editorial office of the Party paper, *Izvestiya*, and many others. But all these letters are returned to Ternopil, and nothing is done to ease the situation. The effect is just the opposite; the abuses become even more intolerable. All of us are in a state of despair; we implore you to put a stop to these inhuman atrocities, to which the faithful are subjected. Preserve our sanctuary ..."

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## PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH IN UKRAINE

(Brief excerpts from the book by Nikita Struve, *DIE CHRISTEN  
IN DER UdSSR*, p. 327 ff.)

... In Kyïv, churches disappear one after the other, and are levelled to the ground with the most incredible ruthlessness. On July 5, 1963, a dredging machine was moved into the Kyïv suburb Darnytsia and used to dig a deep ditch in the immediate neighborhood of the church. During the night the church was blown up and the debris was pushed into the ditch, which was immediately filled in and levelled. On the following morning when people came to pray in their church, they couldn't believe their eyes: Where the night before stood their church, gardeners were now busy planting flowers. The priest, who had held the vespers the night before, must have had a presentiment that the preparations were made to destroy his church, for he had hastened to speak to the authorities to ask permission to rescue the antimension and several other implements of the rite. Instead of receiving an answer, he was arrested and put into a prison of the police station while the fate of his church took its course.<sup>54</sup>

In March of 1964, three churches were levelled to the ground in one night in Kyïv.

\*

The closing of the monasteries was a far simpler matter, since their existence was not sanctioned by any legal regulations. In the course of 4 years, the number of monasteries was reduced from 67 to "about 30." The rest are in the process of being liquidated, or they are subjected to severe attacks.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>) Unpublished petition.

<sup>56</sup>) Cf. the brochure, *Pravda o Pskovo-Pecherskom monastyre* (The Truth about the Monastery of Pskov-Pechory), Moscow 1963, 110 pp., 200,000 impressions.



The Kyïv Cave Monastery, the cradle of Ukrainian piety, was shut down because of a landslide; this, at least, was the official reason. It appears, however, that only the monks were threatened by the landslide, for the civilian inhabitants of the monastery area continued to live in their former apartments.<sup>57</sup> Various monasteries — among which was the Odessa nunnery — were closed with reckless brutality in one single night: A squad of militia men encircles the monastery and bars all the entrances; then the monks or nuns are driven out into the street (those who still have relatives are told to go to them; while those who do not know where to go are transported to mental hospitals). Next morning the faithful find their monastery bare and deserted. In other cases, economic pressure or terror measures are applied to crush the monasteries slowly. Medical check-ups are also often used (they are especially feared in the nunneries); once — to mention one example only — a loudspeaker was set up right in front of the monastery's windows and profane and anti-religious propaganda was broadcast incessantly,<sup>58</sup> etc. etc. It is only too understandable that under these circumstances some monks decided to follow worldly professions. In Carpatho-Ukraine almost all monasteries and nunneries have been closed: the nunneries of Dnipropetrovsk, Chernyiv, Grodno, Rivne, the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary in Kyïv; and finally the "desert" (*pustyn'*) of Glinsk famous for its high level of monastic life — and many others. The manifold methods used by the authorities to force the monasteries to close down on their own accord or to apply for their legal closing (everything is strictly legal!) are revealed in detail by two petitions written by the Christians in the area of Pochaïv. One of these petitions is directed to the "Chief of USSR foreign ecclesiastical relations", the other to Mr. Khrushchov in person. They are written in the vernacular, interspersed with Ukrainianisms, and want to prevent the forceful closing of the famous Pochaïv monastery, the religious centre of the Ukrainian West. We consider it fitting to summarize here the main points of these two documents. They offer living proof of the make-up of the mechanism of the persecution machinery, which exhibits a grotesque mixture of inhuman arbitrariness and extreme care to preserve a purely formal legality.

The monks were deprived of all rights to possess state products; the local authorities made this a pretext to plunder the monastery and to confiscate all possessions which it had acquired during the Polish period, not to mention those acquired later. They took over all buildings that had been erected within the enclosure of the monastery, including vitally important grounds such as the cemetery, "the Holy Gates", the water-tower of the water supply and the electric power house; furthermore, all trucks and other vehicles as well as materials for building and repair purposes (tin for the lining of roofs and wall

<sup>57</sup> *Lumière et Vie*, 55, (1961), p. 81.



pinnacles, marble- and metals), all non-ferrous metals and other materials were confiscated. What is worse, they appropriate the large vegetable garden and the fruit orchard.

But the authorities did not stop at plundering household and economic goods; in addition, they are now seeking to appropriate the church property: rite implements, libraries, chapels and cells of the monks — all these things are in the confiscation lists: the preparatory step towards the actual expropriation.

There is no law on the closing of a monastery. Nevertheless, the monks are forcefully driven out in groups until there is no one left to care for the faithful. These expulsions are brutally and inhumanly executed. Over the course of 1961–1962 the monks were daily ordered to appear before administrative departments of the Ministry of the Interior and the Committee of State Security. There they were abused, tortured and beaten and told to leave the abbey. In recent years, the door-keeper of the monastery, the monk Izydor Lishtchyniuk was thus beaten, Hryhorii Unka was tortured to death in prison, the monk Stankevych and others were maltreated. But most of them suffer all these outrages and resist the injunction to leave the monastery until death. 'Let them torture us', they say, 'we will not leave.' This is followed by more incisive measures. The younger ones are called up for military service by the competent induction commission and are pronounced fit for military service by the doctors, who act upon orders received from the KGB; they are subsequently drafted, notwithstanding the fact that some of them are complete invalids. In this manner, for example, Mykytenko and Piletsky were removed from the monastery. When it turned out, however, that they were completely unfit for military service, they were reexamined and strictly forbidden to return to their monastery or even to settle in Pochaïv or in the area of Ternopil.

The older ones are dealt with as follows: Without any regard to their physical conditions, they are summoned before various doctors' commissions, which ascribe to them all kinds of sicknesses which necessitate their stay in an hospital. Last year, for example, a group of monks (Holovaniv, Shvoruk, Mykytenko, Mirchuk), who had no mental disturbances whatever and had never suffered from mental confusion, were retained in the psychiatric clinic of Pochaïv. They were confined with mental patients; they received incredibly painful injections which brought them to the brink of death.

Those who are still strong enough to resist and rebel against such treatment, are tried and deprived of their passports. In this way, for example, Vasyl Ivanovych Solomka was dealt with. To the indignation of the public, he was sentenced to one year's imprisonment because he refused to be given injections, as he was completely healthy. The monks who are tried are generally deprived of their passports. This was the case with the monks of various ages and

various hierarchical functions — from the Abbot down to the simple lay brother.

"... On July 31, 1963, the court of Pochaïv sentenced 72-year old Father M. on the grounds of "vagabondism". The truth of the matter however, is that he was sentenced because he wished to live in the monastery. For a whole year Father M. had taken step after step to receive a permit of residence in Pochaïv. He tried to explain to the authorities that he had given his entire manhood to the state and that now he wished to dedicate his last years to penitence. The authorities threw his applications into the wastepaper basket, fined him for illegal residence and threatened to deport him. But Father M. replied that he did not think of leaving the monastery. As a result of his recalcitrance he was tried and sentenced according to Art 196<sup>\*</sup> of the Criminal Code concerning violation of passport regulations. Many monks have been abducted forcefully; others have been sent to vicarages which were later dissolved; and finally, those who refused to leave the monastery were tried and sentenced to imprisonment.

"Having served their sentences, they returned to Pochaïv but the local authorities refused to give them residence permits and threatened to put them into prison again if they did not leave. We are sorely troubled that the monks of Pochaïv have to live such a precarious life of wandering and that they do not know where to spend the night..."

"... To effect the closing of the monastery, the authorities use other means also: For example, the monastery is not allowed to receive fuel and in the winter the monks suffer from cold."<sup>60</sup>

The above fact is also substantiated by an article in the satirical newspaper *Krokodil* which ridicules the monks of Pochaïv who in the "icy cold of their cells are prevented from discoursing with the Almighty." The article tells the lamentable story of a monk who tries to fetch wood to heat the monastery and is finally picked up by a people's militia raid.<sup>61</sup>

In January of 1964, several monks of Pochaïv were sentenced to imprisonment: Father Appellius Stankevych to two years (his third sentence), Father Andrey Shchur to 3 years (second sentence) etc. etc.

\* Article 196 of the Penal Code of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic deals with grave and repeated violations of the passport regulations, which are punished with imprisonment up to two years or a fine of 50 rubles.

<sup>58</sup>) ICI, May 15, 1962, p. 14. Thus the acceptance of novices was forbidden in Zagorsk; Pskov-Pechory was subjected to a fierce press campaign; this was also the case with the monasteries in Odessa (Monastery of the Assumption), Zhyrovitsa, Pochaïv and the nunneries in Riga, Pukhtitsa (Estonia), Mukachiv and the monastery of Intercession of the Most Blessed Virgin in Kyïv (here final closing threatens at present).

<sup>60</sup>) *Petition to the Oriental Patriarch.*

<sup>61</sup>) *Krokodil*, February 29, 1964, p. 7.

The results of these various methods can be felt. Already before the summer of 1960, the authorities confiscated the seminary buildings of Saratov, Stavropol, Kyïv and Odessa.<sup>65</sup> Only the Odessa seminary escaped the same fate by changing its residence to the Assumption monastery, which was not closed because it served as summer residence to the Patriarch.<sup>66</sup> The seminaries of the Minsk and Volynia diocese have dwindled into phantoms: in 1962, 7 students only composed the Minsk seminary.<sup>67</sup> The Volhynian seminary had no students at all in its first year and only 5 students in its second year.<sup>68</sup>

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One Ukrainian Bishop was declared an unwanted person in Ukraine,<sup>76</sup> another was deprived of the right to preach and of the right to hold mass.<sup>77</sup> Though the authorities are evidently trying to avoid creating new martyrs, several arrests have taken place.

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In 1961, Archbishop Andrey Suchenko, who had been in prison when still a priest, was found guilty of tax evasion and of keeping minors from work... This time his sentence was much harder: 8 years' imprisonment.<sup>79</sup>

The new anti-religious legislation which became effective in Ukraine in 1961 and in Russia a year later, is directed primarily against the clergy. For instance, Article 227 of the new Criminal Code provides, among other things, that "the leaders or directors of a group, the activity of which, under the pretext of a lecture, includes religious teaching or the practice of religious rites, thus endangering the health of the citizens who are members of the group... or which is connected with the demand for the abstention from any form of social activity... as well as the acceptance of minors in such a group... shall receive sentences of up to five years..."

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In 1962, the Baptist pastor Prokofiev was sentenced to five years' imprisonment to be followed by five years deportation because he "organized illegal baptisms for young people in Kharkiv and in Zhdanov." This was a violation of Article 227 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code.

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<sup>65</sup>) Cf. *Zhurnal moskovskoy patriarkhii* (Journal of Moscow Patriarchy), No. 4 (1960), p. 41 with ZLMP, 5 (1961).

<sup>66</sup>) Cf. Appendix II, Document 38.

<sup>67</sup>) NR 12 (1962), p. 44.

<sup>68</sup>) *Komsomolskaya pravda*, February 7, 1962.

<sup>76</sup>) *Ibid.* 9 (1961), p. 4.

<sup>77</sup>) Confidential information.

<sup>79</sup>) NR 5 (1961), p. 62-63.



The Orthodox clergy is said to have diminished by half three years after the intensification of religious persecution in 1959. According to the data of A. Yudin, there were only 14,500 priests at the beginning of 1962, in contrast to 30,000 in 1959.

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The fight for the right to go on pilgrimages took on the most dramatic forms in Pochaïv.

"... For two years now the regional headquarters of the militia of Pochaïv, which has an unusually large number of militia men and militia collaborators (*druzhinniki*), has been preventing almost daily the population from visiting the monastery to pray. They erect barricades (above all a post of voluntary militia collaborators at the monastery entrance), forcefully restrain the pilgrims, load them onto lorries and deposit them somewhere in the middle of the woods of Brody, Smyzhske or in other places and threaten them with prison sentences of five years for "vagrancy", if they are seen again in the neighbourhood of the monastery. Incredible as it may seem, people have actually been charged with "vagrancy" in such cases!

Pilgrims are forbidden the use of public transportation. If a bus driver fails to comply with this injunction, he loses his job and sometimes even his freedom. For that reason all pilgrims come on foot, as they did 200 years ago. But all this does not put them off, if only after an arduous journey they could bow before the relics of Pochaïv, receive a blessing on the Holy Mountain and drink from the wholesome fountain of the "Step of the Virgin Mary."

But they are altogether forbidden to enter the monastery property; their personal effects and money are confiscated; and they are grossly abused or even beaten.

They have no chance to rest, neither by day nor by night, excepting perhaps once on one or two days. It is like a fever that has taken possession of the people. Daily — on religious holidays twice (once during the day and again at night) — voluntary militia men come, led by the chief of the passport office, and search all buildings to make sure that no pilgrims are being lodged. If such a pilgrim is found who comes from far off, the head of the family must pay a fine, which can be as much as 50 rubles;\* they are further threatened with banishment if they are again seen in Pochaïv. The native population is forbidden to visit the monastery under threat of losing their jobs and banishment from Pochaïv.

All these terror measures have but one end in mind: to withhold the divine grace from the people which they receive in their common prayers in the holy monastery of Pochaïv and to prevent the monks from fulfilling their religious obligations to the people, in order, then,

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\*) According to the official rate of exchange, 50 rubles equals 56 dollars, which constitutes almost the monthly wage of a worker.



to be able to drive them away under the pretext that they have no function."<sup>122</sup>

"Nonetheless", as we read in a petition addressed to the Patriarchate of the East, "pilgrims from all parts of Ukraine continue to pour into Pochaïv, even in the face of the danger that once here they will not even have a roof over their heads . . . On the night of August 18-19, 1963, militia soldiers came with two lorries to cart away the pilgrims. They had been warned in advance, however, and had withdrawn."<sup>123</sup> One mean trick surpasses all the others: To demoralize the pilgrims the *druzhinniki* are encouraged to rape all women — young and old alike — who tenaciously insist upon visiting the Lavra.<sup>123a</sup>

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<sup>122</sup>) Petition to the Ecumenical Council of the Church and to the leaders of the Soviet government (Sept. 1926).

<sup>123</sup>) Petition to the Oriental Patriarchate.

<sup>123a</sup>) A private letter gives a thorough account of the abuses which several women had to endure in the quarters of the militia.

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## MOTHER AND SON

by Anatolii DIMAROV

The author was born in 1922 in Myrhorod, Gogol's native town, in the province of Poltava, Ukraine. He belongs to the so-called "Sixties Generation." The present extract from a novel appeared in the magazine *Literaturna Ukraina* (Literary Ukraine) on 27. 11. 62 and was printed at the beginning of 1963 in *Figaro Littéraire* in a French translation by Tereza Savyčka.

Passengers who in 1947 flew over that point fixed their attention on an oblong rectangle. It was surrounded by barbed wire and on the left side of the rectangle the ruins of an immense building were still standing quite near to the railway. They were the remains of the dairy. In the right-hand part opposite could be recognised a square, surrounded by even thicker barbed wire, like a box within a box. Watchtowers with searchlights, long barracks in the middle and an oblong square, on which men were swarming about in confusion, as small as ants, ludicrously tiny. From the plane it seemed that one had only to blow once to make these antlike dwarfs of men fly after each other on all sides, so minute, doll-like and flimsy did they appear from above.

It is fully possibly that these men also appeared so flimsy to the man on whose order they had been put in that place. Perhaps this was also the reason why their weak and wretched cheeping did not succeed in reaching his ears as he had long since ceased to regard them as men of normal size. In his diseased imagination he had, like a real Pharaoh, carved himself a gigantic stone figure, which rose like a colossus over these thousands and thousands of flimsy ants, who scurried about his feet somewhere deep below... But was this really only in his imagination? Hadn't a mighty monument in richly-tinted marble been erected for him? Hadn't his enormous torso been cast in copper and bronze, so that he could look down from above twice, four times, ten times as big? Living incarnation of an idol before whom one can bow in awe, and offer sacrifices?

Wasn't he standing on the squares, and the parks, a hundred thousand times over, while we were constantly erecting new shrines. We, we who so proudly had abolished all the Gods of the world, in order to proclaim the freely-unfolding, bold, human understanding as the only God?... We ourselves had indeed made him god, but Gods have no heart.

Thus these wingless ants were scurrying in this oblong square, were swarming in confusion and perished without succeeding in carrying their hopes, their doubts, or even just their curses up to the Kremlin god.

The passengers who flew over that prison camp in 1947 hardly ever thought, from this position, that these ludicrous ants were raising at that moment their bearded faces heavenwards, full of melancholy sorrows, to gaze after that free narrow-winged bird, which however had been built by human hands. It never once entered the mind of these passengers that each one of these tiny, pitiful men would give up ten years of his life to be in that plane; or even just to be on the other side of the barbed wire, far away from this ant-hill. But the plane flew on, pushed through the clouds, bathed in the bright sunlight; but the wretched pitiful creatures remained behind, where they were...

For two weeks Kalynka had been nothing but skin and bones. He was unable any longer to lie on one side, and rolled about the whole night through on his plank-bed, groaning in his sleep, his groans mingling with those of the others. Now for the first time Kalynka understood what it meant to be shaken by the wind, from which a gentle breeze already threatened to throw him about.

But later, when he was scarcely able to raise his hammer, he was forced to work as an iron-turner. Thick iron rods were drawn out, and one had to press with the chest and the whole force of the body on the free end, to bend the clumsy piece of iron with the hands. He pressed his hands, one after the other, dug himself with his feet fast

into the earth. Bending, bending, always bending — from morning till night. Only those who were together with Kalynka, could understand how the chest, pressed together by iron, could hurt. For his whole life, Kalynka retained the habit of rubbing his chest with the flat of his hand.

He used to work directly by the barbed wire, and so he was the first to notice a woman's form, approaching the camp. She was walking across the no man's land thick with tall weeds. She walked as if she were blind, seeming to follow no path. She struggled through the weeds, which came up to her shoulders, fell into some deep holes and stepped up to the guard, who was marching up and down outside the wire entanglement, with a slung rifle. She was wearing a white headscarf and a rough peasant coat, on her feet were heavy, dirty mens-boots. There was something so familiar in this figure, that Kalynka let fall iron rods and clutched his chest with his hand.

When the guard finally noticed the woman, he shouted — "Halt — where are you going, old woman? You're not allowed in here." The woman paused, held out to the soldier a little bundle made from the same white linen as the head scarf.

"Come on, soldier dear, I want to see my son!"

"Mother" screamed Kalynka and stepped nearer up to the wire.

"Mummy", he whispered, for the earth under his feet was swaying, and the soldier and his mother were blurred in a misty veil.

The woman looked at the emaciated bearded prisoner in the ragged overall and didn't recognize her own son. She called to him and pressed the snow white bundle on her breast.

"Have you seen Mykola Kalynka here . . . . . "My son, he is . . . . ."

The terrible looking prisoner nodded his head, as if he wanted to testify that he knew her son.

"It's me — Mykola! I am your son!" shouted Kalynka as loud as he could, from fear that his mother wouldn't believe him and go away.

"Get away — that's an order" shouted in his turn the guard and took his gun from his shoulder.

"My son, are you my son? My God, you are my son!"

"Yes, I am!"

"For the last time I order you, get away from each other", roared the soldier at the top of his voice. Yet one felt in his shouting not so much anger as bewilderment.

"Soldier dear — this is my son!" and she stretched out her mother's hands to him and went on: "Just leave me with him and I'll give you a nice pasty, made of white flour, filled with beans . . ." Then she

began to undo her little bundle, ready to give all she possessed, and even what she didn't just to be left with her son.

The soldier made a face as if he wanted there and then to begin crying. He looked about him helplessly; tugged on his rifle sling and finally warned her: "Alright, talk to your son . . . but you must lie down out of sight . . . keep your pasty . . . Am I a wild beast, without a mother?" he roared, threw the rifle over his shoulder in anger and went on, along the wire-fencing.

The mother sank down humbly on her knees, lay down in the weeds, and crawled forward; it was probably for the first time in her life, that she crawled. As she crawled you saw at once that she hadn't learnt it in the army, that the front hadn't shown her how to do it, for she struggled right through the thickgrowing weeds, tore her hands open, took the skin off her face, but crawled on, almost choked in the deep dust, until the barbed wire rose before her eyes and on the other side of it her son became visible, the bearded prisoner with the hoarse voice, who had also lain down so as not to be so easily noticed from the side.

"My dear son, what have they done to you!"

"How are things at home, mother?"

"You are more dead than alive!"

"How is Halia?"

"Do you get anything to eat, or do you have terrible hunger?"

"Isn't she in hospital?"

"When each letter came and I read it with Halia, we couldn't see anything anymore for tears . . .

"How is Halia?! Kalyinka almost screamed now, for his mother seemed to have become deaf, since she only ever said what she wanted to say.

"Is she back from the hospital or not?"

"Of course, Halia has already come — she is already there" — his mother nodded her head weeping.

"She has come with a son, we have christened him Mykolka . . ."

"Mykolka?"

"Yes, of course, Mykolka how else? so healthy he is, and he is just like you my son . . ."

"How are you then?"

"How are we? The people don't give themselves airs, thank goodness, and so things are going quite famously . . . We are just waiting for you . . ."



They hadn't yet found time to say all that they wanted to say, when the guard came up to them and terrified said to them: "Clear off, mother, the boss is coming."

"Go, mother, go!", said Kalynka, for the mother seemed as if she were firmly rooted to the ground, and her eyes had bored deep into her son's eyes. For the first time now Kalynka noticed how old and weak she had become, how her head trembled and how very white her hair, falling down from under the headscarf, had become. "Kiss Halia and my son, dear Mother" — muttered Kalynka indistinctly. He had to summon up all his strength, not to cry out.

"Yes, my son, alright", nodded the mother, without perhaps understanding what her son was saying. Only when the guard touched her on the shoulder with his rifle, did she remember the bundle, and pushed it through the barbed wire . . . "Here, Mykolka, here are the pasties with the beans . . ."

"Clear off, mother!", said the guard, shoving her, and the old woman crept back looking back at her son, for the last time. She touched the earth with her face blindly.

Until the late evening you could see her drawn figure in the wide barren field, like a light house, rising up among the weeds. She stood there, her face turned towards the camp. She stood motionless, seeming much less a living thing than a figure carved from stone — a living incarnation of suffering and despair.

Often she waved to her son with her hand. The guard shouted at her, to frighten her away but she continued to stand there, until the dark night fell, covered her and swallowed her up, concealing her from the eyes of men. But Kalynka, who was already lying in the barracks on his hard mattress bed, stuffed with rotten straw, could not go to sleep despite his tiredness; it seemed to him that his mother was even now standing alone abandoned in the middle of the overgrown, weedy, barren patch, as if she was standing dumb and motionless, without strength to go away from her son.

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V. MAKAR

## A BELGIAN — MEMBER OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY

Albert Hasenbrooks was born in 1915 in Bruges, Flanders. As a young graduate of the Higher School of Commerce, and later the department of Journalism and Political-Diplomatic Science, he was recruited to work in Germany in 1940 after Belgium's occupation. In 1943, he was sent to Ukraine with an economic mission. As a declared opponent of Hitler's regime he was always trying to find means of escape from the Germans. In Berlin he was planning to get to the English. However, he found himself in Ukraine which at that time was already involved in the insurgent movement. Working under Erich Koch in the city of Rivne in Volyn he knew of the activities of the UPA from the press as well as from the talks with his co-workers, and he fully sympathized with the liberation efforts of the Ukrainian people. One summer day in 1943 the Gestapo organized all the workers of the civil administration and joining them with a police battalion led them to an "Einsatz" against the Ukrainian insurgents in the Rivne area. UPA detachments ambushed the Germans and killed almost everyone of them. Hasenbrooks found himself among the prisoners. When the questioning revealed that he is not a German, but a Belgian and anti-Hitler, with a knowledge of several European languages — German, English and French, the commander of UPA-North, Eney, asked Hasenbrooks to cooperate with UPA. The proposal appealed to Hasenbrooks and he signed the mobilization certificate without hesitation, thus joining the ranks of UPA.

Hasenbrooks was given the pseudonym "Western." The members of the Ukrainian revolutionary leadership discussed his future work and supplied him with materials to acquaint him with Ukrainian problems. Later he was sent to Skole district, in the Carpathian Mountains where a secret radio station "Free Ukraine", coded "Aphrodite" had been transmitting since October, 1943. It was heard on short waves 43.

Hasenbrooks was pleasantly surprised by the good working conditions of the organization network and the Ukrainian underground administration. The carriage with armed guard ran from village to village. Later on, recalling his trip through Volyn and Halychyna "Western" enthusiastically declared that the Ukrainians under German occupation created a state within a state. If, for example, the French or the Belgian resistance had done something similar the whole world would have heard about it, as a great accomplishment.

Yaroslav Starukh, also known as Stiah, Syniy, Yarlan, was the supervisor of "Aphrodite." "Zina" was the speaker in Ukrainian and Russian and "Western" was appointed editor and speaker in English and French. Transmissions were made 3 to 4 times daily. In 1944 a modern transmitter was acquired from Vienna and the work of "Aphrodite" continued satisfactorily until its tragic fall in March of 1945.

Hasenbrooks-"Western" worked with dedication for the Ukrainian liberation cause together with his Ukrainian friends. At the same time he was learning the Ukrainian language and was practising it either in chance conversations with Ukrainian peasants or translating the history of Ukraine into French or in editing the texts of his radio programmes.

— These were the best moments of my life — Hasenbrooks assured his Ukrainian companions later. — Then, I was reborn and began to understand what it means to live and to fight for noble ideals. Ukraine's freedom, the liberation of this good and industrious people, became for me a noble ideal!

In March, 1945, NKVD members found the hiding place of the radio station. They threw in several grenades, killing one insurgent and seriously wounding Hasenbrooks. The grenade set fire to a section of a cave containing propaganda material. All manuscripts were burned including those written by "Western." This was lucky for Hasenbrooks who later, when questioned by the Russians, persistently denied any active work in the radio station and instead said that he was a prisoner of war and worked as a cook for the insurgents.

After long interrogations and beatings, the Bolsheviks sent Hasenbrooks to the concentration camp of Vorkuta without any trial. Two years later, in 1947, he was brought to Drohobych to the court room where other Ukrainian insurgents were being tried. And even though the court could not prove anything Hasenbrooks was sentenced to 10 years in a concentration camp. He was again sent to Vorkuta, the land of concentration camps. (In Vorkuta alone, 1,000,000 persons were suffering at that time). Then he was sent to a camp in Stalinsk, 200 km. from the Mongolian border. In 1950-51 he was in a camp in Verkhoyansk, and shortly before his release in one collective point near Moscow.

Albert Hasenbrooks managed to preserve his life in the horrible conditions of Russian concentration camps. He was able to do this with the help of Ukrainian friends — captive insurgents. — This violin has saved my life — he says, showing a treasured souvenir, a rather crudely made instrument — a violin which was bought for him with the money collected among the Ukrainian inmates. Hasenbrooks' musical talent enabled him to improve his living and working conditions as a member of the concert-propaganda group organized by the camp administration for "cultural care" of the numerous camps. Travelling from one camp to another he had a chance to hear and to see much and to find out various things which he later related to his Ukrainian friends.

After the death of Stalin in 1953 the Russian leaders performing their plan of peaceful offensive (to demonstrate good will by actions) released, among others, 12 Belgian prisoners of war, among them Albert Hasenbrooks, allowing them to return to their native land. Their return to Belgium in November of 1953 created a sensation in Belgium and in the entire world. Belgian and foreign newspapers especially *La Libre Belgique* and *Soir* carried complete reports and testimony on the Soviet Union. Also Ukrainian journalists visited A. Hasenbrooks in his home, where his faithful wife and daughter, brothers and elderly parents had waited for him for 13 years. He greeted the Ukrainians with the insurgent greeting "Slava Ukraïni" (Glory to Ukraine) and gladly granted them an interview. The high moral posture of the Belgian insurgent and the nobleness of his soul is best portrayed by his own words with which he ended his description:

"I will never regret, but rather consider myself happy that I had an opportunity by my work, and later by suffering, to contribute somehow to the liberation of Ukraine. Ukraine deserves to have one live, work and fight for her. I will never forget the days and the months of the underground revolutionary struggle of UPA. I feel that I am still bound by the oath of UPA and I will try as far as possible to work for the benefit of Ukraine. I am glad that Ukrainians abroad are active; the Ukrainian liberation movement can count on my support and cooperation where it would be most useful for our common cause."

In later years the incomprehensible and unfounded pressure of the Belgian security organs on Albert Hasenbrooks prevented him from engaging openly in cooperation with the Ukrainian liberation movement abroad, and in particular — from publishing his unusually valuable and interesting memoirs from the war and post-war years. But this will come.

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## THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1917-1918

(Extracts from the unpublished M. A. thesis *The Hetmanate of P. P. Skoropadsky in the Ukraine in 1918*. Continuation — 4)

### THE INTERNAL POLICY OF THE HETMAN AND HIS GOVERNMENT

#### Municipal and Provincial Administration

When the Central Rada returned to Kiev with the German Army it had continued the administration which existed during the reign of the provisional Government when the whole country had been divided into Provinces (Gubernias) with Provincial Commissars standing at their head. These Commissars, as well as the District (povit) Commissars, were elected at the congresses of various local party and class organisations. Besides the Commissars there existed the Provincial and district Executive Committees with advisory powers. At the end of 1917 these were replaced in many places by Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies. The powers of the Commissars were very limited. They had no executive means at their disposal. Even the Militia, inexperienced, undisciplined and very corrupt as it was,<sup>18</sup> was not under their authority but under that of the local self-governing councils (zemstvos and dumas).

In February 1918 the Minister of War, Zhukovskiy, had organized a body of Provincial and district military commandants to act under his ministry. In theory these commandants were to have at their disposal special military detachments formed on a voluntary basis. But in reality the commandants, like the commissars, were dependent on German and Austrian forces. After Skoropadskyi's coup d'etat all the provincial and district commissars and commandants were replaced by new people recruited from the ranks of the local landowners.<sup>19</sup>

At the head of the new provincial administrations there stood a provincial starosta with the rights of an Imperial Russian Governor. The district starostas were subordinated to them.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>18</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

<sup>19</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 260.

<sup>20</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 261.

The edict issued on May 18th, 1918, dealt with the formation of the State Guard (Derzhavna Varta). According to that edict the town and 'povit' militia were transferred from the zemstvos and dumas to the Provincial or district starostas and were renamed the State Guard. On August 9th, 1918, the statute of the State Guard was approved and the special 'Department of State Guard' was organized. An assistant-inspector of the State Guard was appointed as an aid to the Gubernia Starostas. In the districts similar officers were appointed whose immediate superiors were district Starostas. In the towns the Guard (varta) was organized in the proportion of one guard to every 400 inhabitants. In addition the Mounted Guard (Kinna Varta) was formed in every district. In Kiev, Odessa, Kharkiv and Mykolaïv were formed reserve divisions of Mounted Guards consisting of 260 men in each division with five officers and ten non-commissioned officers.

The Hetman's Government decided to make use of Imperial Russian gendarme personnel in the State Guard. That could be seen from the telegram of the State Guard's Director of August 6th which was sent to the Chief of the Information Department of the town office of the Kiev Governor and dealt with the enlisting of the services of the tsarist gendarmes.<sup>21</sup> Because the State Guard had such a personnel the attitude of the Ukrainian population to it was the same as to the old Russian gendarmerie, that is to say, it was regarded as an unpopular reactionary element in revolutionary times.

Besides the Guard and the Mounted Guard, special corps of railway guards were created. They operated in seven districts: Kiev, Odessa, South-Katerynoslav, Livoberezhia (the area on the left bank of the river Dniro), Kharkiv and Podillia.

By an edict of August, 1918, the office of Mayor (Ataman) of Kiev, one corresponding to the Imperial Russian "Gradonachal'nik", was formed and general O. P. Khanenko was appointed to that post. General V. A. Mustafin became the Ataman of Odessa. Because the General Headquarters of the Austro-Hungarian army was situated in Odessa the post of the Ukrainian State Representative was set up there in addition to that of the Ataman. On May 29th, 1918, S. M. Herbel' was appointed to that post; when Herbel' later became the Minister of Food he was replaced by General Raukh.<sup>22</sup>

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The most delicate and troublesome part of the activities of the Hetman's Ministry of the Interior were its relations to the Ukrainian public and social organizations. That was particularly true of the

<sup>21</sup>) See Mints and Gorodetskiy, *Dokumenty po istorii Grazhdanskoy voyny v SSSR*, Vol. I, 1940, p. 319.

<sup>22</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

provincial councils (zemstvos)<sup>23</sup> and the town corporations, or dumas.

The Russian Provisional Government had abolished the old "zemstvos" and municipal councils of Imperial Russia which were elected on the principle of property qualifications. The new 'zemstvos' and 'dumas' had been elected by universal direct and equal franchise on a secret ballot.

The attitude of the Hetman's Government to this question was conditioned by the belief that the above mentioned elections had been carried out in the heat of revolutionary demagoguery. The Hetman's Government argued that revolutionary elections removed from the 'zemstvos' and 'dumas' people experienced in their work and connected with the interests of the region. These elections, they said, put into office a so-called 'third element', that is, representatives of the floating population of revolutionary times. Their posts were obtained by accident. Riabtsov, who was elected mayor of Kiev, was cited as an example.<sup>24</sup> Therefore the new democratic 'zemstvos' were regarded by the Hetman's Government as being of much poorer quality than the old 'zemstvos', i.e. those elected according to property qualifications. The same was being said about the new democratic municipal councils.

The situation was not improved by the fact that the new government was received in a very hostile way by the new democratic "zemstvos" and municipal councils. The municipal council in Katerynoslav, for example, passed such a strong anti-government resolution, calling on people to oppose the Hetman's government, that the Government thought it necessary to disband it.<sup>25</sup> The Government dealt in a similar manner with some other "zemstvos" and "dumas" who took up a hostile attitude towards it. Thus the "zemstvos" in Rivne, Volyn' province; in Oleksandria, Kherson province; in Kaniv and Lypovets', Kiev province, were dissolved. 'Dumas' were disbanded in Odessa and Mykolaiv.<sup>26</sup>

Because of the general hostility displayed by local elected bodies, the Minister of the Interior, Lyzohub, put a ban on the conference of town representatives which was to take place in Kiev on May 9th. The Chairman of the conference organizing Committee, Dreling, and the Mayor of Kiev, Riabtsov, were ordered to postpone the conference as "undesirable at the present moment."

The relations between the Hetman administration and the "zemstvos" and "dumas" were especially strained at the provincial level. They were in fact so bad that the Minister of the Interior had

<sup>23</sup>) Zemstvo — elective district council in pre-revolutionary Russia.

<sup>24</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

<sup>25</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 264.

<sup>26</sup>) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, III, p. 42.

to send a telegram instruction to the Provincial Starostas (June 7th, 1918) urging them "... to use drastic measures as regards the dissolution of the 'zemstvo' and 'duma' conferences and of the conferences of their executive bodies *only in exceptional cases*, informing me in detail of the causes of your actions" ...<sup>27</sup>

Writers favourable to Skoropadskyi's regime insist that this telegram shows the Government's good will while the opponents of Skoropadskyi affirm that it was only a fine gesture whereby the Hetman's Government wished to conceal its real intention: the restoration of the order of Imperial Russia in the Ukraine.<sup>28</sup> When considering the actions of the Hetman's Government towards the "zemstvo" and "duma", one is inclined to conclude that the Hetman's enemies are right. The move from universal, direct and equal franchise by secret ballot to elections based on property qualifications could certainly not be regarded as progressive step.

A special commission organized for the purpose of reviewing the statute of the "zemstvos" made some amendments in it. The Chairman was count Golitsyn, an eminent member of the Russian aristocracy, and that fact alone persuaded the opponents of Skoropadskyi that they were right in accusing him of attempting to restore Imperial Russian order in the country.

It is also a fact that the rules concerning the new "zemstvo" and "duma" elections gave greater rights to the landlords and the householders.

However, it is equally true that the democratic "zemstvos" and "dumas" contained a high percentage of members who had arrived in the district but recently and represented revolutionary and often even anarchic elements which, by their very nature, were more likely to destroy civil order in the country than to stabilize or restore it.

Meanwhile, while the alterations in election procedure to the municipal council were being made, the new democratic municipal councils were replaced by councils of the old pre-revolutionary type, the senior officials of which were appointed by the authorities, who selected for such posts mostly members of an old pre-revolutionary council staff. (A special commission was formed for the purpose of composing new rules for these councils. It was headed by I. M. Diakov who for many years had been President of the Kiev Duma.) In August, 1918, these rules, entitled the "Provisional rules concerning elections to municipal councils", were approved by the Council of Ministers and on September 23rd they were confirmed by the Hetman.

According to those rules only people closely connected with the town could participate in its self-government. Those who had some

<sup>27</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>28</sup>) See P. Khrystyuk, *op. cit.*, p. 43.



property in the town or had lived in it for a fixed number of years and had a permanent occupation there were entitled to be elected. This was done in order to prevent soldiers of the local garrisons and various carpet-baggers from being elected as councillors.<sup>29</sup>

Not easier was the "zemstvo" problem. After the February revolution the power in the provincial self-governing bodies passed to Ukrainian nationally conscious and revolutionary elements which were according to D. Doroshenko "... in the majority the representatives of the intelligentsia, declassed elements, who were not connected with local life and lacked the necessary special training and experience... Matters were even worse in the district zemstvos. Because of such a state of affairs such important 'zemstvo' departments as medical and sanitary, road, school and others suffered a decline."<sup>30</sup>

That is how the supporters of P. P. Skoropadskyi account for the changes which took place in the system of self-government. But their opponents regard these changes as the expression of opposition by landowners and manufacturers to the revolution, and as an effort by them to do away with all revolutionary achievements.<sup>31</sup>

In April of 1918 all the Provincial zemstvo councils had been united in the All-Ukrainian Council of Zemstvos (Vseukraïns'kyi Soyuz Zemstv), and Symon Vasyl'ovych Petlura had been elected its Chairman. The Council of the Zemstvos took a hostile attitude to Skoropadskyi's Government from the very beginning. S. Petlura wrote declarations in which he very strongly protested against the very fact that the Hetman's Government had come to power. He sent them to the German ambassador in the Ukraine, Baron Mumm, and to the ambassadors of the other Central Powers. They were excessively strongly worded.<sup>32</sup> Later, in June, the memorandum written by the All-Ukrainian Zemstvo Council was handed to Skoropadskyi himself. It was also couched in categorical terms. We will speak of it in detail later on.

It seems that changes in the staff of the "Zemstvo" and the municipal councils had been indeed badly needed. A circular letter by P. Khrystiuk, the Minister of the Interior in the Central Rada Government, which had been issued in March of 1918, was witness to it. In that letter Khrystiuk wrote about "... the need of purging all the not too diligent members of the staffs of the municipal and 'zemstvo' councils."<sup>33</sup>

<sup>29</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

<sup>30</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 266.

<sup>31</sup>) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

<sup>32</sup>) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

<sup>33</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 266; "Visnyk Literaturny i politychnoho zhyttia", No. 13, 1918, pp. 189-190.

On the other hand it seems that these changes were often used by the reactionary members of the Skoropadskyi Government not only for getting rid of all bad or negligent officials but also for squeezing out all revolutionary elements from amongst them. It often happened that the dismissed officials were also Ukrainian revolutionaries. Therefore the Hetman's Government was accused of being not only reactionary but anti-Ukrainian as well. Thus the "zemstvos" and "dumas" became one of the anti-Skoropadskyi forces in the country and they played an important part in creating the bad reputation of his Government, which would bring about its downfall.

### The Agrarian Question

The Agrarian question in the Ukraine was complicated. In the Ukraine where, in 1918, about 80 per cent of the population were engaged in agriculture,<sup>34</sup> the agrarian question dominated the economy of the country. The main characteristic of that economy was the overpopulation of the land which showed itself in a surplus of manpower engaged in agriculture and in the partial and incomplete use of this manpower.<sup>35</sup> Normally this manpower would find employment in industry but Ukrainian industry was poorly developed at the time and thus a so-called "sil's'kyi proletariat" (agricultural proletariat) was created. During the first years of the twentieth century Ukrainian industry began to grow as the result of the Stolypin reforms. It will be remembered that the aim of Stolypin's reform was the creation of a numerous and strong group of well-to-do peasants, who, as Stolypin believed, would be loyal supporters of the Imperial Russian Government.<sup>36</sup>

The aim of the Hetman's Government while planning its agrarian reforms, was that of Stolypin: to form a powerful class of well-to-do peasants<sup>37</sup> who would become loyal supporters of the Government. Another link between Skoropadsky's agrarian reform and that of Stolypin was the "Peasant Bank", and institution to which was assigned an important part in Skoropadsky's agrarian reforms. But there the resemblance ends. In his "Hramota" P. P. Skoropadsky declared: "From today all the Land Committees are dissolved... Private property as a basis of culture and civilization returns to life in full strength... A free hand is given in selling and buying land. In addition arrangements will be made for buying up land from

<sup>34</sup> See *Ukrains'ka Zahal'na Entsyklopedia (Ukrainian General Encyclopedia)*, Vol. 3, p. 930.

<sup>35</sup> *Ib.*, p. 930.

<sup>36</sup> I. I. Litvinov: *Ekonomicheskiye posledstviya Stolypinskogo agrarnogo zakonodatel'stva (Economic results of the Stolypin agrarian laws)* Moscow, 1929, p. 17.

<sup>37</sup> See P. P. Skoropadskyi, "Memoirs...", *op. cit.*, p. 79.

large landowners at real value prices for the purpose of distributing it among peasants who are in need of land...<sup>38</sup>

In paragraph 19 of the "Provisional Laws" the Hetman stated: "Private property is inviolable. Forcible alienation of immovable property in cases where it would be necessary for State or public benefit, is possible only with compensation."

On June 21st, 1918 the Hetman received a large Farmers' delegation from the four provinces: Kharkiv, Kherson, Poltava, and Volyn'. The Farmers asked the Hetman to re-establish order in the country and to create favourable conditions for peaceful work.<sup>39</sup> In answer the Hetman promised that "...the agrarian question is being looked into, the large estates will be parcelled up, but that can not be done at once: it has to be done gradually because it should be remembered that all the wealth of the Ukraine is in its land. Let us remember", continued the Hetman, "that we need activity in industry and that is why we should be very careful in dividing those large estates which belong to factories."

While answering questions the Hetman said: "... There are rumours circulating that land will not be divided. It is not true. A law is being worked out but it could not be done without considering the historical and legal side of the question. There will not be any large estates any more; land will be handed over to the farmer population but in allotments not exceeding 25 desiatinas\* per person. To buy land in different places will be forbidden. The landlords will have the right to sell all their land to the State Land Bank and that land will go to the newly formed State Land Fund. The Government itself will be distributing the land among the landless peasants. But you have to remember that there won't be enough land for everyone and therefore we should try to develop the industry of our country. Ukraine does not possess its own textile industry, for example. We have to do our best to develop our industry and to form cooperative societies all over Ukraine and by that means we will improve the standard of living in the country."<sup>40</sup>

From these statements made in public one could conclude that the Hetman planned to introduce the new agrarian reforms and with their help to strengthen and to multiply the well-to-do group of peasants in the country who with the Government's help would purchase land of which they were short. These peasant-farmers would be the main supporters of the Ukrainian State.

The opinion of the peasants themselves on the matter differed. The well-to-do group welcomed the change from socialization to the slow and gradual reforms of land relations as a change from anarchy to law and legality. But the poor peasants were disappointed because

<sup>38</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* II, pp. 50-51.

<sup>39</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 81.

\*) One desiatina is equal to 2.7 acres.

<sup>40</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* p. 82.



paying for land presented difficulties for them. In that way the Hetman had, from the very beginning, antagonised the poor peasants.<sup>41</sup>

Kolokol'tsev, the Minister of Agriculture, who also was, according to D. Doroshenko, a sincere and staunch supporter of the policy which proclaimed the necessity of enlarging the group of well-to-do peasants in the country, encountered strong resistance among the staff of his own Ministry. This staff consisted mostly of the members of the Social Revolutionary party who were for the socialization of the land. Kolokol'tsev had to dismiss the leaders of the opposition and that action brought about the strike of civil servants in all Ministries. Kolokol'tsev himself was accused of organizing the campaign against Ukrainians...

On May 27th, 1918 the Ukrainian Government issued "*The Law concerning the rights to the harvest of 1918 on the territory of the State*".<sup>42</sup>

The law indicated clearly that the Government was very anxious to secure the rights of the landlords and to enable them to recover the losses which they suffered during the peasants' risings.

In addition to the "Law concerning the Rights to the harvest..." there was issued on June 14th "The Law concerning the provision of sugar-refineries with sugar-beet from the 1918 crop." According to this law sugar-beet which was cultivated on the sugar refineries' own land or on land rented by them was defined as belonging to the sugar-refineries, irrespective of the circumstances in which the sowing was done.<sup>43</sup>

In June, 1918 "The Provisional Law concerning the rights of selling and buying land outside the towns",<sup>44</sup> with which V. Kolokol'tsev came forward, was approved by the Council of Ministers. It was a prelude to the agrarian reform, the reform which would be worked out in November by V. M. Leontovich, the successor of V. Kolokol'tsev.

On July 15th, 1918, the special law concerning the Land Commissions, mentioned in the Land Law above, was issued.<sup>45</sup> In addition Provisional Land-Liquidation Commissions were established. They had to examine cases of violation of the landowners' and leaseholders' rights, provided that such violation took place after March 1st, 1918, and was due to acts of private individuals, village communities or various revolutionary institutions — the Land Committees, for instance. Thus, the interests of the landowners and the leaseholders were considered first again.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>41</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* p. 284.

<sup>42</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* p. 285.

<sup>43</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 286

<sup>44</sup>) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

<sup>45</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

<sup>46</sup>) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, p. 57



On July 7th, 1918, "The Provisional Law concerning the measures to be taken to prevent the ruin of agriculture" was passed by the Council. The law read:

1. The Provincial Land Commissions, appointed by the Minister of Agriculture and governed by him are to be given the task of issuing compulsory regulations concerning the use of livestock and equipment of owners who do not use it to full capacity on their farms and are liable to have equipment requisitioned for purposes of national importance.

2. The Provincial Land Commissions are to undertake... the issuing of compulsory regulations concerning the rates of payment for land work in general and the use of compulsory labour from among the local population in especially urgent periods of work in the field.

3. The Provincial Land Commissions are empowered to punish offenders against their regulations by imprisonment up to three months and by the imposition of a fine up to five hundred *karbovanets*. This duty is entrusted to the district *starostas*. Appeals against decisions of the district *starosta* can be made to the provincial *starostas* whose decision is final.

4. A sentence of imprisonment up to one year or a sentence of forced labour for the same period of time or to public works is to be imposed for the offences: a) Wilful damage to and destruction of ungathered and gathered crops and of grain. b) Malicious interruption of field work and instigation to such actions.

5. Acts enumerated under heading 4 are to be heard by the courts in the customary manner; they will take priority over other cases.

6. The law is to be imposed throughout the country by means of telegraphic communication.

The "Provisional law..." was called by democratic Ukrainian circles "the Serf Law"<sup>47</sup> because by it the Ukrainian peasants were thrown on the landowners' mercy. This law caused a wave of peasant risings in the country and one has to agree with J. S. Reshetar that "...no amount of lip service paid to the ideal of a healthy peasantry endowed with land could mitigate the harmful effects of the law of July 8th."<sup>48</sup>

In the middle of July the "Law concerning the transfer of grain of the 1918 harvest to the state" was passed and on October 22nd the Hetman established the Supreme Land Commission of which he himself became the chairman. This Commission consisted of a limited number of members recruited from land-owning circles and from industrialists, and it included representatives of some Ministries. The

<sup>47</sup>) See P. Khrystiuk, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

<sup>48</sup>) See J. S. Reshetar, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

task of the Commission consisted in working out a basis for reforms in Agriculture.<sup>49</sup> It was said that when the Hetman presided over its meetings the Commission progressed rapidly and radical changes in agriculture were planned: the landless peasants and the peasants with insufficient arable land were to be allotted land bought compulsorily and at a minimum price from the landowners. But when the Hetman was otherwise engaged and could not attend the Commission meetings, the work of the Commission moved slowly and reluctantly. The Hetman himself knew it and demanded that the Commission should speed up.<sup>50</sup>

At the beginning of November of 1918 a bill was presented by Volodymyr Leontovych, the new Minister of Agriculture: the project for the new agricultural reforms. The draft bill was approved by the Hetman and enacted by the Council of Ministers. These were the main features of the bill: 1. All large landed estates were to be compulsorily acquired by the state, and with the State Land Bank's help divided into allotments not exceeding 25 desiatinas per person. 2. Only large estates, the preservation of which was important for the state economy, i. e. estates supplying sugar-refineries with sugar-beet, breeding pedigree cattle or growing model crops, were to be preserved, although not in their full size but in plots not exceeding 200 desiatinas. Farmsteads, orchards, and vineyards were not liable to alienation.<sup>51</sup>

But this law, which was more progressive than all earlier agrarian measures of the Hetman's government, came too late and was also much too moderate for the prevailing conditions. This moderate law had to compete with such extremist laws as those presented by the Bolsheviks. The Central Rada's and later on the Directory's agrarian policy<sup>52</sup> was also radical.

The agrarian policy of the Bolsheviks, it will be remembered, was: 1. Abolish all private ownership of the land, of mineral wealth, waters, forests... etc. for ever. 2. The land is to be transferred without any compensation to the toiling people. 5. Only people who cultivate the land without employing hired labour... are entitled to it... 6. All privately owned agricultural implements, equipment and livestock are transferred to the Land Committees... of the district, province, 'krai' or 'federal' soviet without any compensation...<sup>53</sup>

<sup>49</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

<sup>50</sup>) See Lebid'-Yurchyk, *Biudzhetne Pravo*, p. 155. L'viv, 1927.

<sup>51</sup>) See Lebid'-Yurchyk, *op. cit.* pp. 135-136. The author considers that this land law could be compared only to the land law of the most democratic country in the world, that of New Zealand.

<sup>52</sup>) See 3rd and 4th Universals.

<sup>53</sup>) *Rezoliutsii Vseukrains'kykh Z'yizdiv Rad robotnychkykh, selians'kykh ta chervonoarmii'skykh deputativ* ("The resolutions of the All-Ukrainian workers' peasants' and Red Army soldiers' deputies' congress"), Ed. Mykhailo Kyrychenko; 2 Vseukrains'kyi z'yizd Rad; section 'Socialization of land', p. 25.

These extracts from the resolutions of the Second All-Ukrainian workers', peasants' and Red Army soldiers' deputies, congress shows that Leontovych's land law could not compete with it. It is true that this Bolshevik law has its drawbacks such as, for instance, paragraphs 17, 18, and 19 of the first section.<sup>54</sup> Besides when this law was applied, almost half the land available for distribution was given not to separate individuals but to communes and other units of collective farming.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, it made the Bolshevik Government and not the peasant the owner of the harvest.<sup>56</sup> It is obvious that the peasants did not see the negative side of the Bolshevik agrarian policy. They understood it, it seems, simply as a permission to deprive the landlords of all the land, equipment and livestock. It could be said that they thought and acted not on the Bolshevik policy but on their slogans, such as "Pilfer the pilferers" and "Take, everything is yours" without troubling overmuch about the party programme.<sup>57</sup>

The agrarian policy of the Ukrainian Central Rada and later on of the Ukrainian Directory was also extremely radical.

Perhaps at some other period of time and in different circumstances the agrarian policy of the Skoropadsky Government could be considered a progressive one as the advocates of the Hetman's Government assert. But in the given circumstances it proved to be inadequate: too moderate, too careful, too timid, trying not to harm the interests of the landowners and in some features even reactionary as in the case of the "Provisional law concerning the measures to be taken in the struggle against the ruin of agriculture." In the end these half measures provoked a mighty wave of peasants' risings which swept away the creators of the policy of moderation.

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<sup>54</sup>) *Ib.* p. 27.

<sup>55</sup>) *Voprosy istorii*, No. 3, March 1956, p. 142. Article by Oslikovskaya E. S. and Smegor, A. V.

<sup>56</sup>) "Rezoliutsii . . ." *op cit.*, p. 27.

<sup>57</sup>) They came to understand it later, though. At the time of "collectivization" and the grain requisitioning, the peasants had a saying that during the revolution they "had fought for the land but had forgotten to come to an understanding (with the Bolsheviks) about the harvest."

## **The Development of National Culture during the Hetmanate in Ukraine**

Much was done by the Hetman's Government for the development of national culture in the country. Skoropadsky's opponents often point out that the main work in that direction had been done during the period of the Central Rada, and that the Hetman's Government only reaped the fruits of previous labour.<sup>1</sup> Especially is this so, the critics say, with regard to the two new Ukrainian Universities which were opened during the Hetmanate in Ukraine. Nevertheless, it is clear that Skoropadsky and his Government, especially the Ministry of Education, did not benefit idly from their predecessors, but worked actively to add to what had already been done.

### **The question of the Ukrainian Language**

The Hetman's Government is often accused of promoting Russian in its administration and of neglecting Ukrainian. While this could be said of some Ministries and of some public personalities — then Hetman himself was only beginning to learn Ukrainian at this time — it would certainly be wrong to apply this statement to the whole administration.

After the Skoropadsky Government came to power it began to employ new civil servants, often "... not taking into consideration whether they belonged to the Ukrainian nationalists or whether they were fluent in the Ukrainian language but considering only their usefulness as specialists."<sup>2</sup> Some Ministries took over special lists from the former Russian Imperial Ministries. This was good for the efficiency of the administration, perhaps, but bad for the reputation of the new regime.

There were some cases of misunderstanding. It seems clear that the Government did not intend to remove Ukrainian from its position of the official language. Some of the Ministers even stressed the necessity of using it during official contacts. For instance: General Lignau, acting as Minister of War, issued on May 15th an order declaring: "... All business correspondence, all official contacts have to be conducted in the official language, Ukrainian. In all departments courses in the Ukrainian language have to be organised with the aim of bringing knowledge of it to the required level."<sup>3</sup>

Two days later a similar order was issued signed by the Minister of Transport, Butenko. The order read: "... It has come to the

1) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 98.

2) *Ib.*, p. 98.

3) *Derzhavnyi Vistnyk*, No. 43, 1918.



Minister's knowledge that some higher officials have made their clerks talk to them in Russian... and that some Civil Servants have stopped attending courses in the state language. I ask you to remember that in the Ukrainian State the official language is Ukrainian; I request you to answer letters written in Ukrainian in the same language. Correspondence with higher institutions may be conducted only in the official language. Internal Ministry correspondence may be temporarily conducted in Russian but gradually it should change to Ukrainian. All announcements and instructions issued for the public must be written in Ukrainian. I would ask telephonists particularly to pay special attention to this question and to learn Ukrainian. While ordering forms and books to be published, I instruct you to order them for no more than a period of six months because later on they will be translated into the state language. The types of letters absent in the Russian alphabet must be acquired for printing works. Inscriptions on stamps and seals must be translated into the state language..."<sup>4</sup>

The Minister of Justice, Chubyns'kyi, expressed himself similarly in his interview with the correspondent of the newspaper *Posledniye Novosti* (The Latest News) and soon afterwards, on July 26th, the deputy of the Minister of Posts and Telegraph, Kuliabko-Korets'kyi did likewise.<sup>5</sup>

The cases given above demonstrate the difficulties the Ministries had to overcome in order to "Ukrainify" their Civil Servants. In some Ministries, however, such as the Ministry of Agriculture for instance, there were difficulties of the opposite nature, and its workers demanded the Ukrainization of the Ministry. However, these difficulties were of a transitory nature, and had the Hetman's Government remained in power it would have overcome them by applying a new educational policy.

### Schools and Universities

For most of the time during the Hetman's regime in the Ukraine the post of Minister of Education was occupied by professor M. P. Vasylenko, who began his career as Minister of Education and Minister of Foreign Affairs on May 2nd. On May 21st he transferred his office of Ministry of Foreign Affairs to D. Doroshenko and so was able to concentrate on his activities as Minister of Education. M. P. Vasylenko was a professor and a pedagogue,<sup>6</sup> and was well qualified for his task. When he took over the Ministry, he found it already well organized by the former Rada Ministers, I. M. Steshenko and his successor V. K. Prokopovych. The main posts in the Ministry

<sup>4</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 99-100.

<sup>5</sup>) *Derzhavnyi Vistnyk*, No. 47, 1918.

<sup>6</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 336.

of Education were occupied by Ukrainian cultural workers. Under the new Minister all of them, including the Minister's deputy, P. I. Kholodnyi, were left in their old jobs. On May 29th, Vasylenko took on the professor and pro-rector of the Kharkiv Institute of Technology, Iv. A. Krasus'kyi, as his second deputy. Krasus'kyi was an expert in the organization of the administrative side of college technical education. Still later there was a slight re-shuffle in the Ministry and it was then that "The Central Board of Arts and National Culture" was created and the number of departments was increased.

After these changes the Ministry was on June 21st re-named by the Hetman the "Ministry of Public Education and Arts." It consisted of the following departments: the *General Department*, the chief of which was the Ukrainian writer and educationalist P. I. Zaitsev; the *Department of University Education*, with its chief, Professor T. Sushyts'kyi, who later became rector of Kiev University; the *Department of Secondary Schools* with A. S. Syniavs'kyi, the well-known Ukrainian educationalist and scholar as its chief; the *Department of Technical Education* headed by O. V. Volyns'kyi; the *Department of Primary Schools* with A. I. Leshchenko as its head; the department of *Nursery Education and Extra-Scholastic Education* which was run by S. F. Rusova. In every province there were acting special commissars of the Ministry of Public Education appointed at the time of the Central Rada.

Also during the period of the Central Rada regime, Ukrainian secondary schools had been opened in some larger towns such as Kiev, Chernyhiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, Odessa, Katerynoslav, etc. A National Ukrainian University, an academy of Arts and other educational institutions had been established in Kiev. The Ukrainian Scientific Association in Kiev was working on a project for an Academy of Science.<sup>7</sup>

M. P. Vasylenko, the new Minister of Education, expressed his opinion of his new duties during one of the sessions of the Council of Ministers on May 9th, and stated that he came not to destroy what was done before him but to continue the work in the direction of a broader and more thorough development of the Ukrainian National School.<sup>8</sup> Concerning the Ukrainization of the schools, Vasylenko remarked that he was preoccupied with this question, but what mattered was the method of approach. He himself was of the opinion that too much time and strength was being spent on quarrels, time that produced little result. His mission, as he saw it, was to reconcile different national currents, avoiding conflicts if possible, but not digressing from the main aim of the government which was an independent National Ukrainian State. His main task as Minister of

<sup>7</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 336-337.

<sup>8</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 337.

Education was to develop Ukrainian National Culture and to create conditions which would be beneficial for this development.<sup>9</sup> The Minister stated that he was in favour of what was officially known as a "Unified school system."

At the beginning of the new regime the already existing institutions, the Ministry Council and the School Council, were left untouched. But later the Minister decided to replace the institution of Provisional Commissars of Education in the provinces by the office of Governors of the schools.<sup>10</sup>

There were many complaints by Ukrainian nationalist circles that the new Minister of Education was too much under the influence of the Russian pedagogical system and was pro-Russian in general. In some cases these complaints were justified as, for instance, in the case of the lack of premises for Ukrainian secondary schools in Kiev, when parents had to appeal to the Hetman himself. Only then were premises allocated. But even that is not an example of a deliberate policy. Vasylenko's policy was based on the fact that the Ukrainian language in Ukraine had been to a certain degree replaced by the Russian language, and Vasylenko was of the opinion that the national language had to be revived mainly through the development of national schools. The situation was that the Ukrainian National and State revival of 1917 came and developed with such speed that it overtook the normal process of development of the Ukrainian language. In such circumstances, the Minister thought, the Ukrainization of the schools should be achieved carefully and with tact. It would not help, he reasoned, to introduce the Ukrainian language, in schools, by decrees only. The teachers had to be given a chance to learn Ukrainian, to have time to prepare themselves for teaching in that language. Text-books in Ukrainian had to be published; terminology had to be determined. All this could be done quite easily in primary schools, but it was a difficult task, requiring much more time and care, where Secondary schools, Universities and Colleges were concerned. There the language could not be changed from Russian overnight, but new schools and Universities could be opened and new, already qualified teachers and professors found. New text-books, speedily written and published, were to be used.

The Minister of Education, and this could be said of all the new Government, believed that in time, while the general Ukrainization of the country developed, the number of pupils in the Russian schools would decrease and in that way Russian schools would be either changed to Ukrainian ones or would to be closed down. In the end, the Minister believed, only the number of Russian schools necessary for the children of Russians living in the Ukraine would be

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<sup>9</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 338.

<sup>10</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 338.



left. Only such a gradual process of organizing Ukrainian schools on the one hand, and of gradually Ukrainizing the already existing Russian schools on the other hand, was possible, argued the new Minister of Education. What was more, this policy, he asserted, would not cause discontent and opposition among the town population which was mostly Russified, and thus there would be no complications in the life of the young country.<sup>11</sup> Vasylenko's activities were mainly directed at the formation of this "Unified School system."

In order to help teachers to learn Ukrainian, a summer course in Ukrainian language, Literature, and Regional Studies was organized and by the law of June 2nd, 1918, the Government assigned 2,184,790 *karbovantsi* for the purpose "of urgent needs in affairs of education" and again on June 3rd, 1918 one million karbs. was given for the same purpose.<sup>12</sup> On June 10th, the course began in the building of the former cadet corps in Kiev. Later similar courses were organized in other towns and were divided into courses for lecturers, for teachers of secondary and senior-primary schools, and for teachers of primary schools. For the lecturers' course alone 28,910 karbs. was assigned.

On August 6th, 1918 the Council of Ministers passed a number of laws concerning National schools. One of these provided for the "Unified School System" uniting the various types of schools existing in the country into one system. Teachers' salaries were raised, and a law assigning 88,987,027 karbs. for primary schools was passed.

Courses for the teachers belonging to the various national minorities were organized as well. The law which was passed on July 2nd, 1918 allocated 87,000 karbs. for courses for Jewish teachers in Kiev, Odessa, and Katerynoslav.<sup>13</sup>

On August 6th the law concerning "Changes in the staff of the Senior Primary Schools" was passed and a grant of 20,726,712 karbs. was made for the already existing Higher Primary Schools and for the opening of new ones.

On July 22nd an order of the Minister of Education concerning the "Formation of the National Lower Primary Schools" from the autumn of the school year of 1918/1919 was published. The order was addressed to the *zemstvos* and the *dumas* and to the Provincial and District Commissars and the District Commissars of Education.<sup>14</sup> Two weeks later regulations concerning this order were published.<sup>15</sup>

The reorganization of teaching in Teachers' Training Colleges was conducted in connection with reorganization of the National Schools.

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11) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

12) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 340.

13) *Ib.* p. 340.

14) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

15) *Ib.* pp. 342-343.



On August 15th the instruction of the Minister concerning "Plans for teaching in Teachers' Training Colleges" in Kiev, Odessa, and Kharkiv provinces was distributed. According to it the programme of Teachers' Training Colleges was to include the following subjects: 1. Scripture as connected with the question of upbringing; 2. Pedagogy; 3. The Ukrainian language, in the Ukrainian Training Colleges, and Russian in the Russian ones; 5. Arithmetic and methology.

On August 23rd, 1918 the Council of Ministers assigned 5,949,350 karbs. for extra-mural education and 500,000 karbs. for nursery schools. The money was to be distributed among the *zemstvos* and towns and used for the organization of evening classes, public lectures, libraries, public entertainments, clubs, etc. Some money from this sum had also to be given to "Prosvitas"<sup>16</sup> and other similar cultural organizations.

In order to train the professional instructors of Extra-Mural Education a special course was organized by the Department of Extra-Mural Education in Kiev at the beginning of June.

Special attention was paid to the needs of the West Ukrainian territories, Kholm and Pidliashia, which were occupied by Germans and Austrians. Special courses of Ukrainian language, Literature, and Regional Studies were organized for West Ukrainian teachers.<sup>17</sup>

Concerning the secondary schools, the Minister was of the opinion that new Ukrainian secondary schools should be opened first, and that only later, when the national cause acquired stronger support among the masses of the population, the policy of introducing the Ukrainian language as the official language into the already existing Russian secondary schools could begin.

The first Ukrainian secondary schools had been organized on the initiative of the population in the spring of 1917 in large towns and later on in small provincial towns and even in large villages. All these schools were now taken over by the State, and during the summer of 1918 there were opened 54 new Ukrainian gymnasiums, eighteen in Kiev province, six in Podillia, five in Kharkiv, three in Katerynoslav, etc. At the beginning of the 1918-1919 academic year 50 State Secondary schools, 40 gymnasiums and 10 polytechnics were opened.<sup>18</sup> In all, at the end of the Hetman's regime about 150 Ukrainian gymnasiums had been opened. Besides, the Government assigned some money for the Ukrainian gymnasiums which had been started

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16) "Prosvita" was a public cultural organization very much like the "Beseda" of the Czechs. By the end of October of 1918 the department of Extra-Mural Education registered 952 active "Prosvitas" on the territory of the Ukrainian State. See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

17) Kuzelia Zenon, *Rik 1918 na Ukraïni*, pp. 13-14.

by the zemstvo or by town dumas. By the law passed on September 3rd the Council of Ministers assigned 400,000 karbs. for this task.<sup>19</sup>

On July 1st, 1918 three hundred and fifty grants worth 77,500 karbs were created for poor secondary school pupils of Ukrainian nationality.

While not touching the Russian schools, the Ministry of Education passed a law through the Council of Ministers in August concerning the compulsory teaching of Ukrainian language, Literature, History and Geography in all Russian secondary schools.<sup>20</sup>

As regards University Education the Minister pursued the same policy: to create new Universities, leaving temporarily the old Russian ones and installing in them departments of Ukrainian language, Literature and Regional Studies. The Ministry entrusted the academician V. Vernads'kyi with the task of organizing a Commission which would devote itself to the affairs of Universities and Scientific Institutions. Among the members of this Commission were such scholars as Prof. M. Sumtsov, Prof. Bahalii, Prof. Shaposhnikov and others. The Commission began its work by reorganizing the People's Ukrainian University in Kiev as a State University. The work was started on July 1st and completed on September 17th, when the Council of Ministers passed the resolution providing for the reorganization.<sup>21</sup>

Some arguments arose out of the question of where the State University should be situated. The opponents of Skoropadsky's regime accused the Hetman's Government in general and the Minister of Education in particular of intending to push the new Ukrainian State University out of town, because they decided to lodge it in the premises of the former Artillery School on the outskirts of Kiev. D. Doroshenko, speaking on behalf of the Hetman's Government, explained that it was decided to put the Ukrainian State University there because the building was spacious. There were five large and about fifteen smaller buildings with 25 desiatinas of land attached to them where room could be found for all the Colleges, for a Botanical Garden, and for the Electrical station. There were in fact sufficient grounds for a whole University town, explained Doroshenko. The only inconvenience was that the premises were outside Kiev. But this was simplified by the fact that the location was connected with the town by tram services.<sup>22</sup>

The Ukrainian State University in Kiev was to consist of four faculties: History and Philology; Physics and Mathematics; Law and Medicine. On October 6th its ceremonial inauguration took place.<sup>23</sup> The impression which that inauguration made upon foreigners is interesting and significant. Representatives of Germany, Austria-

<sup>18</sup>) *Ib.* pp. 13-14.

<sup>19</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

<sup>20</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 348.

<sup>21</sup>) *Ib.* pp. 349-351.

Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Finland and other countries were present. In his account of this ceremony the Austro-Hungarian military attaché wrote: "Yesterday I was presented at the inauguration of the First Ukrainian University. Other Ukrainian Universities are to open in Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Kamianets'-Podil's'k, and Odessa.<sup>24</sup> It was the first time", continued the attache, "that I saw a really cordial and large national meeting. The population of Kiev did not take part in the celebration, as it would have done in other countries . . . Instead the class of people, whom I would call poor intelligentsia, demonstrated its allegiance to the Ukrainian nation. Because these circles of the population, in countries where the political struggle is fierce, appear to be important, and are the principal fighters for the national idea, yesterday's celebration had a special significance in the development of the Ukrainian State." The attaché continued: "... The Hetman was met cordially by all. The gap between him and the democratic parties, as we were able to see, narrowed. The strongest acclamation was given to the leader of the National-Democratic Union, Volodymyr Vynnychenko. He had been the Minister-President of the young Ukraine from September of 1917 till the end of that year . . . He gave the impression of being an intelligent and energetic person.

"There were many speeches . . . A speech was also delivered by the rector of the Russian sister-University in Kiev. That means that national tolerance is still the programme of the Ukrainian National-Democrats . . . It seems that the national question has lost its original radical-social acuteness. There parties became good friends with the conservative Hetman and started to collaborate with him. If events would proceed like this for a few more years, we would really read in books of European geography about a Ukrainian State."<sup>25</sup>

The attaché's impression of the apparent improvement in the relations between the Hetman and the Ukrainian democratic circles of the population proved to be incorrect. At that time the democratic circles were trying to find an ally in the Bolsheviks against the Hetman, and V. Vynnychenko was carrying on secret negotiations with the Bolshevik delegation in Kiev.

On August 17th, 1918, on the same day when the law about the Kiev State University was passed by the Council of Ministers, the law concerning the opening of the Ukrainian State University in Kamianets'-Podil's'k was passed also. Prof. I. Ohienko was appointed Rector. On October 22nd an inauguration meeting was held in

<sup>22</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 351.

<sup>23</sup>) For the detailed description of that ceremony see D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 354-57.

<sup>24</sup>) It seemed that the Military Attaché misunderstood the information given to him. A Ukrainian University was planned to be opened in Kam'ianets'-Podil's'kyi only.



Kamianets'-Podil's'k. The atmosphere of that meeting was similar to that in Kiev. Although the Hetman himself was not present he sent his representative, General Libov. Almost at once more than 1,000 students were registered in the Kamianets'-Podil's'k University.

Celebrations were held also in Poltava where on October 6th a Ukrainian department of History and Philology was opened. It was organized by the local "Prosvita" educational association with the Zemstvo's help.

In order to train Ukrainian research workers the Government allocated thirty grants worth 150,000 karbs. for young scholars who would go in for higher specialization.

In addition to the new Ukrainian Universities the Government decided to create departments of Ukrainian language, Literature and Regional Studies in the already existing Russian Universities. On July 31st, 1918 the Council of Ministers issued an order for opening four new departments — Ukrainian Language, Literature, History and Law — at the Russian Universities in Kiev, Kharkiv, and Odessa. By the same order departments of Ukrainian History and Philology Ukrainian Language and Literature were to be created at the Nizher Institute and the private University of Katerynoslav.<sup>25</sup>

As mentioned above, in the spring of 1918 preparations for the organization of the Highest National scholarly institution, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, began. During one of the meetings of the Organizing Commission, Prof. Vernads'kyi, the chairman, declared that the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, by its staff and organization, must satisfy the requirements of the World Union of Academies. Its work, continued Prof. Vernads'kyi: "... besides its world importance has also to satisfy the important demands of the National State and local life."<sup>27</sup> The Organizing Commission worked from July 9th till September 17th and produced a draft law approved by the Council of Ministers and by the Hetman.

According to its statute the Academy was to have three sections:

1. History and Philology, including Ukrainian literature as one branch;
2. Physics and Mathematics, including all the natural sciences;
3. Social Science, including law and economics.

The first four academicians for each section were to be appointed by the Hetman and the others were to be elected. The Academy's first president was to be appointed by the Hetman too. The Academy was to be in charge of such institutions as the National Library, the

<sup>25</sup>) Despatch of the General Spanoki of October 7th, 1918 No. 1614 for the K. and K. Armeoberkomando. See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

<sup>26</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 359.



Astronomical Observatory, the Chemical Laboratory, the Physical Institute, the National Zoological Garden, the National Botanical Garden and others. Besides, many permanent commissions were to be organized. The Academy was to have its own Press. According to paragraph 62 of the Academy's statute one could be elected a member of the Academy of Sciences if one was "... a citizen of Ukraine well known for his research work." Foreigners were also eligible but on special conditions.<sup>28</sup> In addition to salaries, the Academy was granted 1,500,000 karbs. per year for expenditure on national scientific enterprises, such as expeditions, special research, publications and so on.

At the Hetman's initiative, in June of 1918 a special department for Arts and National Culture was created at the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry then was renamed "The Ministry of Public Education and Arts." The Arts branch was autonomous and had its own budget, and its chief was one of the Minister's deputies. On July 15th P. I. Doroshenko, the Hetman's old teacher who coached him in Ukrainian history, was appointed to that post. Archives and libraries, with V. L. Modzalevskiy as Chief Librarian, were also placed under the care of the Ministry of Education. A plan was worked out for the formation of a Ukrainian National Library, a National Picture Gallery, National Archives, Ukrainian State Drama Theatre and a Ukrainian opera-house.

On August 2nd, 1918, a law was passed opening the Ukrainian National Library fund, and the Government assigned 500,000 karbs. for the Library's first expenditures. The Library began its work on August 3rd, 1918.<sup>29</sup>

Plans were made for the organization of a National Picture Gallery and a Ukrainian Historical Museum in Kiev. The department for the preservation of ancient monuments gave its aid to the already existing Ukrainian museums in the provinces and started to catalogue and to rescue some of the collections endangered by the unrest in the country. On July 16th the Council of Ministers passed a resolution assigning this department 22,825 karbs. for the task of completing the excavations at the Zarubs'kyi Monastery near Trakhtemyriv.<sup>30</sup>

(To be continued.)

27) V. Bidnov, "First two academic years in the Kam'ianets-Podil's'k University". (In Ukrainian), *Literaturno-naukovyi visnyk*, 1928, book II, pp. 233-234.

28) For the statute of the Academy, see: D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, 362-364.

29) Bykovs'kyi, L., *Natsional'na Biblioteka Ukraïns'koï Derzhavy*. (The National Library of the Ukrainian State), Berlin, 1922, p. 6.

30) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp.

## THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE SECRETARIAT OF WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS

The Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians held its annual plenary session December 20-22, 1968, in Toronto, Canada. Reports of several working committees and officers were heard and approved by all delegates of member-organizations.

Those in attendance were as follows:

From Canada — His Grace Metropolitan Maxim Hermaniuk, Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada; Very Rev. Dr. Basil Kushnir, President; Mykola Plawiuk, Secretary-General; John H. Syrnick; Ivan Iwanchuk; Pastor John Jacenty; Dr. M. Marunchak; Mrs. O. Zalizniak; Dr. B. H. Bilash; Dr. M. Sosnowsky; Mrs. C. Paliw; Professor Z. Zeleny; Miss Olga Danyliak;

From the United States — His Grace Archbishop Mstyslaw Skrypnyk, Ukrainian Orthodox Church of the United States; Joseph Lesawyer; Ignatius Bilinsky; Dr. M. Stachiv; Dr. B. T. Hnatiuk; Julian Reway; Dr. B. Futey; Dr. V. Galan;

From Europe — Dr. S. M. Fostun;

From Argentina — Dr. B. Iwanytzky.

Ukrainian organizations in Australia were represented by proxy.

Towards the end of the three-day deliberations the Conference adopted a set of resolutions in relation to present-day problems of utmost importance to Ukrainian settlements and communities throughout the world.

The Conference adopted also the following statement on the observance of human rights in countries under Soviet Russian domination and an

appeal to the freedom-loving people and nations.

### I. The observance of human rights

1) The year 1968 which was designated by the United Nations as the International Human Rights Year brought to the forefront the problems of observance of human rights in various countries throughout the world.

2) The World Congress of Free Ukrainians paid special attention to all aspects of human rights, especially in view of the fact that the international community refused to consider the flagrant violations of human rights in the Soviet Union and countries under Moscow's domination.

3) All responsible people of the civilized world in observing the International Human Rights Year, should take notice of those areas and countries of the world where these rights are violated or where they are non-existent.

4) Today, when cultured nations are following a normal course of all-encompassing development and growth, the colonial policy of the Soviet Union not only remains unchanged, but, quite to the contrary, gathers momentum by choosing ever new and devious ways of arresting any normal political, religious, social, economic and cultural development of nations which it has enslaved. The old, Stalinist methods of administrative pressure, blanket censorship and even naked terror are on their way back in the Soviet Union. The

revival of MVD, secret political police, the dreaded institution which in the past was responsible for the direct terror and brutal repression of human rights — presents a threat to the preservation of a number of nations within the Soviet Union.

## II. Appeal to the freedom-loving peoples and nations

1) The Secretariat of the World Congress of Free Ukrainian wishes to bring once again to the attention of the international community the arrests, secret trials, and convictions to long-term imprisonment and forced labour of hundreds and thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals and of intellectuals of other enslaved nations in the USSR. There are indications that further arrests of writers and anyone else who dares protest are on the cards.

2) The Secretariat discussed at length the situation in the countries under Moscow's domination and condemned the stamping out of human freedoms in Czecho-Slovakia whose sovereignty was trampled down by

the armed forces of the Soviet Bloc and whose shortlived freedom was thus halted. The international community and the United Nations in particular should provide the Czech and Slovak nations with all the necessary assistance in their resistance against the Russian oppressors.

3) In presenting these abuses of human dignity and human rights, the Secretariat of World Congress of Free Ukrainians appeals to the conscience of the international community, to its academic, cultural and political circles, to its labour unions, churches and church organizations, to its youth associations — to condemn the criminal policies imposed on the nations enslaved by Russian communism and imperialism.

4) The Secretariat of World Congress of Free Ukrainians appeals to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to initiate a full-scale investigation of the above specified violations of human rights in the Soviet Union, to inform the international community about the real, and not theoretical, status of human rights in the Soviet Union and to render a just verdict.

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## INDICTMENT OF RUSSIAN COMMUNIST REGIME

American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Washington Metropolitan Chapter and Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine, Washington, D.C., Branch 17, Post Office Box 4212, Washington, D.C. submitted to The Court of World Public Opinion, Suite A, 1221 Massachusetts Ave. N. W., Washington, D.C. a memorandum accusing the Russian Communist Party and equally the Russian Communist Government of the following crimes against the Ukrainian people:

ARMED AGGRESSION;

POLITICAL SUBJUGATION AND PERSECUTION

The invasion and occupation of the Ukrainian National Republic by Russian Communist forces in 1918-20; the invasion and occupation of Ukraine in the

Second War in 1939-45; the imposition by force of arms of a puppet Communist Government upon the people of Ukraine; the destruction of democratic political and social forces in Ukraine by forcibly imposing an alien, totalitarian, one party system;

#### RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION

The destruction of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic Churches; the death, through brutality, imprisonment or execution, of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox hierarchy and clergy; the closing of substantially all churches in Ukraine; the closing of all Ukrainian Seminaries and religious institutions, schools, and publications;

#### GENOCIDE

Creating a famine in 1932-33 to subdue the entire Ukrainian nation and to force collectivization on the Ukrainian farmers resulting in the deaths by starvation of seven million Ukrainians; the executions of hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians for political dissent by the State Security Police; the deportation of millions of Ukrainians to Asia; the murder of 12,000 Ukrainians in Vynnytsia by NKVD; executions, imprisonment and the deportation of members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU), the Association of Ukrainian Youth (SUM), the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN);

#### POLITICAL MURDERS

Symon Petlura, head of the Ukrainian government-in-exile on May 25, 1926 in Paris, France; Col. Evhen Konovalts, head of the OUN, assassinated on May 23, 1938 in Rotterdam, Holland; Dr. Lev R. Rebet, a Ukrainian nationalist writer, assassinated on October 12, 1957 in Munich, Germany; and Stepan Bandera, head of the OUN, assassinated on October 15, 1959 in Munich, Germany;

#### CULTURAL PERSECUTION AND RUSSIFICATION

The waging of a relentless war against Ukrainian cultural and social institutions; the downgrading of the Ukrainian language; denial of the enjoyment of Ukrainian cultural life to 8 million Ukrainians residing in the Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic and other parts of the USSR; conducting a population policy detrimental to the Ukrainians; conducting purges against Ukrainian intellectuals resulting in the death of thousands of Ukrainian scientists, writers, poets, and educators; the deliberate destruction of Ukrainian historical documents and records, archival treasures and historical and ancient monuments;

#### ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION;

#### SECRET TRIALS IN 1965-67.

The memorandum was signed by Col. William Ryback, Acting Chairman, American Friends of ABN, Washington Chapter and Volodymyr Y. Mayewsky, Chairman, Organization for the Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine Inc. Washington, D.C., Branch 17.

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## Book Review

*EDUCATION IN THE SOVIET UKRAINE*, by John Kolasky. A Study in Discrimination and Russification; *PETER MARTIN ASSOCIATES, LTD.*, 17 Inkerman Street, Toronto, Ont., Canada. \$5.00 clothbound; \$2.50 paperback.

Here, for the first time, is a close and damning analysis of Russian cultural and ethnic imperialism within the Soviet Union. John Kolasky's superbly documented indictment gives the lie to Soviet claims about the generosity of Russian treatment of minority cultures within the Soviet Union, and undermines the USSR's stance as the protector of minority nationalist rights the world over.

"Education in the Soviet Ukraine" is essential reading for educators, students of the Soviet Union and communism, and everyone interested in the rights of ethnic and linguistic minorities in every land.

Carefully researched, meticulously accurate and completely documented, John Kolasky's powerful study demonstrates that the historic drives of Russian Imperialism — a force in world history since the days of Ivan the Terrible — continue to function in spite of the public pronouncements of Soviet functionaries. The princes of Muscovy over the centuries have always been concerned with the extension of Russian language, culture and control westward into Europe and eastward into farthest Asia. From Ivan to Brezhnev, the theme is constant.

Lenin spoke of the importance of preserving the rights and languages of the nationalities and minority groups within the Soviet Union. Yet, as John Kolasky demonstrates, Soviet officials, while still paying lip-service to Lenin's vision, have consistently and ruthlessly eroded the rights of all but Russians, in a determined effort to homogenize the population of the

Mr. Kolasky's primary interest, and the major source of his documentation, is education in the Ukrainian Soviet

Socialist Republic. He demonstrates, in a masterful combination of detective work, academic research and personal observation, that the Russians are systematically and deliberately attempting to eradicate the Ukrainian language and culture. Through statistical analysis, actual documents, interviews, personal experience and official statements, Mr. Kolasky shows that native Russians have come to dominate and control the educational system of Ukraine, that deliberate policies discourage the use of the Ukrainian language in schools and institutions of higher learning, that Ukrainians find the road to personal and professional advancement barred to them unless they foreswear their native language and culture and adopt those of their Russian masters.

The evidence has always been there for anyone to find. But westerners generally and apologists for the Soviet Union in particular have tended to attempt official Soviet statements on the treatment of minorities within the USSR, to ignore the facts. Now John Kolasky has brought the facts to the fore in a damning indictment which, inevitably, must weaken the claim of the Soviets to speak for the rights of the people of the imperium.

John Kolasky was born in the silver-mining town of Cobalt, Ontario, of Ukrainian-born parents. He left home at the age of 15 to seek work in the depths of the Depression. Finding only occasional employment, he was swept up in the wave of radicalism of the unemployed and became a Marxist and a fervent supporter of the Soviet system. When the depression ended he found steady work in the

building trades and was able to finish his secondary education. Subsequently, still supporting himself, he went on to earn his B.A. at the University of Saskatchewan, M.A. in History from the University of Toronto, and B. Ped. from the University of Manitoba. He then taught high school in Transcona

and Rossburn in Manitoba, Barrie and Etobicoke in Ontario. In 1963 he left Canada to study in Kiev in the Ukrainian SSR. "Education in the Soviet Ukraine" arises from his two year in Kiev. Mr. Kolasky, a bachelor, now lives in Toronto.

*Victor Meier: FAÇADE AND REALITY IN THE SOVIET UNION*, Published by the Neue Zürcher Zeitung, Zurich, 1965, 190 pages.

Few Western authors have written so objectively on the policy of persecution and de-nationalization in the so-called Soviet Union as the author of the above-mentioned work. Meier studied the Russian-occupied national states over an extended period of time; moreover his study is enhanced by personal observations made during several visits to the Soviet Union. Since the author is very familiar with relations between nations within the USSR, his observations and conclusions as to the national policy of Red Russians is very valuable to the Western reader. On pages 105-138, he gives us a detailed description of subjugated Ukraine.

Crossing the Russian-Ukrainian ethnographic boundary a foreigner is pleasantly surprised by the change of scenery between Russia and Ukraine: instead of old, wooden, weather-beaten houses, clean, white-washed stone buildings suddenly appear before his eyes. The woods suddenly disappear and in their place small wooden fences are seen, which are intended to give a measure of protection against the mild winds which sweep across the Ukrainian steppes. The peasant women wear whitekerchiefs; and the loudspeakers, instead of the Russian *vnimanie*, open with Ukrainian *uvaha* (attention) (p. 106). On the near side of the Dnipro we see the symbol of Kyiv, the great belfry of the Lavra and the gilded domes of the Kyiv churches.

*The Breath of the West*

Kyiv has 1,300,000 inhabitants. Its vegetation is exceptional. Parks are everywhere. Kyiv's cleanliness is much greater than Moscow's. During the

day a foreign tourist will not notice anything exceptional in Kyiv, but in the evening he will feel Western influence. The girls, who stroll in great numbers along Kyiv's main Khreshchatyk, are, for Soviet conditions, very nicely dressed. Along Khreshchatyk and its side streets many West European-like cafés and ice-cream parlours have been built. It is interesting to note that Polish newspapers interest the Kyiv residents more than the Russian newspapers (p. 107). There are long lines before the ice-cream stands. Also many young people can be found in dance halls. Twist is very popular in Kyiv.

Kyiv can be proud of its rich historical heritage. During the 10-13th century the old Rus' reached from the Black to the Baltic Sea. In 988 Volodymyr the Great introduced Christianity to Ukraine. Yaroslav the Wise tried to build up Kyiv. The churches could have given Kyiv the character of the "third Rome", long before Moscow started to rule there. In Kyiv the influence of Byzantium is noticed. This, however, cannot be said of Moscow. The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv is in no way second to St. Sophia in Constantinople.

On p. 109 Mr. Meier describes the Kyiv Pecherska Lavra and at the same time emphasizes that the Assumption Cathedral was blown up by the Russians — not by the Germans. The gilded domes of the Lavra remind us of Athos. There are no longer monks at the Lavra; the monastery presently serves as a state museum.

Kyiv supposedly should be the capital of Ukraine, but it cannot be said that Kyiv is a truly Ukrainian city (p. 111).

While visiting Zaporizhia, the seat of the Zaporozhian Cossacks during the 16-17th century, Meier did not hear anything about these courageous Ukrainian soldiers from the lips of the Intourist guides. On the other hand statues of Lenin and other Russian monuments are visible everywhere. However, legends about Zaporozhians are common, without mentioning the famous picture of Repin (showing Zaporozhians writing a letter to the Sultan). The Soviet government really does not know how to deal with the Cossack question.

The city of Zaporizhia itself (appx. 500,000 inhabitants) is almost the "Wild West." Young men have dishevelled hair; the streets are full of drunks. Because the price of liquor has gone up, they drink a mixture of beer and cologne. Under these conditions the police has its hands full and cannot cope with the situation. Auxiliary policemen are afraid to walk the streets alone, only in groups of 3 or 4. The author did not see happy faces at Zaporizhia, with the exception of children. The feeling persists that a fight can start any moment, anywhere. The prices are high, consumer goods are scarce. Sometimes it is necessary to wait for meat days. Everywhere lines are to be found.

In the city of Donetsk (formerly Stalino) the workers live relatively better. There is also more peace and quiet.

70 kilometres south of Zaporizhia Meier visited a model collective farm. Fertile soil is everywhere: there is almost no end to the corn and sunflower fields. There are also Greeks, and recently there were some Germans and other foreigners. Strict discipline in work is evident: he who does not "perform his norm" is ducked in pay 30%. At the same time premiums are given for superior performance. At times they equal double pay. The reimbursement is now in currency instead of former work-days. A combination of money

and food-grants is also practised. Besides the collectives there are also private allotments of land. The produce from private production is sold freely; however prices here are much higher. Attempts have been made at cooperative economy — this in the first place relates to cooperative buying. However, the prices here are about double those in government undertakings. This is a case of what we could call "material interest", which, of course, gives rise to higher prosperity, if we can talk about that at all. (p. 129)

#### *Ukrainians and Russians*

On p. 131 the author emphasizes that almost all the guides at Intourist are Russians and not Ukrainians. Thus, it can be easily imagined how these Russian guides explain the historical sites of various Ukrainian cities.

For instance, an Intourist guide explained that in the Middle Ages Russians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians were one people. But under Polish-Lithuanian domination Ukrainians were separated from their brothers and began to live another life and to develop independently. In other words (say the Swiss ironically) it can be said that the Ukrainian people are the creation of Polish feudalism. In addition the author logically concludes that in this way it is easy to portray the suppression of the entire Ukrainian national movement, which is still unchanged from the tsarist times and still continues. Therefore, it is necessary to turn back the "negative" historical process. (p. 132)

Or another similar example which the author cites on that same page. In Kyiv we were told that in the Pereyaslav Treaty of 1654 the Ukrainian people pledged eternal loyalty to the tsar. This is opposed by the Ukrainians who prove that it was a treaty concluded between two equals.

Meier observed that national consciousness in Ukraine is not the same everywhere. Various Ukrainian provinces do not always reveal the same level of national consciousness. When we told the Ukrainians in Kyiv that their capital has more of a South-



Russian character than Ukrainian, and then added somewhat provocatively that Ukrainian consciousness is becoming weaker, at first we met with deep silence of dissatisfaction. After this these same Ukrainians asked us: "Have you been in Western Ukraine yet?" These are the Ukrainian territories which before World War I belonged to Austria-Hungary and later mostly to Poland and partly to Czecho-Slovakia. There the Ukrainian national idea was always very strong; opposition to the Polish ruling class was especially strong. (p. 133) And when the Red-Russians occupied these territories, the major force of Ukrainian nationalism was turned against Russia. We believe that everyone has heard of a movement headed by Bandera.

#### *The Infiltration of Russian Element*

Nevertheless, in Kyiv itself the Ukrainian question is very acute. Many Ukrainians are opposed to the cold Russification of their capital, which is clearly manifested in the language sector. (p. 134) Officially it is stated that Russians make up only 15% of the population in Kyiv, but on the basis of private sources they constitute one third or even half of the population. One third of all elementary schools are Russian. One Ukrainian student told us quite frankly and without any fear that Ukrainian nationalists, who are mercilessly persecuted as fascists and enemies of the people, did a lot during the German occupation to save the Ukrainian people and Ukrainian national treasures. Therefore, they should not have been liquidated or sent to Siberia.

#### *National Principle*

Formally, it can be stated that the national principle is respected. Signs all over are in Ukrainian. At the Kyiv

University the language of instruction is Ukrainian, and there are almost too many monuments of Shevchenko. Nevertheless the Ukrainian national question is always acute (p. 135). We had an opportunity to speak with one professor of history at the Kyiv University who in reality is a Ukrainian; at the height of Stalin's anti-national purges, he succeeded in getting into the department of history. When this professor began to explain to us that the Pereyaslav Treaty was an alliance of Ukrainian culture and state on equal rights with Russian and we asked him whether these equal rights were not later violated the professor began to waver in his replies. He said that during the Stalin era there was no real anti-Ukrainian purge, but more of a purge directed against individuals, most of whom were now rehabilitated. He concluded his unconvincing explanation with the assertion that here a certain correction of the specific Ukrainian thought about Ukraine's past was involved.

Meier stated that the further East he went the less Ukrainian independence spirit he encountered, even among the peasants among whom the Ukrainian element is nevertheless the strongest.

Officially in Zaporizhia, Don Basin and Kharkiv, 25% of the population are Russians; privately it is given as one third. In these regions the relations between Ukrainians and Russians are less strained. For these regions the name "Little Russia" would probably be more appropriate than Ukraine. Here the population is region conscious rather than national conscious. Kharkiv, for instance, leads its own separate life. Only Russian is heard on the streets of Kharkiv and therefore the street signs seem somewhat incongruous. The Jewish element predominates at the universities. There are supposedly 100,000 Jews in Kyiv itself. The economics of Ukraine are directed from Moscow instead of Kyiv. (p. 138)



HORIZONS, Ukrainian Students' Review, Vol. VII, No. 1 (10), 1966, New York — Urbana.

Students have always been that part of a nation that responds most sensitively to all phenomena of public and cultural life within the national community. This continues to be the case today also on all continents. It goes without saying that the academic youth of an enslaved people, such as the Ukrainians, respond, in light of their enslavement, that much more sensitively to all the needs and aspirations of their people. In fact, it is very often the case, that the academic youth of Ukraine has often been compelled and still is compelled to interfere with the cultural, and even the political, life of the nation, notwithstanding the fact that the first duty of the university student is the speedy completion of his studies. The first half of this century is marked by uninterrupted struggles on the part of the Ukrainian youth for the establishment of Ukrainian universities, first in Lviv (Galicia) and in Chernivtsi (in Bukovina), and later in emigration (after World War I and the unhappy end of the Ukrainian war of liberation from 1917-1923). Czecho-Slovakia was willing to set up a number of Ukrainian universities with thousands of Ukrainian students. In Prague: the Ukrainian Free University, the Pedagogical Drahomaniv Institute, the Ukrainian Academy of Fine Arts and the Ukrainian Agricultural Academy in Podiebrady, near Prague, institutions of learning which were on a high academic level.

No less patriotic, eager to learn and active are those Ukrainian students who emigrated after World War II or were born in exile. The strongest and most numerous group are undoubtedly the Ukrainian students in the United States who are organized in the student association SUSTA. SUSTA has published a periodical, HORIZONS, for seven continuous years. Apart from matters concerning the Ukrainian students in the United States (as well as abroad), one finds in this review valuable contributions

to the history of East Europe and of Ukraine. In these articles the Western powers are reproached for having betrayed the most vital interests of these people — when it was a question of existence of non-existence for many East European nations — which betrayal led to the enslavement of these nations by Communist Russia. Especially worthy of note is the article by George Kulchycky, entitled "The Foreign Policy of Presidents Wilson and Coolidge in Eastern Europe". Mr. Omelchenko writes on the Ukrainian scholarship in exile, with particular reference to the scholarly work of the Free Ukrainian University in Munich — the work of Prof. C. Polonska-Vasylenko.

The English translations of the works of the greatest West Ukrainian poet, Ivan Franko, are of great value. We should like to cite, for instance, the prologue from "Moses," "Withered Leaves", "Thine Eyes", "Destiny" and "Noon". This is especially worthy of note in view of the fact that the entire Ukrainian public (both behind the Iron Curtain and in the diaspora), as well as the non-Ukrainian cultural world, commemorated the 50th anniversary of the great Ukrainian poet's death in March, 1966. In an article, entitled "Ukrainian Art in the Mid-West", Miss Tania Wiwcharenko writes on Ukrainian art.

Bohdan Saciuk's article on SUSTA's participation in the XVIII USNSA Congress is very informative. SUSTA (Federation of Ukrainian Student Organizations of America) successfully participated in the XVIII Congress of USNSA (United States National Student Association) in Madison, Wisconsin from Aug. 21 — Sept. 2nd, 1965. In this article, we read that "a success to come out of the Congress — besides the participation of the delegates of SUSTA in the Commissions of the Congress — consisted in beginning or tightening an already existing organizational intercommunication between SUSTA and other foreign student organizations. These

student organizations were very glad that such contact was made and were eager for more information about the Ukrainian student movement in the US, and about Ukraine. Of the organizations which pledged to continue communications with SUSTA were the Confederation of Mexican Students, National Association of Australian University Students, Association of Ethiopian Students, Association of German Students, National Council of the Students of India, and the Federation of the University Students of Costa Rica.

No less interesting is the Student Chronicle, which is richly illustrated.

Finally, we find well thought-out critical book reviews in the Review.

The activity of SUSTA to date is reminiscent of the successful activities of the powerful Central Union of Ukrainian Students (CESUS) (1921-1939), which was a member of the International Confederation of Students and which participated in the annual congresses of this student world organization in Prague, Budapest, Copenhagen, Paris, London and Warsaw.

SUSTA's publication of *Horizons* is most welcome, and we send our best wishes that it may continue to appear in print.

W. Kapotivskyj

M. I. Mandryka; VIK PETLIURY, Trident Press Ltd., Winnipeg, 1966, 47 pages, \$ 1.50.

*Vik Petliury*, a poem, describes the first quarter of the 20th century in Ukrainian history. The historical material, convincing and realistic, is a framework inside which Mandryka set his poem. The poem is essentially composed of three elements: personal expressions of the poet and his view of the revolution of 1917-1920, Petliura's historic expressions which Mandryka set in poetic form and the general material which can be found in any history of this period.

Symon Petliura, a national hero, grows in this poem politically and spiritually, making use of reason to eliminate human vices. His political foes are sometimes satirized in order to diminish their stature and to undermine their position. However, it is not a political satire but rather a skilful reflection of the author's attitude to those who were bringing into Ukraine hatred, misery, cruelty, and malice. The author's love is directed not only towards his hero and his people but towards all who respect the Ukraine's natural aspiration for freedom and independence.

Mandryka's Petliura is not an ideal figure, but he has all the characteristics of a man destined to govern his nation in the crucial years of war and revolution. The poem, on the whole, is an admirable thing which might heal

the attitude toward Petliura of those who tried to hate him and make him responsible for the things which he never attempted and never would permit to be carried out in Ukraine under his direction. This understanding was already prevailing in 1927, one year after the tragic death of Petliura and was expressed in a speech by Attorney General Raynoud in the Paris Court of Jurors. Raynoud then said: "Messieurs les jurés, ma conclusion, c'est de vous dire: Jamais Petlura ne fut l'ennemi des israélites. Jamais il ne fut partisan de pogromes. Il fut au contraire philosémite. Cette conviction, Messieurs, je tire, d'abord, de l'examen des actes de Petlura, des hommages, ensuite, qui lui furent rendus par ses collaborateurs par ses compatriotes, et quelquefois par des israélites... En termes d'une rare élévation, Petlura a toujours flétri et interdit les pogromes, sous les sanctions les plus sévères. Dans un langage élevé et, parfois, d'inspiration napoléonienne, il évoque le souvenir des souffrances communes aux Juifs et aux Ukrainiens, et il prêche la fraternité de ces deux peuples"... (*Revue des Grands Procès Contemporains*, Paris, 1929).

*Vik Petliury* is composed of thirty-six short poems with individual titles,

and an epilogue. The importance of these poems lies in the fact that they recreate the past by making it to be, not a record of dry facts, but a sincere poetical portrayal covering a wide range of action and concerned with national rather than with social interests. Mandryka writes:

Vin peršym uvijšov pobidno v Kyjiv,  
Do Sofiji svjatoji, jak Bohdan,  
Koly prohnay toj ljac'kyx lyxodijiv  
Z zemel' vkrajins'kyx poza ričku Sjan.  
"Uhoda v Beresti", p. 15

Each poem presents Mandryka's mature thought and experience. He is not disillusioned despite the long exile, but he is manly and inspiring. He speaks in figures and images and the music of his verses reflects his poetical growth. In each poem he is governed by ideal rather than by practical interests. His poetic and philosophical reasoning prove that he has studied history and searched for justice. His Petliura is a type of a hero whose supreme objective was

not a temporary success, but a justice between the nations which would bring about peace and agreement. But Petliura did not achieve this justice, since his untimely death from a hand of a murderer terminated his aspirations.

Being deeply involved in historical truthfulness and philosophical reasoning, Mandryka has not provided for his work a suitable poetical background for the play of human emotions. Therefore most of the short poems have become too intellectual, some even too prosaic. The poet has tried forcibly to use precision in polishing his poetical lines which in some instances deprived them of feeling.

But despite these shortcomings Mandryka has proved to be versatile, original, and a firm believer in the principle of justice.

W. T. Zyla

Texas Technological College  
Lubbock, Texas.

## PROMISE AND REALITY

50 Years of Soviet-Russian "Achievements"  
An Indictment of Russian Communism

by SUZANNE LABIN

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*The*  
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REVIEW**



**II**

**1969**

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## 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.

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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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Vol. XVI No. 2

Summer 1969

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**A Quarterly Magazine**

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Price: 7s 6d a single copy	
Annual Subscription: £1.10.0	\$6.00
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**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.**



## REUNIFICATION OF UKRAINE

The Universal of the government of the Ukrainian National Republic of January 22, 1919 declared: "... From now on all Ukrainian territories which have been separated for centuries, West Ukraine (Galicia, Bukovina, and Carpatho-Ukraine) and the Dniπρο-Ukraine are being united into one country. The dream of centuries, for which Ukraine's best sons lived and died has become reality. From now on there is only one independent Ukrainian National Republic."

This reunification did not come about in "peace and freedom", since the First World War and the liberation revolutions of the people subjugated in the Russian empire preceded it. One tends to look at the March revolution in Tsarist Russia as a social revolution since it was followed by the Bolshevik November revolution in 1917 which established Communism. This revolution covered the national liberation revolutions of the non-Russian peoples with Marxist slogans and phrases. The world watched with interest the establishment of Communism, which until then had only been a theory, in a state which did not fulfil the preconditions for it. According to Marx only a highly industrialized state — which Russia had not been at that time — is suited for Communism. In the blast of Bolshevik propaganda the world has failed to see almost completely the national liberation struggle of the non-Russian peoples.

It is a historical fact that only the Russian people desired a social revolution, while all the other non-Russian peoples — first of all the Ukrainians — a national liberation revolution which also contained social elements.

But from the beginning all Russian central governments opposed any form of self-determination of these peoples. The Ukrainian Central Rada partly succeeded in carrying its point with the governments of the constitutional Democrats and later on with the SRs and the Mensheviks, but when in November 1917 the Bolsheviks seized power, Lenin put an ultimatum before the government of Ukraine to transfer all power to the Soviets. When the Ukrainian government rejected this demand Moscow began the war against Ukraine.

Thereupon on January 22, 1918, exactly one year before the Universal of re-unification, the Ukrainian Central Council declared complete independence of Ukraine and on February 9, 1918 the peace treaty with the Central Powers in Brest-Litovsk was signed. Soviet Russia had also by the peace treaty with the Central Powers of March 3, 1918 recognized Ukraine as an independent state but a treaty with Russia was seldom worth more than the paper on which it was written.

The further development of the events is well known; Russia reconquered Ukraine and suppresses her to this day.

But Moscow did not succeed in stopping the Ukrainian liberation movement which lasts until today. The countless revolts after the two world wars, battles of underground army (UPA) until 1950, mass-deportations, mock and secret trials against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and underground struggle, demonstrations, revolts of prisoners of concentration camps, and passive resistance have not ended.

In recent times the arrests and convictions of Ukrainian intellectuals have become widely known. The names of Ukrainian writers, like Vyacheslav Chornovil, Sviatoslav Karavanskyi and others have become symbols of passive resistance of the Ukrainians against Russification. Only in September 1965 c. 30 Ukrainian intellectuals, artists, poets, scientists have been arrested and sentenced to long years of imprisonment. The wave of persecution by the Great-Russian chauvinism already encompasses all fields of Ukrainian national life. In the West extensive documentation exists on this topic. Sentences up to 15 years of concentration camp or even death are no rarity, but one hears seldom of it, since the trials are being held secretly.

On the 50th anniversary of the reunification of Ukraine, Russia and the Free World have to be aware of the fact that the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union, especially the Ukrainians, struggle towards one aim only: to achieve again the reunification and independence, which 50 years ago was brutally destroyed by Soviet Russian imperialism.

## THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF O.U.N.

This year Ukrainian patriots are celebrating the birth 40 years ago, of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the vanguard of the Ukrainian people in the long and hard fight for their freedom and national independence which is still going on.

Hardly any modern nation has had to fight against such tremendous odds for its very existence and survival. Though the right to self-determination has become accepted throughout the world, the more than 40-million strong European Ukrainian nation has been denied it. The beautiful and rich Ukrainian land with its extraordinary natural resources, industrial and agricultural potential, hard-working people, is coveted by near and far neighbours of Ukraine, and their imperialist greed, on more than one occasion has made of them an unholy

alliance which by diplomatic swindle and violence managed to keep Ukraine in bondage of her enemies.

The long and heroic fight of revolutionary Ukraine for national independence and social justice in the years 1917-1920 ended in defeat under the assault from several hostile powers, the chief of which was Communist Russia which continued tsarist imperialist policies in new, more perfidious forms. Ukraine lay divided between four neighbouring States, above all Russia and Poland. No power in the world gave even a thought to the tragedy of the Ukrainian nation, to all the persecutions, murders and tortures which she was suffering at the hands of her bitter enemies. Above all Communist Russia sapped all the vital forces of Ukraine to build herself up as the second-largest world power.

In such circumstances the only way left to Ukrainian patriots was to carry on the struggle for freedom and independence of Ukraine against powerful enemies by underground methods. Out of several illegal nationalist groups there was formed in 1929 at a Congress in Vienna, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which has since become the strongest Ukrainian political force.

Under its first leader, Colonel Evhen Konovalets, the O.U.N. rallied around itself the most patriotic Ukrainian youth, above all in Western Ukraine which was then under the Polish occupation. Its courageous actions against the oppressive policies of the foreign regimes and their representatives made it extremely popular among the masses of the Ukrainian people which have given it overwhelming support ever since. Moscow decided to check the growth of a powerful Ukrainian underground liberation movement, and so an assassin was sent to kill the O.U.N. leader. Evhen Konovalets was murdered in Rotterdam, Holland, by a bomb planted in a parcel, in May, 1938. His grave has become since a place of pilgrimage to all Ukrainians.

The Second World War offered a great opportunity and a difficult test for the O.U.N. Under a new dynamic leader, Stepan Bandera, the revolutionary O.U.N., had to work under totally different conditions. The fight was now on against the two most fearful totalitarian regimes the world has known — against Communist Russia and Nazi Germany at the same time. In defiance of both, the O.U.N. under Stepan Bandera proclaimed the restoration of Ukrainian independence in Lviv on June 30th, 1941, soon after the outbreak of Soviet-German war. Hitler refused to recognise an independent Ukraine and her provisional government under Premier Yaroslav Stetzko. Gestapo arrested Bandera, Stetzko and other leaders of OUN and shot many of its members. The OUN then organised armed resistance against Germany carried on by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army under the leadership of General Roman Shukhevych (alias Taras Chuprynka.) When German troops were pushed out of Ukraine by the Soviet



Russian army, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the O.U.N. continued the armed and political fight against the Russian occupation for many long years after the war. In the course of the fight an alliance with similar liberation movements of all the nations oppressed by imperialist Russia was formed at the initiative of O.U.N. The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) came into being in 1943 and is now developing its activities and contacts throughout the world. At the height of its fight the Ukrainian Insurgent Army numbered 200,000 soldiers and relied on mass popular support. In 1950 the Commander in Chief of the UPA and leader of OUN in Ukraine, General Shukhevych, was killed in battle with Russian MVD troops.

Although the OUN and UPA suffered terrible casualties and had to change its tactics from armed uprising to underground political propaganda and infiltration activities, the ideas of Ukrainian independence and of common fight of all the oppressed nations against Russian imperialism spread far and wide throughout the so-called Soviet Union. The only uprisings in terrible Russian concentration camps were organised by OUN members in alliance with representatives of the other oppressed nationalities. These uprisings, after the death of Stalin, shook the Soviet Russian prison of nations and forced Khrushchov to carry out a number of reforms to appease the population and to save the empire from collapse.

The new collective leadership in the Kremlin, under Brezhnev and Kosygin, is doing everything in its power to stem the growth of nationalism in Ukraine and other enslaved countries, and is resorting to Stalinist methods, but its efforts are doomed to failure. The ideas for which OUN has fought for 40 years, are ever living and gaining more and more followers in Ukraine and other countries enslaved by Russia. The main idea is a joint revolutionary fight against Moscow's imperialism, the dissolution of the Russian empire and the restoration of full national independence of all the enslaved peoples. This goal is not only just, it is the only practical and wise policy for the West at the present time, because it may save the world from a nuclear clash between Russia and the West, which is bound to come if Russia continues to grow in strength. Nationalism of the peoples enslaved in the USSR, headed by Ukraine, with support of the West can defeat Russia. Moscow knows it and therefore the Russians sent an assassin who murdered the OUN leader, Stepan Bandera in Munich in 1959. But this blow did not break the OUN. Under its new leader Yaroslav Stetsko, the OUN continues its fight and is fully confident of final triumph of Ukraine over all her enemies who are also enemies of the free world.

On the occasion of its 40th anniversary the Supreme Executive of the OUN has issued an Appeal to the Ukrainian People, the main passages of which are quoted below:

## O.U.N. APPEAL TO THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

"The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists has grown on the basis of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian Nation in 1917-1921 for its sovereignty and independence, on the traditions of the Ukrainian underground and insurrectionist organisations of the 1920s, such as the Central Insurgent Committee, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, and above all the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO), whose founder was Colonel Evhen Konovalts and who later united various nationalist formations into the single Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1929.

Ideological justification for the struggle of the OUN gave Dmytro Dontsov, the most eminent theoretician of modern Ukrainian nationalism and contemporary political thinker of Ukraine.

The OUN began a new stage in the revolutionary liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation. It placed the main emphasis on developing a mass movement, and the Ukrainian Military Organisation became its fighting arm.

The OUN closely related its national and political struggle with the struggle for social justice, defending the Ukrainian people and all its strata from exploitation by foreign occupants.

The OUN has always been with the people and for the people, it is working amongst the people. It is a true popular organisation. An inexhaustible source of its strength is our people, the undaunted Prometheus, who gives strength to the OUN. The OUN has chosen the most difficult but, nonetheless, the most certain path to national liberation. It develops the main front of struggle against any immediate occupier of this or that part of the Ukrainian soil. The front against all the occupiers of Ukraine, reliance on Ukrainian people's own forces, and cooperation with only those external factors which recognise our conception of liberation and the future political order in the world, namely recognise the idea of the disintegration of the Russian empire and the restoration of a free, sovereign, united and independent Ukrainian State and other nation states of the peoples at present enslaved by Russia — this is the way pointer of the OUN.

The OUN has finally unmasked the unchangingly aggressive, insatiable Russia, her imperialism which hides under different masks, including communism or a veil of Russian pseudo-Christianity; it has channelled the forces of the Ukrainian nation against the age-old enemy of Ukraine — any Russian empire — be it white or red.

The OUN has stressed that communism and collectivisation are products of the Russian mentality of conquest, a form of subjugation of other nations by means of forcibly imposing the Russian way of life on other peoples. Against it the OUN has undertaken an

uncompromising fight in Ukraine with every available means. On the other hand, the OUN has given our nation the vision of a Ukrainian way of life in opposition to the Russian one, and for this ideal struggle against the occupiers is now going on.

In March this year we marked the 30th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of Carpathian Ukraine in 1939. The OUN was one of the creators of this Act which presented the first challenge to Hitlerite Germany in contemporary Europe.

In the struggle for the independence of Carpathian Ukraine the OUN suffered great sacrifices.

During the period of leadership of Stepan Bandera (1940-1959), the successor to E. Konovalets, the OUN made a great and historic decision, unprecedented in the history of other nations — to wage a struggle on two fronts: against the strongest powers of that day — Germany and Russia. At the initiative of OUN the restoration of the Ukrainian State was proclaimed on 30th June, 1941. The chairman and members of the Ukrainian State Government, the leader and members of the Supreme Executive of OUN, despite German terror and imprisonment in concentration camps, refused to revoke this historical act and to dissolve the Ukrainian State Government. The OUN then called into being the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which waged war on two fronts. Its strength grew to such an extent that in 1947 three powers — the USSR, Red Poland and Czecho-Slovakia — concluded a military pact against it. At the initiative of the OUN and UPA there took place in Ukraine the First Conference of the Peoples Enslaved by Russian Bolshevism. By now it has grown into the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) which has come forward with the only realistic conception of liberation by the peoples' own forces, in other words by means of a common front of all the enslaved nations, synchronised and coordinated national liberation revolutions and a world anti-Russian and anti-Communist front, as an auxiliary front aiding the liberation fight in our home countries.

The period 1943-1950 was marked by the heroic deeds of the great strategist of the Ukrainian national revolution, the C.-in-C. of the UPA, General Roman Shukhevych (non-de-guerre Taras Chuprynka).

By its anti-German struggle the OUN-UPA eliminated the danger of Sovietophile orientation among the people on the territories occupied by Germans and transformed the two-front war of Ukraine into a sovereign factor in world politics.

The simultaneous front against the two greatest tyrannies in the world during World War II has become a historical way pointer at that time for the Western allies, to create a united front of free and subjugated nations against both Berlin and Moscow, and at present —



against both Moscow and Peking, instead of entering into alliances with Muscovite tyrants against Peking tyrants.

The military conception of a war of insurrection, as an independent style of waging war, has been peculiar to Ukraine since the Cossack period (16th-18th C.), and has now been developed into a modern method of warfare in the thermonuclear and ideological age when ideas inspire broad masses and the armed people decides the fate of tyrannies which have at their disposal thermonuclear weapons, unsuitable however for combating uprisings by subjugated nations.

In 1946/47, representing at the time the revolutionary political sovereignty of our nation, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) which came into being at the initiative of the OUN, successfully organised a boycott of the "elections" to the Bolshevik "parliaments" by the population of Ukraine. The nation-wide uprising in the years 1943-53, i.e. over a period of ten years, organised by OUN-UPA, saved many Ukrainians, especially in West Ukraine, from mass deportations and physical annihilation, by which methods Moscow tried to extinguish the conflagration which began to envelop the Russian empire.

In the next period, 1953-1959, strikes and uprisings initiated by imprisoned members of the OUN-UPA fighters spread in the concentration camps of Siberia and Kazakhstan. The revolutionary conflagration threatened to leap over into Ukraine and the territories of other enslaved nations. No wonder therefore that Khrushchev tried to save the Russian empire by reorganising the concentration camp system.

At present, a new young generation of Ukraine which knows no fear is being brought up on the examples of self-sacrifice, on the sacrifices of blood and on the graves of the heroes of OUN-UPA. It mobilises the people to mass actions in Ukraine, strikes of workers and youth, mass demonstrations and clashes with the forces of occupation in the streets of Ukrainian towns, including Donbas and Odessa. Demonstrations before the court buildings, in court rooms, courageous protests against the imprisonment of the fighters for freedom of creative work, for the rights of man and nations — these are the main features of the present-day struggle against the occupiers of Ukraine. The young generation which has grown up on the ideological foundations of OUN-UPA, has begun a great fight in the literary, artistic, scientific and publicistic fields, in particular by clandestine literature. It has come forward in defence of the historical monuments of the past glory and freedom of Ukraine, the great traditions of the Ukrainian people.

Ukraine is the revolutionary problem of the world, because its independence would mean the collapse of the biggest contemporary empire in the world — that of Russia. As a result the political map

of the world would change radically. OUN is in the vanguard of Ukraine's struggle for freedom.

Ukraine has risen against Russian imperialism; Kiev stands in opposition to Moscow; these two capitals symbolise two antipodes: Kiev — the world of sincerity and goodness, freedom, truth, justice, dignity of man, sovereignty of nations, belief in God; Moscow — the world of evil, injustice, deceit, exploitation, trampling on human dignity, imperialism, militant atheism. A world front united against imperialist Russia and communism is the key to the solution of the world ideological and political crisis.

On the 40th anniversary of the OUN we pay tribute to all the freedom fighters, heroes of Ukraine, members and non-members of OUN who during the last 50 years gave their lives for the freedom and happiness of their country."

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## O.U.N. ACTIVITIES CONTINUED

### THE ARRESTS AND TRIALS IN IVANO-FRANKIVSK

*Note.* The KGB (Russian secret police) carried out numerous arrests among young people and professional intelligentsia in West Ukraine in 1967. As a result of these arrests trials were staged in Ivano-Frankivsk (formerly Stanyslaviv) in 1967-68.

A report about these trials and a list of the convicted persons is circulating in manuscript copies among the population of Ukraine. The following is a translation of this report.

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The group "Ukrainian National Front", organised towards the end of 1964, joined active struggle in 1965. Its programme and activities were based on the programme and activities of the O.U.N. (Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists). Its main aim was liberation of Ukraine, consolidation of forces around the strongly constructed organisation, "Ukrainian National Front." They published their own printed organ — the journal *Bat'kivshchyna i Svoboda* [Motherland and Freedom]. There appeared several score of issues in the years 1965-67. The journal published theoretical articles by the members of the group, as well as reprinted also some material from the journal *Ideya i chyn* (Idea and Deed) and the archives of the O.U.N. which had been preserved on the territory of Ukraine. They fully approved of the activities of the O.U.N. and considered themselves its direct heirs. The majority of members of the Ukrainian National Front had already spent some time in prison.

### THE CONVICTED PERSONS:

1. **Dmytro Kvetsko** (b. 1937), with higher education, organiser and leader of the group. Behaved very firmly during the pre-trial investigation. Refused to give any evidence and to give away the archives. He took upon himself the main responsibility for the activities of the group. The secret police discovered the printing shop in an underground bunker in the Carpathians and destroyed it. He was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, including five years in closed prison. At present in Vladimir prison [east of Moscow].

2. **Vasyl' Diak** — senior lieutenant of Stanyslaviv militia, graduated from the law faculty of the University of Lviv, active member of the group, took part in its formation, in the printing and distributing of clandestine literature. Sentenced to 13 years, including 5 years in closed prison. At present in Vladimir prison.

3. **Ivan Krasivs'kyi** (b. 1939), with higher education (philologist), publicist. Apart from clandestine activities, engaged in writing. Wrote the novel *Bayda* — an interesting and talented work of historical character [on a 16th C. Ukrainian Cossack leader]. The novel was ready for printing, but owing to the author's arrest, was confiscated. He received a 12-year sentence, including five years in closed prison. At present in Vladimir prison.

4. **Yaroslav Lesiv** — 23 years of age (b. 1945), a teacher. An active member of the organisation, arrested in Kirovograd region [Dnipro Ukraine]. Received a sentence of six years of hard labour plus five years of banishment. At present in No. 11 concentration camp in Mordovia.

5. **Vasyl' Kulynyn** — age 25 (b. 1943), with secondary education, worked as turner at a factory in Stryi [Lviv region, West Ukraine]. An active member of the group, distributed literature among the population. Received a sentence of six years of hard labour plus five years of banishment. At present in No. 11 concentration camp in Mordovia.

6. **Hryhorii Prokopovych** — with higher education, arrested in Lviv in a street with a great scandal for the KGB. An active member of the group. Served eight years imprisonment in the 1940s and 1960s. After his return he finished a course of studies at the University of Kiev (Foreign Languages Faculty). He knows several languages.

7. **Ivan Hubka** — with higher education (an economist), worked in Lviv. Served eight years imprisonment in the 1940s and 1950s. Now sentenced to six years of hard labour plus five years banishment. At present at No. 11 concentration camp in Mordovia.



8. **Myron Melen'** — conductor of an amateur chorus in Morshyn [a spa locality in Lviv region, West Ukraine]. Received a sentence of six years of hard labour plus five years of banishment. At present at No. 11 concentration camp in Mordovia.

9. **Mykola Kachur** — received a sentence of six years of hard labour plus five years of banishment.

The group was arrested in 1967.

The programme of the organisation was published in the journal. Apart from this other materials were published, in particular the article "Concerning the trial of Pogruzhal'skiy". The KGB secret police found 17 copies of the journal. They also found the collection *Mesnyk* [The Avenger] in which artistic works by members of the group were printed. A bunker was found in a forest, as well as a typewriter and a supply of paper and carbon-paper. The group had at its disposal an O.U.N. library and several hundred brochures. By the time of the arrest all the brochures which were still in a well-preserved state, had been distributed. Only those remained which were damaged in the bunker. They used various methods of distribution: floated them in special containers on the rivers near the villages, left them at railway stations, pushed them through the windows of buildings etc.

The group sent a long memorandum to the 22nd Congress of the CPSU which contained an evaluation of the economic, cultural and political situation of Ukraine and demanded independence. The authors demanded that the memorandum be read at the Congress, debated and published. A similar document was passed to Shelest. Under both documents there was the signature: "Ukrainian National Front."

### THOSE CONVICTED IN OTHER TRIALS

In the years 1967-68 the following people had also been convicted:

1. **Heorhii (Yurii) Moskalenko** — a 5th year student of the Kiev Institute of National Economy, aged 28.

2. **Victor Kuksa** — worker at a Kiev factory, aged 28.

They both hoisted the Ukrainian sky-blue and yellow flag with the Trident emblem and inscription: "Ukraine is not dead yet, has not been murdered yet", on a tower block in Kiev on May 1st [1967]. They were arrested in 1967 and the first of them was sentenced to three years and the second — to two years hard labour. Both of them are now in No. 11 concentration camp in Mordovia.

3. **Yosyp Teren'** — aged 24, with secondary education, born in Transcarpathian region [West Ukraine]. He began clandestine activities at the age of 17, printed and distributed leaflets. He was arrested

and put on trial, was serving his sentence in concentration camps in Vynnytsia and Volyn regions, later escaped and lived on an illegal footing for two years, engaged in clandestine liberation activities. Arrested for the second time, he was sentenced to eight years hard labour. The KGB officials, Krut' and Rusyn, from No. 11 concentration camp in Mordovia, put him into the punishment block for five months.

4. **Volodymyr Vasylyk** — an inhabitant of Tys'menytsia, Stanislaviv region [West Ukraine]. In December of 1967 a group of [Soviet] bandits began to haul down crosses from the local church. When people rushed there and surrounded the church, the bandits, fearing lynching, barricaded themselves in the church. The siege lasted three days, including guards, speeches to the effect that it was no longer possible to tolerate the Russian yoke and occupation, that it was time to begin active work, to win freedom by force, that it was necessary to renovate the church ruined by the Russians. On the third day the besiegers were surrounded by detachments of militia, soldiers and KGB officials who at once started an attack. Leaving their school-rooms, children came to the aid of the adults and threw stones at the militia.

Vasylyk was arrested for having organised a planned siege and the meeting. During the trial the inhabitants of the village came to his defence, expressing full solidarity with him. At present Vasylyk is in No. 11 concentration camp in Mordovia.

5. **Dziuban** — arrested in Ternopil region [West Ukraine] for national-liberation struggle and the struggle for the restoration of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. This activity was strictly within the bounds of legality but nevertheless he was put on trial.

6. **Mykola Kots** — age 37, higher education, teacher at an agricultural school in Ternopil region. Sentenced for the manufacture by means of photocopying and distribution of leaflets and for calling on the people to fight for a sovereign Ukraine, as well as for the distribution of poems by Symonenko. He distributed these leaflets in Kiev, Novohrad-Volynsk, Ternopil and other Ukrainian towns. Sentenced to seven years hard labour plus five years of banishment.

7. **Stepan Tkach** — aged 31, an inhabitant of Stanyslaviv region. Hoisted the Ukrainian national flag in his village. He was put on trial at the beginning of 1968 and sentenced to two and a half years of hard labour.

While in the concentration camp he constantly complained of headache but received no medical help and until his last day was not released from heavy physical work. On July 28, 1968 S. Tkach prematurely died.

(*Suchasnist*, March 1969)

Yaroslav STETSKO

# IDEOLOGY AND PROGRAMME OF THE NEW UKRAINE

*(Continuation 3)*

Ukrainian nationalism aims at constructing a sociopolitical order which is based on the Ukrainian people's concepts of truth and justice and on a harmonious relationship between the aspirations of the individual and the needs of the community. For their ideas and ideals of the social order in the Ukrainian state, the exponents of Ukrainian nationalism do not draw on alien liberalist or socialist doctrines and speculative theories, but on the fundamental qualities of the Ukrainian people, their spirituality and way of life, their aspirations and needs.

Ukrainian nationalism relies on the positive and creative aspects of Ukrainian tradition, as well as on the Ukrainian people's innate conception of an ideal society. At the centre of that desired social order stands the creative and productive individual, linked by the ties of nature to his family and the traditions of his ancestors, whose value has been and always will be judged by his personal contribution to the common good.

On the strength of the Ukraine's creative energy and of the present liberation struggle, Ukrainian nationalism embodies the future of the Ukraine in all spheres of life: a complete and organic Ukrainian system of life and work. This has nothing in common with xenophobia. The Ukrainian system embraces all that human ingenuity has ever achieved, irrespective of under what auspices. In contrast to liberal capitalism or Marxist socialism, Ukrainian nationalism represents a perfect, broadly-based and enduring system, free from internal contradictions — analogous to the Ukrainian nation itself. While rejecting both liberal capitalism and Marxist socialism as dominant systems, Ukrainian nationalism contains in its own, totally different system everything that practical experience has shown to be useful or justified. Rooted in the hearts and minds of the Ukrainian people, Ukrainian nationalism offers the solution to every one of the nation's problems.

Ukrainian nationalism provides a system of democracy in the true sense of the word, a system which solves the problems of life by taking into account not only the interests of the living generation, but also the interests of generations to come, i. e. of the entire nation



present and future. It is rule *by* the nation for the nation. Based on its nationalist ideals, the genuine democracy of the liberated nation will therefore have the future very much in mind. Its measures in the different spheres of life will be designed to further the well-being not only of our people now living, but of the nation in the future not only of a class, but of the people as a whole; not only of the family, but of continuing generations. Under Ukrainian nationalism the people's full participation in the government will not be a mere promise, but will be guaranteed by absolutely free and direct elections, by the freedom to establish political organisations which are not in principle hostile to the independent Ukrainian state, by the freedom to form professional associations and the unimpeded use of every other means of free expression. There have been those, compatriots and foreigners alike, who made great promises to the Ukrainian people; but credibility must be achieved by guarantees, and these can only consist in measures which ensure the people's participation in the government of the nation. The basic principles of our social and political order contain these vital guarantees.

### **Harmony and Solidarity within the Nation**

The guiding principle in building up the sociopolitical order of our country is to bring into full harmony the well-being of individual, family, society and nation.

In our social measures, attention is focused on the Ukrainian people — as a unit of all the creative forces and as the representative and defender of the nationalist idea in our time — as well as on the Ukrainian individual.

The purpose of these measures is to de-proletarianise man by allocating to as many Ukrainians as possible a personal share in the means of production and by ensuring the right of the individual freely to choose his place of work and to dispose of his earned income as he pleases. The further aim is to de-collectivise, that is to raise him from the de-personalised status which has been forced upon him, to give scope to his aspirations and stimulate his creativity. Appropriate legislation will guarantee unfettered freedom for the creative genius of our people, in sharp contrast to the collectivisation principle by which man is deprived of his dignity and creative activity is made impossible.

An economic system based on capitalism, which encourages irresponsibility and the uncontrolled play of market forces, must be seen as historically obsolete, since the economy is not a game but an important and basic factor of human life. Ideologically and politically the national concept must permeate the entire life of the nation and the idea of the class struggle must be eliminated. After the abolition of the Communist system every citizen must be enabled to

hold private property, whereby the work he does will be the legal criterion for the acquisition of property. This would make a return to capitalist finance in the economy impossible. The kolkhoz system must be abolished and private ownership of land — within a given minimum and maximum — re-established. The right of inheritance and the best use of the land under modern methods of cultivation must be safeguarded. There can be no recrudescence of large landed estates.

Absolutely indispensable means of production shall be the property of the state as and when this is in the public interest. The nationalisation of any means of production will be approached empirically. Certain forms of transport are to be nationalised.

Attention is to be given to the development of cooperative societies and other voluntary forms of organisation in certain production and marketing sectors. Constructive planning is to aim at the prosperity of the nation as a whole without destroying any incentives for individual effort and enterprise. In the entire economy the principle of private ownership has priority over that of state ownership. Work as the source of private property must be free from all exploitation and the right of inheritance must be respected.

It is essential that the nation should act and administer itself through the organs of its choice on the principle of local concentration, not on the principle of a mechanistic centralisation which destroys every creative impulse. At the top of the political system the creative individual carries out the task of government, with proper regard to the interests of the various territories, drawing on the assistance of the people's representatives from all walks of life, of socially valuable institutions, and of political organisations whose representatives have been chosen by universal, free, secret and direct vote.

Specific rights must be conceded to the family as a socially and politically most valuable institution. After the political as well as social and economic revolution, the state must also ensure the rights of those who participated in the fight for freedom and independence, of the prisoners and deportees and their families, and of the victims of enemy occupations.

The dignity of the human being is sacrosanct and it is the duty of the powers that be to respect and defend it together with the civil and political rights of man.

### **To The Sources of Ukrainian Spirituality and The Ukrainian Sense of Justice**

Ukrainian nationalism rejects as alien and hostile to our way of thinking the historical and dialectical materialism of the Marxist doctrine and sets against it Christianity and a Ukrainian nationalist

philosophy of life with its own socio-political and economic doctrine, of which the Ukrainian individual and the Ukrainian nation are the corner-stone.

Ukrainian nationalism ensures the development of a national culture, growing organically out of the soul of the people and their creative genius.

The motive ideas of our cultural creative work are the ideas of God, Motherland, Glory, Truth, Justice, Freedom and Power — in the Ukrainian form. The spiritual make-up of a nation can most clearly be seen from its spontaneous creative work. Collections of the Ukrainian folklore offer an inexhaustible source. In particular the spirit of a nation speaks through songs and popular sayings.

The militant Christianity of Kiev, liberation nationalism of Kiev, the heroic humanism of Shevchenko, the mission of the holy city of Ukraine in age-old struggle against the city of blasphemy, tyranny, slavery, violence — Moscow, must be put in the centre of our ideas of cultural creative work.

Kiev's mission is to carry on the age-old struggle with Moscow. Kiev is to symbolise the world of ideas completely different from those symbolised by Moscow. Ideas which are to save mankind from destruction by Moscow are to be centred around Kiev.

Soldiers always followed the poets. The struggle of cultures, as a political fight, as the struggle between two world outlooks, two conceptions of life, is unfolding itself in Ukraine. Communism's alternative to man is a collective, its alternative to individuality is a herd. If man is to be saved, the world must be individualised, must free itself from the idle mass of the soulless who know only their belly. Mass reverts man to a herd of human apes. When socially noble personalities are formed, life becomes worthy of man. Art begins where general norms are broken.

We have to show the ideological bankruptcy of Bolshevism and the great danger of a new Russia which may replace it and again deceive the world with ideas such as those of Berdyayev and the NTS. We must never give up the concept of the struggle of two cultures — those of Russia and the Occident, two opposing worlds. For otherwise Russia will again deceive us and the West and will again realise her world, hidden from the eyes of the West, the world of the herd, slavery and tyranny.

Our programme is to give a direction in the world-wide struggle in the cultural field, showing what we are for and what we are against.

The Ukrainian National Revolution will outline the paths along which the revolutionary legal order should develop. Lawlessness is an immanent feature of the Russian regime in Ukraine. To restore



legality, or rather to introduce it, is the central, also moral problem of the revolution.

In the basis of any order should be put Man as a social being, who grows up and develops in community and for the community, in family and in the nation. Such an understanding does not deny the concept of the nation, a quality higher than an individual, nor family whom and individual should also serve.

Nationalism, as a great movement of spiritual, ideological and ethical renovation of the individual, introduces new elements and understanding of the duties and rights of the individual, starting from higher categories than from the interests of the individual alone, namely — the interests of the nation and the family.

Nationalist legality and Ukrainian traditional legality are founded on the old Ukrainian monuments of law. Ukrainian common law offers many elements for Ukrainian juridical reforms. Christian concept of legality is always nearer to Ukrainian mentality than positivist-liberalist one.

The Russian legal system has been decomposing the family and the national community, i. e. organic cells, in the name of a crowd, ostensibly in the name of the proletariat, but in fact in the interests of the Russian occupation power, hostile to Ukraine. It has split the Ukrainian farmers as a class, as a social-economic stratum, as a bastion of the biological and moral health of the nation, as the protector of the traditions of the nation.

The entire Russian legal system in Ukraine must be changed. The world of Russian legal institutions is diametrically opposed to the Ukrainian ones, which are Western-oriented, close to the Roman law. The Russian form of imperialism is a form of total domination over the enslaved, not only over their bodies, but also over their souls. Therefore, the Russian legal system in Ukraine, all jurisdiction, legislation, administration of justice must be revised.

The spirit of a nation, her legal concepts, moral feelings reveal themselves in folklore. The collections of Ukrainian folklore, provide a host of original ideas for Ukrainian law.

Montesquieu's tripartition of power has been justified. One of the guarantees of legality is the separation of each of these three main kinds of power.

The negative element in the revolution possesses a great explosive force. Therefore, Ukrainian nationalism is for a bold negation of the existing order and for a clear enumeration of what will be absent under the new order. The Russian code of laws will cease to be valid in Ukraine immediately in all those points which reflect class approach to the administration of justice, Russian occupation interest in Ukraine, which contradict freedom of man, restrict his liberties, freedom of speech, conscience, association and gatherings, contradict

private property, the interests of the family. Temporarily only such laws can remain binding which concern such crimes as murder robbery, theft etc.

During the transitional period temporary means are to be used. In particular, revolutionary courts will be set up in which judges will be guided by their conscience.

The equality of all before law will be particularly firmly upheld. However, in the aspect of private law (property) particular care will be extended over the families of soldiers of the revolution, deportees, war invalids, prisoners etc.

During the transitional period especial attention will be devoted to appointing judges from the people whom professional judges will advise. Methods of appointing such judges and of selecting candidates will have to be worked out well beforehand, in order to prevent lynch trials. Two elements: conscience and guarantee of legality and professionalism will have to be synthesised. In many cases the dispensation of justice will have to be left to the popular sense of justice, until a normal legal system is set up. It should be remembered that inhabitants of a village know best themselves who is guilty and who is innocent there, and the same goes for workers in a factory.

All concentration camps in a free Ukraine will be abolished and all inmates will be released, with the exception of common criminals. As regards those sentenced for theft, it should be ascertained what were the circumstances of this crime. If a collective farmer stole from a collective farm, then this is in justice no crime, for he took really from his own field taken away from him.

Secret political police will be abolished in the Ukrainian State. Internal defence of the State will be taken over by courts of justice an ordinary police. Apart from this, special legal norms will be introduced for exceptional circumstances which would not require secret police.

Court martials will have to exist and be applied with regard to internal enemies, Russian and other pro-Russian, and in general enemy subversion, for high treason and subversive anti-State, anti-Ukrainian activities, and punishment by death will have to be retained as the highest measure of punishment.

The rights of police will be restricted by law, and West European, in particular Anglo-Saxon experience, will be followed to a great extent.

The struggle for rights and for justice is the greatest stimulus of a revolution.

### **The National Idea — a Universal Idea**

A world organised on the national principle, i. e. separate statehood and independence for every nation of the world, respect for the

freedom, dignity and rights of man, his well-being, these are the objectives of the nationalist liberation movement.

Revolutionary nationalism strives to attain sovereignty, freedom and justice for our people. It opposes every kind of slavery and its cause, imperialism. A characteristic feature of the history of mankind is the struggle of nations against empires and imperialism, as well as the strife between the imperialist powers themselves.

Every subjugated nation best fulfils its universal mission when on the basis of the national principle it fights for its own independence and sovereignty. By freeing itself from slavery, that nation most effectively furthers the victory of freedom and justice all over the world.

The nationalist liberation movement condemns internationalism, the deceptive doctrine of certain Great Powers, in the knowledge that never in history has internationalism helped the suppressed nations towards freedom, but that it has always and exclusively been the idea of national liberation that made them succeed in their fight for independence.

While rejecting internationalism as an idea hostile to nationalism and, in fact, only another form of imperialism, the national liberation movement favours many kinds of international relations and international institutions, ethical and social causes transcending the borders of individual nations (e. g. religion, among others), which help to eliminate wars and enmity, and instead promote friendship, co-operation and mutual assistance among the countries and nations of the world.

The nationalist liberation movement gives support to such international institutions as accept the principle of equality among nations, respect the sovereignty of each nation, do not lend themselves as instruments of any imperialist power, and do not attempt the setting up of an anti-national world government, a world state, in short: a world empire. It supports international institutions which advance co-operation and mutual assistance among free and sovereign nations, those very nations who by their joint efforts strive to eliminate the causes of enmity and wars and to remedy national and social distress and injustice. It backs those international bodies which are prepared to give aid to the poorer nations without attaching any strings, which have the freedom and prosperity of all mankind at heart, and which further the exchange of technical and cultural achievements. It is in favour of any international institution which provides a forum, not for mutual betrayal, but for mutual respect, not for contests between the great powers supported by their respective satellites, but for understanding and co-operation amongst nations.

The highest aim and purpose of Ukrainian nationalism in the political sphere is to attain full independence for the Ukrainian na-



tion within the ethnic frontiers of its own sovereign Ukrainian nation state, to the benefit of the country's entire population and regardless of creed, language, nationality or race. This is to be achieved by breaking up the Russian empire into its ethnographic parts and establishing these as sovereign nation states and by abolishing once and for all the communist system of slavery and tyranny in all its manifestations.

As the revolutionary liberation movement of the subjugated Ukrainian people, Ukrainian nationalism respects the right of every nation to sovereignty within its ethnographic borders and it denounces, condemns and in international relations entirely dissociates itself from imperialism as the enemy of freedom and justice.

Nationalism is the symbol of freedom, imperialism is the symbol of slavery and chauvinism.

Harmony within and among nations, a world free from war, poverty, fear and slavery — that is the ideal inspiring Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism.

For this reason Ukrainian nationalism condemns any possible imperialistic deviation in Ukrainian political thought.

Ukrainian nationalism is insistent in its view that federations, coalitions or alliances among nations and states are feasible only if those participating can act and are treated as free and equal partners. It is convinced therefore that its aim of world unity, that is to say unity through harmony of the peoples of the world, can only be achieved by differentiation between peoples, their existence in independent nation states on an equal footing with each other. Only by the defeat of imperialism and totalitarianism through an anti-Russian and anti-communist war of liberation can just and lasting peace be obtained. World peace is only possible when the ideals of freedom and justice and self-determination are finally realised in the form of independent statehood for each nation — to be gained by the age-old plebiscite of the blood.

Nation states, lacking imperialistic ambitions for the conquest of other countries, are more likely to guarantee the peace of the world than the multi-national empires of Great Powers, often the instigators of devastating wars.

Even in a nation state the growth of imperialist tendencies cannot be ruled out, as the past has frequently shown. The best safeguard against this contingency is 'old-fashioned' defence agreements, which represent the real interests of the concluding parties and protect the peace far more effectively than 'modern' international organisations, which are by no means the last word in the history of progress, but often are — as we know from past experience — an instrument of imperialism. However, Ukrainian nationalism does not reject out of hand the possibilities of international affiliation, but the choice of

organisation and adherence to it depend, of course, on the pre-condition that the nations concerned — and this applies above all to the countries now under Russian or Communist rule — have become truly sovereign and independent states and their peoples are able freely to express their will in all respects and in particular about any associations of an international nature.

At the same time Ukrainian nationalism absolutely rules out, for the present as well as the future, any ties between the Ukraine — or other nations subjugated by Moscow — and Russia. This refusal is grounded on the dire experiences of the past and the unchangeable Russian tradition of genocide. The entire history of Russia's relations with the peoples enslaved by her is characterised by the continuous struggle of the victims against their murderous Russian oppressor.

Ukrainian nationalism is of the opinion that Russia will never voluntarily confine herself to her own ethnic borders. For this reason it considers it imperative that the liberated peoples, once they have attained sovereignty, and the nations now under threat, should enter into agreements and form alliances against Russia, whatever its political hue may be at the time.

There can be no change in this now dogmatic Ukrainian attitude unless there is tangible proof over a considerable length of time that such a defensive stand is no longer necessary.

Ukrainian nationalism affirms the right of the Russian people to an independent state of their own, strictly within the ethnic frontiers of the Russian nation.

Rooted in the creed and ethics of Christianity and a heroic conception of life, Ukrainian nationalism condemns and rejects genocide as an act of revenge against the Russian people. However, it insists that the Russian state should make amends to the Ukrainian and other subjugated nations for the wrongs and damages the Russian nation has inflicted upon them throughout the long and terrible period of oppression.

For the crimes of the Nazi regime the entire German people have had to pay, even with the loss of ethnically German territory, and this despite the fact that the principle of collective responsibility had been explicitly rejected by the World Powers.

In the view of Ukrainian nationalism it is absolutely necessary that the nations likely to be threatened in the future by Russia or other imperialists should, as equal partners, conclude amongst themselves a defence agreement which would guarantee their freedom and ours. Ukrainian nationalism is opposed to any future association, whatever its shape, between the hitherto subjugated nations and Russia. We will have no truck with any federations, unions or confederacies, with a "Union of Three Russias", "United States of Eastern Europe",

"Eurasian Peoples' Union", "Pan-Russia-Eurasia", or any other schemes of that sort, since they are essentially nothing but variant of one and the same thing, namely Russian imperialism.

Ukrainian nationalism is resolute in its opposition to the USSR — that prison of nations and individuals — and to any concept of a Russian Empire in one form or another. It sets against it: the separation of peoples in nation states and their full independence; equality among these free national states, regardless of their size or wealth; mutual assistance and harmonious co-operation between them; the freedom and well-being of every individual in his own nation state.

Correlative with Ukrainian revolutionary nationalism are all those national liberation movements, which strive for the independence of the peoples they represent and for the establishment of a just socio-political order on national traditions; which reject imperialism and the exploitation of man by other men or the state; which regard as the fundamental elements of the world order the nation — not a class, and the individual — not the Moloch of a totalitarian state bureaucracy; and which make a determined stand against the Russian Empire and against the Communist system.

Ukrainian nationalism rejects and combats every form of totalitarianism as the means of enslaving both the individual and the nation.

One international body, whose purpose it is to coordinate the national revolutionary liberation movements and their fight for the destruction of the Russian Empire and its puppet regimes, the eradication of communism, the establishment of a new and just social order, and the creation of free and sovereign states for every one of the hitherto captive nations, is the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

The ABN stands for the liberation of the subjugated peoples through national revolutions.

The ABN stands for concerted action in the field of foreign policy by all the nationalist elements of the suppressed nations now living in exile.

The ABN represents the anti-Russian, anti-imperialist and anti-communist front of the freedom-loving, national and theistic forces of the world, who set themselves against every form of tyranny and strive for social justice, the freedom of the individual and the independence of nations.

General J. F. C. Fuller, the most distinguished of military theoreticians today, writes in his book "Russia is Not Invincible" (p. 11):

"As in the Atlantic pact — however defective it may be — is to be founded the only potential first front against the Soviet Union, so in the ABN, however lacking in organisation 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 Czarist, Socialist, Democratic, Republican or Bolshevik. 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.

The driving force and one of the main factors making for the strength of ABN can be said to be the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), whose political aims and revolutionary methods of liberation coincide in principle with the concept of the ABN.

*(Address to the IVth Congress of the  
Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.)*

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Mykola ZEROV

## IN THE STEPPE

The high and even steppe. Gravemounds in a green string,  
And dreamy distance that with haze of azure wings  
Bewitches, and to Grecian colonies far beckons.  
There on the skyline see, dark horses silhouetted,  
And tents of the plough-Scythians with their carts and wains,  
From the distant southlands, birds wing in plaintive skeins,  
And from the sea the wind, hot and impatient blowing . . .  
But what of benefit to me these wind-gusts grant, bestowing?  
What good the singing of the lark, the springing shoots of grass?  
Ah, with what joy would I exchange all this and let it pass,  
For hum of harbour-life, and the blue gleam of estuaries,  
For the pavements and the streets of ancient Chersonese.

Translated by Vera Rich.

Oleh ROMANYSHYN

## RUSSIA AND THE WEST

*"Up to the present, fear and interest have dictated exaggerated praises, and hatred has caused the publication of calumnies. I have neither fear nor hatred."*

*(Marquis de Custine)\**

Russia has always been in the past vitally interested, and it will certainly continue to be so in the future, about the question of her orientation. Her fate depends on the issue whether to follow the West or the East, or simply continue to waver between the two until she achieves her historical goal of utmost power in the world; or else, until she meets her doom.

Was the Muscovite State in its isolation following the right historical path, or was it the empire of St. Petersburg, ushered in by Peter I, with its approach toward the West? This has always been the subject for discussion and meditation for the Russians who frequently try to find answers to the problems facing them in their own historical reality. This riddle — West or East — will certainly remain with us as long as the fate of Europe, of Russia, and of the world is not finally settled somehow.

The three great periods of Russian history — Muscovy, Empire, and present day Russia as the leading unit in the USSR — coincide roughly with the trends of Russia's relations with the West.

*Muscovy* due to historical circumstances kept herself aloof from the development in Western Europe: it missed feudalism and the Renaissance. The Mongol invasion made a lasting rift between Muscovy and the West. On the territories under the long rule of the Mongols there evolved a different kind of a monarch and along with it quite different socio-political conditions. The early Russian forms became infused with Asiatic content, and as the time went on, with Asiatic blood. The ruling prince evolved into a self-willed autocrat — the tsar of the future. Tsar Ivan III after marrying Sophia Palaeologue, to some degree took over the sophisticated spirit of the autocratic Byzantine emperors with which he vested the existing form of government in Muscovy.

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\*) Marquis de Custine, *Journey for our Time*, New York, 1951, p. 21.

The Muscovite way of life was already stamped to a certain degree with superficial formalities and ceremonies, rather than with some world of ideas or non-fanatical spirituality. The modern dialectics of "form" is not only a specific sign of the present day Russian expression of the teachings of Marx and Lenin; it contains something which was transmitted from the ancient Russian character and which, has been expressing itself in the same way throughout history. The attachment of the Russians to the external, technical, ritualistic, and formal attributes of life, is closely connected with their belief in their own righteousness which in the long run breeds intolerance and fanaticism. Partly as an example of this could be their Church schism, or the messianic idea of Moscow as the "Third Rome", which was upheld throughout the centuries, and clearly expressed by Chaadayev in his "Apology of a Madman", in the XIX century: "... I am firmly convinced that we are called on to resolve most of the social problems, to perfect most of the ideas which have come up in the old societies, and to decide most of the weighty questions concerning the human race."<sup>1</sup>

The main feature of Muscovite history in the period preceding Peter I was the so called "gathering of lands", characterized by a policy of centralization and unification. In this rather violent process the rulers of the Russian State — Muscovy — committed certain historical mistakes which proved to be detrimental at least for its future relations with the West. Even in that period there existed on the Slavic lands the so called "windows to Europe": the independent principalities of Novgorod and Pskov, which had fairly close political and economic relations with the West, and consequently were also exposed to Western culture of that time.

In the case of Novgorod, for instance — a prosperous outpost of the Hanseatic League — the process of subjugation was undertaken by Ivan III, and ruthlessly completed toward the end of the XV century, with the obvious consequences for the population.<sup>2</sup> With the fall of the "Republic of Novgorod" there disappeared what we would call today the cells of a "democratic" outlook, the incipient Renaissance spirit, and the already established links with the West. In other words a "window into Europe" was closed. The same could be argued for Pskov and Smolensk, which also fell to Muscovite hegemony. Smolensk, which was part of the federated state of Poland, Lithuania, and Ruthenia, could have acted as a cultural centre, through which Muscovy could have had contacts with the West.

The Muscovite reasons for conquering these cities are to a certain extent irrelevant to the topic; it could have been greed, power, jealousy, etc. — common characteristics to all states; but, some

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<sup>1</sup>) Thomas Rika, ed., *Readings in Russian Civilization* (Chicago, 1964), p. 314.



questions come to mind; why, after conquering them, those places were cut off from the Western cultural currents? why any traces of Western influence or ways of thinking had to be eradicated (as happened with "heresy" of the so called "Judaizers" in Novgorod, for instance; whose ideas were partly the result of Western influence).

In the XVII century Ukraine became the cultural bridge between Muscovy and the West. This was not in the sphere of Muscovite influence, but formed part of the Polish-Lithuanian state, and had developed under the cultural and educational ideas of Europe.

The transition to modern times forced upon Muscovy the urgency of catching up with the rest of Europe. Since it became dangerous to lag behind, Moscow had to subject itself at least to certain aspects of Europeanization.

The trends toward Westernization began under reign of tsar Alexei (1645-76). An account of this process is given by Serge Zenkowsky in his article "The Russian Schism."<sup>2</sup> From 1660 to 1735 the Ukrainian and Byelorussian churchmen, intellectuals, educators, etc., who were imported into Muscovy, began to replace the Muscovites in their positions. Names like Polotskyi and Prokopovych (who became state ideologists), and other like Yavorskyi and Tuptalo, became known. The Ukrainian monks Slavynetskyi, Ptytskyi, and Satanovskiy began to improve the Muscovite linguistics. This cultural "invasion" went so far that between the years 1660-1735 almost no prominent Russian names appear in the leading circles of Russia; and by 1751 the Holy Synod was composed by nine bishops and only one Russian priest.<sup>3</sup>

However this westernizing process did not develop smoothly and naturally; it had to be imposed from above by the ruler. Peter I is the outstanding example.

The new "catholic and protestant heretical teachings", as well as the privileged position of the foreigners irritated and subsequently alienated the bulk of the Russians. The changes affected mostly the upper classes of the society (sometimes not without bitterness), and produced the classical rift between them and the rest of the Russian population.

The Europeanization of Russia had one special feature which was embodied in the personality of Peter I. He had a special aptitude for understanding technical progress; and this particular understanding became the leading element in the application of European ideas to Russia. In this technical aspect he made fantastic achievements. But, human and spiritual values were of little use to him; and this is probably the reason why Europeanization in Russia was superficial, and did not affect the inner ways of life of the Russian people. One

<sup>2</sup>) George Vernadsky, *A History of Russia* (New Haven, Conn.), p. 86-89.

<sup>3</sup>) Thomas Rika, p. 145.

cannot speak here in terms of "European spirit" but in terms of European forms and technology. Russia was only beginning to put up an appearance.

This process of Europeanization in Russia failed to acquire spirituality even by the time Russia began her policy of expansion. The Russian expansion to the East was more or less along the traditional lines, and was in harmony with the Russian spirit of colonization. On the other hand, her expansion to the West and South seemed to be more superficial: administrative expansion. The annexation of Finland, of the Baltic countries, Poland, and the Ukraine (all this in XVIII, and beginning of XIX century), had little effect on Russia as a whole. The tsars kept following the traditional policies of centralization, in accordance with the messianic idea: "orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality." The upper classes — the nobility — lived in a world apart, detached from the rest of Russia, but also without really understanding the West. They were certainly acquainted with the cultural, and socio-political ideas, and movements of Europe; but for them (generally speaking) it never passed beyond a "good topic for discussion" or "intellectual recreation." An Englishman, for instance, could have a thorough knowledge of the doctrine of Confucius, but this still does not mean that he identifies himself with it — or has a feeling for it.

In the XIX century the question of the Western orientation in Russia became of prime significance. The ideas of Enlightenment, of the French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and Romanticism, exposed many starving young minds to the Western ways of life and thinking. If not all of them, then the majority became enthusiastic about Western ideas, and saw in them possible solutions to the problems facing Russia: her socio-political ambitions, and her destiny.

This new trend in the Europeanization of Russia gave rise to the Russian "intelligentsia", which expressed itself in thought and action in the groups of the "Slavophiles" and the "Westernizers." The intellectual formation of these people was based on Western schools of thought and outlook, as expressed in the works of Kant, Hegel, Fichte, and Schelling, for example; and later on Engels and Marx.

However, each group reacted differently to their similar intellectual training. In one aspect, both, the "Slavophiles" and "Westernizers" agreed that Peter I tried to stop by force the native Russian way of development. But there was a difference: the Westernizers regarded Peter's action as a necessity, for they wanted to see Russia's destiny bound with Europe; whereas the Slavophiles viewed this as a mistake: as an attempt to put Russia on a wrong historical path. But, a clarification should be made at this point: initially some of the Westernizers *thought* that Peter I succeeded in his attempt, and that Russia needed only "one more push" to become "European"; whereas the Slavophiles, more realistic, found out soon enough, that Peter I

really failed in that sense, and that Russia, therefore, should be allowed to develop by herself — along the more traditional lines of old Muscovy. In other words they understood that Russia was just putting an appearance.

This assertion is not a baseless criticism, however, for tsar Nicholas I expressed it himself while conversing with the French traveller Marquis de Custine: "Petersburg is Russian", he said, "but not Russia",<sup>4</sup> and then encouraged Custine to go to Moscow and Nizhni Novgorod to see real Russia. On some other occasion, after quelling a riot of the guards, Nicholas said to Custine: "I assure you that when I am very tired of all the miseries of the times, I try to forget the rest of Europe in withdrawing to the interior of Russia."<sup>5</sup> These quotations support what was mentioned above.

The Petersburg "façade" made the rest of the empire appear perfectly normal. In the mind of the average European in the XIX century, Russia was somewhat exotic and maybe backward; a large state like any other, and it did not show anything abnormal: no traces of a different world.

As the time went on a trend became evident in the camp of the Westernizers: they were recognizing their errors with respect to Russia becoming "European", and began to drift back into the Slavophile camp — or should it be rather called the "Russian camp." Even a man like Herten — a Russian patriot and visionary — became alienated from the West, and longed for the decline of Europe. Similar thoughts were upheld by Bakunin also, who preached "anarchism, collectivization, and atheism"; had no use for reforms, and who maintained that "revolution" was the only means for progress.

It is of common knowledge that history and literature are parallel currents. But one should add that literature goes one step further, for it has visionary attributes as well as a more profound feeling for a certain historical period. For this reason the genius of Dostoyevsky was able to grasp the essence of the Russians' attitude in the modern times. In his *The Diary of a Writer* he states the following: "Why, practically nine-tenths of the Russians, all through this country, culturalizing themselves in Europe, invariably have joined that stratum of the Europeans which was the liberal "left camp" i. e. that camp which itself denied its own culture, its own civilization — . . . .

"This is what I think: is there not revealed in this fact (that is, in siding with the extreme left — essentially with the negator of Europe — even by our most ardent Westerners) — is there not revealed in this the protesting Russian soul, to which European culture in many

<sup>4</sup>) Custine, p. 109.

<sup>5</sup>) *op. cit.*, p. 124.



of its manifestations has always, ever since Peter, been hateful and has always been felt alien to the Russian soul? — I do think so.”<sup>6</sup>

Dostoyevsky certainly was a visionary.

The Russian philosopher Chaadayev in his “Apology of a Madman” speaks about Russia and the “Occident” as follows:

“Why do we have to look for light among the peoples of the Occident? Don’t we have in our midst the germs of an infinitely better order than the Europeans?”

And also, speaking about the Western peoples, he says that “they” are “a prey to errors and lies.” And then: “Let us then withdraw to the Orient . . . from which earstwhile we derived our beliefs, our laws, and our virtues”, . . . And then Chaadayev goes on to speak about the Russian “passionate reaction against the Enlightenment and the ideas of the Occident.”<sup>7</sup>

Another man, N. Strakhov, a publicist, thinker, and a critic (second half of XIX century), who defended the traditional and vernacular elements of the Russian culture against Western influence, states his case in his work entitled “The struggle with the West in Russian Literature” (1882).<sup>8</sup> Even the title speaks for itself.

This was the attitude of the “unofficial” Russia. The position of the ruling classes, on the other hand, toward Western ways was similar, and clearly expressed by Pobedonostsev (Procurator of the Holy Synod from 1880 to 1905) in his work “The falsehood of Democracy” . . .<sup>9</sup>

These were the general attitudes of the Russians towards the West from the beginning of Muscovy up to the end of the Russian Imperial period. The West was considered somehow as “decadent.”

Since history is — figuratively speaking — a chain of events, one could say that the “spirit of the times” at the beginning of the XIX century spread the seeds of the socio-political upheaval which culminated with the revolution of 1917.

Looking at the Tsarist Russian Empire in its last century of existence, with a certain historical perspective, one could distinguish — in general terms — two trends, which are closely related to each other.

One of these was the unrest of the masses, primarily due to the economic grievances coupled with the suppression of human dignity; and secondly, the rise of the multinational imperial intelligentsia, which in many instances attributed the inherent evils of the empire to the clear-cut centralizing tendencies of the tsarist regime. Thus,

<sup>6</sup> F. Dostoyevsky, *The Diary of a Writer* (New York, 1949), pp. 351-353.

<sup>7</sup> Rika, p. 313.

<sup>8</sup> William L. Harkins, *Dictionary of Russian Literature* (Paterson, N. J.), p. 370.

<sup>9</sup> Rika, pp. 409-420.

this non-Russian intelligentsia managed to infuse — gradually — the standard grievances of their respective peoples with additional national content. One of these groups of intelligentsia was the society of SS Cyril and Methodius formed by Ukrainians (in Kiev), and later disbanded by Nicholas I (in 1849). This group as early as in the 1840's already was preaching national equality for the Ukraine, as well as for other peoples, in the family of Slavic nations. (Kostomarov, Shevchenko, and Kulish, were its outstanding members).

That they — and others like them — succeeded to influence not only the upper crusts of the non-Russian societies, but to a great extent even the masses, is clearly exemplified by the riotous situation in the Ukraine, for example, in the two decades before the First World War, and gradually acquiring anti-Russian momentum, which culminated in January 22, 1918 with the proclamation of independence. Similar situations, undoubtedly, developed in other parts of the Russian Empire (Finland, Transcaucasia), blending both trends: social grievances with the national ones. This situation — fanned by the First World War — exploded in a socio-political revolution and war of 1917 to 1921, when all the undercurrents and pressures dormant under Tsarist Russian regime came forth, pitting all the antagonistic segments of the former imperial society into a struggle for their own particular aims.

With all certainty the goals of the peoples were independence, freedom, human dignity, right of possession, the right to live an individual life, a government as a tool of the people and not vice versa, etc, etc. From this point of view the great upheaval was a Westernizing one. Unfortunately this mammoth revolution was appropriated by the Bolsheviks, who by making cunning moves through a shrewd identification with the goals which the masses of the peoples were yearning for, managed to consolidate themselves in power. And again the whole of East Europe was artificially cut off from the West, and fell in the mire of a new type of Russian anti-Western messianism. The revolution boiled down to a mere method of technical adaptation to the contemporary world. Autocracy was obsolete, so it had to be substituted by the modern totalitarianism.

Wladimir Weidle says that "the empire which foundered was rebuilt on new foundations. Neither its architecture nor its basic ideas was that of the old."<sup>10</sup> True, its architecture is modern and more efficient: it is "federal", it is even "socialist", and there is even a "constitution." In other words a perfect Western façade. The story repeats itself. Weidle also says that the idea in this case is different. But the *idea* behind it is actually the content, not the form. In his own words the content of the new Russian Empire is "authoritarian, nationalistic, and has international pretensions." The first two characteristics are already traditional, and the third one becomes very

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<sup>10</sup>) Wladimir Weidle, *Russia Absent and Present* (New York, 1961), p. 134.

much so if one recalls the old idea of the Muscovite-Russian Imperial messianism: the idea of the "Third Rome", and its "mission" of becoming the arbiter of the destiny of the human race (see footnote 1 — Chaadayev). The ideas of Orthodoxy, "protection" of all the Christians etc., was replaced by an equally empty and utopian idea: world Communism, and the USSR as the "fatherland" of all the workers of the world.

Another striking fact which fits perfectly in the general anti-Western trends was the transfer of the capital from St. Petersburg to old Moscow. This had nothing to do, however, with socialist or Marxist thought, it was rather a natural move which came to be symbolic of the modern version of the feud between Russia and the West. Away from Petersburg meant away from Europe. Now the idea of the "decadent West", has been replaced by the slogan: "decadent capitalist world." Not much difference, though. Furthermore, we do not think that the figure of Stalin, his veneration for Ivan IV, or the Khrushchovian "we will bury you" were accidental at all. All this is part of a historical trend.

The U.S. General Walter Bedell Smith — former American Ambassador in Moscow — in his introduction to the translation of the "Journey for our Time" of Marquis de Custine, has this to say: "...the analogy between Russia of 1839 and the Soviet Union of today is so striking that one must pinch himself to recall that Custine was writing more than a hundred years ago."<sup>11</sup> Let us quote three excerpts from Custine's "Journey" to illustrate the U.S. Ambassador's words.

"All must strive scrupulously to obey the thought of the sovereign; his mind alone determines the destiny of all,"<sup>12</sup>

"The more I see Russia, the more I agree with the Emperor when he forbids Russians to travel and makes access to his own country difficult to foreigners. The political system of Russia could not withstand twenty years of free communication with Western Europe."<sup>12</sup>

"They (the Russians — O. R.) wish to rule the world by conquest; they mean to seize by armed force the countries accessible to them, and thence to oppress the rest of the world by terror. The extension of power they dream of is in no way either intelligent or moral; and if God grants it to them, it will be for the woe of the world."<sup>13</sup>

At this point one should ask himself, what is history? Is it a record of the aims, ambitions, and acts of the ruling classes only? Or is it

<sup>11</sup>) Custine, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup>) *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 98.

<sup>13</sup>) *op. cit.*, p. 229.



supposed to be a record of the life of the whole nation? The last assertion is certainly more acceptable, it also fits better the Western patterns of historical development. Unfortunately the history of Russia has been almost exclusively the history of the ruling classes. The Russian masses, all along, played only the role of a "historical fertilizer" in the historical development of the energetic and ambitious upper crusts. No better example than the present day Russia. Nicholas I said that: "Despotism still exists in Russia since it is the essence of my government; it is in keeping with the character of the nation." (Custine, p. 124). It is certainly debatable what comes first the "essence" of the government or the "character of a nation" (most likely they are parallel development); but one thing is certain, that any type of government which rules over a long period of time, can infuse the ruled with its own "essence". The "essence" in Russia up to the present was always despotism, and for that reason the Muscovite-Russian people never knew anything better. They are different because completely different social and political conditions have perverted and retarded their development, and set them apart from the rest of the world.

It was not our intention here to "isolate" Russia from the West, or to "deliver" her to Asia (for that matter, we even did not touch the subject of Russia and her relations with Asia); we only tried to show — on a basis of what is considered reliable evidence, common sense and plain observation what Russia is *not*: she is not European or Western in spirit.

We do not think that she is "Asiatic" either — as some would say. She exists isolated from all in her own world, and therefore suspicious of and antagonistic to all. Furthermore the world has been given a certain picture of Russia, now threatening, now pacifist, frequently barbaric and primitive, and sometimes mystical and civilized. But never a definite picture.

Finally, it is our conviction that the world unfortunately has never understood Russia — her aims and her people — as yet... When it will, let us hope that it will not be too late.

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# PERSECUTION AND DESTRUCTION OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE IN THE SOVIET UNION

**Memorandum of the World Conference of Ukrainian Students  
(CESUS) to the Students of the Free World**  
*(Slightly abridged)*

## I. INTRODUCTION

Ukraine, as a highly cultured nation with its thousand-year-old history has, throughout the ages, aspired to a well-rounded natural and spiritual growth. As a result, the Ukrainian people have contributed a great deal to world culture and knowledge.

In recent times, the ideal of nationhood of the Ukrainian people found its organic expression everywhere on Ukrainian ethnographic territory through armed struggle in the years 1917-1920, and in the creation of an independent democratic state. The Ukrainian National Republic was triumphantly proclaimed on January 22, 1918, and was recognized by a number of European countries.<sup>1</sup> The loss of the independence of the Ukrainian state was brought about by the blows dealt it by the materially superior forces of Communist Russia, which, as its predecessor, Tsarist Russia, coveted the rich land of Ukraine.

Having occupied the territories of Ukraine, Russian Communism began to destroy in an unprecedentedly cruel manner not only the products of Ukrainian tradition and culture, but also the Ukrainian people, both spiritually and physically. During the early thirties, the Russian regime, through its horrifying instrument, the GPU (State Political Administration) — NKVD, took the life of or exiled to Siberia's concentration camps thousands of Ukrainian priests, poets, writers, and scholars. At the same time, as a result of the artificial famine organized by Moscow, 7 million peaceful inhabitants of Ukraine perished.<sup>2</sup>

1) D. Doroshenko, *Istoriia Ukraïny, 1917-1923* (History of Ukraine, 1917-1923). Uzhhorod, 1930-1932, 2 vols.; Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U. S. Commission for the Establishment of the Facts and Dates of the 1917-1920 Ukrainian Liberation Struggle. *The Great Ukrainian Revolution; Material on the Rebirth of Ukrainian Statehood*. New York, 1967, 111 pp.

2) *Communist Takeover and Occupation of Ukraine*; Special Report No. 4 of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, House of Representatives, Eighty-Third Congress, Second Session. Washington, 1955, pp. 17-26

With the start of World War II the Ukrainian people, taking advantage of the conflict between two totalitarian systems, Russian Communism and German Nazism, decided to reassert their wish for an independent life. On June 30, 1941, Ukraine legalized this yearning for freedom through the proclamation of the rebirth of the Ukrainian Independent State by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera. This time, however, the development of the renovated statehood was halted by new occupation forces, those of Hitler's Germany. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian people did not lay down their arms, and, as a result, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), organized in 1942, began to fight the new occupant and tried to protect the population of Ukraine from the terror of German policy in Eastern Europe.<sup>3</sup> As soon as the Russian Communist forces began their second occupation of Ukrainian territory, the UPA turned its arms against Communist Russia, trying to protect the people from both of these invading forces, who were fighting for the possession of Ukraine.<sup>4</sup> In the fight against the Russian occupation regime the C-in-C. of the UPA, Gen. Taras Chuprypka (Roman Shukhevych) was killed in a battle with the MVD troops near Lviv, capital of West Ukraine, on March 5th, 1950.

Having occupied all of Ukraine, after the retreat of the German forces, the Communist Party and the government of the Soviet Union continued its plan of systematic destruction of Ukrainian national, political and cultural achievements. They used all the means and methods at their disposal to denationalize the young Ukrainian generation and to create circumstances which unrelentingly strangled the normal development of the spiritual and physical potential of the Ukrainian people. Thus, although officially guaranteeing Ukraine her independence in the guise of the Ukrainian SSR, Russian imperialism, under the protective mantle of the USSR label, strived to transform Ukraine into a backward province of Russia, faithfully following in the footsteps of the Tsarist imperialists.

Today, when the all-encompassing development and growth of cultured nations are following a normal course, the colonial policy of the Soviet Union not only remains unchanged, but, quite to the contrary, gathers momentum by choosing ever new and devious ways

<sup>3</sup> M. Lebed', *Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armia; ŭ heneza, rist i dii u vyzvol'ni borot'bi ukrains'koho narodu za ukrains'ku samostiinu sobornu derzhavu* (The Ukrainian Insurgent Army; its genesis, growth and actions in the struggle of liberation of the Ukrainian people for a free and unified Ukrainian state). I. Chastyna: nimets'ka okupatsiia Ukraïny (Part I: the German occupation of Ukraine). (Munich), 1946, 96 pp. Zhdanovych, *Na partyzans'komu fronti. Orhanizatsiia Ukrains'kykh Natsionalistiv 1929-1954. Zbirnyk stattei u 25littia OUN* (On the guerrilla front. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists 1929-1954. Collection of articles on the 25th anniversary of OUN). (Abroad). Published by the First Ukrainian Publishing House in France, 1955, pp. 405-420.

<sup>4</sup> P. Mirchuk, *Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armia, 1942-1952* (The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, 1942-1952). Munich, 1953, 319 pp.



of stopping any normal cultural development, notwithstanding that the Constitution of the USSR formally guarantees to every Soviet Republic, Ukraine among them, all rights for an independent national life and a spiritual and material development of its peoples.<sup>5</sup>

Reliable sources and documents demonstrated that the policy of Russian communism towards Ukraine is premeditatively executed in the following ways:

- Persecution of Ukrainian Churches and destruction of cultural and religious monuments and relics.

- Not an official, but a *de facto* prohibition of the use of the Ukrainian language in schools, public and government institutions.

- Incarceration and deportation to forced labour camps beyond the boundaries of Ukraine of those Ukrainian cultural leaders who dared to speak up in defense of Ukrainian culture and of their native language.

- Destruction of historical monuments, archives, old manuscripts and documents, which record the history and political development of the Ukrainian nation.

- Forced resettlement of the Ukrainian population to the virgin lands of Kazakhstan and Siberia.

- Restrictions imposed on publications written in Ukrainian.

- A continuous economic exploitation of Ukraine.

- Neglect and denial of academic freedom in the higher educational institutions of Ukraine.

- A total restriction and withdrawal of all political rights of the Ukrainian people, even those guaranteed by the constitution of the Ukrainian SSR.

The numerous news items which slip through the "Iron Curtain", whether eyewitness testimonies of tourists, copies of illegal writings and documents circulating in the USSR, or even in the form of inadvertent complaints in the Soviet press are evidence of the current state of affairs in Ukrainian territories under Soviet Russian occupation. These materials make it possible, at least to some degree, to reconstruct the real conditions of the Ukrainian people under Soviet rule.

## II. PERSECUTION OF UKRAINIAN CHURCHES

At the present time, regardless of the official recognition by the Soviet government of the freedom of religion, a depressing majority of churches in Ukraine either lie in rubble, are closed, have been converted into stables, warehouses, and storehouses, or at best into

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<sup>5</sup> *Konstitutsiia (osnovnoi zakon) Soiuza Sovetskikh Sotsialisticheskikh Respublik* (Constitution (fundamental law) of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics). Moscow, 1960, 19 pp.

public clubs, historical and anti-religious museums.<sup>6</sup> In Kiev alone, known for its numerous golden-topped domes of monasteries and churches, out of 400 churches, only 6 are open for religious services.<sup>7</sup> Of the hundreds of ancient monasteries of Ukraine only three are active today.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, ordainment among priests is absolutely impossible, even within the officially recognized Russian Orthodox Church, which is headed by the patriarch of Moscow, who is appointed by the Communist government. The journal of the said patriarch reported recently that at present there is only one seminary of lower rank in Ukraine. To enter seminary is virtually impossible, because the entrance examinations demand knowledge in fields of study that are repressed by the regime.<sup>9</sup> The few churches which are open for services frequently become raid targets during which both priests and the faithful are arrested. An outstanding instance of the procedure followed by the Soviet police in regard to pilgrimages to Ukrainian religious shrines was reported recently from the well-known ancient Monastery of Pochaïv (the *Pochaïvs'ka Lavra*) in the Volyn' region:

"Members of the militia, the Komsomol (Young Communist League) and soldiers do not allow the faithful to enter churches. They stop the pilgrims on the outskirts of the city, and turn them back, and those who come by different routes they direct "for a check-up" to... psychiatric clinic, which has been set up in a former hostelry of the monastery.

The chief of the passport detachment of the militia... together with his henchmen, checks the people in the Lavra itself during Mass. The psychiatric clinic is used as a check-up station from which some are taken to prison, others to the insane asylum; still others are deported no one knows where.

On the 1st of December of last year the priest-monks, Valer'ian and Volodymyr, the priest-deacon Havryl and Oleksij were arrested. All of the Lavra property was confiscated including the maintenance and residential buildings."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> B. Mikorskii, *Razrusheniye kul'turno-istoricheskikh pamyatnikov v Kiyevе v 1934-1936 godakh* (Destruction of cultural and historical monuments in Kiev in 1934-1936). Munich, 1951, 18 pp.

<sup>7</sup> "Iz zhizni eparkhii; Ekzarkhat Ukrainy (From the life of the diocese; Exarchate of Ukraine)", *Zhurnal Moskovskoy Patriarkhii* (Journal of the Moscow patriarchy), 1967, No. 1, pp. 40-41.

<sup>8</sup> "Til'ky try monastysi v Ukraïni (Only three monasteries in Ukraine)", *Shliakh peremohy* (The Way to Victory; Ukrainian weekly, Munich), July 24, 1966, p. 3.

<sup>9</sup> "Pravila priyema v dukhovnyye uchebnyye zavedeniya Moskovskoy Patriarkhii na 1967/68 uchebnyy god (Regulations for admission to religious educational institutions of the Moscow patriarchy for the 1967/68 academic year)", *Zhurnal Moskovskoy Patriarkhii*, 1967, No. 4, pp. 22-23.

<sup>10</sup> M. Danyliuk, "A Pochaïv dali ruinuyut' (Pochaïv continues to be destroyed)", *Svoboda*, January 21, 1966, p. 2.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, with its Metropolitan See in Kiev, has also suffered terribly from Russian communist terror. The persecution and physical destruction of this national church of Ukraine had its beginnings in 1927, reaching its peak in 1935.<sup>11</sup> As result over 3,000 priests, 22 bishops, 11 archbishops, headed by the Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Vasyl Lypkivskyj, were either murdered or deported to concentration camps in Siberia.<sup>12</sup> In those years the persecution of the faithful was stepped up, and even those caught at silent prayer in their homes were punished. These repressions still continue today, when individuals are sent to Mordovian forced labour camps.<sup>13</sup>

After the occupation of Western Ukraine in 1944-45, on orders coming from Moscow, the police forces of the NKVD incarcerated and, without any trial, tortured to death or deported to jails and concentration camps in the far north all members of the hierarchy and hundreds of priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, including Metropolitan Josyf Slipyj.<sup>14</sup> At the same time, seminaries were despoiled of their valuable book collections; church archives and old manuscripts, guarded for centuries in the Metropolitan's library in Lviv, were seized. All these primary sources were secretly transported to Leningrad.<sup>15</sup> Following this action and on express orders of Moscow, so-called Synod of the Greek-Catholic Church was called in the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv, on March 8, 1946. At this Synod the Ukrainian Catholic Church was forced to become part of the Russian Orthodox Church, which was officially recognized by the Communist regime.<sup>16</sup> As a result of this persecution, the church was forced to go into the underground, where the remaining clergy and the many faithful secretly participate in religious rites in various hiding places and present-day catacombs.<sup>17</sup>

11) L. Mydlowsky, *Bolshevist Persecution of Religion and Church in Ukraine, 1917-1957; Informative Outline*. London, 1958, pp. 9-11.

12) *Ibid.*, pp. 10-13.

13) "Lyst iz taboru ch. 17 Dubravnoho upravlinnia vypravno-trudovykh taboriv Mordovs'koï ASSR (Letter from Camp No. 17 of the Dubravno regional administration of corrective labour camps of the Mordovian ASSR)" *Ukrains'ke Slovo* (Ukrainian Word; weekly, Paris). October 1, 1967, p. 1. English translation in *The Ukrainian Review*. No. 1, 1968.

14) *First Victims of Communism; White Book on the Religious Persecution in Ukraine*. Rome, 1953, 114 pp.

15) A. I. Baranovich, "K izucheniyu magnatskikh arkhivov Ukrainy", (For the study of magnate archives of Ukraine)", *Akademiya nauk SSSR. Institut istorii. Problemy istochnikovedeniia* (Academy of sciences of the USSR. Institute of history. Problems of the study of primary sources), Vol. 5. Moscow, 1956, pp. 146-153.

16) *Diiannia Soboru Hreko-katolyts'koï Tserkvy u L'vovi, 8-10 bereznia, 1946* (Acts of the Synod of the Greek-Catholic Church in Lviv, March 8-10, 1946). Lviv, 1946, 173 pp.

17) "Peresliduvannia Tserkvy v Soviets'komu Soiuzi prodovzhuie'tsia (The persecution of the Church in the Soviet Union continues)", *Svoboda* (Freedom; Ukrainian Daily, Jersey City, N. J.), March 9, 1966, p. 2.



Today the Communist Russian regime carries out a cruel persecution of the Baptist Church in Ukraine. The latest information from Kiev reveals only a small part of this unbelievable terror. These sources describe the Gospel Services of the Kievan community of the Evangelical Christian Baptists as follows:

"On Sunday, May 22 of this year, the Kievan community of the ECB was conducting its regular service as usual in the forest near the railroad station DVR-3 . . . At the very beginning of this service the faithful were surrounded by militia men, agents of the K.G.B. and soldiers, who had arrived there in special vehicles and buses, and outnumbered the faithful. Without even letting them finish praying . . . the maddened sadistic agents in uniforms and in plain clothes assaulted not only the men, but also the women, children, and old people. They dragged them by the hair, shoved them to the ground, beat them with their feet and fists, and tried to drive the faithful into the interior of the forest, farther from the railroad station, so that people would not see this and would not become witnesses to their criminal behaviour."<sup>18</sup>

When the numerous complaints of the faithful against the wanton behaviour of the police were completely ignored by the administration, the communities of the Evangelical Christian Baptists from various cities of the Ukrainian SSR decided to send their representatives to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC of the CPSU) in Moscow. Their aim was to obtain the right, guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR, to practice their religion. The efforts of the delegation on behalf of their rights before the administration in Moscow are reported in an open letter, a "Declaration" written by the Kievan Evangelical Christian Baptists to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, and to other leaders of the party and the government. A quotation from this letter signed by 116 persons, reads:

"On May 16, 1966 near the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, had gathered the all-Soviet delegation of the Evangelical Christian Baptist Churches from more than 130 cities numbering 500 persons, among them 14 delegates from (our) Kievan congregation . . . This gathering occurred because (with the knowledge and directives of the central and administrative channels) the faithful of the ECB for decades found themselves most unjustly treated, as can be witnessed by the systematic repressions, assaults, arrests, searches, the demolition and confiscation of houses of prayer, the taking away of children (from their parents), the disruption of religious services,

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<sup>18</sup>) V. Borovs'kyi, "Peresliduvannia khrystyian v SSSR zahostruiet'sia (Persecution of Christians in the USSR increases)", *Svoboda*, April 5, 1967, p. 2.

the discrimination in factories and schools, the incitement of the public against the faithful, etc. . . .

Instead of admitting them and hearing the needs and pleas of the church delegates, who for 24 hours had stood under the open sky in the rain under the walls of the Central Committee building, due to orders of the Central Committee of the CPSU, under the leadership of Comrade Semichastny, the chief of the K.G.B. (Committee of State Security), on May 17 of this year (1966) the delegates were surrounded by workers of the K.G.B. and agents of the militia, and were ferociously assaulted: they were dragged by the hair, had their heads cracked against the walls and the asphalt, were choked, beaten with bottles over their heads, etc.

Afterwards the delegation, among them the delegates of the Kievan congregation, were arrested and sent to Moscow's Lefortian jail. Some of them later returned home; but the fate of the majority of the members of the delegation, among their number seven of our members, is unknown. The punishment near the building of the Central Committee set the tone for similar actions by local government officials."<sup>19</sup>

### III. DESTRUCTION OF UKRAINIAN CULTURAL MONUMENTS

Following the religious persecution in Ukraine, the Russian regime is systematically destroying Ukraine's ancient churches and other historical monuments, because they are witnesses of Ukrainian traditions and of the deep religiosity of the Ukrainian people. Continuing the policy of Stalin, Moscow has managed to destroy in recent times hundreds of churches and architectural monuments from the Medieval and Cossack Periods, while it preserves similar Russian historical monuments, at the cost of the entire Communist empire, as national treasures of the Russian people. The destruction of Ukrainian historical monuments has reached such alarming proportions that even the Soviet press cannot keep it a secret any longer, as, for instance, in the case of the Vydubys'kyi Monastery, the architectural and historic monument dating back to the 11th Century.<sup>20</sup> This monastery, one of the oldest witnesses of the beginnings of Ukrainian history, has suffered the same fate of destruction as the other ancient structures from the same period, for example the Mykhailivs'kyi (St. Michael's) Monastery, the "Tithe" (Desiatynna) Church, and the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Monastery of the Caves (Pechers'ka Lavra) in Kiev. Reports from Ukraine relate that in 1966 alone, among many others, an old church built in the Ukrainian style

<sup>19</sup>) V. Borovs'kyi, "Peresliduvannia . . .", *Svoboda*, April 4, 1967, p. 2.

<sup>20</sup>) B. Torian, "Avtoru 'Detskogo mira' (pis'mo v redaktsiiu), (For the author of 'Children's World' (letter to the editor)", *Izvestiia* (News; Russian daily, Moscow), August 21, 1965, p. 4.

near the City of Uman', was dismantled, as well as the palace of the Ukrainian metropolitans in Kiev, the church of the Ukrainian Cossack baroque style in Stare Misto. The famous Armenian Cathedra (Virmens'kyi Sobor) in Lviv, dating from the 14th century, was converted into a storehouse for a collection of 10,000 very rare ancient Ukrainian icons which were taken from the National Museum and which now lie in heaps in the cold and damp building. A jewel of the Renaissance, the Chapel of the Boims (kaplytsia Boïmiv) in Lviv, serves as a warehouse for the government owned store next door.<sup>21</sup> *Molod' Ukraïny* (Youth of Ukraine), the organ of the Komsomol (Communist Youth League) informed its readers that in the city of Dolyna, a church built in the 15th century, "was torn down by bulldozers to be used as firewood." A similar fate was met by the church of Kolomyia, built in 1587. Churches in Chernivtsi, Slovianohors'k, and in other cities and villages of Ukraine were also destroyed.<sup>22</sup>

Very recently letters of protest appeared on the pages of Ukraine's press against the plan of a complete rebuilding of the architectural complex of the Kievan Academy,<sup>23</sup> a monument of Ukrainian architecture of the 17th century, over which "hangs the threat of complete annihilation... A number of ancient buildings are to be razed, and in their place the building of new structures is foreseen which will give the ensemble different characteristics, modern, but inappropriate", to its spirit.<sup>24</sup> The testimony of Hryhorii Lohvyn on the pages of *Literaturna Ukraïna* (Literary Ukraine) draws the reader's attention to the destruction of unique Ukrainian architectural and artistic treasures:

"The 1963 destruction of the refectory of the (military) Cathedral of St. Nicholas (Mykolaivs'kyi sobor) in Kiev, as well as of the belfry of the Piatnyts'ka Church in Chernihiv, and of the wooden churches in the village of Rus'ke Pole in the Carpathian region are still fresh in our memories...

It is even worse with manuscripts, sculptures, carvings, jewelry, and with objects of applied decorative art. Nobody made an account of them; nowhere is there a description of them, nor have inventories been made... Unfortunately, the Ministry of Culture

<sup>21</sup> Leonid Volynskii, "Okhraniaetsia gosudarstvom (Protected by the state)", *Novyi mir* (New World; Russian monthly, Moscow), Vol. 42, No. 10 (October, 1966), pp. 197-198.

<sup>22</sup> N. Korol', "Ruinuvannia pam'iatnykiv v Ukraïni (Destruction of monuments in Ukraine)", (From the reports of Kiev's newspaper *Molod' Ukraïny* (Youth of Ukraine) of June 6, 1965), *Svoboda*, September 18, 1965, p. 3.

<sup>23</sup> O. Apanovych, et al., "Sviatynia slov'ians'koï kul'tury (A sanctuary of Slavic culture)", *Literaturna Ukraïna* (Literary Ukraine; semi-weekly), October 20, 1967, p. 2.

<sup>24</sup> M. Braichevs'kyi, "Velych Kyïvs'koï Akademii (The Grandeur of the Kievan Academy)", *Molod' Ukraïny*, November 26, 1967, p. 2.



and its Museum Administration stand aloof from this important matter to this day. They even forbid museums to assume responsibility for these architectural monuments and to show them to visitors. And yet such action could save them."<sup>25</sup>

The Russian regime and the Communist Party apply this policy of destruction not only to architectural and historical monuments but also to Ukrainian archives, museums, and cultural reservations or sanctuaries. The official Soviet press has released information that one of Ukraine's best reservations, the Sofiivka in Uman', containing the remnants of Trypilian burial grounds dating back to 1,800-800 B.C., has been completely destroyed. The house in which the writer Ivan Nechui-Levyts'kyi was born, has been totally neglected and is now used for the needs of a collective farm. The museum named in his honour "has been relocated in . . . a corner of the collective farm's smithy",<sup>26</sup> "The building where the poet Nishchynskyi was born and where he worked, and the houses and grave of the poet S. Rudans'kyi were destroyed completely."<sup>27</sup> Precious shrines from the 11th and 12th centuries in the city of Chernihiv were made warehouses for lumber and second hand goods; at the same time, one of Ukraine's richest museums, the Museum of Chernihiv, was housed in a decrepit, small building which also serves as a beerhall.<sup>28</sup> Any initiative on the part of the Ukrainian population to rescue these monuments is strictly prohibited by Moscow, thus accelerating the process of their irreversible destruction. An eloquent example of Russian policy is the confirmed arson of the Ukrainian Section in the Kiev Public Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The fire destroyed irrevocably over 600,000 old manuscripts, incunabula, and materials pertaining to the history of Ukraine and to the administrative activity of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1917-1920. Not only the above mentioned materials, but also their catalogue was destroyed thus leaving not the smallest trace of their existence.<sup>29</sup> As a result of this policy of the Soviet government in Ukraine the 1490 historical monuments that were under government protection in 1956 had diminished to 864 in 1963.<sup>30</sup>

However, the material and physical monuments of Ukrainian history and culture, such as churches, ancient buildings and archives,

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<sup>25</sup> Hryhorii Lohvyn, "Liubimo, Oberihaimo! (Let's love them, let's save them!)", *Literaturna Ukraïna*, December 16, 1966, p. 4.

<sup>26</sup> Korol', p. 3.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup> Volynskii, pp. 206-208.

<sup>29</sup> "Ukraïna obvynuvachuie (Ukraine accuses)", *Svoboda*, March 2, 1965, p. 2; "Z pryvodu protestu nad Pohruzhal'skym; dokument z Ukraïny pro viinu z Shevchenkom (On the occasion of the trial of Pohruzhal'sky; a document from Ukraine about the war with Shevchenko)", *Homin Ukraïny* (Echo of Ukraine; Ukrainian weekly, Toronto), March 9, 1968, pp. 2, 6.

<sup>30</sup> Volynskii, p. 210. Only a few examples were taken from this article among the many that it contains.

are not the only targets of destruction by the Russian Communist regime in Ukraine. Toponyms, i.e., names of cities, villages, and other geographical elements, which are so deeply rooted in the people and their history, are constantly changed to new names, frequently Russified and related to communism, so as to wipe out traces of Ukraine's past. "Today everything has a different name... for example, Kniazhdvir (Court of the Princes) in the Kolomyia region, is now called Verkhnie (Upper Village), and the large village of Ispas (the Saviour) was divided into Hirs'ke (Village of the Mountains) and Dolishnie (Lower Village)... the ancient streets of Lviv, from which the city began to grow, have disappeared... And yet the renaming fever is rising ever higher each day."<sup>31</sup>

#### IV. RUSSIFICATION AND REPRESSION OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

Russification is the practice of linguistic genocide in the USSR, whereby the ruling Russian government forcefully imposes the Russian language upon government agencies, schools, pupils, high school and university students, and publishes an overwhelming majority of books and textbooks in Russian in all of the national, non-Russian republics. The goal of all this is to destroy any feeling of national identity among the non-Russian peoples and to transform them via this political tool of "fusion of nations" into one Russian nation. The policy of Russification violates the stipulation of the UN Charter, which guarantees to all peoples and nationalities the freedom to foster their native language, culture, and national traditions.

In Ukraine today Communist Russia has started the largest campaign of Russification in her history. This campaign is especially noticeable in its attacks on the Ukrainian language, which is being forcibly replaced by the Russian language, mainly in government agencies and in the schools of Ukraine. Eye witnesses, who visited the most important cities of Ukraine, confirm that the Russian language is used with predominance not only in public institutions and schools, but also on the streets of Ukrainian cities.<sup>32</sup> If a Ukrainian gathers enough courage to speak in his native tongue, a crowd of Russian chauvinists, possessing unlimited power in Ukraine<sup>33</sup> immediately shout after him — "nationalist", "bourgeois nationalist"

<sup>31</sup> Roman Ivanchuk, "Naihlybshi shary istorii (The deepest layers of history)", *Literaturna Ukraïna*, February, 10, 1967, p. 3.

<sup>32</sup> V. N-vych, "Z opovidan' turystky (From the narration of a tourist)", *Svoboda*, December 29, 1967, pp. 2-3; John Kolasky, *Education in Soviet Ukraine; A Study in Discrimination and Russification*. Toronto, 1968, p. xii.

<sup>33</sup> Kolasky, pp. xii-xiii.

— thus branding him with a name, which in the Soviet Union often leads to harassment by the police.<sup>34</sup>

The state of the Russification of Ukraine is so grave and menacing that even a special delegation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Canada, which visited Ukraine in 1967, was alarmed and expressed its discontent in its official report published in *Viewpoint*, the organ of the Communist Party of Canada. In this report the Canadian communists corroborate, among other things, that: 1. Signs at railroad stations in Ukraine are written exclusively in Russian, 2. "The menus in Ukrainian restaurants of the railway system are in Russian, French, English, German, and other languages, but not in Ukrainian", 3. The guides of Intourist, the official Soviet tourist agency address the tourists in Ukraine in Russian, 4. For the Ukrainians living in Moscow, Kazakhstan, and other parts of the USSR outside of Ukraine there are no schools with instruction in Ukrainian, and they do not have any Ukrainian theatres, newspapers or clubs, while for the Russians living in the Ukrainian SSR there are Russian theatres, schools, newspapers, etc., 5. On the streets of Kiev, Russian is heard so much that "it seems that it is the privileged language." 6. There is "a tendency to brand as bourgeois nationalism or some kind of deviation any demands for a greater usage of the Ukrainian language in public institutions."<sup>35</sup>

An undeniable proof of the forceful Russification of Ukrainian people is the fact that at the beginning of the 1964/65 academic year, in the elementary and secondary schools of the Ukrainian SSR, there were 38,100 teachers of Ukrainian language and literature, and 37,100 teachers of Russian language and literature.<sup>36</sup> Though only 16.9% of Ukraine's population is Russian, there is an equal, if not greater, amount of funds, time, and teaching personnel assigned to the foreign Russian language. The Russification of Ukrainian schools is so widespread that in November of 1966, Oles' Honchar, Secretary of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, told the delegates at the Congress of Ukrainian Writers (in Kiev) "that the teaching of the Ukrainian language in secondary and higher schools sometimes finds itself in a worse position than foreign languages in Ukraine."<sup>37</sup>

That Russification in Ukraine grew to frightful dimensions is demonstrated by John Kolasky in his book *Education in Soviet Ukraine*, written on the basis of official statistical publications and other Soviet sources, as well as on the basis of his own experiences

<sup>34</sup>) Rev. M. Shchudlo, ChNI, "Mii pobut u Kyievi (My stay in Kiev)", *Holos Spasytelia* (Redeemer's voice), Vol. 38, No. 10 (October, 1965), pp. 16-22.

<sup>35</sup>) "Report of Delegation to Ukraine; Central Committee Meeting — September 16, 17 and 18, 1967." *Viewpoint*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (January, 1968), pp. 4, 11, 12.

<sup>36</sup>) *Narodne hospodarstvo Ukraïns'koï RSR v 1964 rotsi; statystychnyi shchorychnyk* (National economy of the Ukrainian SSR in 1964; statistical yearbook). Kiev, 1965, p. 571.

<sup>37</sup>) "Report...", p. 4.



during his two year residence in Kiev, where he attended the university from 1963 to 1965.<sup>38</sup> The records of children's songs and games and the films used in kindergartens in Ukraine are only in Russian, with the result that the children speak in a half-Ukrainian, half-Russian jargon (p. 54). There are no children's records in Ukrainian, not even at the Ministry of Education in Kiev (p. 54). During the 1958/59 academic year in every city of Ukraine, an overwhelming majority of children were attending schools with instruction in Russian, 73.1% of the children in Kiev were in Russian schools, and only 26.9% in Ukrainian schools, while in Kharkiv 95.9% attended Russian schools and 4.1% attended schools with instruction in Ukrainian. Since then the situation has become even worse. In Luhans'k, where in 1959 1,500 children attended Ukrainian schools, in 1964 there were no Ukrainian schools at all. In 1964 there were no Ukrainian schools in the city of Donetsk, and in Chernivtsi in 1965, only four of a total of 40 schools still carried out instruction in Ukrainian. In Kolomyia both secondary schools were Russian (p. 57). Although in some of the schools of Ukraine instruction is conducted in Ukrainian, there are certain subjects, e.g., art and physical education, for which there are no textbook in Ukrainian at all, and the texts, written in Russian are brought in from the RSFSR (p. 60). (These subjects are taught in Russian even in the Ukrainian schools). Kolasky writes:

"Even the Ukrainian schools present a picture that is far from Ukrainian . . . A person walking into such a school, especially in a city or town, will likely find that on the walls hang portraits of Russian writers and leaders of the Communist party and government of the USSR; the slogans, signs and wall newspapers will be in Russian; the janitor will more than likely be Russian; music, art, industrial training and physical education will generally be taught in Russian; the library will be filled with Russian books; most children's and youth magazines will be in Russian." (p. 63).

In the schools of Ukraine where instruction is done in Hungarian, Moldavian, or Polish, the Ukrainian language is not part of the curriculum; whereas a large number of hours a week are devoted to the Russian language and literature (pp. 72-73).

The Ukrainian language is suffering from a continual Russification, an action often criticized in the Soviet Ukrainian press by Ukrainian linguists, teachers, and other patriots,<sup>39</sup> who take the risk of being

<sup>38</sup>) Proofs of the Russification of Ukraine and of national discrimination of Ukrainians in the USSR are found on every page of this scholarly written and magnificently documented work. We chose a few of them.

<sup>39</sup>) For example: Vitalii Koval', "Uzhynok 'bahato-tyrazhnykh' pomylok (Reaping errors 'in many copies')", *Literaturna Ukraïna*, July 14, 1967, p. 3; U. Skal'ska, engineer, "Pershoklasni klopoty (Worries in the first grade)", and Olena Meisarosh-Fedynshynets', teacher, "Ne 'v kursy spravy' (Not in the know)", *Lit. Ukr.*, October 20, 1967, p. 3; B. Antonenko-Davydovych, "Proodne unormovane neporozuminnia (About a normalized misunderstanding)", *Lit Ukr.*, January 30, 1968, p. 4.

severely persecuted by the government. The policy of Russification of the Ukrainian language in the Ukr. SSR (consisting of an artificial and forced introduction of Russian words and expressions into its lexicon, a replacement of its characteristic grammatical rules with rules similar to or completely identical with Russian rules, and of periodic changes of the norms of Ukrainian orthography, which bring it closer to Russian) is clearly reflected in the latest edition of *Norms of Ukrainian Orthography (Ukraïns'kyi pravopys)*. In its foreward the editors proclaim triumphantly that in this revised edition "the divergencies in the common features of the Ukrainian and Russian norms of orthography have been eliminated."<sup>40</sup>

Russification of the Ukrainian population is very acutely felt in every facet of daily life. On Soviet passports Ukrainian first and last names are given in Russian translation, and the signs on the roads of Ukraine indicating towns and cities are transliterated in the Latin alphabet not from Ukrainian, but from Russian.<sup>41</sup> The Russification of the Ukrainian language is evident even from the street signs in Kiev and in other cities of Ukraine, on which Ukrainian names are twisted to fit the Russian form.<sup>42</sup>

It should be mentioned that the policy of discrimination with respect to the Ukrainian language has also found its ruinous expression in the publishing field. *Pechat' SSSR* (USSR Press) for 1966 reports that during that year over 1012 million copies of publications were in Russian, and only 80 million copies in Ukrainian, a large part of them being pamphlets of a purely propagandist nature.<sup>43</sup> Therefore in 1966 for every 100 persons of the Ukrainian population of the USSR, 195 books in Ukrainian were printed, while for every 100 Russians in the USSR, 797 books in Russian were issued. In the Ukrainian SSR in the same year 3,021 books were published in Ukrainian; whereas 4,246 books were published in Russian (p. 95). Of all the books and pamphlets published in Ukraine in 1966, 941 titles were of a purely propagandist nature, and 173 titles pertained to Russian literature. Ukrainian literature was allotted only 482 titles (pp. 98-99). In 1966, 288 magazines and other periodical publication were issued in Ukraine, 120 of them in Ukrainian and 168 in Russian (p. 156). In that same year, 758 newspapers in Ukraine were published in Ukrainian and 348 in Russian (p. 187).

<sup>40</sup> *Ukraïns'kyi pravopys*, second revised enlarged edition. Kiev, 1960, p. 4.

<sup>41</sup> Iaroslav Kharchun, "Vykrystalizuvane vikamy (Crystallized by the ages)", *Literaturna Ukraïna*, January 31, 1967, p. 3.

<sup>42</sup> B. Antonenko-Davydovych, "Vahovyti dribnytsi; dyvna hramatyka (Serious trifles; a strange grammar)", *Literaturna Ukraïna*, November 11, p. 4; Oleksandr Kivin'ka, "Perukarnia chy postryha'n'ia? ('perukarnia' or 'postryha'n'ia?)" *Lit. Ukr.*, November 17, 1967, p. 4.

<sup>43</sup> *Pechat' SSSR v 1966 godu; statisticheskie materialy* (Press of the USSR in 1966; statistical materials). Moscow, 1967, p. 10.

If we add the fact that every year more than 1,000,000 books are exported by Soviet Ukrainian publishing houses to libraries and bookstores abroad,<sup>44</sup> then we see that the number of Ukrainian books which the Ukrainian people get in their native language becomes even smaller. Attesting to the shortage of Ukrainian-language books among Ukrainians in the USSR is a letter (which appeared in the newspaper *Literaturna Ukraïna* (Kiev) on September 8, 1967) from a group of Ukrainians resettled on the arid lands of Kazakhstan. The letter stated:

'Almost half of the workers of the state farm are of Ukrainian nationality. They resettled here from the Dnipro region, Sumy, and the Western (Ukrainian) provinces. The people in the village like the works of (here the names of 11 Ukrainian authors are mentioned) ... but to read them is not always possible, since in the library there are no books in our native language. For some reason they never reach us.'<sup>45</sup>

It is difficult not only for Ukrainians resettled in remote parts of the USSR far from their homeland to obtain publications in Ukrainian, but it is difficult also for Ukrainians living in the large cities of the Ukrainian SSR to do so. From letters to the editors of Soviet Ukrainian newspapers, we learn that there are almost no works of Ukrainian literature in the bookstores of Odessa,<sup>46</sup> the fifth largest city of Ukraine, and that in the bookstalls of Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, it is impossible to buy the Ukrainian newspaper *Kul'tura i zhyttia* (Culture and life),<sup>47</sup> although it is published in Kiev and is the official organ of the Ministry of Culture of the Ukr. SSR. "Veselka" (the only Ukrainian publishers of children's literature in the Soviet Union), on orders from Moscow, is allowed to fill only 30-35% of the public's demand for children's books in Ukrainian.<sup>48</sup> Nineteen magazines for youth and children are published in the RSFSR, while only three are issued in Ukraine, namely *Maliatko* (Little one), *Barvinok* (*Periwinkle*), and *Pioneriia* (Pioneers, i.e., the communist version of the Boy Scouts). The last two are published both in Ukrainian and Russian editions. For example, in 1966 the total printing of *Barvinok* was 350,000 copies — 225,000 (64.3%) in Ukrainian and 125,000 (35.7%) in Russian. In the same year, 69.8%

<sup>44</sup> "Movoiu tsyfr (In the language of numbers)", *Literaturna Ukraïna*, July 18, 1967, p. 2.

<sup>45</sup> "Prosymo pys'mennykiv (We are asking the writers)", *Literaturna Ukraïna*, September 8, 1966, p. 3.

<sup>46</sup> Mykhailo Sak, "Lohika' odes'kykh knyhotorhivtsiv ('The logic' of the Odessa booksellers)", *Literaturna Ukraïna*, April 19, 1966, p. 4.

<sup>47</sup> Olena Boiko's letter to the editors of *Kul'tura i zhyttia* in Kiev published in the issue of June 14, 1966. Reprinted in *Svoboda*, July 19, 1966, p. 2.

<sup>48</sup> "Chotyry interv'iu; Dmytro Tkach, dyrector vydavnytstva 'Veselka' (Four interviews; Dmytro Tkach, director of the 'Veselka' house)", *Literaturna Ukraïna*, December 29, 1967, p. 1.



of the total printing of *Pioneriia* came out in Ukrainian and 30.2% in Russian; but in 1967, in keeping with the Russification directives from Moscow, the printing of the Ukrainian edition was lowered to 65.2%, whereas the Russian edition was raised to 34.8%.<sup>49</sup>

Although in 1966 there were 26,932 public libraries in the Ukrainian SSR<sup>50</sup> (not counting research, university, school, technical, and other specialized libraries), the important publications in Ukrainian literature, literary criticism, arts, history and especially in the Ukrainian language and linguistics were printed in extremely small editions. For instance, the *History of Ukrainian Arts* in six volumes is being published now in Kiev in an edition of only 8,000 copies, whereas books on the art in the Kremlin were published in editions of tens of thousands of copies each.<sup>51</sup>

## V. FORCED RESETTLEMENT OF UKRAINIANS OUTSIDE UKRAINE

Moscow, in its planned effort to wipe out all the non-Russian nations and languages and to create on the territory of the USSR "one Russian nation" for many years has been deporting millions of Ukrainians from their native land to remote corners of the Soviet Union, such as Siberia, the Komi ASSR, Kazakhstan, as well as to different parts of the Russian Federation, including Moscow. The nationality policy of the Kremlin "consists of the Russification of the population and of the mass resettlement of Ukrainians from Ukraine into Siberia, Kazakhstan and other remote regions, and of the settlement of Ukraine's cities with non-Ukrainian, mainly Russian population..."<sup>52</sup> As a result of this cruel policy, 7.5 million Ukrainians live outside of Ukraine; and in the RSFR alone there are over 4,000,000 Ukrainians.<sup>53</sup> The Soviet government creates such conditions of life and work that Ukrainian peasants, workers, and scientists are forced to leave their homeland, because in Siberia or Kazakhstan they are given better opportunities of work than in Ukraine.

All graduates of Soviet institutions of higher education, including technical institutes, are forced by the government to work for three

<sup>49</sup>) Kolasky, p. 71.

<sup>50</sup>) *Vestnik statistiki; organ TsSU SSR* (The messenger of statistics; organ of the Central Statistical Administration of the USSR). Moscow, 1967, No. 9, p. 94.

<sup>51</sup>) *Khudozhestvennyye pamiatniki moskovskogo Kremli* (Art monuments of Moscow's Kremlin). Moscow, 1956 — 75,000 copies; *Krem' Moskvu* (Moscow's Kremlin). Moscow, 1957 — 50,000 copies; *Po Kremliu; kratkii putevoditel'* (Through the Kremlin; a short guide). Moscow, 1964 — 40,000 copies.

<sup>52</sup>) Letter of the Ukrainian philologist, journalist, and writer Sviatoslav Karavans'kyi to the First Secretary of the CP of Poland, V. Gomulka, published in Viacheslav Chornovil's book, *Lykho z rozumu* (Crime of Thought), Paris, 1967, pp. 123-129, quote from p. 127. English text in *The Chornovil Papers*, McGraw-Hill, 1968, pp. 180-186.

<sup>53</sup>) "Zaiava Opanasa Zalyvakhyy z kontstaboru (Statement by Opanas Zalyvakh from a concentration camp)", *Vyzvol'nyi shliakh*, Vol. 20, No. 11-12 (November-December, 1967), p. 1372. English text in *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 3, 1968, pp. 53-54.

years after their graduation on positions assigned to them. Even after finishing this obligatory job, Ukrainian specialists and scientists, who are, as a rule, sent beyond the borders of Ukraine, have a very hard time returning to their fatherland, because they need an official permit issued by the police to be able to do so.<sup>54</sup> The head of the Statistical Section of the State Planning Commission of the Ukrainian SSR unintentionally confirmed the fact that the appointment of specialists and scientists to positions outside Ukraine results in a denationalization of the Ukrainian people, since "those who stay there more than two years, usually settle permanently in the new home. On the whole, 80% of all who go to other parts of the Soviet Union settle in their new homes."<sup>55</sup> This forced Russification is also carried out by different means. Servicemen are sent far away from their place of origin to serve their military service. Thus Ukrainian soldiers can be found everywhere in the USSR except in Ukraine. (On the other hand, the Red Army men stationed on Ukrainian soil are of Russian and other nationalities). After their military service, discharged personnel are encouraged to settle in those parts where they were stationed while serving in the army.

A still further form of Russification is the governmental appointment of Russians to leading positions in industry, the party and in the local government of the non-Russian republics of the Soviet Union. A factory that has just been built in any part of Ukraine will unavoidably receive all of its personnel from Russia. The leading positions in the collective and state farms in Ukraine very often are also filled by Russians.<sup>56</sup>

The Russification of Ukraine in the form of this ethnic scrambling has reached such proportions that the minister of education of the Ukrainian SSR, P. P. Udovychenko, had to declare to the delegation of the Communist Party of Canada in 1967 that half of the inhabitants of Kiev are not Ukrainians,<sup>57</sup> although he did not admit the fact that most of these foreigners are Russian. Three young Ukrainian scientists and journalists, P. Skochok, V. Chornovil, and L. Shermet'ieva (in their open letter to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine of September 27, 1966), speak out thus against this chauvinistic policy:

"...having found his way to his native land as a tourist, a Ukrainian from the other side of the ocean will stare in amazement at not hearing the "official" (Ukrainian) language in the capital of Ukraine (neither on the streets, nor in institutions of higher education); he will hear it rarely in Lviv, where, according to the census, until 1939 there were 12 Russians. Now they constitute forty

<sup>54</sup>) Kolasky, p. 136.

<sup>55</sup>) "Report . . .", footnote on p. 4.

<sup>56</sup>) Kolasky, p. 75.

percent of the population. Also, he will not believe the loud words about mutual assistance when he comes across a janitor or a street-car conductor on the streets of Lviv who came here from the Krasnoyarsk region (in Russia), and when, at the same time, he finds out that his relatives are forced to move from the densely populated Galicia to the south of the Ukraine, or to emigrate to Russia, where without Ukrainian schools, cultural organizations, or publications in the Ukrainian language, they will not be able to escape Russification."<sup>58</sup>

The national discrimination and the policy of Russification of the Soviet government is especially evident when consideration is given to the fact that for the 7.5 million Ukrainians living in the USSR outside of Ukraine there is not one single elementary or secondary school that even offers Ukrainian language as a subject, not to speak of schools that carry out instruction in Ukrainian. Thus "the law about the right of going to a school with one's own native language of instruction (that article from the program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which says literally that every citizen has full freedom to speak, to educate, and to send his children to a school of the language of his choice...) does not have any practical meaning for the inhabitants of Vorkuta, the Far East, Kuban', and Central Russia, in short, those places where, not a few, but thousands of Ukrainians are living. There are no Ukrainian schools there..."<sup>59</sup> However, for the 7,091,000 Russians living in the Ukr. SSR, there are as many as 4,800 schools with instruction in Russian in Ukraine,<sup>60</sup> and the Russian language is a compulsory subject in every school in Ukraine, beginning in the second grade of elementary school.<sup>61</sup>

The process of forced Russification of the Ukrainian people is growing constantly. Towards the end of 1967, several European newspapers, among them the *London Free Press*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and the *London Times*, carried news from Moscow that the Soviet government was planning to resettle approximately 5,000,000 Ukrainians from Ukraine to the Far East and Eastern Siberia. "Subjected to this resettlement would be the best and the strongest biologically human elements of Ukraine: men and women within the average age of eighteen (18) to thirty or thirty-five (30-35). Their main

<sup>57</sup>) "Report...", p. 4.

<sup>58</sup>) V. Skochok, V. Chornovil, L. Sheremet'ieva, "Kolektyvnyi zhurnal Perets' (To the collective body of *Perets'* magazine)", *Ukrains'ke Slovo*, October 15, 1967, pp. 1-2, October 22, 1967, pp. 1-2, October 29, 1967, pp. 1-2. The quote was taken from the October 29 issue, p. 1. English text in *The Ukrainian Review*, 1968, No. 3, pp. 32-39.

<sup>59</sup>) From the concluding remarks by Mykhailo Horyn', psychologist and art critic, at his secret trial in the Lviv regional court on April 16, 1966. V. Chornovil, *Lykho z rozumu*, pp. 37-44, quote from p. 40.

<sup>60</sup>) "Report...", p. 3.

<sup>61</sup>) Kolasky, pp. 64-65.



assignment: to reinforce or to begin to build altogether a human barrier of the Russian empire facing the recisive foreposts of China.<sup>62</sup> On January 26, 1968, Radio Kiev (in its broadcast for Ukrainian abroad) confirmed these reports by declaring that "thousands of farmer families decided to emigrate from the central part of the country, Ukraine and Byelorussia, to the basin of the Amur River in the Far East. In the very near future the arrival of large parties of emigrants is expected there."<sup>63</sup>

## VI. NATIONAL DISCRIMINATION AGAINST UKRAINIAN STUDENTS AND SCIENTISTS

National discrimination in the Soviet Union is very evident in the admission of students to institutions of higher learning; in every case the favoritism accorded Russians and the discrimination against non-Russian students can be seen. Thus, although, according to the last Soviet census of 1959, 17.84% of the total population of the USSR was made up of Ukrainians and 54.64% by the Russians,<sup>64</sup> in the academic year 1965/66 there were 558,600 Ukrainian students in the USSR (14.47% of the total student population) as compared to 2,362,000 Russian students (61.18% of the total). In other words, the percentage of Russian students is 6.54% greater than the percentage of Russians in the Soviet Union, but the percentage of Ukrainian students is 3.37% smaller than the percentage of Ukrainians in the USSR. Even more significant indications of national discrimination exist within the Ukrainian SSR, where, according to the 1959 census, there were at that time 32,158,493 Ukrainians (76.8%) and 7,090,813 Russians (16.9%).<sup>65</sup> However, in Ukraine in 1960 of a total student population of 417,748 only 260,945 were Ukrainians (62.5%) while 125,464 were Russian (30.0%).<sup>67</sup> That is, the percentage of Russian students in the population of Ukraine, while the percentage of Ukrainian students in their own country is 14.3% smaller than the percentage

<sup>62</sup>) "Potvornyi plan narodovyvystva; Moskva bazhaie vyselyty p'iat' mil'ioniv ukrainstiv (Monstrous plan of national extermination; Moscow wishes to exile five million Ukrainians)", *Shliakh peremohy*, December 17, 1967, p. 1.

<sup>63</sup> "Vyvozy z Ukrainy (Deportations from Ukraine)", *Shliakh peremohy*, March 3, 1968, p. 1.

<sup>64</sup>) *SSSR v tsifrakh v 1962 godu* (The USSR in figures in 1962). Moscow, 1963, p. 15.

<sup>65</sup>) *Narodnoe khoziaistvo SSSR v 1965 g.* (National economy of the USSR in 1965). Moscow, 1966, p. 701.

<sup>66</sup>) *Ukrains'ka Radians'ka Entsyklopediia* (The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia). Kiev, 1965, vol. 17, p. 69.

<sup>67</sup>) *Vysshye obrazovaniye v SSSR; statisticheskii spravochnik* (Higher education in the USSR; statistical reference book). Moscow, 1961, p. 130. students is as much as 13.1% greater than the percentage of the

of Ukrainians in the Ukr. SSR. If one estimates that at the beginning of 1966 there were 41.37 million Ukrainians and 126.71 million Russians in the Soviet Union, then for every 10,000 Ukrainians in the USSR there were only 135 Ukrainian students; whereas for every 10,000 Russians there were as many as 184 Russian students.<sup>68</sup> The latest figures indicate even greater discrimination against Ukrainian students. In the first half of 1967 in institutions of higher education in the Ukrainian SSR, there were 451,000 Ukrainian students, approximately 61% of all the students, and 236,000 Russian students, approximately 32% of all the students.<sup>69</sup>

The Ukrainian journalist, philologist, and writer, Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, who at the present time is a prisoner in a concentration camp in the Mordovian ASSR as a result of having spoken out against Russification and in the defense of the rights of the Ukrainian people, produces the following proofs of Russification and national discrimination in Ukraine: "Persons of Ukrainian nationality, whose native language is Ukrainian, do not have equal rights of admission to secondary and higher institutions of learning in comparison with individuals whose mother tongue is Russian . . .", since, according to the decisions of the Ministry of Education, which is directly subordinated to Moscow, the entrance examinations to secondary and higher schools have to be written in Russian. The graduates of the Russian schools in Ukraine obtain better grades on these exams than do the graduates of Ukrainian schools. Therefore, by these means, the government is encouraging parents to send their children to Russian schools instead of schools with instruction in Ukrainian. "Thus, among those who were admitted to the Odessa Polytechnic Institute in 1964-65 Ukrainians constituted 43%. Out of 1,126 Ukrainians who submitted applications for admission, 453 or 40% were admitted. Of 1,042 Russians who applied for admission to the institute, 477 were admitted, or 46%." The ruling regime, "as a result of the 'relegation' of the Ukrainian language in the system of higher education to second place", creates a state of affairs in which "the graduates of universities and pedagogical institutes after the course of studies do not speak Ukrainian." Thus, for example, 50% of the graduates of the Odessa University and of the Odessa Pedagogical Institute refuse to teach in Ukrainian schools because of lack of knowledge of the Ukrainian language.<sup>70</sup> Besides Odessa University, in the Universities of Dnipropetrovsk and Kharkiv all courses, excluding Ukrainian language and Ukrainian literature, are taught in Russian. In the other four Ukrainian universities, namely in Kiev, Lviv, Uzhhorod,

<sup>68</sup>) *Narodnoye khoziaistvo* . . . , pp. 7, 701.

<sup>69</sup>) "Report . . . , p. 5.

<sup>70</sup>) The mentioned facts were taken from his letter to the Attorney General of the Ukr. SSR on February 24, 1965. The whole letter appears in V. Chornovil, *Lykho z rozumu*, pp. 110-115, quote from p. 16. *The Chornovil Papers*, pp. 170-174.

and Chernivtsi, only a few of the more daring professors and lecturers, especially in the social sciences, have the courage to teach in Ukrainian.<sup>71</sup>

As a result of the favoritism extended towards Russians in higher educational institutions, the Russians constitute a disproportionately large majority of the scientific cadres of the Soviet Union. In 1965 for example, there were 664,584 scientists in the USSR, including doctors of sciences, candidates, academicians, lecturers, and researchers in the institutions of higher learning and in research centers; among them 440,976 (66.35%) were Russians and 70,707 (10.65%) were Ukrainians.<sup>72</sup> From these official Soviet statistics national discrimination is clearly evident, since the percentage of Russian scientists in the USSR is 11.71% greater than the percentage of Russians in the Soviet Union, while the percentage of Ukrainian scientists is 7.19% below the percentage of Ukrainians in the USSR.

On the basis of official statistical and other Soviet publications, John Kolasky (see footnote 38), compiled irrefutable facts about the national discrimination against Ukrainians in the USSR both in higher education and in the sciences. In 1965 Ukraine received only 16.79% of the total Soviet budget for higher education, while Russia was given 62.14%. In other words the per capita spending for higher education was 5.06 rubles a year in Ukraine as compared to 6.71 rubles a year in Russia (p. 112). Discrimination also exists in the number of institutions of higher learning in the Ukr. SSR and the RSFSR. In 1965/66 there were 432 of them (57.14%) in Russia, and only 132 (17.46%) in Ukraine (pp. 114-115). After graduating from secondary school every Soviet student has to work at least two years before being eligible to enter an institution of higher education. However, some students are exempted by the government from this compulsory work. Following the policy of national discrimination, 43% of the students admitted to higher institutions in the Russian SFSR in 1960/61 were exempted from it, whereas only 25% of the students in Ukraine were privileged in the same way (p. 120). In 1956 the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union decreed that only 217 institutions of higher learning in the USSR would have the power to recommend graduate students for the degrees of candidate and doctor of science. Of these institutions only 37, that is 8.7%, are in Ukraine, while Russia has as many as 123 of them, that is 75.7% (pp. 125-126). Discrimination extends even further, since only 7 institutions in the USSR can recommend students for the doctorate degree in education, and all of them are in the RSFSR (p. 127). Thus, if a Ukrainian wishes to obtain this degree, he is forced to study in Russia.

In 1940, 62.9% of all Soviet scientists lived and worked in the RSFSR, and 19.6% of the total were in Ukraine. As a result of the

<sup>71</sup>) Kolasky, p. 137.

<sup>72</sup>) *Naronye khoziaistvo* . . . , p. 711.



continuing discrimination, in 1965 only 14.1% of all the Soviet scientists remained in Ukraine, while the number of scientists in Russia increased to 68.9% of the total (p. 129). In order to accelerate the rate of Russification and denationalization of the Ukrainian population in the USSR, Ukrainian scientists are assigned to positions in the RSFSR and other republics of the Union while Russian scientists are sent to Ukraine. John Kolasky, on the basis of official Soviet statistics, further reports that in 1960 in the Ukrainian SSR only 48.3% of the scientists were of Ukrainian nationality, and that 36.4% of all Ukrainian scientists resided outside of Ukraine (p. 132).

Since all Ph.D. dissertations have to be approved by the Higher Certification Commission (Vysshiaia atestatsionnaia komissiiia) in Moscow, and since this commission delays the procedure, and very often even rejects theses written in Ukrainian, Ukrainian scholars are forced to write their dissertations in the Russian language (pp. 139; 154-155). In every institution of higher learning in Ukraine there exists a "special section" connected with the K.G.B., where detailed files on all students and professors are being kept. The names of all professors teaching in Ukrainian are entered on a special list and they are watched very closely as "enemies of the state." With the help of electronic listening devices, their lectures are recorded on tape and later carefully examined for the slightest indications of nationalism (p. 200), for which they could be fired or even sent to concentration camps.

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## VII. PERSECUTIONS AND ARRESTS OF THE DEFENDERS OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

The devious measures of the Kremlin, consisting of a thoroughly groundless and lawless persecution of Ukrainian language in Ukraine and among Ukrainians resettled in other parts of the present-day Russian empire, led to a protest movement among Ukrainian intellectuals. Many Ukrainian students, writers, literary critics, scientists, and scholars, basing their arguments on the Constitutions of the USSR and the Ukr. SSR, which, in theory, guarantees to all the citizens of the Soviet Union the freedom to cultivate their native language and cultures, dared to speak in defence of these constitutional rights. As a result, most of them were arrested and, without being given public trials, were taken out of Ukraine to Russian prisons and isolated camps of forced labour.<sup>73</sup> Although the Ukrainian people rose in

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<sup>73</sup> Ivan O. Kandyba, "Persomu sekretarevi TsK KP Ukraïny Shelestovi Petrovi Iukhymovychu (To the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the CP of Ukraine, Petro Iukhymovych Shelest)", *Suchasnist'* vol. 7, no. 12 (December, 1967), pp. 65, 69; "K.G.B. Is Said to Harass Ukrainian Intellectuals", *New York Times*, February 8, 1968, p. 2. English text of the letter in *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 4, 1968, pp. 2-23.

defence of the Ukrainian culture and language in the 1950's<sup>74</sup> (in connection with which the regime stepped up its terror in Ukraine), Moscow succeeded in concealing from the cultural world all these persecutions, arrests, executions, and imprisonments. Only now is the world finding out about some of them, for example, the conviction of actor V. Duzhyns'kyi in 1957 to 10 years of forced labour in the Mordovian ASSR only because he dared to hang out the flag of the Ukrainian Zaporozhian Cossacks on the Lviv Theatre.<sup>75</sup> Under this banner the Zaporozhian Cossacks, in the XVII-XVIII centuries, fought for Ukraine's independence against both Poland and Russia.

The opposition to the Russification of Ukrainian culture and the discrimination of Ukrainians in the USSR began to grow in strength in the 1960's. Students, professionals, scientists farmers and workers stood up in defence of the Ukrainian language and the rights of the Ukrainian people. Moscow was no longer able to suppress completely the voices of protest. The number of members of the young generation who took part in this defence grew continuously. Many members of the Komsomol and of the Communist Party of Ukraine began writing letters to the leaders of the government of the Ukrainian SSR, demanding immediate changes in Moscow's policy toward Ukraine. Copies of these letters circulated in great numbers among the Ukrainian population, together with copies of statements and open letters to the governing organs of the Ukrainian SSR from Ukrainian prisoners in camps of forced labour. Even the Iron Curtain was not able to hide this wave of protests. Most of these letters and documents reached the West and opened the eyes of the world press to the cruel persecutions of the Ukrainian culture and the violation of human rights by Communist Russia.<sup>76</sup>

In 1961-62 a wave of arrests, executions, and long-termed incarcerations engulfed Ukraine.<sup>77</sup> Among the defendants were Ukrainian

<sup>74</sup> Kandyba, p. 64; UIS "Smoloskyp", "KGB ne prypyniaie teroru v Ukraïni (The K.G.B. does not halt the terror in Ukraine)", *Svoboda*, February 27, 1968, pp. 1, 4.

<sup>75</sup> Ukrainian Information Service "Smoloskyp", "Ukrainian Prisoners of Conscience in USSR", (mimeographed), December 1967, p. 6. "Lista ukrains'kykh politychnykh v'iazniv, yaki perebuvaiut' v tiurnakh i taborakh prymusovoi pratsi v SSSR (List of Ukrainian political prisoners, who are in prisons and forced labour camps in the USSR)", *Ameryka* (America; Ukrainian Catholic Daily, Philadelphia) March 2, 1968, p. 2, col. 4. A fuller list in *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 1, 1968.

<sup>76</sup> *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (Oct. 1, 1966), *Il Giornale d'Italia* (Oct. 3-4, 1966), *The Times of London* (Jan. 17, Feb. 7, 1968), *The New Times* (Feb. 8, 9, 10, 20, 22, 1968), *The (London) Observer* (Feb. 11, 1968), etc. etc.

<sup>77</sup> Kandyba, pp. 64-65; "Lyst Levka Luk'ianenko do Holovy Verkh. Rady USSR D. S. Korotchenka (Letter of Levko Luk'ianenko to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSR D. S. Korotchenko)", *Ukrains'ke Slovo*, February 4, 1968, pp. 3-4. English text in *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 4, 1968, pp. 24-36.

lawyers, students, writers, workers, and farmers who were accused of "betraying their country." One of these "betrayers", lawyer Ivan O. Kandyba, sentenced to 15 years of forced labour, explains the "crimes" of the Ukrainian patriots in his letter to the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Yu. Shelest, written towards the end of 1966 from a concentration camp in the Mordovian ASSR:

"The national policy in Ukraine during the whole period of the existence of the Soviet rule was subjected to particular criticism. Millions of Ukrainians, accused *en masse* of nationalism, were exterminated, among them thousands of political, scientific and cultural leaders of Ukraine. The works of hundreds of Ukrainian poets and writers, historians, artists, and cultural leaders were prohibited.

The restrictions placed on Ukraine's political, and economic rights were pointed out, namely, that she is deprived of sovereignty, and deprived of the right to establish political and economic relations with other states of the world. The Ukrainian language did not become the official language, it was forced out of the organs of the government, out of the scientific institutes, out of institutions of higher and secondary education, out of the circle of industrial enterprises, and out of the public and cultural life of the nation. Ukraine is in reality a true appendage of Russia. Two-thirds of her riches are being shipped out of Ukraine; Ukraine is weighed down by the policy of imperialistic Russian chauvinism in all branches of her economy.

Therefore, on the basis of such a status of Ukraine, it was concluded that Ukraine as constituent within the Soviet Union does not have any possibilities to develop normally either politically, economically or culturally, and that in some respects her position now is far worse than her position during the czarist regime, and that, in fact, she represents a colony of Moscow...

...for a normal development of the Ukrainian nation and her statehood, Ukraine must secede from the Union of SSR, according to paragraphs 14 and 17 of the Constitutions of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR, and become a completely independent and self-reliant nation."<sup>78</sup>

The Ukrainian patriots were punished with severe penalties just because they spoke out against "the imperialistic Russian chauvinists, those officials who have the plenitude of power in their hands and conduct themselves in Ukraine like absolute masters, like invaders, and do whatever is convenient for themselves, yet harmful for the Ukrainian nation and statehood."<sup>79</sup>

In 1965-66 Moscow again increased the persecution of the defenders of Ukrainian culture. Hundreds were arrested in many cities of

<sup>78</sup>) Kandyba, pp. 54-55.

<sup>79</sup>) Kandyba, p. 64.



Ukraine for such "crimes" as the reading of forbidden books and articles, among them books published before the revolution, works published in the Western provinces of Ukraine prior to the Second World War, articles on Ukrainian literature, articles about the persecution of the Ukrainian language, and the extermination of Ukrainian culture in the USSR, works of Ukrainian writers and poets annihilated by the Soviet rule in the 1930's, and even the address of former President Dwight D. Eisenhower at the unveiling of the Taras Shevchenko statue in Washington in 1964.<sup>80</sup> At the same time the government began to harass the Ukrainian students who demanded more rights for the Ukrainian language in the Ukrainian SSR and spoke out against the persecution of Ukrainian culture.<sup>81</sup> In the spring of 1965 students who carried out a campaign for the increase of courses taught in Ukrainian at the University of Kiev were dismissed from the university.<sup>82</sup> In 1966, during the celebrations of the Ivan Franko anniversary in Kiev "students and young poets were apprehended near the conservatoire and (Franko's) monument for the reading of Franko's and their own poems, and were jailed for a fortnight . . ."<sup>83</sup>

A complete picture of the arrests of over 200 Ukrainian intellectuals, in Kiev, Lviv, Odessa, Ivano-Frankivs'k, Luts'k, Zhytomyr, and Ternopil' ("a real Pogrom, which in its extension and intensity surpasses the arrest and conviction of Siniavski and Daniel") was given by the young Ukrainian journalist Viacheslav Chornovil in his writings, recently smuggled to the West.<sup>84</sup> Most of these writings are included in the book *Lykho z rozumu* (Crime of Thought),<sup>85</sup> published in Paris in 1967, and in an English translation by McGraw-Hill of New York and in Britain.<sup>86</sup> In this book, Chornovil speaks in defence of 20

<sup>80</sup>) Skochok, etc., *Ukrains'ke Slovo*, October 22, 1967, p. 1; M. S. Masiutko, "Prokurorovi Ukraïns'koï Sotsialistychnoï Respubliky (To the Attorney General of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic)", *Suchasnist'*, vol. 7, no. 12 (December, 1967), pp. 73-75; "How KGB Still Keeps a Grip on the Ukraine", *The London Times*, February 7, 1968, p. 8. *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 3, 1968, pp. 32-39, 48-58.

<sup>81</sup>) Kolasky, pp. 197-198.

<sup>82</sup>) Kolasky, p. 200.

<sup>83</sup>) Skochok, etc., *Ukrains'ke Slovo*, October 15, 1967, p. 2, col. 2.

<sup>84</sup>) 'UKKA informuie uriad ZDA pro areshtry i peresliduvannia v Ukraïni, (The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America informs the U.S. government about the arrests and persecutions in Ukraine)", *Svoboda*, March 1, 1968, pp. 1, 3.

<sup>85</sup>) *Lykho z rozumu* (*Portrety dvadtsiaty "zlochynstiv"*); zbirnyk materialiv (Crime of Thought (Portraits of twenty "criminals")); collection of materials, compiled by Viacheslav Chornovil. Paris, First Ukrainian publishing house in France, 1967, 336 pp.

<sup>86</sup>) "15 In Soviet Tried Secretly in 1966; Details of Ukrainian Cases Now Available in West", *New York Times*, February 9, 1968, p. 3. *The Chornovil Papers*, McGraw-Hill, 1968, xxi + 246 p.

unjustly convicted Ukrainian intellectuals, whose closed trials he attended as a reporter of Kiev television. After seeing how the judges and public prosecutors made a mockery of the Declaration of Human Rights, how K.G.B. agents terrorized cultural leaders only because these leaders felt a deep love towards the Ukrainian language and culture and stepped forward to defend them, V. Chornovil began writing letters to high officials of the Ukrainian SSR, including the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, P. Yu. Shelest. For this act he was arrested on August 5, 1967,<sup>87</sup> and later sentenced to 18 months of forced labour on the 15th of November of that year.<sup>88</sup> In his book Chornovil characterizes the convicted Ukrainians in the following way:

"If it would be possible to compile a typical biography of those convicted in 1966 for their "anti-Soviet nationalistic propaganda agitation", it would read like this: the convicted X as of the day of the arrest was 28-30 years old. He came from a family of farmers or workers. He graduated from secondary school with honours, and was admitted to an institution of higher learning (perhaps after serving in the army), where he was an active participant in scholarly societies. As one of the better students, he got a good position. He wrote a Ph.D. dissertation (or even defended one). His works appeared in periodicals (perhaps even one of his books was published). Although studying the sciences, he was interested in literature, and the arts, and deplored the condition in which his native language and culture found themselves..."<sup>89</sup>

Recently the Soviet press reported the trials of the Russians Siniavski, Daniel, Dobrovolsky, Galanskov, and Ginzburg in Moscow, but the arrests and closed trials of the Ukrainian intellectuals were not even mentioned either by the Russian or the Ukrainian press of the USSR. "Not one newspaper uttered a word about the secret trials", wrote V. Chornovil in his open letter of May 22, 1967, to the Attorney General of the Ukrainian SSR, to the Chairman of the Peoples's Court of the Ukrainian SSR, and to the Head of the K.G.B. of the Ukrainian SSR. "They conceal from the people not only the "crime", but even the fact of the political arrests themselves."<sup>90</sup> Prominent cultural leaders of Ukraine began to speak against this injustice. Writers, among them winners of the Lenin and the Shevchenko Prizes, composers, stage-directors, famous scientists and scholars turned to the K.G.B. and to the judicial organs of Ukraine, asking them to try the arrested in open public court.<sup>91</sup> In the above mentioned letter to the Attorney General of the Ukrainian SSR, Chornovil describes these pleas:

<sup>87</sup>) UIS "Smoloskyp", "Ukrainian Prisoners . . .", p. 2.

<sup>88</sup>) "K.G.B. Is Said . . .".

<sup>89</sup>) "Vid ukladacha (From the compiler)", *Lykho z rozumu*, p. 16.

"They asked for little — publicity, a public trial for those arrested in Kiev, Lviv, Ivano-Frankivs'k, Ternopil. A large groups of over 70 persons — writers, scientists, civil servants, students, and workers — turned to you with intercessions. They too asked for little: to be present at the trial of their friends, classmates, acquaintances, and relatives. It was then that the militia later rushed out from the corridors of the building, in which, quietly, far from human eyes, a student of the Kiev Medical Institute was being tried... Many of them were surrounded by militia and soldiers in the Lviv Regional Court and kept under arrest until the sentence was secretly pronounced. For long months mothers, wives, children yearned to at least see their sons, husbands, and fathers, who were languishing behind bars."<sup>92</sup>

But all these endeavours accomplished nothing. The trials continued in secret; not even the immediate family of the accused was notified,<sup>93</sup> some of those who spoke in defence of the arrested were harassed by government and police officials.<sup>94</sup>

At the secret trials of the defenders of the Ukrainian culture, the prosecutors, district attorneys, and the judges were Russians, who did not hide their imperialistic chauvinism and their contempt of everything that is Ukrainian. The Ukrainian lawyer Levko Luk'ianenko (sentenced in 1961 to the death penalty, later reduced to 15 years of forced labour) in his letter to the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, D. S. Korotchenko, describes as follows these privileged persons in Ukraine:

"All of them, Denisovs, Sergadeyevs, and Starikovs — these protectors of the sovereign Ukrainian Soviet state — have been living in Ukraine for a long time; yet they have not learned our language. On the contrary, they treat it with scorn and disdain, together with our literature and our culture, and everyone of their moves gives evidence of their chauvinism. Towards us they have

<sup>90</sup>) "Ya nichoho u Vas ne proshu; Lyst Viacheslava Chornovola Prokurorovi URSR, Holovi Narodnoho Sudu URSR, Holovi KDB pry Radi Ministriv URSR (I am not asking you for anything; Letter of Viacheslav Chornovil to the Attorney General of the Ukr. SSR, to the Head of the People's Court of the Ukr. SSR, to the Head of the KGB of the Council of Ministers of the Ukr. SSR)", *Novyi shliakh* (New Pathway, Ukrainian weekly, Winnipeg), November 11, 1967, pp. 7-14, quote from p. 10, col. 6. English text in *Chornovil Papers*, pp. 2-73.

<sup>91</sup>) Visti z "Prolohu" (News from "Proloh"), "Zasudzhenni dali karaiut'sia; diiachy ukrains'koï kul'tury u tiurmakh i vypravno-trudovykh taborakh (The convicted continue to suffer; leaders of Ukrainian culture in prisons and camps of correction and labour)", *Suchasnist'* vol. 7, no. 7 (July, 1967), pp. 61-62.

<sup>92</sup>) "Ya nichoho...", p. 7, col. 2.

<sup>93</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 14.

<sup>94</sup>) Visti z "Prolohu", "Zasudzhenni...", p. 62.



displayed fierce hatred. Being aware of the fact that persecutions for political beliefs contradict the Declaration of Human Rights and the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR, they have made maximal efforts to keep our case away from the Soviet public."<sup>95</sup>

These foes of the Ukrainian people sent hundreds, perhaps thousands, of Ukrainian cultural leaders to prison and forced labour camps in the Russian SFSR. From the materials and documents which have been illegally smuggled through the Iron Curtain, it is possible to reconstruct a far from complete list of these present-day Ukrainian martyrs. In a letter of February 27, 1968, sent to the Secretary of State of the U.S., to the Secretary General of the U.N., and to the diplomatic legations of many countries to the United Nations, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America presented the names of 103 Ukrainian political prisoners who are now serving their sentences in prisons and forced labour camps in the USSR.<sup>96</sup>

Most of these, and many others, Ukrainian political prisoners — defenders of Ukrainian culture and of the political rights of the Ukrainian people — are serving their sentences in the concentration camps of the Mordovian ASSR under inhuman conditions of slave labour, "in semi-starvation and complete servitude, in total isolation from the civilized world." They are forbidden to wear their own clothes, but are forced to wear prison outfits made of a cotton-paper material. Being intellectuals, they suffer heavily from the prohibition that does not allow them to subscribe to most journals and newspapers.<sup>98</sup> Ukrainian prisoners are deprived of aid from their relatives, a condition that even the tsarist regime did not inflict while prisoners of other nationalities, on the other hand, can receive food packages from relatives and friends up to five a month.<sup>99</sup> They live in overcrowded barracks with very poor ventilation, medical attention and without medicaments, and most important, they are forbidden to receive from their friends or families medicines and vitamins much needed because of the inadequate diets. Dental care is completely out of the question. Although theoretically the seriously ill should have the right to be sent to a central hospital for treatment, this is done "only in such cases when death comes a few days after release." The terrible conditions of life and work are described in a letter from camp No. 17 of the Dubravno regional administration of the corrective labour camps of the Mordovian ASSR:

"... 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 non-submission and protest. With this purpose in view, the organ-

<sup>95</sup> "Lyst Levka Luk'ianenka...", p. 3, col. 3. *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 4, 1968, pp. 24-36.

<sup>96</sup> "Lista...", *Ameryka*, March 2, 1968, pp. 1-3.

ized 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 special warm clothing (felt boots and padded clothing), to protect them from the coldness of the shop, where the average temperature usually stays within the limits of  $+5^{\circ}$  and  $+9^{\circ}$  Centigrade. And on the floor the temperature is usually below the freezing point. Thus there cannot be any normal work under such conditions: when one has to handle metallic parts of 7 machines. Nonetheless they [the Russian authorities] demand fulfilment of work quotas from the prisoners.

One hour is allowed for a so-called lunch break and rest; it is not only no rest, but additional punishment, because the people are forced to spend an additional hour in the cold building. Lunch and dinner are served under unsanitary 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."<sup>100</sup>

In the previously mentioned letter, Ivan O. Kandyba completes this picture of misery and inhuman treatment of the Ukrainian political prisoners:

"The great majority of the prisoners are on semi-starvation rations. Theoretically we are to receive 2,300-2,400 calories daily, but we are lucky if we get 1,500 because the products are of low quality, especially in the spring and summer before the new crop. The herring is rotten and smelly. The dried potatoes, macaroni, barley, and meat are infested with worms...

We are forced to fulfill out work quota 100 percent. To accomplish the type of jobs we do, we use up 3,500 to 4,000 calories a day."<sup>101</sup>

Thousands of Ukrainians are suffering in these labour camps, which with their servile way of life surpass even the horrors of Devil's Island in the last century. Mykhailo Masiutko, in a letter to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, discloses that in the six camps for political prisoners in the Mordovian ASSR, Ukrainians constitute 60 to 70% of all prisoners.<sup>102</sup>

<sup>98</sup>) Kandyba, p. 69.

<sup>99</sup>) Kandyba, p. 68.

<sup>100</sup>) "Lyst iz taboru ch. 17...", p. 1; English translation: "Voice of Despair and Protest; Letter of Ukrainian Prisoners from a Soviet Concentration Camp", *Anglo-Ukrainian News* (London), no. 24-25 (Autumn-Winter 1967), p. 3.

<sup>101</sup>) Kandyba, p. 68; English translation of this excerpt in "K.G.B. Is Said to Harass Ukrainian Intellectuals", *New York Times*, February 8, 1968, p. 2, col. 7.

<sup>102</sup>) UIS "Smoloskyp", "KGB ne pryypyniaie...", p. 1.

On February 22, 1968, the American press reported from Moscow that 200 political prisoners in concentration camps No. 11 and No. 17 in Mordovia and in the prison at Vladimir, among them many Ukrainians, went on a hunger strike as a protest against the inhuman conditions in which they were kept. They demanded improvement in working conditions, adequate food rations, guaranteed medical aid, and the right to correspond with their families and relatives. Among these undaunted one was Yuri Shukhevych-Berezyns'kyi, the son of General Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka), commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Since 1948, arrested at the age of 15, Yuri has been suffering in Russian prisons and concentration camps only because his father fought for the freedom of the Ukrainian people.<sup>103</sup>

The saddest thing about these arrests and repressions is the fact that the persecuted Ukrainians are subject to all these torments because they dared to step forward in the defence of the rights of life and development of the Ukrainian nation, which are guaranteed by the Constitutions of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR and by the Charter of the United Nations.

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<sup>103</sup> "Yurii Shukhevych mizh 200 politychnymy v'iazniamy v SSSR, shcho holoduiut' (Yuri Shukhevych among 200 political prisoners in USSR who are on hunger strike)", *Svoboda*, February 24, 1968, p. 1. Text of Shukhevych's letter in *The Ukrainian Review*, No. 1, 1968.

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## HARVARD SERIES IN UKRAINIAN STUDIES

On January 22, 1968 the Harvard Corporation has agreed formally to the establishment of a Chair in Ukrainian History at Harvard University, the oldest school in North America. The Ukrainian community in the United States of America has raised \$ 600,000 for the endowment of the Chair in perpetuity. This was the most fitting way on the part of the Ukrainians in USA and Canada to observe the fiftieth anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence.

The Ukrainian Chair at Harvard is the first ever to be established at a university of the free world. Professor Oleksander Ohloblyn, formerly a professor at Kievian University, was appointed to the Chair.

The Harvard Committee on Ukrainian Studies, established in 1968, has decided to undertake the publication of a *Harvard Series in Ukra-*



*inian Studies* in order to provide the students participating in the Ukrainian program with necessary source and textbooks and to establish a firm basis for the development of scholarly research outside Ukraine in the fields of Ukrainian linguistics, literature history, and folklore. The series will encompass original works reprints of rare and important works, collected articles on selected topics, textbooks, handbooks, bibliographies, dictionaries, and selected works of classics in Ukrainian humanities. The reprints will always contain an up-to-date introduction and indices where these are lacking. The tentative plan presented below contains 25 titles most of which will appear during the academic year 1969/70. The editors of the Harvard Series in Ukrainian Studies are Professors Horace G. Lunt, Richard E. Pipes, Omeljan Pritsak (editor-in-chief), Ihor Ševčenko, Wiktor Weintraub.

1. Ihor Ševčenko, Dumbarton Oaks (Harvard University)

*The Lives of Constantine and Methodius*

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The author reconstructs the political and cultural situation in Rus' and the Polovtsian steppe of the 11-13th centuries, utilising all available Old Rus'ian and Asian sources on the one hand and the data of the *Igor Tale* on the other. The comparison of the results provides the answer to the long-disputed problem of the authenticity of the *Igor Tale*. Ca. 600 pp.

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Reprint of an important collection originally published in 1928 by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kiev in an edition of only 200 copies. With an introduction by Professor Oleksa Horbatsch, University of Frankfurt. Ca. 300 pp.

4. Khvedir Titov

*Forewords to Ukrainian Incunabula and Early Printed Books*

Reprint of *Materialy dlia knyzhnoyi spravy na Vkrayini v XVI-XVIII vv.*, published in 1924 by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kiev in an edition of only 200 copies. Ca. 600 pp. With an introduction by Professor Ihor Ševčenko. Ca. 600 pp.

## 5. Kateryna Hrushevs'ka

*Ukrainian Epic Songs*

Reprint of *Ukrayins'ki Narodni Dumy. Korpus, vol. 1-2*, published in 1929-31 by the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in Kiev. With an introduction by Professor Albert B. Lord, Harvard University, and an English translation of all 33 basic epic poems by a group of American and Ukrainian poets headed by Patricia Warren (Kylyna) and George Tarnawsky. Ca. 600 pp.

## 6-10. Ivan Franko

*Ukrainian Apocrypha*

The famous Ukrainian writer Ivan Franko (1856-1916) was also a leading authority on problems of Old Ukrainian literature. His collection *Apokryfy i Legendy z Ukrayins'kykh Rukopysiv*, published in limited edition by the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv in five volumes (1896-1910), contains the Old Testament, New Testament and Eschatological Apocrypha, as well as apocryphal legends of the Saints. With an introduction by Professor Dmitrij Tschizevskij, University of Heidelberg. Altogether ca. 2,300 pp.

## 11-12. Eyewitness Chronicle

The *Litopys Samovydtzia* is the oldest of the so-called Ukrainian Cossack chronicles of the 17th-18th centuries. The edition consists of two volumes. The first volume contains the reprint of the best critical edition by Orest Levyts'kyi (Kiev, 1878) with an introduction by Professor Oleksander Ohloblyn, Harvard University. The second volume, edited by Professor Omeljan Pritsak, brings together all the important monographs dealing with the identity of the anonymous author of the chronicle and with methodological problems of the source itself. Altogether ca. 1200 pp.

## 13. Kiril Taranovsky, Harvard University

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## 14. Myron Korduba

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Reprint of an important bibliographical survey published in Warsaw in 1938. With an introduction by Professor Omeljan Pritsak. Ca. 400 pp.

## 15-18. Oleksander Lazarevs'kyi

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Reprint of *Opisanie Staroi Malorossii*, the basic reference book for all studies in the history of the Ukrainian Cossack Hetman State, published in Russian in Kiev in 3 volumes:

- vol. 1: The Starodub Regiment (1888)
- vol. 2: The Nizhyn Regiment (1893)
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Valentyna WOROPAY, M.A. (London)

## THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1917-1918

(Extracts from the unpublished M.A. thesis *The Hetmanate of P. P. Skoropadsky in the Ukraine in 1918*. Continuation — 5).

### Theatre

The Theatre Council, which was created in 1917, continued its work during the Hetman's regime. Being made into a State institution, it supported the "Molodyi Teatr" (the Youth Theatre) which was organized and conducted by the talented young actor and producer Les' Kurbas. The "Youth Theatre" was started in the autumn of 1917, and at the time of Skoropadsky was making its first steps in the direction of a new type of theatre which would part with the methods of the old Traditional Ukrainian theatre of everyday life. The "Youth Theatre" experimented with new types of plays such as "Chorna Pantera" (Black Panther) by V. Vynnychenko, "Osin'" (Autumn), "Tanets' Zhyttia" (The Dance of Life), by Oles'; "Molodost'" (Youth) by Shvol'be and so on. Sometimes their experiments would prove a failure. Such was the case with the plays of Leonid Andreyev. Nevertheless the theatre managed not only to survive but even to grow.<sup>31</sup>

From the autumn of 1918 in Kiev three State Theatres were organized by the Theatre Council: 1. The Traditional Popular Theatre had a repertoire of plays of manners. Among its leading figures were such well-known artists as Zan'kovets'ka, Saksahans'kyi and Linyts'ka. It was decided in the Council that this theatre would stage plays of manners, historical and classical plays. Saksahans'kyi, who was the theatre's producer, managed to show "Rozbiynyky" (Die Räuber) by Schiller, and "Uriel Acosta" by Gutskov.<sup>32</sup> 2. The Second State theatre was to be the opera-house. Sadovs'kyi was to be its producer temporarily, but circumstances were against opera and instead of an opera-house there was organized the Symphony Orchestra with Horilyi as its conductor. 3. The third and the main theatre organized by the Theatre Council was the State Drama Theatre. It was to stage modern Ukra-

<sup>31</sup>) D. Antonovych, *Trysta rokiv ukrains'koho teatru, 1619-1919*. (Three hundred years of the Ukrainian theatre, 1619-1919), Prague, 1925, pp. 209-210.

<sup>32</sup>) D. Antonovych, *op. cit.*, pp. 210-211.

inian plays and modern translations. The theatre owes its existence to the energetic member of the Council, N. M. Doroshenko. It was she who had found money and a building for the theatre. Later she herself became an actress in this theatre of her creation. Much was done also by its director, V. Kryvets'kyi, who succeeded in finding and in employing well-known actors and actresses from the Ukrainian Traditional Theatre who could and did adapt themselves to more modern demands. The theatre was of a literary-realistic trend, and produced such plays as "The Coachman Henschel" by Hauptmann, and many plays by Ibsen.<sup>33</sup>

At that time also there was organized in Kiev the "Kobzar<sup>34</sup> School", the teachers of which were to be eight kobzars, the representatives of the various schools of bandura players: Kharkiv, Poltava, Chernyiv. There was organized also "The Ukrainian National Choir" with Ol. Koshyts' as its conductor.

All this was done with the help of the Department for Arts and National Culture which also concerned itself with the task of building a monument in Kiev to the great Ukrainian poet T. H. Shevchenko. The monument was to be situated in St. Sophia Square.

### Press

During Skoropadsky's regime Ukrainian publishers were very active. Despite the fact that at the end of 1917 and the beginning of 1918, 47 Ukrainian newspapers and periodicals were discontinued, the number of Ukrainian publications produced in the country increased, since 78 new ones were started.<sup>35</sup>

According to the Kiev daily *Nova Rada* there were in Kiev five dailies and eight semi-official periodicals. There were also eight fortnightlies, eleven monthlies, and four weekly newspapers which appeared irregularly.<sup>36</sup> In all there were about 50 periodicals in Kiev and about 35 in the provinces.<sup>37</sup>

Many new Ukrainian publishing houses were organized in Kiev. The newly organized publishing associations were: "Knyhozhbirnia", "Serp i Molot", "Istorychna belletrystyka." The publishing co-operatives were: "Hromads'ka Dumka", "Tovarystvo rozpovsiudzhennia Ukraïns'koi knyzhky..." In Kharkiv there were the publishing houses "Rukh", "Luna", "Hrunt", "Siverians'ka Dumka" and "Dzvin."<sup>38</sup>

The Ministry of Education's publishing committee did a great deal of work. It prepared for publication text-books and reference books

<sup>33</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 211.

<sup>34</sup>) Kobza = Ukrainian National string instrument. Kobzar = kobza player.

<sup>35</sup>) Kuzelia, Zenon, *op. cit.*, pp. 5-7.

<sup>36</sup>) *Ib.* pp. 7-12.

<sup>37</sup>) For the details see appendix No. 1.

<sup>38</sup>) Kuzelia, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-18.

for School libraries. This Committee organized also an exhibition of text-books. The Committee issued an order for the publication of the following books: 100,000 copies of the first and second part of the Ukrainian Grammar by Ohiyenko; 100,000 copies of the Ukrainian Grammar by Hrinchenko; 50,000 copies of the Ukrainian Grammar by Balchenko; 50,000 copies of books of arithmetical problems.<sup>39</sup> Some books for schools of Agriculture were published by the publishing house "Ukraïns'kyi Ahronom."

\* \* \*

So it seems reasonably clear that in the field of Ukrainian national culture Skoropadskyi's Government succeeded in doing a great deal even if it is true that some of the preparatory work had been accomplished during the Central Rada regime. The reason for such a fruitful result is simple: the democratic circles of the Ukrainian population did not boycott the Hetman's Government in this regard. This shows plainly that if Ukrainian democracy had joined forces with Skoropadskyi's Government in other questions as well, a great deal more could have been achieved even if the public sometimes would have had to put pressure on the Government (as was the case in cultural matters). Perhaps even the independence of the country could have been maintained.

### The Church

From its very beginning the Church in the Ukraine stood on the borderline between the Eastern and Western type of Christianity. It was officially recognized from the 10th century, when the Great Prince of Kiev, Volodymyr the Great baptized his subjects in the river Dnipro in 988 A.D. The fact that it did not maintain its own juridical and ritual independence was due to the geographical position of the country. Ukraine lies between catholic Poland and Greek-orthodox Russia. Since the fourteenth century the Church of Moscovia and later on that of Russia, which regarded itself as "The third Rome", did its utmost to keep the church of Ukraine under its jurisdiction. On the other hand Poland was steadily working to advance catholicism in Ukraine. Between the two of them, Russia and Poland did all they could to prevent the growth of an independent Ukrainian church.<sup>40</sup>

The continuing activity of the Poles through the centuries resulted in the Union of Brest concluded in 1595-96 between Rome and the Ukrainian church, which provided that "Uniat" church was organized which recognized the Pope as its head but kept the old Slavonic customs, service, and language. The union started a fierce struggle inside the Ukrainian church itself.

Stubborn opposition to the "Uniates" — as the people who entered the union were called — was put up by the Cossacks.

<sup>39</sup>) *Ib.*, pp. 15-18.

<sup>40</sup>) See *Ukraïns'ka zahal'na entsyklopediya*, 3 vols. L'viv, pp. 896-899.



The Russian aim was to get and keep the Ukrainian church under the jurisdiction of the Moscow patriarch. That aim was achieved in 1685 when the Russians succeeded in obtaining the consent of the Constantinople Patriarch Dionysius the Fourth to the transfer of the Kiev Metropoly to the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarch.

During the 18th century the position of the Kiev Metropoly under Russian rule altered very much. Elections of Metropolitans, bishops, and the rest of the clergy were abolished; the Kiev Metropolitan lost his primacy and became an ordinary bishop.

After the annexation of the remaining Ukrainian provinces from Poland, increasing pressure was applied against the Uniat Church so that it was almost completely wiped out within the borders of the Russian empire.

From 1836 the Ukraine was divided into Kharkiv, Chernyhiv, Poltava, Katerynoslav, Kherson (1837, with a See in Odessa), Podillia (1859, with a See in Kam'ianets'), Volyn' (with a See in Zhytomyr) and Kiev dioceses. In 1907 the Kholm diocese was formed. There were eighteen million members of the Greek Orthodox Church in 10,835 parishes in all Ukrainian dioceses (one-fifth of all the churches in the Russian Empire). Kiev possessed a higher Theological College, ten lower Theological Colleges, and 35 theological schools. There were 188 students in the higher Theological College and 3,724 pupils in the lower ones. In addition there were 10,000 parish schools.<sup>41</sup>

Although the church in the Ukraine was much Russified its National spirit was not completely dead. Some of the clergy favoured the use of the Ukrainian language in churches. Dean V. Hrechulevych (1791-1870) was the first to publish sermons in Ukrainian. In 1906-1911 the New Testament, although with great difficulties, was published in Ukrainian.

After the revolution of 1917 a movement for an autocephalous Ukrainian church began in the clerical circles of the country and those circles welcomed the Ukrainian national movement for independence. The Kiev clergy, for instance, sent its representatives to the Central Rada on the second or third day after its organization and bishop Nykodym made a speech at the National Congress in Kiev on April 4th, 1917.<sup>42</sup>

But Ukrainian democratic circles underestimated the position of the church in the State. Like Russian revolutionary democrats they all thought they were atheists and an interest in religion and church was considered by them to be a sign of narrow-mindedness and clericalism, things damaging to the reputation of revolutionary and especially to that of a socialist.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>41</sup> See *Ukr. zahal. entsyklopediya*, op. cit., p. 923.

<sup>42</sup> D. Doroshenko, op. cit., pp. 318-319.

<sup>43</sup> O. Lotots'kyi, "Tserkovna sprava na Ukraïni." *Literaturno-naukovyj Vistnyk*, L'viv, May, 1923, p. 65.

That is why the movement for independence among the Ukrainian clergy did not get any support from the Central Rada and that also was the reason why the revival and Ukrainization of church life were upheld only by a small group of priests. This group formed the Ukrainian Church Council in the end of 1918 and headed the movement for an autocephalous status of the Ukrainian Church.

It should be remembered that the Orthodox Church in Ukraine had been for a long time an instrument of the Russification of the country. All the more important positions in its hierarchy were occupied by people pro-Russian in their outlook and it was perhaps short-sighted of the Central Rada to overlook this point. Seeing that the Central Rada did not take any interest in church affairs and that it had no intention of supporting the national movement in the church, the anti-Ukrainian elements raised their heads, and being in the majority, easily became masters of the situation.

During the summer of 1917 conferences of the laity and the clergy were being held all over the country. Because of the activity of the anti-Ukrainian forces their attitude to the revival of the Ukrainian National Church was, in the majority of cases, indifferent.<sup>44</sup> Nevertheless these hostile elements used the Ukrainian State administration for their own purposes.

The tactics of the Central Rada, concerning the church, were fatal, but they were based on the conviction that religion was a private affair of the Ukrainian citizen.<sup>45</sup> In the end the Central Rada was forced by the aggressiveness of pro-Russian forces in the Church to pay more attention to church affairs and in the spring of 1918 a special Church Department was formed as a branch in the Ministry of the Interior. This department was badly organized and did not bring order into church affairs.<sup>46</sup>

On December 6th, 1917, a Committee, especially organized to convoke an All-Ukrainian Church Conference (Sobor) held a meeting. At this meeting the Committee renamed itself "The Provisional All-Ukrainian Orthodox Council" and it took into its hands the affairs of church life in Ukraine until the Sobor was assembled.<sup>47</sup>

When the All-Ukrainian Sobor gathered on January 7th, 1918, in Kiev, it appeared that the supporters of the movement for an autocephalous church were in the minority, and the members of the Provisional Church Council were severely attacked by the majority of the delegates who did not approve of autocephalous status. Archbishop Oleksii was especially severely criticized. He was a member of the Provisional Council and the Ukrainian church leader who,

<sup>44</sup>) See Bidnov, V.: *Tserkovna sprava na Ukraïni*. Tarniv, 1921, p. 12.

<sup>45</sup>) See O. Lotots'kyi, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>46</sup>) O. Lotots'kyi, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

<sup>47</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-321.

answering his enemies in "Kievlainin" on December 6th, 1917, wrote the following: "... I am a Ukrainian and I am not ashamed of this fact. I have loved in the past and do love now the nation to which my parents, grondparents and great-grandparents have belonged, the nation into which I was born, in which I have grown up and in whose language I sang ... It is as impossible for me not to be a Ukrainian as it is impossible for an oak to change into a birch and for a lime-tree to become a pine-tree ..."<sup>48</sup>

But the Sobor did not finish its deliberations because on January 15th, 1918 the Bolsheviks started riots in Kiev and it was decided to postpone the rest of the Sobor sessions to May, 1919.<sup>49</sup>

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Hetman P. P. Skoropadskyi in his "Provisional laws", under the subtitle "Religion" stated: "... The leading religion in Ukraine is to be the Greek Orthodox branch of Christianity; all non-(Greek) Orthodox citizens of the Ukrainian State and all other residents living on its territory are entitled to religious freedom ..."<sup>50</sup>

When Skoropadskyi formed his Cabinet a special Ministry of Churches was created. Oleksandr Lotots'kyi, a strong supporter of the Ukrainian autocephalous Church asked to be its Minister. He refused and Vasyl' Zinkivs'kyi, a professor of the Kiev St. Volodymyr University, and of the Popular University, was appointed to the post. V. Zin'kivs'kyi was "... a man of some personal dignity who lacked a pronounced national consciousness and strong will. Those qualities of his character produced the negative results to his activities."<sup>51</sup> Despite such a characterization by O. Lotots'kyi, he was very popular in Ukrainian clerical circles. He was of the opinion that the Ukrainian church had to be reformed on the basis of the New Testament.

The task which V. Zin'kivs'kyi had, proved to be a difficult one. While trying to introduce some changes which would revive the Church and would at the same time be acceptable to the National Ukrainian State, he met with a strong opposition in the highest clerical circles, among the priests and even among some circles of the laity. Many of them wanted a close contact with the Russian church and were in favour of submission to the Moscow Patriarch.

These differences of opinion culminated in a conflict over the election of the Kiev Metropolitan and on the question of the Ukrainian Church Council.<sup>52</sup> When the Bolsheviks murdered Archbishop Volodymyr, the Kiev Metropolitan, in January, 1918, his post was temporarily taken over by Nykodym, bishop of Chernyhiv. Nykodym

<sup>48</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 321.

<sup>49</sup>) For the full description of the Sobor, see D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-322.

<sup>50</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 51.



acted on order from the Moscow Patriarch. He commanded the elections of the Kiev Metropolitan to be carried out at the conference of the Kiev diocese in May, 1918. The post of the Kiev Metropolitan was an important one, and Zin'kivs'kyi, the Minister of Churches, made an attempt to influence Nykodym and to postpone the elections of the Metropolitan to the Sobor, which was not to continue its sessions until March of 1919.

The Moscow Patriarch was against this postponement and elections were carried out at the conference of the Kiev diocese on May 19th, 1918. According to the rules there had to be a two-third majority for the elections to be lawful but the organizers of the Kiev diocese conference satisfied themselves with a simple majority. The candidate of the pro-Russian elements was the Metropolitan of Kharkiv, Antonii. His supporters did all they could in order to remove from the conference all members who were likely to vote against him.<sup>53</sup> Thus Antonii was elected Metropolitan of Kiev diocese. Of the 290 votes, 160 went to Antonii; to the other candidate, the Bishop of Uman', Dymytrii, went 130 votes. Despite the fact that Antonii had not collected the necessary two-thirds majority, the All-Russian Council in Moscow resolved that he should be given the post.

The Hetman's Government would not approve this election of Antonii and the Minister of Churches was instructed to write on this issue to the Moscow Patriarch Tikhon, criticizing the election as illegal. Tikhon was asked to instruct the bishops of Ukraine to postpone the elections of the Kiev Metropolitan to the time when the All-Ukrainian Sobor would have its next session. Tikhon answered this letter — a month later — approving the election of Antonii.

Who was Antonii and why did his election cause so much trouble to the Ukrainian Government?

The well-known Ukrainian historian and public figure, S. O. Yefremov wrote in an article published in the *Nova Rada*: "... A person has been elected who is known to be very hostile to everything Ukrainian, who was well-known for his reactionary activities... activities which broke up even such a minor... stronghold of independent convictions as the Kiev Academy... a person who made a reputation as an ardent Russifier and reactionary. In short Antonii Khrapovyts'kyi's name is connected with the fight against all that is Ukrainian and against progress in general... and with the prohibition to read even the New Testament in Ukrainian."<sup>54</sup>

That is the reason why Antonii was so unpopular in Ukrainian circles. His activity in Galicia during 1914 added to this unpopularity. Even after the revolution it seemed as if he acted with the special design of irritating Ukrainian national feelings. For example, some

51) O. Lotots'kyi, *op cit.*, p. 66.

52) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

53) *Ib.*, p. 323.

54) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 325 (Bib. refs.).

priests of the Kharkiv diocese asked Antonii's sanction to read the New Testament at the Easter service in 1917 in Ukrainian. Antonii's reply was that he opposed the reading of the New Testament in the "... language which is used in the market place."<sup>55</sup>

Therefore Antonii's arrival in Kiev after his election became a problem for the Government. Some Ministers were of the opinion that Antonii should be forbidden to come to the capital. But the majority of them supported the Minister of Churches who was against the use of violence, being afraid that it would irritate that part of the Kiev population which supported Antonii. Zin'kivs'kyi was of the opinion that it would be better to ignore Antonii completely as Metropolitan of Kiev and to recognize him only as Metropolitan of Kharkiv till the All-Ukrainian Sobor would solve this problem.

Thus no member of the Government went to meet Antonii when he eventually arrived in Kiev. His supporters were preparing a ceremonial meeting for him but officials of the Ministry of Transport delayed his train for a whole ten hours and the celebration did not take place.

The day before Antonii's arrival one of his bishops asked the Minister of Churches "... to secure the safe arrival of the new Metropolitan of the town." The reply was that it was strange for the Metropolitan Antonii to ask for a safe-conduct from the Government whose wishes he, Antonii, had ignored during his election. The Minister advised the bishop to turn to the police whose duty it was to protect Antonii or anyone else in the Ukrainian state. The Hetman gave Antonii a very cool reception when he visited the Hetman. He was received simply as the Metropolitan of Kharkiv.<sup>56</sup>

Meanwhile the Minister of Churches was carrying out the preparations for the All-Ukrainian Church Sobor. At first all the bishops were against the convocation of a Sobor till the scheduled date in 1919 and only after the Hetman personally interfered would they agree to it. By special law the Government assigned 1,117,600 karbs. to cover all the expenditures of the Sobor.

The Sobor began on June 20th. The Minister of Churches presented the Government standpoint. However, the Sobor sanctioned the election of Antonii as Metropolitan of Kiev and after this he had to be recognized by the Government.

But the Sobor did not stop there. The supporters of the Moscow Patriarch passed several resolutions trying to break the spirit of opposition. First they passed a resolution reprimanding the 192 members of the Sobor who had protested against the means by which the delegates to the Sobor in the provinces had been elected. They had said that in many places the delegates were either appointed by, or the elections were forcefully influenced by the local Church authority.

<sup>55</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 325. (Bib. refs.).

<sup>56</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-326.

Secondly, against all rules and regulations, the pro-Ukrainian Provisional Church Council, which had done all the preparative work for the Sobor, was forbidden, in body, to take part in the Sobor's work. The Council were allowed to elect from among themselves three deputies who would become members of the Sobor. This resolution was passed by 198 votes, 107 votes were against it and 10 abstained from voting.

On July 9th the Sobor approved a statute regulating the church in Ukraine. The main points were as follows: the Orthodox Church in Ukraine was to have local autonomy but was to be bound by the canons of the All-Ukrainian Patriarch. The elections of the Metropolitan of Kiev and of all bishops had to be approved by the Patriarch of All-Russia. "The Patriarch... has the right to act as the highest Court of Appeal in all cases concerning Ukrainian bishops." Within Ukraine "... the highest authority... on Church legislative, executive and legal affairs is the Ukrainian Church Sobor which has to be convoked every three years... In the times between the triennial sessions of the Sobor, local Church affairs are to be regulated by a Holy Sobor of bishops and by an executive committee called the Supreme Church Council elected by the general Sobor. The latter is to include the Metropolitan of Kiev, two other bishops, four clerics, and 6 lay persons. The Holy Sobor of bishops will deal with internal matters of ritual, doctrine, and discipline, while the Supreme Church Council will act in matters affecting the church in its relations to society."

According to the statute the Ukrainian State had only the right to retain control over the money which the State itself assigned for the Church.<sup>57</sup>

At this Sobor it was also decided not to change the church calendar. A very important resolution was passed which concerned the obligation of the Church in Ukraine to carry out the resolutions passed by the Holy Sobor of the Russian Orthodox Church. A decision was taken to abolish the elections of clergy.

Then the Supreme Church Council was elected by the Sobor, according to the statute. On July 11th the Sobor closed its summer session and it was decided to renew its activity in the autumn session on October 28th, 1918.

The statute of the Sobor clearly indicated that this time the elements hostile to a Ukrainian national Church had won the round, because the whole life of the Ukrainian Church was put by the statute into the hands of the Moscow Patriarch and thus the Church in Ukraine became simply an agent of the forces hostile to Ukrainian State power. Without the approval of the Moscow Patriarch the head of the Church in Ukraine was not even allowed to ordain a bishop.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-329.



Taking into consideration the resolution of the Sobor, the Ukrainian Government on August 5th, 1918 sent a letter to the Moscow Patriarch, Tikhon, asking him to approve the statute of the Sobor and to approve the list of members of the Supreme Church Council. The Patriarch was also asked not to approve the items of the statute which concerned the rights of the Moscow Patriarch.<sup>59</sup>

In his answer of September 16th, 1918 the Moscow Patriarch refused to comply with the request of the Ukrainian Government. Instead he informed Antonii that he approved the statute with some changes — changes made to extend rather than modify Russian influence. Antonii was given additional rights which the Ukrainian Government desired not to give to him.<sup>60</sup>

D. Doroshenko states that the Government now had no other way out but to accept the organization of the Ukrainian Church as an autonomous church, intending to change it gradually into an autocephalous church. The Ministry of Churches made plans to strengthen the Ukrainian element in Church life and in the autumn of 1918 to call the new session of the Sobor, when it was planned to move on from local autonomy towards an autocephalous Ukrainian Church.

The Ministry of Churches consisted of three departments: the Orthodox Church Department with V. Datal's'kyi at its head; the department of all other churches, with Taranovs'kyi as its head; a General Department headed by V. Chekhovs'kyi.

A Special Committee (Uchenyi Komitet) was formed in order to regulate Church life in Ukraine. This Committee was composed of specialists in the history of Ukraine, its language and literature, and of specialists on the history of the Church in Ukraine. It consisted of Prof. Kudriavtsev, chairman, Prof. F. Mishchenko, Prof. N. Mukhin, Prof. Ekzemplierskyi and others. The Ministry of the Church had its own periodical *Vira i Derzhava* ("Faith and the State"). A special commission was organized by the Special Committee to translate the Bible into Ukrainian. Meanwhile the Government assigned 200,000 karbs. to buy the edition of the Bible already published in Ukraine, and 57,000 karbs. for a Catechism in Ukrainian.

On August 15th a temporary statute of the Kiev Higher Theological College was approved by the Council of Ministers. The College was compelled to have courses on the History of Ukraine, Ukrainian language, History of Ukrainian Literature, History of the Byelorussian and Ukrainian Churches and History of Ukrainian Law. Special departments for these subjects were organized in the College.

<sup>58</sup>) For the full text of the statute see D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 328-330.

<sup>59</sup>) For a full text of this letter see D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-332.

<sup>60</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 321-322.

Before the autumn session of the Sobor was due to start, changes took place. Zin'kivs'kyi retired and was replaced by O. Lotots'kyi. The new Minister at once began to work for greater Church independence. He put forward the question of an autocephalous status for the Church during one of the sessions of the Council of Ministers. All Ministers but one were in favour. On November 12th, 1918 Ol. Lotots'kyi made a speech at the session of the Sobor in which he informed its members that the Ukrainian Government had only temporarily agreed to the limitations on the independence of the church in the Ukraine. The permanent policy of the Government to the Government to the Church in the Ukraine, he said, was based on the principle that an independent country should have an independent church. Being independent such a church would enter into contact with all other independent churches. The relations between the State and the Church, continued the Minister, must be based on the principle of rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's.<sup>61</sup> The Government is convinced that only the church based on such principles would be of benefit for the Ukrainian nation.<sup>62</sup>

After that declaration some members of the Sobor declared that there was more freedom in Soviet Russia than in Ukraine, and that they were in favour of the separation of Church and State. The answer of the Minister of Churches was, first, that whoever did not like life in Ukraine was free to leave it for Soviet Russia and, secondly, that the Government of the Ukrainian State had nothing against the separation of Church and State but it would solve nothing.

On the third day after the declaration was made by the Minister of Churches the Cabinet was dissolved once more and the new Minister of Churches, M. Voronovych, was not even able to begin his duty because he was captured by the rebels and murdered. Sobor continued its work until forced to break off by the stormy events, of the second half of November. At first the Russophile bishops greeted the new turn of the Hetman's policy to federation with Russia favourably, but when his Government fell they were quick to abandon him.<sup>63</sup>

After the downfall of the Skoropadskyi Government had brought an end to the Sobor, the Church Council and the Ministry of Churches decided to ask the new Ukrainian Government, the Directory (Dyrektoria) to end disorder in the Church by passing a law according to which it would become autocephalous. The project of such a law was drafted by S. Shelukhin and was approved by the Directory on the 1st January, 1919.

(To be continued.)

<sup>61</sup>) *Ib.*, pp. 333-334.

<sup>62</sup>) O. Lotots'kyi, *op. cit.*, p. 68. For the full text of the speech see D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-334.

<sup>63</sup>) D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 335.

## UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE ANNIVERSARY MARKED IN CANADIAN SENATE

THE SENATE

Wednesday, January 22, 1969

The Senate met at 3 p.m., the Speaker in the Chair.

Prayers.

### UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY ANNIVERSARY

*Hon. Paul Yuzyk:* Honourable senators, in view of the fact that January 22 is a very special day for all freedom-loving Ukrainians throughout the world, and particularly for over half a million Canadians of Ukrainian descent who have made notable contributions to the political, economic, social and cultural progress of our country, as well as to Canada's war effort, with leave of the Senate I rise to mark the occasion in this august chamber.

Today the blue and yellow flag of Ukraine is flying on the flagstaffs of the city halls of Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and other Canadian cities to commemorate the independence of the Ukrainian state, which was re-established by the will of the Ukrainian nation on January 22, 1918.

Last year the flag of free Ukraine fluttered in the breeze over the city hall of Ottawa, but this year it was forbidden, for Canadian protocol recognized officially the flag of Soviet Ukraine, which has the hammer and sickle on it to identify it with the Soviet Union. Soviet Ukraine is not a free sovereign state.

The celebration of Ukrainian Independence Day should inspire not only Canadians of Ukrainian origin, but all Canadians of all origins to reflect upon our political and cultural heritage. It would doubtlessly give us a better appreciation of Canadian sovereignty if a comparison would be made with Ukrainian sovereignty.

It was the British North America Act of 1867, which had been drawn up voluntarily by delegates of several colonies, that established the Dominion of Canada. By this act Canada achieved a responsible and representative government based on democratic freedom for her citizens. In the subsequent years the Canadian Government gradually gained control over all external relations, achieving complete independence in foreign policy at the end of the First World War.

Canadian sovereignty was given final recognition by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. In 1947 the Canadian Citizenship Act made Canadian citizenship distinct from British citizenship. In 1952 a Canadian was appointed Governor General for the first time. This practice has become a permanent feature of that high office.



With respect to the Constitution we have only one sore problem, to find a method of cutting the apron-string which still ties it to the British Parliament. Thus Canada has evolved constitutionally from colonial status to independence, from an unknown entity to a leader among the middle nations of the world. From her early history she had been under the domination of British Imperialism. Today she is a free and voluntary member of the Commonwealth, NATO and the United Nations.

Having been part of the British oceanic empire, Canada won her independence through evolution, not through revolution, therefore without the shedding of blood in the struggle. In the meantime, she has assisted other British colonies to attain their independence, and speaks out in world forums for the cause of freedom and independence of peoples in various regions of the world.

Canada was able to gain her freedom and gradually her independence because she had been part of an oceanic empire. Although Britain had exploited her colonies economically, she brought to them civilization and the democratic forms of government as these were developing in the British Isles. When these colonies matured they gained control over their own affairs and proclaimed independence, mostly without bloodshed and with Britain's approval.

Ukraine's situation was different. She had the misfortune of becoming part of a land or continental empire. Tsarist Russia, unlike Britain which gradually developed a democratic constitution, was an autocracy with a totalitarian political system, employing terror as an instrument of policy to carry out the economic exploitation of subjugated peoples and their national territories. Ukraine, with her higher culture, civilization and democratic government, fell victim in the seventeenth century to a backward, tyrannical and ruthless Muscovite Russia. Under Russian tsarist domination, Ukraine's democratic freedom was crushed and she became a mere Russian province, deprived of her rights and even of her name. Ukrainians were forcibly subjected to Russification and the Ukrainian language was forbidden by the decrees, ukazy, of 1863 and 1876.

The soul of the Ukrainian nation, however, could not be destroyed. From the exploited mass of peasants there emerged a great spiritual leader, the greatest poet of Ukraine, the immortal Taras Shevchenko, who advocated the dignity of the human being, freedom, truth, equality, justice and the brotherhood of man. His poetry spread like a prairie fire and was memorized by all Ukrainians. The spirit of Ukraine was revived.

When the Tsarist empire came crumbling down under its own overburdensome weight of tyranny, despotism, bureaucracy and inefficiency, the Ukrainians were the first to break out of the "prison of nations." Ukraine followed the course of self-determination. At first, the Central Rada of Kiev the Ukrainian Parliament, in September 1917, demanded a reconstruction of the empire into a free federation of autonomous republics. The so-called democratic Russian Provisional Government of Kerensky outrightly rejected this demand and upheld an indivisible monolithic Russia. When the Bolsheviks seized power under Lenin they recognized the Ukrainian National Republic in December 1917

and declared, "Everything that touches national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people, we, the Soviet of People's Commissars accept clearly without limitations and unreservedly." This evidently was duplicity, for when the Bolsheviks failed to take control of the Ukrainian Parliament, they set up what they called a "Ukrainian government" in Kharkiv and called upon the Russian Red Army to help conquer Ukraine.

It was under these difficult circumstances that the Ukrainian Parliament, in the name of the people, proclaimed the Fourth Universal in Kiev, the capital on January 22, 1918. This act established an independent national democratic republic of the Ukrainian nation. A year later on January 22, 1918 the Ukrainian Parliament proclaimed the union of all Ukrainian territories, as sections had previously been under Austria-Hungary and other countries. Thus was established a united Ukrainian National Republic, which in reality restored the Ukrainian State of the Cossacks and the original state of Prince Volodymyr the Great of medieval times. This year free Ukrainians are celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the reunification of all Ukrainian lands within their own sovereign state.

The Ukrainian National Republic was a modern state modelled upon those of the western world. It recognized the highest principles of democracy — freedom of speech, press, religion, assembly, association and personal freedom. All minorities, including the Jews, were granted "national-personal" autonomy and representation in the government. The Ukrainian National Republic was the very antithesis of totalitarianism, despotism, colonialism and imperialism, and therefore has much in common with Canada.

The Ukrainian state should have received the recognition of the Western Allies, who unfortunately applied the Wilsonian principle of the self-determination of nations only to central Europe — Germany, Austria, and Turkey. The principle of self-determination was not applied to the Russian empire. The communist regime continued the policy of an indivisible monolithic Russia under the name of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and crushed by force the many independent states that emerged after the fall of tsardom, including Ukraine. By failing to support the new national states, the western powers allowed communism to win in the Russian empire, and the principles of Russian imperialism, colonialism and totalitarianism to continue on a larger scale. Thus, the U.S.S.R. emerged as the largest colonial power in the world and the greatest threat to western life, democracy and freedom. The western world could have prevented the restoration of Russian colonialism at the end of the First World War, by having recognized the freedom of the captive nations. Today we are facing the grim consequences: constant warfare of the cold war and the non-achievement of peace.

The acts of January 22, 1918 and January 22, 1919 are celebrated annually by the free Ukrainians throughout the world, including our Ukrainian citizens of Canada. These acts marked the victory of principles now written in the charter of the United Nations, of which Canada is a signatory. Free Ukrainians and the free people of all the subjugated nations of the Soviet Russian empire

and its satellites will continue to celebrate their independence days and impress upon the western world that freedom is indivisible. The principles of the United Nations must be applied by all the other members, to the Soviet Union, which is a member, and self-determination, complete freedom, sovereignty, and integrity of national territory must be also granted to the non-Russian captive and satellite nations.

The Canadian Government, legislators, and people must constantly re-assert their faith in the principles of democracy, justice, freedom, and independence, and at the same time proclaim sympathy for and a readiness to give feasible aid to all those nations which are still struggling for the realization of these, the highest principles of humanity.

*Hon. Paul Martin* (Government leader): Honourable senators, I say on behalf of the Government that it recognizes that this is an anniversary which means a great deal to many Canadians of Ukrainian descent who compose this federation. Canada is rich because of its Ukrainian population. We acknowledge the great contributions Ukrainian have made to national development and cultural achievement. We are the heirs of a rich heritage of a great people.

In all our cities and on our farms are to be found Canadians of Ukrainian descent, with their folklore, their political orientations, their great appreciation of music and of poetry, and who remind us of men like Taras Shevchenko. We are indeed happy to have in the Canadian family people whose origins are those of the honourable senator who has just spoken.

The first Ukrainian came to Canada around 1880. His name was John Ilyniak. He was the first of some 700,000 Canadians of Ukrainian descent to come to Canada. I had the pleasure of participating in a ceremony in the Supreme Court of Canada when he was one of the first of nine persons to be given the first certificates of Canadian citizenship. He was the representative of a strong band of people who have come from the Ukraine. They have enriched our lives in every way.

Canada, as a member of the United Nations, has repeatedly re-affirmed its belief in the principle of self-determination. Whatever application this cardinal postulate of the United Nations implies has, of course, the wide support of the Canadian people.

This is a proud day for the honourable senator. I assure him that it is a proud day for all of us to be able to pay our tribute to a great people who are contributing to the Canadian mosaic.

*Hon. Jacques Flynn* (Leader of the Opposition): Honourable senators, it is indeed most appropriate that Senator Yuzyk should draw our attention to the fact that today is an important anniversary for the sons of the Ukraine. It is the anniversary of two memorable occasions. The independence of the Ukrainian State was re-established on January 22, 1918, and exactly one year later, on January 22, 1919, the Ukrainian Parliament proclaimed the union of all Ukrainian territories.

We know that since then the fate of the Ukrainian nation has been one of domination by the U.S.S.R. Because of that, Ukrainians throughout the world



who have found a new home wish to recall these events. In Canada a very large number of sons of this proud nation have found here the freedom that is denied their brothers in their homeland. We understand and share their feelings, and with them we hope, despite the events in Czecho-Slovakia which may dim this hope, that democracy, justice, freedom and independence will triumph in a not-too-distant future, not only in the Ukraine but in all those countries beyond the Iron Curtain where the populations await only favourable circumstances to achieve their liberation.

*Hon. Harry A. Willis:* Honourable senators, may I remind this chamber that one of the first Ukrainian privy councillors and ministers of the Crown was the Honourable Michael Starr, who was one of the best ministers of labour Canada ever had.

## **THE NEW UKRAINIAN UNIVERSITY OF ST. CLEMENT IN ROME**

### **Interview with the head of the Ukrainian Catholic University, Dr. Ihor Monciak.**

At the edge of the great and busy city of Rome, far from the throbbing, unsteady life of the large modern metropole which tradition and history have made a world focus, the new university for Ukrainians is rising. The building of this new scene of knowledge seems to grow overnight from the earth, surrounded by the green meadows and undulating fields of an ancient peasant landscape, which is gradually being drawn into the area of the lively capital by a modern age and its all too quick developments. Not only the business, commerce and industry of the Italian capital, but also their constantly increasing administration are compelled to reach out beyond the boundaries of the city area to realise the new lay-outs and schemes which can find no more room inside the long since closed centre of the populous city of Rome.

Knowledge and learning must also submit to this tendency and are erecting their new institutes on the edge of the newly-won parts of the city. The gentle foothills of the outer Roman hills reach to the meadows and fields, and from there, where the new building of the Ukrainian University is taking shape, the outline of other Roman suburbs can be recognised. Scaffolding and cranes still tower into the sky on the building-site; the unfinished building does not yet entirely merge into the landscape around. What is here clearly only growing, discloses to the observer only slowly its final shape; it is still the external emergence which predominates in a fragmentary way. It is true that sections of a new centre of learning are already standing; but they form up to now a patchwork, which will be added patiently and purposely to an organic whole.

The visitor approaching the main building of the new Ukrainian Catholic University is struck at once by the inscription over the doorway. In erudite Latin the motto of the young institute of learning shines out in large letters: 'Veritas et amor scientiae unit dispersos', a sentence I would like to translate with the words: 'Truth and love of knowledge unite those dispersed throughout the world.' This motto defines in succinct formulation the spiritual position of the scholars who wish to serve truth and learning at this new university.

The new university, which is externally as yet only coming into existence, has already nevertheless a decided inner form: it is to testify to the past and cultural activity of the Ukrainian nation, to their living claim to freedom and to their lasting achievements in historical, philosophical and theological spheres. It is not a Latin university which is coming into existence here, but a 'Ukrainian Eastern Catholic University.'<sup>1</sup> Its highest aim is to present in a representative manner the academic work of Ukrainian researchers and scholars from all over the world. Officially the university has been in existence since 1963. It was given the name of the Saint Pope Clement,<sup>2</sup> in honour of the head pastor of the church, who in the early period of Christianity met with martyrdom on Ukrainian soil, and, at the same time, to give expression to the efforts to achieve the one comprehensive Church of Christ, efforts in which the Ukrainian nation has always played an outstanding mediatory role.<sup>3</sup>

The direction of the new Ukrainian University is at present entrusted to Father Dr. Ihor Monciak. The visitor receives from him an informative report on the rise and objectives of the university:

*Question:* The new Ukrainian University which is coming into existence here on the outskirts of Rome, and which you, Dr. Monciak, are at the head of, was set up with the agreement of the Holy See. Numerous activities have developed since its foundation, which far surpass what might be expected from an institute of learning which is only coming into existence. What makes this possible?

*Ihor Monciak:* The special structure of this university. In our motto are the words 'veritas' and 'scientia.' Before the building work is finished here, even before the holding of lectures has begun, we have already taken up our publication of works of learning. We are publishing the results of the researches of Ukrainian scholars from different lands which, even now, have resulted in an impressive series of books.

*Question:* The new foundation of the university is actually a re-establishment, to which existing traditions of scholarship and once existing institutions will be joined.

*Ihor Monciak:* The efforts to set up a Ukrainian university in Rome go back a long way. In 1963 His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipyi was finally able to

<sup>1</sup>) in 'The Christian East', XXI/1966/6 pp. 162-5, Würzburg 1966.

<sup>2</sup>) *Annuario Pontificio* 1965, p. 70, Città del Vaticano 1965.

<sup>3</sup>) G. Pelesz, *History of the Union of the Ruthenian Church with Rome*. Vienna, 1878.

announce the foundation of the university, which had been specially furthered by the Papal See. In January 1966 the Holy Father transmitted to the Cardinal in a letter his blessing for the new university and for its academic work. This work with good reason can have recourse to what already exists. It was preceded by a Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv, which itself could look back on a long period of development. Lviv was since the 17th century the centre of academic work. A theological faculty for students of the Latin and Ukrainian Catholic rite existed there up to the first world war. A Ukrainian Theological Academic Society could list numerous publications, whose traditions we shall continue. The Polish University in Lviv, which has existed since 1918, has since 1929 also possessed a theological faculty. As you know, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv had to succumb to political events. The Rector of this once important institute of learning was the present Cardinal Slipyi. He is the founder of this new university, here in Rome. What more is needed to assure for us this continuity?

*Question:* From what definite starting points you have been able to begin?

*Monciak:* Two outstanding series of books which had once resulted from Lviv studies, were continued by us with academic works: the series of the Lviv society already mentioned found a new beginning with the work by Korolivskyi published in Rome in 1964 on the Metropolitan Szeptytskyi, and the former Eastern Academy is revived in a new series, which in the main concerns itself with papal and Union history and has already published several volumes.

*Question:* Do the authors of these works stand in special relationship to the new university for Ukrainians in Rome, or is it above all the subjects and researches which testify for the spiritual point of view of the university and thus find inclusion in the series of scholarly works?

*Monciak:* Both. You know that we are making efforts to increase the number of our professors. The Rector of the university has already been named, several professors are already decided upon, new professorial chairs are being created for some faculties and will have to be filled. We are publishing the scholarly works which we think suited to the aims of our university.

*Question:* "Scientia unit dispersos", says the motto quoted. The Ukrainians have established centres of learning in various countries of the western world and a large amount is published by them. Especially in North America the literature of Ukrainian scholars is particularly abundant. Can it be said that the new university of the Ukrainians in Rome is making the attempt to unite "dispersos?"

*Monciak:* Our University of St. Clement wishes to form here the culmination of the intellectual streams which deal positively with our nation and our Fatherland; it wishes to become a cultural centre, at which the general and special aspects of Ukrainian history, learning and culture will be discussed, written and printed, and it desires finally to be a place for the fostering of the tradition of learning, a mouthpiece of Ukrainian achievements, to which Ukrainians throughout the world will direct their attention. In this sense, it will unite "dispersos."



*Question:* The fact that the academic forces of the university come from both sides of the Ocean, that the range of academically treated subjects has been kept very wide, and finally, that the still to be created professorial chairs have been granted to subjects which make a considerable contribution to a wide university organisation, all give expression to a certain university. Has the Latin language an important function in this?

*Monciak:* If our motto has been composed in Latin, this is merely intended as a bridge to those not from the East. We are after all here in Latin Rome: in addition Latin is a time-honoured language of learning. This new university is however a university of Ukrainians. We will publish largely in Ukrainian, if not exclusively. Many of our publications have been written in English, occasioned by the work of the Ukrainians in America and Canada. Korolivskyi's monograph on Szeptytskyi is in French. Publications in German and Latin are also to be found. Languages have no more importance for learning. They make possible a broad frame of learned publications.

*Question:* Will the emphasis of the work of the university lie more on research in dogma and theology, in philosophy, or in history?

*Monciak:* A Catholic university will make provision for all theological subjects it needs, in accordance with its objectives. It will develop the philosophic side, which indeed today goes hand in hand with theology once more. We have the opportunity in addition to add historical investigations and branches. The Ukrainian University is certainly borne by Ukrainian scholars, it is especially also a national university, dealing with the historical rise of our nation, with its history, its cultural achievements, the religious and religious-political currents which have always given our country a special position — just think of ecclesiastical history, of the union with Rome, of the suffering of the Eastern Church in Ukraine since the first world war; historical research will find a wide field before it.

*Question:* Will there also be a place for attention to the problems coming from the points of contact with the Eastern Non-Uniate Church in Ukraine?

*Monciak:* The history of the churches in Ukraine is of particular academic interest. Their relations to one another are to be presented as much as the great importance of some of their prelates.

*Question:* You are thinking above all of Szeptytskyi.

*Monciak:* Principally of him, but also other outstanding sons of the Ukrainian nation are also to be given honourable mention. Here and there attempts have been made to represent their greatness, their determination and their heroic actions for their nation, its culture and independence. But there still remains for the historian always something to do.

*Question:* Would it therefore be possible to speak of an over-emphasis on historical subjects in the academic discipline of the Ukrainian Catholic University?

*Monciak:* No, certainly not. The historical disciplines will take exactly the place due to them at the side of theological and philosophical subjects. It is

true that history has always been an important quantity for the theologian, the relation of which to theology it was his task to explain. But it should have no unjustified over-emphasis.

*Question:* The founder of the new university is Cardinal Slipyi, who was once rector and protagonist of the Greek-Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv. The present Catholic university was particularly dear to him, he worked for it and finally achieved its re-establishment. Does his academic work find a special place within the University of St. Clement?

*Monciak:* Real continuity is created by the fact that the Rector of the former academy is also founder of the present university. The revival of academic activity and the conscious continuation of what was then achieved are part of his merit. From among the liturgical and ascetic works of the Cardinal a prayer-book for the people has up to now been taken into our series, from among his works on dogma a reprint of his great work on the First Epistle of John. In addition the official letters of the primate appear in our series with the title 'Litterae Nuntiae.'

*Question:* Such a comprehensive choice of academic subjects will perhaps have also given University the occasion to broaden the existing series of books through new series devoted to particular subjects?

*Monciak:* One of the newly begun series is for the work of the philosophic-philological classes of the university. In it research on the explanation of certain academic questions especially from the viewpoint of philology will be carried out. Often it is philological discussions which open the way to problems of dogma and history. This new series is being continued.

*Question:* There will certainly also be a new collection of learned publications from the historical viewpoint in the future?

*Monciak:* Metropolitan Szeptytskyi already began to collect historical documents on Ukraine. We consciously gave prominence to this undertaking begun by him with the first volume of our 'Historica' in 1964. Meanwhile two further volumes of the collected documents have appeared, and the next are in preparation.

*Question:* In addition to philological and historical research and collections the university has announced two further series, in which it is more a question of ascetic and literary publications.

*Monciak:* This concerns two different series of works. One of them continues a collection already begun in Lviv, the Ukrainian Ascetic Library of the Catholic Clerical Seminar, and published as the first of the new volumes 'Spiritual Exercises for Priests', the other is a new series, which the Studite Monastery has revived. The first in this series is a new edition of 'Typicon' in French.

*Question:* The eight series of learned publication briefly described by you (of the new Catholic University) show a large framework of scholarly functions

and activity. The subjects and problems are widespread, the origin and form of the publications are kept universal, and the new beginning through reference to what already exists represents a new foundation. Mosaic-like pattern of scholarly activity up to now however forms a uniform whole, in accordance with the chosen motto 'Veritas et amor scientiae.' Has the university developed beyond this a permanent organ, which gives expression to its objectives, a mouthpiece, which reports periodically on the life and work of the new Ukrainian University in Rome, and is of interest to those living outside Rome?

*Monciak:* Our periodical 'Bohoslovia' (Theology) could be described as such a mouthpiece. It was revived in 1963. Published by the Ukrainian Theological Academic Society in Rome, it appears annually in four numbers, which in reality fill four portly volumes. This theological quarterly, once highly respected in Lviv, appears, like all our publications, in close connection with our University.

The 'Ukrainian Catholic Eastern University of St. Clement in Rome proceeds to its final building form. Its inner structure, suggested by the motto, 'veritas at amor scientiae unit dispersos', has already taken clear shape. A new centre of learning has begun to trace out its academic aims: they form the first attempt to be in research and doctrine both contemporary and universal.

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- All obtainable from: **The Ukrainian Catholic University of St. Clement in Rome, Via di Boccea 480.**



# APPLES

A short story  
by

Yuriy KLEN

A young Cossack, Antin Perebyinis, was returning home from the Sich.\* His horse was impatient and he often had to pull at the reins to keep the spirited animal under control.

The sun had long ago sunk below the horizon and the moon had risen. Some distance away, in the pale light, Antin could see the shape of Bila Tserkva Castle. He was riding along at a slow pace breathing in deeply the scents of the surrounding orchards. Now and again he smiled to himself and his memory went back to his school days and to his experiences in the battles with Turks and Poles.

He was twenty-two years old and the world seemed to lie open before him. He was dreaming of adventure, of journeyings to the Black Sea, that vast expanse of water on which the Cossack boats sped to battle.

Antin had learnt a great deal in the two and a half years he had spent in the Sich. His senses had sharpened and he had been taught always to be prepared for trouble. He had learnt to be kind of heart without ever counting the cost, to remember that his sword was not only to win him glory and treasure but was to protect the weak against the strong, the poor against the rich. He had been trained to defend to the last the faith of his fathers and to observe the unwritten laws of chivalry; he knew that in danger he must forget his own safety and go to the help of the oppressed.

These knightly virtues were no longer a mere set of rules to live by, but had become part of himself, as natural to him as the instinct of the bee to gather nectar from the flowers or the instinct of the hunting dog to spot his quarry and to serve his master faithfully.

Antin was now riding beside a fence which enclosed a large orchard at the far end of which was a house with white pillars. The full moon stood high in the sky and poured her silvery light onto the green tent which was the orchard full of apple, pear and cherry trees, and in the distance the white church under the hill looked like a bride in her wedding gown.

In this inviting orchard grew so many varieties of apples that you had to be a real connoisseur of aromas — as a musician is of sounds — to distinguish one variety from another in that great symphony of smells that is a Ukrainian orchard in the evening.

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\*) Sich = The fortified Ukrainian Cossack encampment on an island of the river Dniro in South Ukraine, the centre of Ukrainian Cossack army and traditions of freedom in 16th-18th Centuries.

Antin stopped his horse and looked over the fence. The orchard reminded him of his home, the place where he had spent his childhood. He had nothing to eat since midday. The trail he followed had been dusty and all day the sun had parched him; he felt very thirsty. The apples, hidden by long branches, seemed like women's breast under a black dress and invited him to quench his thirst.

He remembered how as a child he had raided the orchards of neighbours, no matter how often he had been punished for it: it was part of growing up. Now he did not stop to think whether such a misdeed became a Cossack of the Zaporozhian Sich.

Near the fence, about ten feet away, grew a poplar tree. To this he tied his horse and the jumped swiftly over the fence straight into a path of nettles wet with dew. He stood still for a moment and listened. Here and there he could hear the dull thud of apples falling into the tall grass. He crawled under the trees and in dark found about five cold and juicy apples which quenched his thirst and filled him with sweetness — as stolen fruit so often does.

Memories rose within him: his father's orchard, the lake in which he so often bathed, the ducks on the pond, the bird-nests he had plundered, the call of the wild duck over the marches. His childhood, not very distant after all, seemed as fresh to him as the present.

At that moment he heard the sound of a musical instrument coming from the house at the end of the drive. Through the high grass Antin walked slowly towards it. The music came through an open window on the first floor, and it was clearly a young girl's voice that sang a plaintive air about a lover who had not yet come to claim her and how she was pining away. To catch the words of the song, Antin moved closer and stood by a chestnut tree on which fell a beam of light from the open window.

Although Antin was a soldier through and through, his young heart had its dreams of a girl, and for some time he had been carrying in his mind the ideal picture of her whom he would one day choose as his life's companion. She would have golden hair, sparkling brown eyes with long, dark lashes and well-shaped brows. She would be slim and subtle like a pink flower on a slender stem, so as to balance with her delicacy his own sturdiness. It was no wonder then that his imagination roamed as he listened to the unknown girl's voice. He forgot the orchard and its juicy apples, the journey that still lay before him and his horse, tied to the tree, impatiently waiting for him.

Suddenly he felt two pairs of hands grabbing him and lifting him off the ground. He tried to free himself but his assailants, with the strength of giants, gripped him tightly and one of them said: "You can struggle as much as you like but you won't get away." A third man joined them and it was quite impossible for Antin to escape.

They dragged him to the front of the house with the white pillars and seeing that any protest was useless he allowed himself to be led and decided to meet his fate like a man. The three men took him into the house, along a corridor and into a small, empty room. From this a door led into another room and one of three Cossacks went through. Antin could hear a deep voice saying: "All right, bring him in here", to which the Cossack replied, "Yes, Colonel, Sir."

The second room was well furnished, with thick carpets all over the floor and tapestries on the walls. On a long shelf was an array of chalices, goblets and glasses. In the middle of the room, not far from the window, stood a desk behind which sat a greying Cossack looking at some papers. Candles were burning in the two candlesticks on the table. As Antin walked in, the man behind the desk took his pipe out of his mouth and shot a questioning glance at him. Antin thought that he seemed somewhat surprised, as though he had expected to see someone else. He looked at Antin carefully for a moment and then asked: "Where did you catch this bird?" "Under the window", answered one of the Cossacks who had seized Antin. "Instead of charming the song-bird away, he stood in the light, in full view of everyone", said the second. "He is getting bold", added the third. "Yes", said the older man, "the pitcher goes so often to the well that it gets broken at last." He was still looking at Antin with interest. "What are we going to do with this gentleman?", he said.

"This good gentleman got very hot trying to escape from us", the first Cossack spoke again, "so I think it may be a good idea to let him cool off in some cold place, and that would give us time to consider what to do with him."

"We could even prepare a bath for the gentleman and let him sit in the cold water all night", suggested the second man.

"And if the gentleman complained of being too cold after a few hours, we might help him with some boiling water to get warm again", said the third.

"You leave those tricks to the Turks", interrupted the grey-haired man sharply.

"Well, let us at least keep Sir Antin here for a few days or even weeks" the first man said again. At this Antin looked up in surprise and wondered how on earth they knew his name.

"I have a better suggestion for a bit of sport", said the colonel and the three Cossacks looked at him questioningly.

"The wolves", he said shortly. The first Cossack jumped for joy and the other two rubbed their hands gleefully. "That'll be a spectacle worth watching. Let him wag his sword at them and we'll see how he gets on." "If he wins, we shan't deny him the praise and glory he deserves, and he will have his freedom as long as he does not come wandering round here again."



Antin became annoyed. They were discussing him as if he were a dummy, without a will of his own. He was not sure whether to take all this talk seriously or to regard it as a joke, and he decided to join in the conversation.

"First of all, gentlemen, you ought to inquire whether I desire a bath or wish to fight your wolves; these are clearly matters that concern me personally." The four men stared at him in amazement.

"Listen to this! He is our captive and he thinks he can make his own terms", the first Cossack said.

"He doesn't realise what consequences such remarks may have", said the second. And the third made Antin a low bow and mockingly said: "Please accept my humble apologies and the expression of my deep sympathy."

"A mistake is not a crime", said Antin, "and the law in Ukraine doesn't punish people for their mistakes."

"But there was surely a criminal motive in your coming here tonight", the colonel retorted.

"Yes, for sure; they used to punish me for the same crime when I was a schoolboy", Antin smiled.

"So even at that tender age this gentleman seems to have been fond of amorous adventures", gibed the first Cossack.

"No amorous adventure brought me into your orchard tonight."

"What did bring you here then, if I may be so bold to ask?" the first man queried.

"Apples."

"Apples? What do you mean by that?" the three of them asked with one voice and the colonel gazed at Antin from behind his desk.

"I wanted to taste your apples", Antin said simply.

At this the four men burst out laughing and laughed so loud that the window-panes rattled.

"Apples, indeed! He is trying to be funny." The Cossacks kept roaring and the colonel laughed so much that tears were streaming down his cheeks.

"The ripe apples of my daughter's breasts, no doubt", he taunted.

Antin looked at him in astonishment and said slowly and earnestly: "Please believe me, Sir, I have never even set eyes on your daughter."

"You are a good liar", replied the colonel, "but you don't convince me. To get, as you say, some apples, you had to go to the trouble of climbing the fence. Then you walked right through the orchard and stood beneath my daughter's window, where you were caught. You must agree that this looks most suspicious."

Antin remained silent as he did not know what to say. The colonel continued: "Surely you did not believe that I would tolerate indefinitely the secret letters and the meetings at the summer-house or in hiding-places behind trees, when all this meant that my daughter's good name was at stake?"

One of the Cossacks sneered: "The gentleman is trying to escape with a lie because he doesn't fancy his noble Polish person having anything to do with such wild beasts as wolves. He knows that then his only way to freedom would be through the wolves' bellies, after which even his own mother would not recognise him."

This made Antin Perebyinis really angry. "Tonight you call me a Pole, to-morrow you'll say I am a Turk. All the time you are making fun of me in the most offensive manner. As you seem to know my Christian name, I presume you also know my father. I come from a Cossack family. My father is Pavlo Perebyinis, a captain of the Sich. You can verify this." And he threw a packet of papers on the table.

The colonel scrutinised the documents. "I am glad that we are of the same standing." And turning to his three men he said:

"Your information regarding this gentleman was not very accurate, it seems."

He addressed Antin again: "This settles the matter. You will prepare yourself to marry my daughter tomorrow. You have till six in the morning to talk things over with her and so you have almost the whole night before you."

Antin wanted to protest, but he was so flabbergasted that he only managed to mutter feebly, "But I don't even know your daughter." The colonel gave him a severe look and Antin did not dare say another word.

"Do you mean to say" the old man said, "that a member of the Perebyinis family is too nobly born to marry into the Sahaidak family? I am amazed that a son of Pavlo Perebyinis, whom I know personally, should behave as you did. I should have thought that you would have taken the proper steps to gain the hand of my daughter instead of plotting in secret. — All right, boys, you can take him to Miss Oksana now." The colonel got up and turned to the window, thus indicating that the conversation was at an end.

The three men led Antin along a passage and up a spiral staircase; then they opened a door and pushed him inside. "Tony!" exclaimed the girl and rushed towards him. But then, realising the mistake, she remained rooted to the spot. The colonel heard the three Cossacks chuckling outside the door as one of them said, "she recognised her Tony immediately."

Meanwhile, the girl looked at Antin with frightened eyes and could not utter another word. The young man, too, stood stock still, not from fear though, but because he saw before him the girl of his dreams: golden-haired, with beautiful dark eyes and long lashes — everything as his imagination had painted it. And she had other qualities besides, of which he had never even dreamt. The light on her face seemed to reflect the fire within her.

"Who are you?" she asked at last getting over her bewilderment.

"I am Lieutenant Antin Perebyinis. Your father, the colonel, has just ordered me to marry you tomorrow morning."

"Oh, God", gasped the girl, covering her face with her hands, "how cruel he is, marrying me off to the first man who crosses his path." She paced up and down the room in great agitation. Antin felt very embarrassed and began talking to her quietly. "Please, don't think that I have anything to do with this plan. An hour ago I knew nothing of all this, nor of what was in store for me. I was riding past and, I am ashamed to say, jumped over the fence into your orchard to get a few apples, when I heard you playing the piano; I came closer to the window to listen to your song" — at this the girl looked through her long, thick eyelashes at the young man — "and there I was captured by three Cossacks who took me to the colonel, your father. They were talking about somebody called Antin, and it was quite some time before I realised that they had mistaken me for someone else. However, I could not convince your father of his error. He just gave me the simple choice: marriage to you, or wolves."

"How unfortunate I am", sobbed the girl, "having to marry a man whom I have hardly met and who doesn't love me. Where is my Anton? Why hasn't he come? He left a letter for me in the bark of a tree, telling me that he would come to take me away tonight."

"A letter?" asked Antin, rather surprised.

"Yes. Not an ordinary letter, of course; not the kind that my father receives from the Hetman or despatches to the Turkish Sultan. Anton puts a few small sticks in the bark of a tree and their number tells me when our meeting is to be. One stick means Sunday, two sticks Monday, and so on. If our rendezvous is to be at night he leaves a blue flower, and a white flower means daytime. A vine leaf indicates the summer-house, while a hazel leaf means a meeting in the hazel woods."

"A clever system", remarked Antin with some admiration.

"I thought it out", the girl said proudly. "The last message had a blue flower with the sticks and also a white flower petal which means that I have to wait for him till dawn."

"My dear young lady, now everything is clear to me. From your father's words it is obvious that he had you watched, not only when you went to your secret meeting places but also when you fetched your messages. He must have known your hiding-places for some time and I should not be surprised if he knew by now how to decipher the messages. So it is no wonder that he was laying a trap tonight. And it was I who walked into it!"

"What is going to happen now?" asked Oksana fearfully.

"Nothing. One day you will get your Anton and everything will be all right with you."



"But what about you?"

"Don't worry about me. I shall have to get out of this as best I can. I have landed myself in this situation through my own folly."

Just then a maid-servant walked into the room and placed a large plate of apples and a pot of honey on the table.

To Antin's parched throat the honey was pure nectar and it seemed to revive him. Oksana picked out one of the ripest and biggest apples and handed it with a charming smile to Antin.

"This kind is called after you — Antonivka — so you had better do it justice."

Antin could not help thinking how the first man, Adam, got into trouble for eating an apple given him by Eve. But Eve had surely not been any prettier than this fair Ukrainian girl, who even in trouble could smile at him with such charm.

"All we have to do is to clear matters up with the colonel", said Antin.

"But you don't know my father. He is so quick-tempered and he will ruin you before you have time to explain anything to him."

Antin walked to the window and looked out. Down by the chestnut tree he could see a man walking about and occasionally he heard him cough. "So we are being watched", he thought. "But for him I could try and jump from the window." The sky was full of stars and a small cloud drifted past the moon. There was a soft breeze which wafted the perfume of night-scented stock through the open window.

"What are we going to do?" the girl asked hopelessly.

"For me there is nothing left to do but to face my fate. Death has often been close to me in our battles with Turks and Poles, but God has spared me."

"Ah, so you have fought in great battles already", the girl looked at him in admiration. "My Anton doesn't know anything about that yet; he hasn't smelt gunpowder even."

A stream of memories flooded into Antin's mind and he told the girl about his experiences in the wars against the Turks and how, another day, he had fought against the Poles and had taken one of their colonels prisoner. It was from him that he had taken the sword which he was now wearing at his side, a trophy of battle.

The hours passed quickly as the girl listened attentively to Antin's tales of war and glory. At last she sighed and said sadly: "My Anton could never fight the Poles, he is half Polish himself."

"What do you mean, half Polish?"

"Well, his mother is Ukrainian, but his father is Polish."

"Ah, now I see why your boys who caught me called me a Pole and pulled my leg about it. And they made me really angry . . . Oh, I am sorry", said Antin, realising that he might offend the girl who loved a Pole so dearly.

"My father would rather die than consent to my marrying a Pole. If it had been Anton they caught tonight they would not have spared him, that I know."

"So you think they are treating me exceptionally well", Antin said ironically. "They have indeed promised me a fine entertainment with the wolves in which I am to play, as it were, the star role."

"Oh, please don't joke about it", cried the girl, "you don't know how wild these beasts are. They are starved on purpose and they would go for you immediately. I remember how they once killed two Turks whom my father had condemned to death for their crimes. There was not one piece left of either of them. Our Cossacks bring out the beasts one by one and tie them to a stake. If they let off one at you, you might just escape by using your sword very skilfully. But if all are let off together then you don't stand a chance. I cannot bear the thought of your dying in such a horrible way, nor can I bear having to marry somebody who doesn't want me."

"You din't seriously think that I would purchase my life at the price of your happiness?", said Antin. "My code of honour teaches me never to waver in my duty as I see it."

At that moment the door opened and one of the Cossacks entered. "The colonel wants to know whether you have made up your mind, because whichever way you have decided he still has to make certain arrangements."

"You can tell your master", Antin said sharply, "that I have no intention of marrying his daughter."

The Cossack left the room without another word. A little while later Antin heard the howling of the wolves below. He looked out of the window and in the moonlight, which was already merging with the grey light of dawn, he could see six wolves tied to a stake, their heads raised high and howling weirdly.

The girl fled to a corner of the room and put her hands over her ears. Suddenly she seemed to have an idea and she quickly went up to Antin, took hold of his hand and led him through a door, hidden behind the tapestry on the wall, into a small room. "Now the beasts are outside, the way through the cellars is clear", she said and lifted a loose floorboard. "Hurry", she urged. "This secret passage will take you to the cellar. There, in the second alcove on the right, you will find the entrance to a passage which leads away from the house and into a small wood about a hundred feet outside our orchard."

Nervously she pushed him on and again told him to hurry. Antin wriggled through the opening in the floor and as the girl bent down to him he could feel her long, soft hair touching his cheeks and her warm breath on his face. For an instant he felt himself go dizzy with longing for her and he had a strong impulse to remain with her, who drew him so irresistibly. But then he remembered that she was in

love with someone else and he decided to do as he was told. He dropped down into the darkness, moving as quietly as he could. Then the smell of wine told him that he had reached the cellar. Keeping close to the wall on his right he walked on noiselessly past the first recess, which was stacked high with barrels. As he reached the second alcove he heard the sound of footsteps approaching. He slipped behind a large cask and stayed there without moving a muscle. Somebody must be very thirsty, he thought, and at this time of night! When whoever it was had filled a jug from one of the barrels and walked away again, Antin peeped out and saw that it was a maid who now went upstairs with the jug in one hand and a candle in the other. After she had gone Antin began feeling for the loose stone in the wall of the recess, of which the girl Oksana had told him. He soon found it and lifted it out. Then he climbed through the opening and made his way along the passage which was to lead him into the wood and to freedom. He reckoned that he was close to the exit but at that moment a light was flashed into his eyes and he could feel two muskets sticking into his chest. When his eyes got used to the light he saw two young men confronting him.

"You had better go back", said one.

"He thinks we are fools", the other went on. "We have been sitting here for three hours waiting for you. We guessed that you might try to escape this way."

Clenching his teeth, Antin turned back through the narrow, dark passage, across the cellar, to the other end of the secret corridor. He knocked on the floorboards and the girl pulled them back for him. "They were waiting for me", he said. But somehow he felt very happy at seeing again her beautiful face, her dark brown eyes looking at him in despair. He was touched by her concern for his life; she was much more worried than he was. He talked to her and tried to cheer her up by saying that he didn't really mind not being able to get away; that a fight against wolves was something novel to him and would probably be the greatest adventure in his young life, something that didn't happen to just anybody. But the girl only looked at him sadly and thought that even a fight against three or four men at once would be easier than against a pack of wild beasts. However much Antin tried to comfort her, the terror and sadness remained in her eyes. He would have liked to take her in his arms and kiss her fears away, but the knowledge that she belonged to another restrained him.

Suddenly they heard shouting and scuffling noises from below. Antin looked out of the window to see what was going on. A grey dawn mist now hung over the orchard. The wolves strained at their chains, giving bloodcurdling howls. Through the noise Antin could hear fragments of conversation from which he made out that someone else had been caught prowling in the orchard. A moment later the



door burst open and a slightly built young man was pushed into the room by two Cossacks.

"Isn't this your friend who was to help you to kidnap the young lady?" asked one of them.

"I don't know this gentleman" answered Antin, and he added sarcastically: "But if I needed any help, I should have chosen someone bigger and probably more courageous!"

"And you, Miss, do you know this man?" the Cossack asked. The youth looked at the girl imploringly. And the girl said coldly:

"I have never seen him before."

"What shall we do with him?" asked the Cossacks, looking at each other.

"We might as well let him go", said the older of the two.

"Get yourself off! And mind you don't ever come here again!"

The young man was greatly relieved, gave the girl a quick, grateful look, and almost ran out of the room.

Everything was quiet again except for the howling of the wolves outside. The girl broke the silence:

"You would really rather die than marry me, would you?"

"Your happiness is more to me than my life", answered Antin gallantly.

"A life for my happiness with Anton — or rather" she corrected herself, "his happiness with me!"

From below Antin could hear the laughter of the Cossacks and one of them saying: "He was on his horse in a flash and galloped away in a cloud of dust." Antin felt his heart beat faster and, leaning out of the window, he asked: "What was the horse like?" "A chestnut, with white spots on its back", replied the Cossack. "By God! That was my horse!" shouted Antin and went crimson with rage.

"I'd like to know who that fellow was", he said angrily, still grieving over his beautiful horse.

"It was my Anton", said the girl quietly, almost in a whisper.

Antin gasped. A storm of feeling raged within him. Here was this lovely girl who had captured his heart at first sight, and she was in love with that weakling, who had run away instead of standing by his beloved and had even stolen his horse; and it was she who had saved the wretch by denying all knowledge of him. Antin was furious at the thought that for the sake of this coward he should have to risk his own life. He was so preoccupied that he noticed only after some time that Oksana was crying.

"Why do you cry?", he asked. "Yoy will be all right."

"How you must hate me!" Her voice was choked with tears.

"What makes you think I hate you?" asked Antin, embarrassed.

"Well, haven't you been trying everything possible in order to get away from me? You were most anxious to escape through the dark

cellars, you considered jumping out of the window, and now you would rather be thrown to the wolves than marry me."

"Yes, but . . . what about you and your Anton?" Antin was puzzled.

"Anton can go where he likes, and the further the better. I certainly don't want to see him again", Oksana said firmly.

"I was only trying to do what I thought was right", said Antin.

"And what would you do", she asked boldly, "if a girl told you that she loved you, that she couldn't imagine life without you, that it would break her heart if you left her?"

"Oksana!" cried Antin triumphantly and clasped her in his arms.

Once more tears were rolling down her cheeks, but this time from joy and happiness. He stroked her long, silky hair and after a while he said:

"Now we'll both go and see your father and explain everything. We shan't have to ask his permission to marry — he has already given that!"

"Oh, you are wonderful" she said, smiling through her tears; "yes, we'll tell him everything, and he will have to ask your forgiveness."

"You are quite right", he said laughingly.

With arms round each other, they walked to the colonel's room and there Antin told him:

"Sir, after thinking the matter over for a whole night I have made up my mind and, with all my heart, I will take your daughter for my wife."

"You might have said so last night, it would have saved a lot of bother", growled the colonel. "Anyhow, let's get ready. The sun has risen and the priest will be waiting at the church."

About half an hour later everyone assembled in the colonel's room. He himself poured wine into golden goblets and all present drank the health of the happy, young couple. The three Cossacks, who had captured the bridegroom the night before, felt a little foolish and asked his forgiveness. Antin answered them all by saying: "The one thing that worries me is that people might think that I only married because I was afraid of the wolves. But to put matters right, I am prepared to meet the beasts after the wedding and so prove to all doubters that I married my young bride because I love her dearly, and not for any other reason."

At this the old colonel chuckled and said: "As I now have the the rights of a father, I'll see to such matters. So leave it to me."

Then they all went to church. As the colonel was leaving the house a groom came running up to him. "Colonel, Colonel", he panted, "the young gentleman who is now going to marry our young lady isn't the same man that used to visit her in secret!"

"I have gathered as much myself, thank you." The colonel scowled. "Now be off, you, and keep your nose out of other people's business!"

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## 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,  
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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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Vol. XVI No. 3

Autumn 1969

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A Quarterly Magazine

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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.

W. MYKULA, B.A. (Lond.), B.Litt. (Oxon.)

# THE GUN AND THE FAITH

## Religion and Church in Ukraine under the Russian Communist Rule

### INTRODUCTION

Western press agencies reported recently on the arrest of Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskyi of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern rite in Lviv, the capital of West Ukraine, on January 27, 1969. While the archbishop was on his way to hear the confession of a sick woman, the KGB men followed him to the woman's house, arrested him and brought him back to his own apartment which was then searched thoroughly. Arresting Archbishop Vasyl they told those present: "You will never see him again."

After the archbishop's imprisonment the KGB searched the homes of other Ukrainian Catholic priests in Lviv and in other cities of West Ukraine. Many were arrested on the same day.

Last year a 56-year old priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Father Antin Potochniak, was arrested in the city of Stryi and sentenced to 5 years of hard labour. The court found him guilty of having conducted "illegal" divine services, of having preached to large numbers of the faithful who were thus kept from "useful work" and of having warned children against atheistic indoctrination in schools. The last charge was considered the most damaging. Asked by the court whether he was going to plead guilty to the charges Father Potochniak said, "I have not committed any crime and I feel innocent of the charges."<sup>1</sup>

In 1966 apparently the last Orthodox village church in the Dnipropetrovsk region of Ukraine was dynamited and blown up in the village of Surs'ke. The old Cossack church of Holy Mother of *Protec-*

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<sup>1</sup>) Arrests of Ukrainian Archbishop and Clergy", *ABN Correspondence*, Vol. XX, No. 2, March-April 1969, p. 16.

tion which once was painted by Taras Shevchenko, the famous Ukrainian 19th C. poet and painter, was pulled down.<sup>2</sup>

Recently, the Ukrainian Orthodox Convent which was situated at No. 15, Bekhterivs'kyi Provulok in Kiev has been closed. It existed since World War II and its 250 nuns earned their living by working in various artisan shops which they ran themselves, such as tailoring, book-binding, painting, etc. workshops. There remains now only one monastery in Kiev, the so-called Voznesensky monastery.<sup>2a</sup>

These are only a few examples of the most recent acts of the persecution of religion and church in Ukraine by the communist Russian regime of occupation. These facts remind the free world that these things do not simply belong to the past, to the dark era of Stalin, but live on in the present, supposedly more enlightened days.

On the other hand, these facts illustrate that religious spirit lives on despite persecutions, and that there exists underground Church, that free conscience of man cannot be shut in by draconic laws and regulations and the tyranny of the bureaucratic agents of the power of a totalitarian state.

The following survey of the abnormal relations between the State and the Church in Ukraine, imposed by the alien Russian Bolshevik regime of occupation, and maintained by terror and force until the present day, should serve as a warning to all those who naïvely imagine that freedom of conscience exists in the USSR or that its leaders are likely to bring about an improvement in this respect in the future.

### **BOLSHEVIST ATTITUDE TO RELIGION AND FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE**

The Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopaedia states that "Freedom of conscience — is one of the democratic freedoms which consists in the citizens' right to profess any religion or not to profess any." It further asserts that real freedom of conscience exists only in Socialist Society, apparently in the USSR. But a few lines further it states that in the USSR "All citizens are assured of the freedom of performance of religious rites and the freedom of anti-religious propaganda." This logical sleight of hand occurring between the first and the last statement reveals to some extent the inequality of the legal position of religion and Church in the USSR. For the same entry in the Encyclopaedia explains further: "The Soviet State has created all conditions for the final eradication of religious ideology by way of the utilisation of the means of ideological influence in order to educate men in the spirit of scientific-materialist world outlook, to overcome religious

<sup>2</sup>) "The Witches' Sabbath of the Chauvinists", *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, p.

<sup>2a</sup>) *Shliakh Peremohy*, Ukrainian weekly, Vol. XVI, No. 26 (801), June 29, 1969, Munich, p. 3.



superstitions.”<sup>3</sup> Thus we see that even in an article on the freedom of conscience the authoritative Soviet source stresses the bias of the immensely powerful State machinery of the USSR against a religious outlook, and the individuals and groups who wish to preserve it, in favour of the atheistic world outlook. The partiality of the Communist State against real freedom of conscience is immediately obvious. In real life, as different from propaganda articles, the unequal situation of religion and Church in the USSR amounts to nothing less than a great tragedy.

\*

The Communist doctrine embraced by Russian Bolsheviks denied all value to religion which in Marx's definition was “opium for the people” and an instrument of the bourgeoisie for keeping the proletariat in subjection. And although, for propaganda reasons, the Bolsheviks proclaimed full freedom of conscience, they had never any intention of implementing such declarations in real life.

In one of his authoritative statements Lenin said: “Our Party . . . cannot and must not be indifferent to lack of consciousness, ignorance or obscurantism in the form of religious beliefs.” And as the Communist Party and the Soviet State have been and remain just two aspects of the same inseparable whole, the Party's attitude has naturally been transferred to the attitude of the Soviet State towards religion, irrespective of all formal declarations about the freedom of conscience. For it is the Communist Party that in fact wields full power in the USSR and is able to carry out its policies through the State machinery without any hindrance and even sometimes contrary to its own laws and solemn declarations. The declarations and laws assuring tolerance of religion are kept largely for the sake of propaganda, in particular abroad, to neutralise actual or potential opponents of the regime on religious grounds, and to win support for some of the Kremlin's campaigns by parading official church dignitaries as their sponsors or supporters.

The real attitude of the Communist Party and State towards freedom of conscience, religion and church, has been militantly hostile throughout. How could it have been otherwise, when Russian Bolsheviks could not even tolerate the existence of like-minded communist or socialist groups with slightly divergent views and either destroyed them physically or forced them to renounce their opinions and stay silent? Even today Communism of a slightly different brand than that advocated currently in Moscow by its supreme spokesmen is regarded with hostility by Russia, and is mercilessly suppressed once Moscow sees a chance to do it. What tolerance can one expect then with regard to freedom of conscience in the usual meaning of freedom of religion in its various aspects, religion which is regarded by them

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<sup>3</sup>) *Ukrains'kaadians'ka entsyklopediia*, vol. 13, p. 11.

as a reactionary remnant of capitalist bourgeois society? Of course there can be no delusion on this score, such tolerance is in reality non-existent, and if it sometimes appears that there is a modicum of tolerance on the part of Soviet Russian authorities towards religion or its representatives, this is but a temporary and insincere tactical retreat which changes into an attack as soon as conditions permit.

\*                      \*  
\*                      \*

As one of their first pronouncement the Bolsheviks proclaimed, in a decree of January 20, 1918, separation of the Church from the State and of School from the Church. The decree promised full freedom of conscience which included the right of the citizen to profess any religion or not to profess any, the freedom to perform religious rites if they did not violate public order, the prohibition of the teaching of religion in schools (though private study of religion was permitted), the prohibition for church and religious organisations to own property and to enjoy rights of a legal person, the nationalisation of all Church property. At the discretion of central or local government organs church buildings and objects necessary for religious services could be handed over to religious communities for free use.<sup>4</sup>

This decree of the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Federative Soviet Socialist Republic was formally extended to Ukraine by the so-called Provisional Workers' and Peasants' Government of Ukraine by the decree of January 19, 1919.<sup>5</sup> The latter was a Bolshevik puppet government installed by Russian external force with the help of some collaborators in Ukraine, largely consisting of non-Ukrainian Communists, mostly Russians and Jews, against the genuine Government of the Ukrainian National Republic which came into being as the expression of the democratic will of the Ukrainian people, and proclaimed the independence of Ukraine on January 22, 1918. The published official text of the decree somehow omitted to specify that the Churches were deprived of their rights of legal persons. This omission was "rectified" by the decree of the Soviet government of Ukraine of August 3, 1920 which ordered the implementation of the law in complete agreement with the practice in the Russian Republic.<sup>6</sup>

The first Constitution of the RSFSR of July 10, 1918 proclaimed in its Art. 13: "To ensure real freedom of conscience for the working people, the Church is separated from the State and School from the

<sup>4</sup>) *Istoriya sovestkoy konstitutsii (v dokumentakh) 1917-1956*, Gos. izd. yurid. lit., Moscow 1957, p. 109-110.

<sup>5</sup>) *Kul'turne budivnytstvo v Ukraïns'kii RSR, 1917-1959*, zbirnyk dokumentiv, vol. 1, Derzh. polit. lit., Kyïv 1959, p. 28-30.

<sup>6</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 67-68.

Church, and freedom of religious and anti-religious propaganda is recognised for all citizens.”<sup>7</sup>

The Constitution of the Ukrainian Socialist Soviet Republic approved on March 14, 1919 was more limiting. Art. 23 states:

“In accordance with this general rule, in order to ensure real freedom of conscience for the working people, *as well as to curb any possibility for utilising religion and church in the interests of the preservation of class society*, the Church is separated from the State, and the right of all citizens to propagate religious doctrines *which do not have any social or political aims*, as well as antireligious doctrines *which in their spirit do not contradict Communist world outlook*, is recognised for all citizens.”<sup>8</sup>

This article of the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR limits freedom of religion and conscience to a considerably greater degree than the analogous article in the Constitution of the RSFSR. Not even atheistic doctrines contradicting Communist world outlook were permitted, let alone religious “propaganda” which could easily be construed as pursuing social or political aims. This example illustrates the general fact that the Soviet regime in the non-Russian republics and areas of the former tsarist empire was more intolerant and ruthless than in the centre. Ukraine was treated in fact as an occupied territory and any sign of dissent was brutally suppressed.

The policies of the Communists with regard to religion are outlined in the Programme of the Russian Communist Party adopted at its 8th Congress on March 22, 1919. It stated:

“13. As regards religion, the Russian Communist Party is not satisfied with the already decreed separation of the Church from the State and of School from the Church, i. e. with the measures which are advocated by bourgeois propaganda, but nowhere realised completely in the world, because of numerous real connections between the capital and religious propaganda.

The Russian Communist Party is guided by the conviction that only the realisation of planning and consciousness in the totality of social and economic activities of the masses will lead to complete dying away of religious prejudices. The Party desires complete destruction of the bond between the exploiting classes and the organisation of religious propaganda, furthering the liberation of the working masses from religious prejudices and organising the widest possible scientific educational and anti-religious propaganda. At the same time it is necessary to avoid offending the religious

<sup>7</sup>) *Istoriya sovetskoy konstitutsii . . .*, op cit., p. 145.

<sup>8</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 196. Our italics.



feelings of the believers in any way, for this can only lead to the strengthening of religious fanaticism.”<sup>9</sup>

Some of those who formulated this resolution may have realised the dangers of offending the religious beliefs of the faithful, but the rank-and-file Bolshevik fanatics arbitrarily exercising complete and unchecked power on the spot, understood only that they had to eradicate religion as soon as possible, and any scruples about not offending religious beliefs of the faithful largely fell by the roadside. Especially ardent in mocking religion, the priests, and religious services were members of the militant Young Communist League (Komsomol) who in the 1920s staged real orgies of hooliganism in the streets or even in churches on the occasion of great Christian feasts, such as Christmas or Easter. Later this function was taken over by the Union of the Militant Godless with Yemelyan Yaroslavskiy at their head. That organisation published masses of vulgar atheistic literature and arranged various anti-religious events. It ceased officially its activities during World War II, while Yaroslavskiy himself perished in one of Stalin's purges in the 1930s. After World War II its function was taken over by the “Knowledge” Society which operates on a more “scientific” plane. Moreover, anti-religious propaganda has to be carried on by each member of the Communist Party, the Komsomol, various government employees, like teachers for instance, and even by members of the Young Pioneer organisation.

More than once the Soviet State and the Communist Party declared themselves not only a-religious but definitely anti-religious.<sup>10</sup> In particular education was affected by this attitude. School became not only separated from the Church, but it became atheistic and anti-religious. The Code of Laws on Public Education in the Ukrainian SSR introduced on 25th November, 1922 stated the following on this score:

“§ 27. School is separated from the Church.

§ 28. Upbringing and education in the Ukrainian SSR ought to be free from any religious influence.

§ 29. Teaching of religious doctrines to pupils in the educational establishments and to persons below 18 years of age in churches, prayer houses and private homes — is forbidden.

§ 30. Teaching of general educational, as well as special subjects in all educational establishments by people who are in material or official dependence on organisations of religious cults — is forbidden.

§ 31. In order to free the working masses from religious prejudices, all educational, scientific and political educational establish-

<sup>9</sup> *Kulturne budivnytstvo . . .*, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>10</sup> E. g. “Directives of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine”, dated October 18th, 1922”, *Kulturne budivnytstvo . . .*, op. cit., p. 153.

ments are to carry out a wide and planned scientific educational and anti-religious propaganda."<sup>11</sup>

Thus, despite the propagandistic assurances about freedom of conscience, religious education of the young generation in Ukraine has been virtually prohibited.

The provisions of the decree on the separation of the Church from the State and School from Church of January 20, 1918 condemned various religions in the former tsarist empire, including Ukraine to virtually illegal existence. Deprived of the rights of legal persons and of all their property, religious communities could only receive permission to exist if they formed themselves into groups of at least 20 people and applied to government authorities for registration and for the use of a church on the basis of a decree of April 15, 1923. Unsatisfied with having confiscated the churches and all their property, the Soviet Russian government imposed exorbitant taxes on the religious communities often amounting to thousands of roubles. The taxes were not fixed once and for all, or for a definite period of time, but were imposed from occasion to occasion, according to the whims of the Communist authorities, and amounted in fact to tributes which were imposed in ancient times by conquerors on the population of a conquered land. The failure to pay taxes resulted in the church buildings being taken away and closed for divine services.

According to their final objective, namely the closure of all the churches, and the eradication of all religions, the Bolsheviks used various methods to close the churches and to deprive the faithful of religious care and education, to do away with the clergy and make impossible any form of worship and propagation of religious beliefs. If they felt that direct coercion was not advisable in a given case they applied indirect methods. Usually they tried to create the appearance of voluntary closure of churches. For this purpose meetings of workers were staged in towns and the participants were cajoled into passing resolutions demanding closure of churches. The authorities then graciously complied with these "spontaneous" wishes of the population. In the villages, the effective power was handed over to the committees of "poor peasants" which included a large proportion of criminal and rough ignorant elements which were encouraged by the Communist authorities to terrorise the ordinary rural population. These Committees under the direction of urban Party bosses also organised the closure of churches in many villages.

Nevertheless, during the period of the so-called New Economic Policy introduced by Lenin in 1921 to save the Soviet State from complete economic collapse and rebellion by peasants and oppressed non-Russian nationalities, the anti-religious campaign was not carried

<sup>11</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 158.

on in such a ruthless manner as it was done later in the 1930s. Its intensity declined by the middle 1920s and it seemed that the relations between the religious communities and the atheistic State would reach some sort of a *modus vivendi*.

However, with Stalin's rise to power in the second half of the 1920s and the adoption of his ruthless plan of industrialisation and "construction of socialism in one country" by totalitarian tyrannical methods of suppression of any kind of different opinion, of any kind of actual or imagined, even remotely potential enemies of the regime, the position of religion and church in the USSR deteriorated sharply. A heavy blow was dealt to them by the Soviet decree of April 14, 1929. It altered the previous formulation in such a way as to lay down that citizens now enjoyed only "freedom of religious faiths and of anti-religious propaganda", thus permitting only anti-religious propaganda and by implication prohibiting propagation of religion by any means. This formulation was introduced into the revised Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR of May 15, 1929 (Art. 8).<sup>12</sup>

The Stalin Constitution of December 5th, 1936 which is still in force in the USSR, was even more explicit. Under Art. 124 it bluntly states: "All citizens enjoy the freedom of performance of religious rites and of anti-religious propaganda." It limits religious freedom simply to the performance of religious rites, and even that is severely circumscribed by many other regulations and prohibitions.

Anti-religious campaign in the USSR, and in particular in Ukraine reached its climax in the 1930s when churches were, practically speaking, destroyed. During World War II, some churches were again permitted to come back to life under strict surveillance of the appropriate government organs and on condition that they constantly prove their complete loyalty to the Communist Russian regime by fulfilling various propagandistic and quasi-diplomatic tasks.

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<sup>12</sup>) *Istoriya sovetskoy konstitutsii . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 515.



## THE UKRAINIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

Prior to the 1917 Revolution the overwhelming majority of Ukrainians (about 90 p. c.) belonged to the Eastern Orthodox branch of the Christian religion, following the Byzantine tradition but using the Old Slavonic language in liturgy and rites.

Ukraine adopted the Christian faith from Byzantium in 988 during the reign of the Great Prince of Kiev Volodymyr (Vladimir) who ruled the State of Rus' (ancient Ukraine with vast dependencies in Eastern Europe). Following the decline of Kiev after the Tatar-Mongol invasion in the 13th century, the Metropolitans of Kiev began to live in one of the powerful successor states of the Rus' State, the principality of Suzdal-Moscow, formerly a dependency of ancient Ukraine. Following the conquest of Ukraine by Lithuania and Poland in the 14th Century, the Orthodox Church in Ukraine established itself as a separate Metropoly of Kiev and Halych directly subordinate to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, while with the growth of Muscovy as a power, the metropolitans of Moscow assumed the title of Patriarchs. After a brief period of independence of the Ukrainian Cossack State in the middle of the 17th century, Ukraine became a vassal state of Muscovy, gradually losing its autonomy in the 18th century. Following the political domination over Ukraine, Moscow prevailed on the Patriarch of Constantinople to hand over the jurisdiction over the Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the Patriarch of Moscow. This happened in 1685. Thus the Ukrainian Orthodox Church began to lose its autonomy, and in the course of the 18th century became simply a part of the Russian Orthodox Church which was then ruled already not by Patriarchs but by the so-called Holy Synod established by tsar Peter I as an instrument of secular interference in ecclesiastical affairs. Like Russian government, the Russian Church carried out a thorough policy of Russification of Ukraine and of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In tsarist Russia the enslaved Ukrainian people was deprived of the opportunity to develop its political, social, religious, economic and cultural life to such an extent that even Ukrainian language was forbidden for more than 30 years in the Russian empire, and even in the periods that it was not officially forbidden, it was persecuted and suppressed. Prior to the outbreak of the 1917 Revolution the great majority of the hierarchy and clergy of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine were either Russians or Russified Ukrainians who were alienated from the Ukrainian people. They regarded with hostility the new Ukrainian national movement which had as its aim the liberation of the Ukrainian people from national and social oppression in tsarist Russia and the re-establishment of a free Ukraine. It is no wonder, therefore, that the

authority of the Russian Orthodox Church was considerably undermined in Ukraine and was maintained mainly by secular power of the tsarist Russian empire. When that power collapsed in 1917, the until then latent tendencies among the Ukrainian faithful aiming at the restoration of the independence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church came into the open and their strength began to grow from day to day. Thus, while in Russia itself the State-imposed Synod was abolished and Patriarchate of Moscow was re-established, in Ukraine the movement for the establishment of the autocephaly (independence) of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and for the severance of dependence on the Moscow Patriarchy began to take over initiative into its hands. Moscow Patriarchy attempted to avert this break-away of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church by agreeing (in 1918) to a nominal (but not real) establishment of an "Autonomous" Ukrainian Orthodox Church headed by old Russian hierarchy. This satisfied neither the patriotic Ukrainian faithful nor the political circles of the newly independent Ukrainian National Republic. On January 1, 1919 by a Government decree, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church was proclaimed autocephalous, i. e. independent from Moscow Patriarchy. This remained largely on paper, because the Ukrainian State, unaided by the Entente powers, was not able to withstand attacks from several sides at the same time: from the Red and White Russians, the Poles and the internal anarchy fomented by outside forces, and fell in 1920. Nevertheless, despite political setbacks suffered by the Ukrainian national movement, the strength of the autocephalous trends within the Orthodox Church in Ukraine grew, and in October, 1921 a Council of the Ukrainian clergy and faithful, gathered in the ancient capital of Ukraine, Kiev, established the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. In view of the fact that the old Russian hierarchy and a large part of the clergy remained loyal to Moscow Patriarchy, the Council had to consecrate bishops of the Autocephalous Church in the manner of the first Christians, by the laying on of hands by the whole body of the congregation. This departure from the traditional consecration of new bishops by other bishops created many difficulties for the Autocephalous Church from the canonical point of view, especially prevented its recognition by other Orthodox Churches, and its total acceptance even within Ukraine. The "Autonomous" Orthodox Church in Ukraine under the Patriarch of Moscow continued to exist, although many faithful left it for the Autocephalous Church. But the development of the latter was cut short by brutal reprisals on the part of the Soviet Russian government in the 1930s when the Church, practically speaking, ceased to exist in Soviet Ukraine. During the German-Soviet war, however, the Autocephalous Church quickly came back to life and in 1942 corrected the deficien-

cies of its hierarchical structure, by having its bishops canonically consecrated in the usual traditional manner by other bishops recognised by the Orthodox Churches. After the return of the Soviet Russian troops to Ukraine in 1944, the Autocephalous Church in Ukraine was suppressed and the faithful have again been subordinated to the Russian Orthodox Church and the Patriarch of Moscow. This situation continues until this day. At present the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church exist openly only in the free countries of the West while in Ukraine it lives in the hearts of its faithful.

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The beginning of the persecution of religion and Church in Ukraine coincided with the launching of the Soviet Russian aggression against the young Ukrainian National Republic on December 27, 1917. Communist Russian troops and bands swooped on Ukraine from the North in support of a pro-Russian Communist faction which set itself up as a "workers' and peasants' government of Ukraine" in the second-largest city of Ukraine, Kharkiv, on December 25, 1917, and called to Lenin for military assistance. This rebellious "government" consisted predominantly of ethnic Russians, Jews and other national minorities to whom the cause of Ukrainian national state and independence was strange and whose aim was to bring Ukraine back under the supremacy of the Russian Communist government. As these minorities constituted a considerable proportion of the urban population of Ukraine (small in comparison with the rural Ukrainian population), they were able to incite widespread rebellion against the national Ukrainian government in many towns of Ukraine and thus to create chaos and havoc. At the same time the destruction of the old social order carried out by the Russian Bolsheviks included also a blow at the Orthodox Church as supporter of that order.

As one of the first victims of the Communists was the head of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, the Metropolitan of Kiev, Volodymyr Bohoyavlensky, who was murdered by Bolshevik rebels in Kiev on January 25, 1918.

Many atrocities on clergy and faithful were committed by Communist bands in various parts of Ukraine in the course of three years of fighting (1917-1921) and repeated invasions of Ukraine. In January, 1918, for instance, 25 monks of the monastery in Lubni were executed. Many churches, monasteries and convents were ransacked and looted, priests, monks and nuns murdered or persecuted.<sup>13</sup>

But as the period of War Communism passed and Lenin proclaimed the introduction of New Economic Policy, i. e. a compromise with capitalist principles, the violence against the churches and religions

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<sup>13</sup>) Dr. Lev W. Mydlowsky, "Bolshevist Persecution of Religion and Church in Ukraine", *Russian Oppression in Ukraine, Reports and Documents*, Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London, 1962, p. 112-113.



abated to some extent. However, in 1922, when a widespread famine raged in Southern Ukraine and the Volga regions of Russia, the Soviet Russian government utilised this occasion to despoil the churches and monasteries of their valuables, such as precious stones, gold and silver, including the most sacred ritual objects, on the pretext that this was necessary to finance famine relief. Many of ancient gold and silver chalices, crosses etc. were forcibly confiscated and melted down despite their great historic and cultural value, and the metal sold abroad for comparatively small sums. The government rejected proposals by church authorities for selective voluntary donations and control over the utilisation of the donated valuables, and those who demanded such a control or tried to offer resistance by refusing to hand over the objects of great religious, historical and cultural value were severely dealt with. Many of them were imprisoned, tortured and executed. In five, out of the eight Ukrainian eparchies alone, 583 clergy were executed or tortured to death in connection with this campaign of indiscriminate robbery and vandalism.<sup>14</sup>

During the first years of the Soviet regime, the Communists tried to utilise internal dissensions between various churches in order to weaken them and finally destroy them from within. They employed various underhand methods to play one church against another.

At first they put few obstacles to the growth of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, because they saw in it a counter-balance to the Patriarchal Russian Orthodox Church. But when they saw the rapid spread of the Ukrainian autocephalous movement because of its use of the vernacular Ukrainian language in liturgy and all-pervading national Ukrainian democratic spirit of independence, they began to look at it with growing suspicion as the bastion of Ukrainian nationalism and favour in every way the so-called Active Christian Church in Ukraine, "groups of clergy without the people", to undermine the Autocephalous Church. Moreover the situation was complicated by the fact that there was active in Ukraine also the so-called Synodal (also known as the "Live" and "Renovational") Church which was supported by the Bolsheviks against the Ukrainian Exarchate of the Russian Patriarchal Orthodox Church. The activities of the GPU (secret police) were in part concerned with spreading confusion and chaos in the churches, in compromising them in the eyes of the faithful, in discrediting church leaders, bishops and priests, and using various means to slander the churches and to destroy religious faith among the people. Agents were infiltrated among the priesthood, they led dissolute lives discrediting the vocation, other

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<sup>14</sup>) *Protopresv. Mikh. Pol'skiy, Novyye mucheniki rossiyskiye*, Jordanville, vol. I, 1949, vol. II, 1957; Ivan Vlasov's'kyi, *Narys istorii Ukraïns'koï Pravoslavnoï Tserkvy*, New York-Bound Brook, Vol. IV, First Section, 1961, p. 292.

priests were intimidated and blackmailed into renouncing their vows publicly, churches were accused of committing various offences and crimes, disputes between churches, in particular about the use of church buildings, were incited. Militant atheists staged blasphemous mock "religious" services and processions, organised mobs for disturbances at church services and for causing damage to church property, etc.

Prior to the Revolution there were 10,835 Orthodox parishes in Ukraine, organised in nine dioceses. The metropolity of Kiev possessed a higher Theological College, 10 lower theological seminaries and 35 schools. There were 188 students in higher Theological College and 3,724 pupils in the lower ones. There were, moreover, 10,000 parish schools.<sup>15</sup> As result of the anti-religious drive by the Bolsheviks, all these schools were abolished and the number of parishes declined considerably.

At the height of its growth, in 1926, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church was divided into 20 church districts with 17 active bishops.<sup>16</sup> By 1927 there were in existence, according to the most cautious estimates, about 1100 parishes of the Church.<sup>17</sup> Altogether during the 1920s there were 34 bishops of the Church. The rate of decline of the church life, compared with the pre-revolutionary period, is illustrated by the fact that while in 1914 there were 10,793 church cantors in Ukraine, by 1927 their number decreased to 4,574, i. e. by 6,219 or by more than 57 p. c.<sup>18</sup>

In the second half of the 1920s the anti-religious policy of the Soviet Russian government intensified. It became particularly vicious after 1929 when Stalin launched the reckless drive aiming at total collectivisation of agriculture. Together with all the "remnants of the past" hampering "the construction of socialism" religion and church suffered merciless blows. All still remaining restraints were thrown overboard and the closing and demolition of churches and persecution of clergy and faithful proceeded at a rapid pace. Collective farm authorities appointed by the Communists were encouraged and intimidated into issuing decisions to close church building on the grounds either that they were not needed by the people, or that the buildings were in a dangerous state of repair. Innumerable acts of vandalism and outrage against the churches were committed by the mobs led by the Communists. Most church buildings were converted for profane use, and turned into clubs, cinemas, warehouses, or demolished together with their interior adornments and religious objects, often of considerable historic and artistic value. Wooden churches which existed in many villages were transformed into

<sup>15</sup>) *Ukraïns'ka zaha'l'na entsyklopediia*, 3 vols., L'viv, p. 896-899.

<sup>16</sup>) I. Vlasovs'kyi, *op. cit.*, p. 140-141.

<sup>17</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 154.

<sup>18</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 157.

granaries, barns or even pig-sties, but most of them were simply pulled down and the material used to build collective farm sheds or as fuel.

The famous Pechersky (Cave) Monastery in Kiev, the most ancient and important in all Eastern Slavonic countries, had 500 monks still in the year 1926. But then their abbot, Hermogenes Holubynsky, was arrested and the monks dispersed.<sup>19</sup> Only seven of them remained when the monastery was closed down and transformed first into a "museum city" in September, 1926, and in 1933 into an anti-religious museum. It was only after World War II that some of the buildings of the monastery were handed over to the monks of the Russian Orthodox Church. But even this smaller monastery was finally closed down in 1961 on the pretext of the reconstruction of the architectural complex of the monastery.

In 1931 the famous 17th C. monastery of Mezhyhirs'kyi Spas near Kiev suffered a pogrom. Its baroque iconostasis, paintings by the famous Italian artist, Antonio Scotti, and the library were destroyed, church bells were smashed up. Frescoes were defaced and painted over with "socialist-realist" scenes.

In February, 1934 the St. Sophia Cathedral in Kiev dating back to the 11th C., the most venerated shrine in all Ukraine and other East Slavonic lands, was closed and transformed into a "State museum and reservation." Its interior was to a considerable extent plundered and ruined. Before their retreat from Ukraine in 1941, St. Sophia Cathedral was mined by the Bolsheviks and was saved from demolition only by pure chance.

The year 1934, marking the reign of the notorious henchman of Stalin, Postyshev, in Ukraine, was disastrous for historic church architecture in Ukraine apart from any other considerations. Many ancient cathedrals and churches in Ukraine were closed and demolished. In Kiev alone some of the most venerated churches were pulled down on the pretext that government buildings were to be built on the vacated sites. For in that year the capital of the Ukrainian SSR was transferred from Kharkiv to Kiev and the Communist authorities wanted to transform the Kiev skyline with its numerous church domes into a more "modern" and "socialist" look. Among many churches, the following most famous ones fell victim to a hasty and barbarous "reconstruction": 1) St. Nicholas (Military) Cathedral (17th C.), 2) St. Michael "Golden-domed monastery (11th-12th C.), 3) Three Saints' Church (12th C.), 4) Bratsky Monastery (17th C.) with its famous church and belfry, 5) Assumption Church (12th C.), and many others.

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<sup>19</sup>) L. Mydlowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 113.



The St. Michael "Golden-domed" Monastery contained invaluable mosaics and frescoes. Some of the mosaics were cut into pieces and saved by courageous Ukrainian scholars, and later transferred to Moscow and to St. Sophia's Cathedral, but most of the ancient medieval frescoes have been lost to posterity. Ukrainian scholars were not even permitted to copy all of them and to take exact measurements of the structure of the monastery church. Even today, decades after the tragic event, the site of the church stands undeveloped for the authorities changed their minds and did not build any structure on it after all.

Prof. M. Makarenko, an archaeologist and member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, who tried to save the ancient church monuments in Kiev by petitioning the Communist Party secretary in Ukraine, Postyshev, and even Stalin himself, was arrested by the GPU, exiled from Ukraine to Russia where he died.

As already mentioned above, the ancient Pechersky (Cave) Monastery in Kiev was robbed of its treasures, its monks were persecuted and expelled, and the monastery transformed into an anti-religious museum, a hotbed of atheistic propaganda.

The Metropolitan Cathedral Church of St. Volodymyr in Kiev was closed for divine services and transformed into a branch of the anti-religious museum. It was restored for use as a church during the war.

Ancient cemeteries in Kiev were barbarously destroyed. Thus, e. g. the so-called Askold's Grave Cemetery with artistically valuable mausoleums and vaults was razed to the ground and a "park of culture and rest" with an open-air theatre was created in its place.

Similar destruction of ancient shrines went on all over Ukraine. In *Kharkiv*, St. Nicholas Church in the centre of the city was blown up and many other churches demolished. The Annunciation Cathedral was transformed into the Radio Centre. In *Odessa* the magnificent Transfiguration Cathedral, as well as other churches, was pulled down. In *Poltava* the Assumption Cathedral, the Resurrection Church and other shrines were destroyed.

Monasteries throughout Ukraine were liquidated. By 1937, as a result of the Soviet anti-religious campaign, all churches and monasteries in Ukraine were closed and the majority of them were destroyed. No church, even the most ancient and revered one, remained untouched by vandalism. Similar destruction affected religious buildings belonging to other denominations. Secular monuments of Ukrainian history and culture were not spared either, because anti-religious campaign coincided with the drive against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", meaning any sign of solicitude for national identity, traditions and culture of Ukraine,

Since the middle of the 1920s the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church experienced increasing interference on the part of Soviet

authorities, in particular the GPU secret police, which manipulated even the elections of metropolitans and bishops of the Church. Thus under the pressure from the GPU, the great Metropolitan of the Church, Archbishop Vasyl' Lypkivs'kyi, was forced to stand down and leave active participation in Church affairs, in order not to exacerbate the relations between the Church and the Soviet regime. Intimidation and terrorisation of individual bishops and priests of the Church increased from year to year to such an extent that some of them were blackmailed into co-operation with the secret police and into carrying the task of ruining the Church from within. Arrests and banishment of the members of the clergy became increasingly more frequent. After a thorough preparation by the GPU terror machine, a mortal blow was dealt to the Church. On January 28-29, 1930 the GPU managed to stage what purported to be an Extraordinary Council of the Church attended by some bishops and priests, which announced the dissolution of the organisational structure of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church. The parishes were left to fend for themselves as best they could without any central body or hierarchy. This coincided with widespread arrests among nationally conscious Ukrainian intelligentsia and clergy who were accused of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" and service in the interests of foreign "capitalist" powers, in particular Poland. Shortly afterwards in March, 1930, a show trial of alleged leadership of two closely connected clandestine organisations, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (S.V.U.) and the Ukrainian Youth Association (S.U.M.), took place in the Kharkiv Opera House. About 40 most prominent Ukrainian intellectuals were put in the dock and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment and banishment. Most of them were never seen again and died in prison. Among them was Volodymyr Chekhivs'kyi, a former Premier of the Ukrainian National Republic and one of the chief lay propagators of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church. Great numbers of people were sent to prison or were liquidated without any trial.

The situation eased up a little towards the end of 1930 and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was able to hold another extraordinary council which restored the hierarchy of the Church to some extent and created 7 dioceses. The Metropolitan see was transferred to Kharkiv which was then the capital of the Soviet Ukraine. However there was constant surveillance and interference on the part of the Communist authorities. Incessant persecutions and arrests, intimidation and terrorisation of the bishops, priests and faithful resulted in a rapid decline of the Church as an organised body. While prior to its liquidation the Church had 22 districts with over 1000 parishes, by the end of 1930 the number of parishes dwindled to about 300 and by 1933 to not more than 200.<sup>20</sup> By 1936, it seems, this

<sup>20</sup>) I. Vlasovs'kyi, *op cit.*, p. 323.

Church disappeared completely when the last known parish went down under the assault of the atheistic regime.

Following the liquidation of the Autocephalous Church, the two other forms of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine, the so-called Patriarchal and the "Synodal" churches, were likewise almost completely wiped out by 1936-37. It appears that the last active bishop of the Orthodox Church under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow, was arrested in Poltava in 1938 together with four priests of his Church and two priests of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

An eye-witness of the martyrdom of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, writes about its destruction by the atheistic Communist Russian regime as follows:

"Tens of thousands of Ukrainian intellectuals, clergy, workers and peasants were shot, exiled and tortured for having manifested their religious convictions, or just because they had been suspected of such convictions. In the years 1932-33 a famine was artificially brought about in Ukraine. It annihilated one fifth of the population of Ukraine. The religious life was restricted to the limits. Intimidated people feared to go to church, or, if they did, they did this by stealth. The priest was isolated from the people. The faithful feared to meet him, and even more so to enter into conversation with him.

The years 1934-36 saw the final destruction of the visible signs of religious life in Ukraine. Churches were destroyed on a mass scale then. The last mock trials of clergy and faithful, were staged by the government. Over 30 bishops, over 2000 priests and a great number of faithful from among the flock of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were annihilated. Only a few priests returned to Ukraine before the Second World War. But during the war they again organised and brought back to life the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church had 34 bishops and over 3,000 priests and deacons. From this number, during World War II, only two bishops, with impaired health, returned to Ukraine from exile; one of them died in 1943. The Kiev All-Ukraine Church Council registered, at the end of 1941, only 270 priests who returned to Ukraine from exile."<sup>21</sup>

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The Orthodox Church in Soviet Ukraine had almost completely been annihilated by 1939 when the Western provinces of Ukraine, Galicia (Halychyna), Volynia and Polissia, which for 20 years had been under the Polish rule, were occupied by Soviet Union according

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<sup>21</sup>) Father M. Yavdas, *Ukrains'ka Avtokefal'na Pravoslavna Tserkva* Munich, 1956, pp. 19-20.



to the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. In the northern provinces of Western Ukraine (i. e. in Volynia and Polissia) the great majority of the population was Orthodox and there were six bishops of the so-called Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Poland. This Church was predominately Ukrainian in membership and its Metropolitan Archbishop Dionysius had his see in Warsaw, then under Nazi German occupation. Although the Communist Russian regime proceeded more cautiously in this newly-annexed area than in Central and Eastern parts of Ukraine, they nevertheless severely restricted the activities of the Orthodox bishops and clergy, prevented their contacts with Metropolitan Dionysius, imposed exorbitant taxes and forced the submission of these dioceses to the Moscow Patriarchate.

When in 1941 Nazi Germany attacked Communist Russia and German troops occupied Ukraine, they found that some members of the clergy still survived in Central and East Ukraine and after the escape of the Communists came out into the open. Two small churches were still functioning in Kiev and there were in Ukraine three archbishops, Anthony (Abashidze) in Kiev (old and crippled), Anatole in Odessa, Theophil in Kharkiv, and Bishop Damaskin in Kamyanets-Podilsky, who were under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow.

Despite German attempts at intermittent meddling in religious affairs, the religious life in Ukraine immediately revived. In parallel with the "Autonomous" Orthodox Church in Ukraine which retained ties with the Russian Church, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church came back into existence and was set up on a new organisational footing in 1942, declaring its independence from Moscow. This Church began rapidly to gain ground in Ukraine and the "Autonomous" Church began to lose popular support.

The rapid growth of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, its resurrection from almost complete annihilation in the 1930s, was possible thanks to the survival of a small part of its clergy, and also thanks to the fact that the hierarchy of the Orthodox Church in Western Ukraine (formerly under Poland) rallied predominantly to the Autocephalous cause. This Church openly declared its Ukrainian patriotic character and thus reflected the aspirations of the Ukrainian nation to full freedom and independence in all respects from any foreign power or centre. Many Ukrainians realised that subservience to the Church of Moscow which for centuries had been in close political dependence on the authoritarian Russian State was detrimental to the cause of the national liberty of Ukraine.

The canonically consecrated West Ukrainian Orthodox bishops provided a link with the entirety of the Orthodox Church and its Ecumenical Patriarchy of Constantinople. Within a short period of time they consecrated new bishops so that the hierarchy soon numbered 14 princes of the Church headed by Metropolitan Archbishop

Polykarp, former bishop of Lutsk in Volynia. The Church soon restored to life 500 parishes in Central and East Ukraine and gathered a somewhat greater number of priests.

Seeing the rapid growth of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the head of the rival Autonomous Church, Metropolitan Alexius, signed on October 8, 1942 an act of union with the Autocephalous Church. This act, however, remained unimplemented owing to strong German pressure and opposition of a number of "autonomous" bishops, and Metropolitan Alexius was compelled to retract his signature. Soon afterwards he was killed accidentally by Ukrainian partisans, and the Soviet army re-occupied Ukraine once more in 1943-44.

Meanwhile, seeing the rise in religious feelings of the population as a result of the war privations and disasters, and in particular the great revival of the Church life in German-occupied territories, and desirous to win the support of religiously-minded people for the Soviet war effort, Stalin and the Soviet Russian government relaxed their anti-religious policies and allowed the restoration of organised religious life in the USSR. In particular the toleration of the Russian Orthodox Church under Patriarch Sergius and of several other recognised Churches was announced in 1943. At the same time a Council for the Affairs of the Russian Orthodox Church was set up at the Council of Ministers of the USSR and in 1944 and similar council for other denominations was created. Their task was to exercise close supervision over the activities of the permitted religious bodies. Similar subordinate councils were set up at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1945 the Soviet authorities issued a number of unpublished decrees and regulations which restored to the recognised religions some of the rights cancelled by the decree on the separation of the Church from the State of 20th January, 1918. The most important of them was the unpublished decree of August 15, 1945 restoring to the Church the right of legal person including the right of acquiring property. It must be remembered, however, that while tolerating and reducing their propaganda war against the so-called "loyal" Churches, the Communist authorities did not stop to denounce in their propaganda some of the denominations which either had their centres abroad or were regarded as anti-Russian or anti-social, e. g. the Catholics, especially Ukrainian Catholics of the Eastern rite or Jehovah's witnesses.

Thus the most favoured Church in the USSR, since 1943, became the Russian Orthodox Church which co-operated very closely with the Communist authorities in rousing the Russian population to a war effort against the Germans and in awakening among the Russian masses patriotic and even imperialistic feelings, in the same way as this Church had done prior to the Revolution under the tsarist regime.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which declared its independence from Moscow became an object of hatred of the Communist Russian authorities and the Russian Orthodox leadership. Therefore the entire hierarchy and a number of the clergy of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church left Ukraine before the advancing Soviet armies, fearing savage reprisals on the part of the Russians. A large part of the hierarchy and clergy of the "Autonomous" Church in Ukraine also went into exile. The Soviet authorities immediately liquidated the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church upon their return to Ukraine and the remaining clergy and faithful had to submit to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow and his Exarch in Ukraine.

Moreover, in 1946, the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern rite which existed in the Galician part of Western Ukraine, with its 3000 parishes and about 5,000,000 faithful was forced under terror to submit to the Patriarch of Moscow and renounce the allegiance to Rome. Its entire hierarchy and most of the priests were arrested and deported to slave labour camps before the break with Rome was announced.

In view of the fact that religious life revived to a greater extent in the areas that experienced German occupation, the proportion of Ukrainian Orthodox parishes in the Russian Orthodox Church remains very high. By the middle of the 1950s, for instance, it was reported that there were functioning in Ukraine 8,500 Orthodox parishes (out of the total of 20,000 in the USSR) with 6,800 priests, nearly 40 monasteries (out of the total number of 67 in the USSR) and three theological seminaries (out of eight in the USSR).<sup>22</sup>

This relative toleration of the church life ended in November, 1958 when, on Khrushchev's insistence, the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CPSU decided on a sharp change of course in relation to religion and church and on the strengthening of atheistic propaganda. In the next few years, as a result of a vicious propaganda campaign and increasing pressure by means of various levers which a totalitarian state power has at its disposal, many churches were closed down and the number of parishes fell down catastrophically. By 1963 their number fell by about 50 p. c. Even in 1961 the number of Orthodox parishes in the whole USSR was given as 11,000. In Ukraine the resistance to the campaign of the closing of churches was greater than in Russia herself, as is witnessed by the fact that the decline in the number of churches was somewhat less. It is estimated that there are at present about 5,000 Orthodox parishes in Ukraine.<sup>23</sup> This is a very small number indeed if one takes into account the

<sup>22</sup>) A. Zhukovs'kyi, "Suchasnyi stan relihii i tserkvy pid sovietamy, zokrema v USSR", *Zapysky NTSh*, vol. 181, "Relihiya v zhntti ukrains'koho narodu", 1966, p. 52-53.

<sup>23</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 55-56.



fact that about a half of them are former Ukrainian Catholic ("Uniate") parishes in Western Ukraine and a quarter, perhaps, are situated in Volynia and Bukovina (West Ukraine). Thus, at most just over 1,000 (or one quarter) are situated in the Central and Eastern provinces of Ukraine with three quarters of the population of Ukraine. It should also be remembered that Ukraine with its population of over 40,000,000 people of Orthodox background has 1200 towns and urban settlements and 32,000 villages, most of which had one or more Orthodox churches before 1917. The Orthodox Church in Ukraine is divided now into 19 dioceses many of which remain, however, unoccupied owing to the fact that bishops of the old generation are dying out rapidly and there are few replacements. The same goes for the clergy. The present head of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine and Exarch of the Patriarch of Moscow is Archbishop Filaret Dmitrovsky, appointed by the Synod of Moscow Patriarchy in 1966. He is a Russian monk who on his appointment was only 37 years old. He had already held important administrative and diplomatic posts in the Russian Church prior to his most recent appointment.

Thus there exists now in Ukraine only a fraction of the number of parishes that existed there before the Bolshevik invasion. The number of monasteries has fallen down almost to nil, so that at present only three remain open, and even these are threatened with closure. During the 50 years of existence of the Soviet regime not even one new church has been built. Many of the churches of exceptional historical and cultural value have been pulled down or fell into a deplorable state of disrepair. The process has not been halted and many churches continue to be destroyed.

The Kiev Monastery of the Caves was closed down in 1961 on the pretext that the buildings were threatened by a landslide and that reconstruction was needed, but the civilian inhabitants of the monastery area continue to live in their apartments. The Odessa nunnery was closed in one night when a squad of militia surrendered the building and expelled the nuns. The case of the famous Pochaïv monastery in Volynia where monks had been persecuted and driven out of the monastery has received world-wide attention owing to the fact that a copy of the monks' petition to the Soviet leaders reached the West and was published in the press.

The methods to persecute the monks and nuns are many. Younger monks are drafted into the army, the older ones are sent to hospitals on the pretext that they suffer from a disease, some of them are sent to mental hospitals, although they are completely sane. Some are deprived of their internal passports without which they are unable to move about and consequently are arrested for "vagrancy" and sentenced to prison. It is under this pretext that several monks from Pochaïv were sent to prison in 1964.

The Kiev Theological Seminary was closed when its building was confiscated in 1960. The Lutsk Seminary stands before closure because of the shortage of students due to the difficulties which the regime places before the prospective priests.

One bishop was declared an unwanted person in Ukraine and another was deprived of the right to preach and the right to say Mass. In 1961 Archbishop Andriy Suchenko was sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment on trumped up charges of tax evasion and keeping minors from work.<sup>24</sup>

A new anti-religious legislation was introduced in Ukraine in 1961. Article 227 of the new Criminal Code states, among other, things, that "the leaders or directors of a group the activity of which, under the pretext of a lecture, includes religious teaching or the practice of religious rites, thus endangering the health of the citizens who are members of the group . . . or which is connected with the demand for abstention from any form of social activity . . . as well as the acceptance of minors in such a group . . . shall receive sentences of up to five years imprisonment . . ."

This article of the Code does not remain an empty threat but is applied in practice as occasional newspaper reports confirm.

In Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, with its population of 1,500,000 there are only seven Orthodox churches open today, while before the Soviet occupation there were 106 for a much smaller population of 250,000. In Kharkiv, the second-largest Ukrainian city, with a population of 1,200,000 there are only four churches open, and similar situation prevails throughout Ukraine.

The Orthodox Church in Ukraine is bound hand and foot today, it lives under double oppression. On the one hand, the all-pervading obstructiveness of the Communist Russian authorities which use every pretext to cripple it and finally liquidate it, on the other hand, the chauvinist hierarchy of the Moscow Patriarchy, which refuses to recognise the separate individuality of Ukraine, and in the interests of the imperialistic messianism of "holy Russia", prevents the development of a genuine Ukrainian Orthodox Church, free and live in spirit as well as in organisational structure. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church cannot exist in Ukraine at present, it is a proscribed Church and anyone who would attempt to reconstitute it would be severely persecuted. However, it exists as an underground Church, as an ideal in the minds of many religious Ukrainians, and there is no doubt that it would immediately revive again if the shackles of oppression were suddenly removed. Openly it can exist only in the free world where there are three metropolies of this Church, in Europe, the USA and in Canada, with hundreds of thousands of faithful.

<sup>24</sup>) Nikita Struve, *Die Christen in der UdSSR*, p. 327 ff., *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XVI, No. 1., Spring 1969, p. 53-59.

## THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH OF THE EASTERN RITE

In the West Ukrainian provinces (East Galicia, Carpatho-Ukraine) which prior to 1918 were parts of the Austro-Hungarian empire of the Hapsburgs, the Ukrainian (or Ruthenian, as it was sometimes known) population, in its overwhelming majority, belonged to the so-called Greek-Catholic (or "Uniate") Church correctly described as the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite. Until the end of the 16th C. this Church formed part of the Orthodox Church in Ukraine. In 1596 the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church entered into Union with the Roman Catholic Church at a Council at Berestya (Brest), but this Union was repudiated later by some bishops and a great part of the laity, so that since that time there have existed in Ukraine two main Churches with very few differences in their dogmas, rites and liturgical language. While the Ukrainian Orthodox Church fell eventually under the Russifying influence of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, in the course of centuries, became increasingly more identified with Ukrainian national life in Galicia. While the official Russian Orthodox Church which absorbed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church became a stifling instrument of tsarist Russian autocracy and denationalisation, the Ukrainian Catholic Church became a mainstay of the resistance of the Western branch of the Ukrainian nation against Polonisation which constantly threatened it.

The expansionist and imperialist policies of the Russian government always included the aim of completely wiping out the "Uniate" Church which potentially threatened the absolute dominance of the Russian Orthodox Church and the unity of the Russian empire. Since the partition of Poland at the end of the 18th C. when most of Ukraine was annexed by Russia, the latter strove to liquidate the "Uniate" Church by various means, including violence. The last remnants of the Church within the Russian empire were forced to accept Orthodoxy or to join the Roman Catholic Church in the Kholm region of Ukraine (at present eastern fringes of the Lublin province of Poland) in the year 1875 when armed force was used to "convert" the people to Orthodoxy. When the Russian armies invaded East Galicia during World War II in 1914 one of the first acts of the Russian occupying authorities was to abolish the Union of Berestya and to subordinate the Greek-Catholic Church, as it was known then, to the Russian Orthodox Church. The Metropolitan of Lviv, Archbishop Andrey Sheptytskyi, was arrested and exiled to Russia and a Russian Orthodox bishop and priests were sent to the occupied



West Ukrainian territory to take over the Church. Upon the retreat of the Russian troops in 1915, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was restored to its former status. Under the Polish rule, between 1919 and 1939, the Ukrainian Catholic Church remained one of the main pillars of the Ukrainian national life in West Ukrainian provinces, despite every effort of the Polish State to weaken and undermine Ukrainian national entity.

The Soviet occupation of these territories after September 1939 when the Polish State collapsed and its territories were divided between Hitlerite Germany and Stalin's Soviet Russia, brought about increasing difficulties for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. During the two years of Soviet-German co-operation (1939-1941), the Communist Russian authorities conducted a policy of slow strangulation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by well-tried methods of severe restriction of the status of the Church, its hierarchy and priests in social life, and by imposing ever greater financial burdens on it. All landed property belonging to the Church was, of course, confiscated, and a number of outspoken priests put behind bars in order to silence the rest into submission.

However, the full implications of the Soviet policies with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic Church did not yet have time to become revealed, because the Communists realised the immense popularity and support that the Church enjoyed among the masses of the West Ukrainian population and had to tread cautiously. Then came the German attack on the Soviet Union in June, 1941. Before their hasty retreat from West Ukraine, the Soviet Russian secret police arrested thousands of Ukrainian patriots, among them a number of priests. Some of them were deported to the East and thrown into prisons and concentration camps, but thousands of others, especially Ukrainian nationalists and some priests, were brutally massacred in the prison yards in many Ukrainian cities. In Lviv alone, mutilated bodies of about 6,000 murdered prisoners were discovered in prison yards on the day when the Soviet troops and secret police abandoned the town.<sup>25</sup>

When the restoration of the Ukrainian Independent State was proclaimed by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera in Lviv on June 30, 1941, in defiance of the policies of Nazi Germany, the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the person of its Metropolitan, Archbishop Andrey Sheptytskyi, gave its blessing to the Provisional Government of the Ukrainian State headed by Premier Jaroslav Stetzko, as did also the Ukrainian Orthodox Bishop Polykarp of Volynia who in 1942 became Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>25</sup>) *Russian Oppression in Ukraine. Reports and Documents*. Ukrainian Publishers Ltd., London 1962, pp. 147-218.

<sup>26</sup>) *Ibid.*, pp. 239-258.

During the German occupation Metropolitan Sheptytskyi, on behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, voiced protests against the murder of civilians, in particular Jews, by the Nazi German authorities in Ukraine.

Upon the return of the Soviet Russian troops to West Ukraine in 1944 the Ukrainian Catholic Church hierarchy remained in their sees despite the great threat of reprisals for the Church's unconcealed sympathy with Ukrainian national aspirations for independence from any alien powers, including Russia.

At first, while the war against Germany was still being waged, the Soviets pursued a deceptively moderate policy with regard to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in order not to rouse the discontent of the population even more. For at that time the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) was active in West Ukraine and was supported by the overwhelming majority of the population. The U.P.A. was called into being by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) and under its brilliant Commander-in-Chief General Taras Chuprynka (real name, Roman Shukhevych) fought against both the German and the Russian occupation for an independent Ukrainian State.<sup>27</sup>

On November 1, 1944 the highly respected and revered Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytskyi, a national Ukrainian figure of historic significance, died in somewhat obscure circumstances. There have even been persistent rumours that he had been poisoned by the Communists. Unprecedentedly for the Bolsheviks, his funeral was attended by Khrushchev himself who was then First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and even made a funeral oration.

But soon afterwards Soviet propaganda began a campaign of denigrating Metropolitan Sheptytskyi's memory.

Metropolitan Sheptytskyi was automatically succeeded by his coadjutor, Archbishop Yosyf (Joseph) Slipyi, widely respected for his scholarly achievements, a former rector of the Theological Academy in Lviv.

The Russian occupation authorities exerted pressure on the Church to aid them in combating the armed resistance of the Ukrainian people to the Soviet rule. Naturally, Metropolitan Slipyi refused to involve the Church in such an undertaking. On the other hand he tried to soothe the Russians by donating, on behalf of the Church, a sum of 100,000 roubles for the welfare of the wounded soldiers of the Soviet army.<sup>28</sup>

The Patriarch of Moscow sent a formal letter to the Metropolitan and the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, calling upon them to renounce their allegiance to the Pope and to "return to the fold of the Russian Orthodox Church", submitting to his jurisdiction. This demand was rejected by the Ukrainian Catholic bishops.

<sup>27</sup>) *Ibid.*, pp. 259-274.

<sup>28</sup>) Dr. Lew Mydlowsky, *op. cit.*

At the same time the Soviet authorities intensified their drive against the priests of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. They were compelled to attend meetings at which Communist agitators publicly attacked and ridiculed them, trying to provoke them into making politically dangerous retorts. The ground was gradually prepared for a general assault on the Church, by undermining the public confidence in their priests and hierarchy. Suddenly, on April 11, 1945 the Metropolitan and all the Ukrainian Catholic bishops resident on the territory of Galicia annexed by the USSR, were arrested by the NKVD, taken to Kiev and kept there in strict isolation and were interrogated under constant threat of torture and physical and mental humiliation. Eleven months later, in March, 1946 they were put on trial behind closed doors before a military tribunal charged, under the provisions of Article 54 (sections 1 and 11) of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, with "high treason", "collaboration with the enemy", and "hostile, criminal offences against the fatherland." The indictment alleged that these crimes had been committed by them during the German occupation of West Ukraine between 1941 and 1944.

These accusations were, of course, groundless and were needed simply to remove the Ukrainian bishops from the stage in order to decapitate the Church and make room for Russian Orthodox bishops. The very fact that it took the prosecution 11 months to prepare the trial, and even then to withhold the public from it, is an indirect proof that the evidence was very tenuous if any.

The Ukrainian Catholic bishops were not guilty of any treasonable activities, in particular as far as Soviet Russia is concerned. First of all, West Ukraine was annexed by the USSR by force of arms in accordance with the Hitler-Ribbentrop pact, so the USSR was no "Fatherland" of West Ukrainians. Secondly, Ukrainian bishops did not collaborate with the Germans politically in any sense. There were, of course, official contacts with the German occupation authorities, as there were with the Soviet occupation authorities, or Polish occupation regime before the war, but these contacts concerned mainly pastoral care for various sections of the population. The indictment claimed that the arrested bishops helped the German occupying regime to send people to slave labour in Germany and to secure deliveries of agricultural produce by the peasants. In particular Metropolitan Slipyi was accused of having delegated chaplains for the Ukrainian Division "Galicia" which fought against the Russians. These facts corresponded with the truth only to the extent that the Church extended pastoral care over the Ukrainian labourers in Germany and the Ukrainian soldiers fighting against the Russians. The fact that Ukrainian hierarchy, priests and the population in general were not particularly friendly towards the Russian occupation army should not be surprising to the atheistic regime which persecuted religions and Church and exterminated Ukrainian patriots. No Ukra-



inian in his senses could feel anything but resentment against the Soviet Russian "Fatherland." At the same time the Ukrainian hierarchy and the population in general resented the policies of Nazi Germany in Ukraine, especially the liquidation of the Provisional Ukrainian Government, arrests and murders of Ukrainian patriots, deportations to slave labour, reprisals and annihilation of millions of civilian population, especially the Jews. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, together with the entire Ukrainian people, entertained the aspirations for an independent existence of Ukraine and sympathised with the liberation fight of the Ukrainian people against both oppressors. Communist Russian prosecutors twisted statements and acts expressing these sentiments into evidence of "high treason" to the USSR.

That the prosecution had very little to go on is proved by the fact that the Soviet press published only a very terse and vague little notice about the trial without quoting the text of the indictment, or any documents, testimonies by witnesses or other evidence.<sup>29</sup> The reason was that the whole indictment was based on the most flimsy tissue of lies and distortion of truth by Stalin's secret police.

It cannot be denied that the Church, like the entire Ukrainian community in West Ukraine, were relieved when there appeared a prospect of the end of the oppressive, alien and tyrannous godless Communist Russian regime in Ukraine, and did not hide their revulsion against the latter. The German occupation, however, brought another kind of tyranny against which the Church and the Ukrainian political representatives protested on numerous occasions, and against which subsequently there grew nation-wide resistance led by the O.U.N. and the U.P.A. Throughout the entire period the Church stood with the Ukrainian people, defending its interests, spiritual and material, and the enemies of the Ukrainian people and religion had no right to accuse the spiritual leaders of the Ukrainian people of high treason to the Russian occupying power.

On March 6, 1946 the Soviet press reported that in conclusion of the secret trial the Metropolitan Archbishop Yosyf Slipyi, the bishops Nykyta Budka and Ivan Liatyshevskiy were each sentenced to eight years hard labour in concentration camps, Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn to 10 years and Bishop Mykola Charnetskyi to five years imprisonment.

At about the same time, without any publicity at all, other members of the clergy were arrested and deported, too. Among them were Fathers M. Galiant, Kovalskiy, Kunytskyi, Gorchynskiy, Beley, Sampara, Trush, Bilyk, Hodun'ko, and others. The Apostolic Exarch for Catholic Ukrainians in Germany, Father Dr. P. Verhun, was arrested in Berlin and imprisoned in Russia.

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<sup>29</sup>) *Vil'na Ukraïna*, March 1, 1946; *Pravda pro uniyu*, Lviv 1968, pp. 363-4.

The arrested dignitaries of the Church were sent to prisons and concentration camps in the Far North of Russia to spend many years in squalid conditions of misery and despair among the most depraved and violent criminals who terrorised prisons and camps. As a result most of the convicted bishops and priests died before their term of imprisonment expired. Thus Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn died in a Kiev prison on December 24, 1946.

At about the same time Polish Communist authorities arrested Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovskiy and his coadjutor, Bishop Hryhorii Lakota, in Peremyshl, in the part of West Ukraine which still remained under the Polish occupation. The two bishops were extradited to the Russians. Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovskiy died, as a result of tortures, in a Soviet prison on November 17, 1947, and Bishop Hryhorii Lakota in the Vorkuta concentration camp on November 12, 1950. Mgr. Verhun died in exile in Krasnoyarsk region of Siberia on February 7, 1957. Bishop Mykola Charnetskyi of Volynia was imprisoned in Vorkuta concentration camp, and although his sentence ended in 1950, he was not released until 1956 and died on April 2, 1959. Bishop Ivan Liatshevskiy was released in 1956, having spent three extra years in prison. He was forbidden to resume his ecclesiastical duties and died in Stanyslaviv on November 29, 1957. Bishop Nykyta Budka died in imprisonment in Karaganda (Kazakhstan) on October 6, 1949.<sup>30</sup>

The Metropolitan Archbishop Yosyf Slipyi completed his sentence in 1953, but without any legal justification whatsoever he was sentenced to a further indefinite term of imprisonment. In 1957 he was again tried secretly and sentenced to seven years of imprisonment and hard labour and in 1962 condemned to imprisonment in the Mordovian concentration camps. Then suddenly his release unexpectedly came at the beginning of 1963. On February 9, 1963 the chief martyr of the Ukrainian Catholic Church arrived in Rome after nearly 18 years of imprisonment and on January 25, 1965 was nominated Cardinal by Pope Paul VI.<sup>31</sup> By divine Providence he alone remained alive from all the West Ukrainian bishops and as Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church heads this Church in the free world. As Major Archbishop he enjoys the same rights as a Patriarch of the Church. The Ukrainian Catholic Church outside the USSR now has 14 bishops and dioceses in many countries, under the supreme guidance of Major Archbishop Cardinal Joseph Slipyi.

Following the arrests of the hierarchy and the leading priests, the Russian Communists proceeded to terrorise the remaining clergy into

<sup>30</sup>) Lev Mydlowsky, *op. cit.*

<sup>31</sup>) *Zapysky NTSh*, vol. 181, *Relihiia v zhytti ukr. narodu*, "Kardynal Josyf Slipyi (Biohrafichnyi narys)", Munich-Rome-Paris, 1966, pp. XX-XXIII.

abrogating the Union of Berestya, to break ties with the Pope and to submit to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow. For this purpose an "Initiative Committee" was set up headed by Father Havryil Kostelnyk which under the secret police terror convoked an illegal Council of the Church in Lviv. The Council was poorly attended, for out of about 2,500 priests, only 216, including some members of the laity, took part, without any of the bishops being present, for they were under arrest. The Council which met between March 8 and 10, 1946, purporting to speak on behalf of the entire Church, declared Union of Berestya invalid and announced the submission of the Church under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Moscow. This was the pretext needed for the Russian Communists to declare the Ukrainian Catholic Church illegal and to arrest those priests and faithful who refused to recognise the decisions of the spurious "Council."

The forcible liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church was accompanied by a campaign of intimidation against priests and faithful. Under threats of imprisonment, deportation and other methods of blackmail the priests were asked by secret police agents to sign statements to the effect that they had "voluntarily" joined the Russian Orthodox Church. The great majority of them refused and suffered martyrdom as a result. In 1946 alone about 800 priests were arrested, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and deportation to concentration camps or exiled to distant areas of the USSR.<sup>32</sup> Many of the convicted priests died in inhuman conditions in the slave labour camps of Vorkuta and Siberia, but some are still surviving there. A minority of the priests were blackmailed into accepting the authority of the Patriarch of Moscow, but they did so only under extreme duress, trying to save their families from persecution and almost certain death in prisons and camps.

An official communique by TASS Soviet press agency announced that as from January 1, 1948 the Ukrainian Catholic Church ceased to exist and had no longer any legal rights. This was long after the Church had in fact been violently destroyed. However, even though the Ukrainian Catholic Church does not officially exist in Ukraine, it exists in the hearts of a large number of the faithful and clergy. It has been driven underground and, from time to time, newspaper reports speak about clandestine activities of the remnants of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which has been driven into the catacombs by persecution. According to some reports the faithful meet in private homes to hear Mass celebrated by underground priests.

Very recently the world press brought a report that on January 27, 1969 the Russian secret police arrested in Lviv Mgr. Vasyl Velychkovskiy who, as the press reports said, had been appointed by Metropolitan Slipyi his successor as Archbishop of Lviv, i. e. head of

<sup>32</sup>) Lev Mydlowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 125.



the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine. The arrest took place when Archbishop Velychkovskyy visited the home of a sick woman to hear confession. Other Ukrainian Catholic priests were arrested in Lviv at the same time. There are reports that he was transferred to a Kiev prison and that he died there.

Archbishop Vasyl Velychkovskyy was born on June 1, 1903 in Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivsk), became a Redemptorist monk and priest in 1925, and was later teacher and preacher in Volynia and Galicia, as well as parish priest. In 1942 he became abbot of the Redemptorist monastery in Ternopil, and after the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Bolsheviks was exiled to Siberia.<sup>33</sup>

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A similar fate as in East Galicia befell the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Carpatho-Ukraine and Priashiv region (East Slovakia). These regions were under Hungarian rule in the Dual Monarchy, and between two World Wars they belonged to Czechoslovakia. In 1938-9 Carpatho-Ukraine enjoyed a brief period of autonomy and proclaimed its independence on March 15, 1939. Ukrainian Catholic priest Father Augustine Voloshyn became its President. Soon, however, it was occupied by Hungarian troops and police which dealt extremely harshly with Ukrainian nationalists. In 1944 the region was occupied by Soviet Russian armies and annexed to the USSR, as part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

Attacks against individual Ukrainian Catholic priests and confiscation of several churches marked the initial period of the Communist rule. Some members of the clergy were imprisoned. Father Dr. Augustine Voloshyn, the former President of the Carpatho-Ukrainian Republic was arrested in Prague, extradited to the Russians and died in prison in Kiev as a result of "interrogations." Show trials of priests who were accused of collaboration with Hungary were organised and the population was intimidated to switch over their allegiance from Rome to the Russian Orthodox Church. Pressure was exerted on Mgr. Theodore Romzha, the Ukrainian Catholic bishop of Mukachiv, the second capital of Carpatho-Ukraine, in an attempt to compel him to submit his see and the faithful to the Patriarch of Moscow. As he refused, various methods were employed to undermine the Church and destroy it. Thus on March 22, 1947 the secret police troops closed the largest monastery in Carpatho-Ukraine, that of Mukachiv, and arrested all the monks. On October 27, 1947 a horse-drawn carriage in which Bishop Romzha was travelling was intentionally rammed by an army lorry, as a result of which the Bishop was injured. Not satisfied with that the soldiers beat him up with the butts of their rifles and left him lying for dead in the road. Found

<sup>33</sup>) "Korotka biografiia Vsevoloda Velychkovskoho...", *Ukrainska Dumka*, London, No. 19 (1152), 1 May, 1969, p. 3.

by civilian passers-by, he was transferred to a hospital in Mukachiv where, after temporarily recovering, he died on October 31, 1947. There are some indications that he may have been poisoned in the hospital by a new staff which unexpectedly replaced the previous one.<sup>34</sup>

The real feelings of the population with regard to the "unification" with Moscow Patriarchy could be seen from the following. In August, 1947, the Orthodox Church attempted to proclaim "unification" of the faithful from Carpatho-Ukraine with the Moscow Patriarchy. For this purpose five Orthodox bishops arrived from other parts of the USSR and took part in the church service at the Mukachiv monastery confiscated from the Catholic Church in the presence of about four to five thousand people. At the same time at the parish church in Mukachiv the Greek-Catholic church service was attended by about 70-80,000 pilgrims.<sup>35</sup>

No doubt, the death of Bishop Theodore Romzha which occurred two months later was an act of premeditated murder according to the saying, "Strike the shepherd and the sheep will scatter."

No persuasions or intimidations were able to shake the defenders of the Greek Catholic Church in Carpatho-Ukraine until 1948, by which time the Russian secret police managed to blackmail one priest into switching his allegiance to the Patriarch of Moscow. In February, 1949 came the final phase of the attack on the Church. All the leading priests in the region and many of the faithful were arrested and deported to Siberian camps. All other priests were expelled from church buildings and transferred to a prison in Uzhhorod where they were being "persuaded" with the aid of physical and moral tortures to join the Russian Orthodox Church. Finally, as a culmination of the campaign, on August 28, 1949 a "manifestation" of "reunification" of the Greek Catholic Church in the Carpathian region of Ukraine with the Russian Orthodox Church was staged at the confiscated monastery in Mukachiv. However, details about who of the priests attended it or agreed to it were never made fully known. Obviously this would have revealed lack of support for this illegal act among the priests and the population.

For a period of time there still existed many parishes which refused to accept Orthodoxy, but gradually their number declined and finally the Church disappeared altogether. Only a minority of the priests submitted to the Orthodox Church, those of the others who were not arrested entered civilian life and became ordinary workers, shop attendants or book-keepers. Some of the younger unmarried priests continued to carry on their priestly duties illegally.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>34</sup>) Lev Mydlovsky, *op. cit.*

<sup>35</sup>) Vasyl' Markus', "Nyshchennia Hreko-Katolyts'koï Tserkvy v Mukachivs'kii yeparkhii v 1945-50 rr." *Zapysky NTSh* vol. CLXIX, *Zbirnyk na poshanu Zenona Kuzeli*, 1962, p. 385-405.

<sup>36</sup>) *Ibid.*

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The diocese of Priashiv of the Greek Catholic Church which embraces several districts in the North-East of Slovakia numbered about 300,000 faithful of whom the majority were Ukrainians (or Ruthenians, as they were sometimes known in these parts), and the rest were Slovaks, or rather Slovakised Ukrainians.

Unlike Carpatho-Ukraine which was annexed by the USSR, this region remained in the Czecho-Slovak Republic after World War II. After the Communists took over power in Czecho-Slovakia, the small Orthodox Church in this region was favoured and pressure was exerted on the hierarchy and faithful of the Greek Catholic Church to become Orthodox. When this was to no avail, the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop of Priashiv, Pavlo Goydych and his deputy, Bishop Vasyl Hopko, were arrested on March 28, 1950. Bishop Goydych was put on a mock trial in Bratislava in January, 1951 and sentenced to life imprisonment. The trial failed, however, to bring the desired propaganda effect for the Communists, as the Bishop rejected the accusations. Bishop Vasyl Hopko was sentenced at a secret trial to fifteen years of imprisonment, of which he served thirteen and a half years. Bishop Goydych died in Leopoldovo prison on July 19, 1960. Many priests and faithful were arrested and suffered persecutions.

In 1968, during the famous "liberalising" spring in Czecho-Slovakia, there arose possibilities for the restoration of the Greek Catholic Church. On April 10, 1968 a meeting of 133 priests and faithful, with the participation of Bishop Hopko, took place in the town of Kosice in East Slovakia. The meeting set up an Action Committee for the restoration of the rights of the Greek Catholic Church in Czecho-Slovakia. As a result of its activities, the government of Czecho-Slovakia, on 13th August, 1968, issued an official permission for the restoration of the rights of the Greek-Catholic Church. Since that time reorganisation of the Church has begun. About 170 priests have joined Bishop Hopko and have begun to serve their parishes of which there should be about 300.<sup>37</sup>

The church of St. Clement in Prague which for the last 18 years was in the hands of the Russian Orthodox metropolitan Dorotey, was restored to the Greek Catholics and Bishop Hopko celebrated Mass there in 1968. The remains of the martyred bishop Pavlo Goydych were transferred from Leopoldovo prison and buried with all the reverence due to a church dignitary in Priashiv.

Unfortunately for the Ukrainian majority in the Greek-Catholic Church of the Priashiv diocese, upon the insistence of the Slovak circles, the Vatican has appointed a Slovak priest as bishop of Priashiv in 1969, replacing Bishop Hopko and compelling him to go into retirement. Political considerations have outweighed the wishes of the Ukrainian population of that area and the martyrdom of

<sup>37</sup>) *Nasha Tserkva*, No. 2, 1969, London, pp. 18-20.



Bishop Hopko in the cause of his Church seems to have earned him little respect in those places that should be uninfluenced by political opportunism. In this respect it would appear that the Congregation for the Eastern Churches is to be blamed, for this has not been the only occasion that moves detrimental to the position of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite have emanated from it.

A similar co-operation between the Polish Communist regime and the influential circles of the Polish Roman Catholic hierarchy has prevented, it seems, the restoration of the Ukrainian Catholic See in Peremyshl, presently under the Polish occupation, where it had existed for nine centuries until 1946. In that year it was forcibly liquidated by the Polish Communist regime with Russian approval, and almost the entire Ukrainian population of that region (about 300,000) was deported to the former German territories of East Prussia and Pomerania. Very few of them have been allowed to return to their homeland, and the Polish Roman Catholics have occupied the Ukrainian Cathedral of Peremyshl and other churches. Many churches have been destroyed.

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In 1944-45, when the Soviet Russian troops occupied West Ukraine, there were three Ukrainian Catholic dioceses of Lviv, Peremyshl and Stanyslaviv, and two circuits of the Apostolic Visitor in Volynia and an Apostolic Administrator in the Lemko region. (Parts of the Peremyshl diocese and the Lemko area were ceded to Poland by the USSR in 1945). Together with Mukachiv diocese embracing Carpatho-Ukraine, which was incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR in 1945, and the Priashiv diocese which remained in Czecho-Slovakia, this compact Ukrainian territory contained approximately 5,000,000 Ukrainian Catholics. The Church hierarchy consisted of 1 Archbishop-Metropolitan and 10 bishops and was divided into 5 dioceses and 2 circuits of Apostolic Administration. There were 3,040 parishes with 4,440 churches and chapels, as well as 127 monasteries and convents. There were 2,950 diocesan priests, 520 priests in orders, 1,090 nuns. There were also 540 seminarians in 1 theological academy and 5 ecclesiastical seminaries. In addition, the Ukrainian Catholic Church possessed a great number of cultural centres, primary and secondary schools, publishing houses, libraries, welfare and aid associations, orphanages, student and youth leagues, and societies.

All these were ruthlessly destroyed in 1945-50 by the Communist Russian government and its satellite regimes in Poland and Czecho-slovakia, although in the latter two countries there has been a restricted revival in the last few years. In Ukraine itself the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite has been placed outside the law and exists only as an underground Church.

## PROTESTANT CHURCHES

### 1. THE UNION OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIAN BAPTISTS

Apart from the traditional Orthodox and Catholic Churches there exist in Ukraine a number of Protestant churches or sects. Some of them are registered with the appropriate government organs, but others have been refused registration and are working illegally, therefore suffer from a particularly vicious persecution.

The most widespread Protestant Church in Ukraine is the Union of Evangelical Christian Baptists (UECB) who form territorial communities. In 1960 the total number of Baptists in the USSR was given as about 540,000, more than half of whom lived in Ukraine. There were 170 communities in Kiev region, 56 in Kharkiv, 73 in Donetsk, and 72 in Chernihiv regions.<sup>38</sup>

Following the renewal of the anti-religious drive, the so-called "New Statute" of the Church was introduced in 1960, which was more restrictive than the previous one and made it an offence for the parents to give religious instruction to their children. The new Statute called forth a storm of dissatisfaction among the UECB members. Protests were voiced and the official leadership of the sect was accused by its rank and file of excessive collaboration with the atheistic State authorities. Many members refused to comply with the new Statute and, as a result, there followed numerous arrests of the leading protesters.

The dissatisfied members of the UECB called an All-Union Conference of the Relatives of Prisoners of the Church of Evangelical Christian Baptists. The conference which took place on February 23, 1964 found that between 1961 and February 1964 155 people from various parts of the USSR had been arrested for voicing their opposition to the "New Statute" or for attempting to teach their children religion. Some children had even been taken away from their parents by court order. The conference decided to appeal to the Government on the basis of the Soviet laws which permitted religious education, such as for instance the Decree on the Separation of the Church from the State of 1918, Art. 9: "The citizens can teach and learn religion privately", and the "Bye-laws on the fight against discrimination in the field of education", Art. 5, § 6, approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on July 2, 1962, and entered into force on November 1, 1962: "Parents and, in appropriate cases, legal guardians, should have the possibility to ensure religious and moral education of their children according to their own convictions." The Conference set up a Temporary Council to petition the government on behalf of the arrested.

<sup>38</sup>) Nikita Struve, *Christians in Contemporary Russia*.

Two incomplete lists enumerating 319 members of the ECB Church arrested between 1961 and June 1964 contain the names of 117 Ukrainians.<sup>39</sup>

There occurred a split between the officially recognised UECB and the unofficial Baptist communities. The latter began to meet secretly for their Gospel Services in private homes and forests, and as a result began to be severely persecuted and terrorised. One of such known meetings took place in a forest on the outskirts of Kiev on May 22, 1966 and was broken up by militiamen, KGB agents and soldiers and its participants were cruelly beaten up, including women, children and elderly people.

The efforts of a delegation of the various communities of the unofficial Church of ECB to meet representatives of the Central Committee of the CPSU in Moscow to petition for an end of persecution and release of prisoners were unsuccessful. A "Declaration" written by the Kievan community of Evangelical Christian Baptists and addressed to General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L. I. Brezhnev, and other Soviet leaders, and signed by 116 persons stated:

"On May 16, 1966, an all-Union delegation of the Evangelical Christian Baptist churches from more than 130 cities, numbering 500 persons, among them 14 delegates from our [Kievan] community gathered in front of the building of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union... This gathering took place because for decades (with the knowledge and on instructions of the central and local authorities) the faithful of the ECB found themselves most unjustly treated, as can be witnessed by systematic reprisals, assaults, arrests, searches, the demolition and confiscation of houses of prayer, the taking away of children [from their parents], the disruption of religious services, the discrimination in factories and schools, the incitement of the public against the faithful, etc...

Instead of seeing them and hearing the needs and pleas of the church delegates who for 24 hours had stood in the rain by the walls of the Central Committee building, the delegates, on orders of the Central Committee officials led by Comrade Semichastny, the head of the K.G.B. [Committee of State Security], were surrounded on May 17 of this year [1966] by K.G.B. agents and militiamen and were ferociously assaulted: they were dragged by the hair, had their heads cracked against the walls and the asphalt, were choked, beaten with bottles over their heads, etc.

Afterwards, the delegates, among them delegates of the Kievan community, were arrested and sent to Moscow's Lefortovo jail. Some

<sup>39</sup> Hearing before the Subcommittee... of the Committee on the Judiciary of U.S. Senate, 89th Congress, 2nd session, *Testimony of Rev. Richard Wurmbbrand, May 6, 1966*, Appendix, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, 1967, pp. 33-42.



of them later returned home, but the fate of the majority of the members of the delegation, including seven of our [14] members, is not known. The punishment near the Central Committee building set the tone for similar actions by local government officials.<sup>40</sup>

A letter addressed to Brezhnev and signed by members of the Council of Relatives of the Prisoners of the Church of ECB of May 22, 1967, published in the West, lists a series of cases of terror and persecution practised by government organs against recalcitrant members of the sect. Prayer houses have been closed, among other in Zhytomyr, Kiev, Berestya, Kharkiv, Odessa, Kryvyi Rih and other places. Participants in prayer meetings are fined heavily, a vicious press campaign continuously vilifies members of the sect, children of Baptists are intimidated and beaten up, KGB persecutes the imprisoned faithful for praying or for refusing to work on Sundays, Bibles are confiscated from prisoners. Even letters from relatives quoting passages from Holy Scriptures are confiscated by the administration of prisons and concentration camps and not permitted to reach the prisoners. Visits from relatives are refused and parcels from them are returned if a prisoner continues his religious practices in the concentration camp. The prisoners' health is undermined purposely by the camp administration.<sup>41</sup>

2. **The Union of the Seventh Day Adventists** is officially recognised by the Soviet authorities and has its centre in Moscow. This sect has 300 communities of which 115 are in Ukraine. Out of their total number of 26,000 in the USSR, 9,000 are in Ukraine with bigger communities in the Donetsk and Crimea regions.

3. **The Pentecostals** are banned in the Soviet Union for their alleged "anti-social and anti-Soviet" attitude. But groups of them exist as can be judged from newspaper reports attacking them or describing their "misdeeds." Pentecostal communities exist illegally in Odessa, Volynia and Rivne regions of Ukraine.

4. The sect of **Jehovah's Witnesses** is banned in Ukraine and its members are severely persecuted. The Soviet press frequently relates hair-raising stories about the alleged "crimes" of members of this sect and their clandestine activities. For some time Jehovah's witnesses published their journal "Watchtower" illegally in Ukrainian language. Their groups are active in Donetsk, Mykolaïv and West Ukrainian regions.

<sup>40</sup>) V. Borovskiy, "Peresliduvannia khrystyian v SSSR zahostriuyetsia" (Persecution of Christians in the USSR is stepped up), *Svoboda*, Jersey City, 9. 3. 66.

<sup>41</sup>) "Lyist heneralnomu sekretarevi TsK KPSS L. I. Brezhnevu vid Rady rodychiv uviaznenykh yevanhel'skykh khrystyian-baptystiv, yaki za Slovo Bozhe strazhdaiut' v SSSR", *Shtyakh Peremohy* (Way to Victory, Ukrainian weekly), Munich, March 2nd and 9th 1969.

Some of the sects are considered dangerous from the Soviet point of view, because of their members' "anti-social behaviour", i. e. they refuse to serve in the army, to attend atheistic meetings, watch Soviet films or television programmes, they do not allow their children to join Young Pioneers or Komsomol organisations, etc.

### THE JUDAIC RELIGION

According to the census of January 15, 1959 there were 840,000 Jews in Ukraine, living predominantly in the big cities.

The Judaic religion is officially recognised in the USSR, and as such, according to an authoritative statement, it enjoys "possibilities for free existence (synagogues, schools, religious literature). It has no single centre in the USSR, but synagogues have links with one another . . ." <sup>42</sup>

Like all forms of religious way of life, the Jewish religion has often been attacked by Communist propaganda and its representatives have been persecuted by the Soviet Russian regime. A particular motivation for attacks on the Jewish religion has been the accusation that "the Jewish religion has been closely intertwined with the Jewish bourgeois nationalism and Zionism . . . to which a section of the Jewish population in the USSR, mainly from the young Soviet Republics and regions [i. e. territories annexed by the Soviet Union since 1939 — Ed.], has fallen prey." <sup>43</sup>

Suspicious against the Jews as people likely to waver in their loyalty to the Soviet Union rose particularly strongly after the establishment of the State of Israel when many Jews began to entertain hopes of emigrating to Israel and of working for their newly restored national home. In the morbidly suspicious minds of the

<sup>42</sup>) V. K. Tancher, *Osnovy ateizmu*, p. 110; A. Zhukovs'kyi, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

<sup>43</sup>) *Pravda pro iudeis'ku relihiiu i sionizm*, Kiev, p. 10.

Bolshevik leaders and their secret police Jews appeared as potential traitors and spies for Israel and the United States which supported Israel. They do not permit large-scale emigration of Jews, because, on the one hand, this would antagonise the Arabs in the whole Near and Middle East which is an important target of Soviet Russian infiltration and expansion, and, on the other hand, it might lead to what the Russians consider as the betrayal of State secrets, in fact to the spreading of the truth about the real state of affairs in the Soviet Union, its weaknesses and faults.

A number of Jews from the Soviet Union managed to emigrate to Israel in the years 1946-48 and 1956-57, and in order to stop large-scale emigration the Soviet authorities started an intensive campaign to discredit Israel, depicting life of emigrés there in the darkest colours.

Among numerous books, brochures and articles published as part of the campaign against "Zionism", there was one which gained world-wide notoriety, namely the book by A. Kychko, "Judaism without Embellishment", published by the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. The world-wide protests against this sort of publication caused the Soviet authorities to withdraw this book from circulation and to publicly separate themselves from its author. But all this was done more to placate Western pro-Communist Jewish circles than to change the course in the USSR. The fact that this is so can be testified by many subsequent publications vilifying Jewish religion and Israel, even by Kychko himself.

Alongside the campaign against Judaism, there was the campaign of combating "economic crime", i. e. illegal private trade, speculation, embezzlement of state property etc. People convicted as a result of this campaign were for the most part Jews, and a justifiable suspicion arises that the campaign might have been particularly directed against the Jews.

In all these anti-Jewish measures the Communist Russians tried to implicate Ukrainians, inciting them against the Jews, in order thus to distract their attention from their real oppressor, namely the imperialist Russian government and its chauvinist Russian supporters and servants.

Jewish religious life in Ukraine has been reduced to the barest minimum. There are no Jewish schools or publications in Ukraine, most synagogues have been closed or ruined, and the process continues. Russification and abandonment of religion is rapidly progressing among the younger Jewish generation.



## THE MOSLEM RELIGION

Before World War II the small Moslem population of the Ukrainian territory consisted largely of the Crimean Tatars. Of the 205,000 Tatars living in Ukraine in 1926, 175,000 were inhabitants of the Crimea. After their mass expulsion from the Crimea by the Russian government to Central Asia and Siberia in the wake of the war, as reprisal for alleged collaboration with the Germans, their number fell sharply. The census of 1959 shows only 62,000 Tatars in the Ukrainian SSR, some of whom are probably Volga Tatars, newcomers working in the Donbas mines and the industrial towns of East Ukraine. And although the Crimean Tatars were officially rehabilitated in September 1967, very few of them have been given the opportunity to return to their homeland. They received no compensation for their confiscated and ruined homes and possessions, and did not get any State help for building new homes in the Crimea. When some individuals returned to the Crimea, police authorities refused to grant them residence permits on the basis that there were no jobs for them there. Nevertheless six thousand of them filtered back to their homeland, but all of them were deported for the second time. Since 1959 200 Crimean Tatars have been sentenced to up to seven years imprisonment.

On 21 April 1968, they staged a demonstration in the town of Chirchik (Uzbekistan) demanding permission to return to the Crimea. About 300 Tatars were arrested as a result of the riot and on April 23 a deputation of 16 Tatars went to Moscow and handed in a letter of protest to the Politbureau of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Later on further delegations numbered 800 persons went to Moscow but their protests ended with arrests and deportations. In the spring of 1969 a group of Soviet citizens headed by former general Petro Hryhorenko (Grigorenko), former Professor of Cybernetics at Frunze Military Academy, campaigned on their behalf. Hryhorenko got himself arrested in Tashkent on May 7, 1969, and is facing a group trial together with 10 Tatars. On June 6, 1969 six Tatars staged a demonstration in Moscow protesting against the persecution of their people, but were quickly arrested and deported to Ukraine.<sup>44</sup>

As a result of the Tatars' expulsion from the Crimea by the Russian Communist regime, their mosques have been closed and converted to other uses. The Tatars scattered in the industrial towns of Ukraine have no facilities to practice their religion.

<sup>44</sup>) *East West Digest*, London, July 1969, p. 204-7.

## CONCLUSION

Ever since their violent capture of power in the former Russian empire, the Russian Bolsheviks have unrelentingly tried to extinguish freedom of conscience and eradicate every non-Communist philosophy and faith in their sphere of domination. They endeavoured to supplant them with what they regarded as the only "scientific" doctrine, namely Marxism-Leninism, and that only as currently interpreted in the Kremlin.

Public, and even private, upholding of views different from the totalitarian Communist doctrine has been effectively restricted. Often it has been persecuted in a ruthless manner and draconic punishments, dismissals from work, deportation, imprisonment and occasionally even execution, have not been unknown. Institutions based on beliefs and aspirations conflicting with those of the Russian Communist Party have been banned and many of their leaders and followers savagely persecuted and done away with. Even according to the Soviet Constitution only institutions and organisations in which Communists constitute the leading core can exist in the USSR (Art. 126). Of the religious institutions, in particular Churches, only such have managed to survive openly which have agreed to collaborate closely with the secular atheistic power and be exploited by that power for propaganda purposes. They have become feeble shadows of their true self and vegetate under the watchful eye of the secret police. The permitted religious institutions have become so stifled and restricted in the scope of their activities that they have little prospect of growth and seem to be doomed to a gradual decline.

On the other hand the religious feelings of the population are not extinguished, despite the gigantic efforts of the Soviet propaganda and State machinery, they continue to show themselves in the support for the churches that are not compromised by their collaboration with the regime. The Churches which the Soviet regime finds dangerous to itself have been driven underground.

The drive against the free human spirit has been particularly ruthless in the non-Russian countries of the Soviet Union because popular resistance against the regime of violence and terror has been intensified there by differences in spiritual outlook, national and religious motives, while in Russia itself Bolshevism has found some indigenous roots.

The most sustained and barbarous offensive against man's spirituality, against his free conscience and will, was waged by Moscow in Ukraine, the largest non-Russian nation in the USSR. There have been several reasons for it: 1) Ukrainian historical and cultural tradition is permeated with the ideas of individual and national

liberty, negation of tyranny and of unquestioning obedience to a central imperial power; 2) the Ukrainian religious movement has been closely bound with the national movement, the one supporting the other; 3) the Ukrainian independence movement, including the movement towards Church autocephaly, is, from Moscow's point of view, the most dangerous of all the forces threatening to disrupt the Russian colonial empire from within, because of the great importance of Ukraine to any Russian empire from many points of view.

The sufferings that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite and other denominations have undergone at the hands of the Communist Russian occupation regime in the last 50 years is a great tragedy which most people in the free world still fail to realise. The martyrdom of the Ukrainian Churches ought to be widely known so as to warn those who are inclined to give too readily the benefit of doubt to the Communist Russian regime. It should also encourage people in the free world to stand up in defence of the persecuted behind the Iron Curtain, in particular in defence of the rights of the Ukrainian nation to religious, national and political liberty.

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## Appendix 1

### PERSECUTIONS OF THE HIERARCHY OF THE UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH

**Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivskyi** — Metropolitan of Kiev and All Ukraine, (1921-1927), was forbidden to travel outside Kiev and thus severely restricted in his rights as Metropolitan. In 1927, at the insistence of the GPU (secret police), he was not re-elected Metropolitan, and lived shunned and forgotten in abject poverty in Kiev. In February 1938 at the age of 74, he was arrested and exiled to the north of Russia. There are unconfirmed reports that he died in Vorkuta concentration camp on 28 April, 1938.

**Metropolitan Mykola Boretskyi** (1927-1930) — was arrested in 1930 and sent into the isolation prison in Yaroslavl' (Central Russia). According to some reports he was unable to withstand the terrible conditions of imprisonment and became mentally ill, dying in a mental hospital in Leningrad in 1933.

**Metropolitan Ivan Pavlovskyi** (1930-1936) — previously bishop of Cherkassy and Chernihiv, Archbishop of Kharkiv, was deprived of his cathedral of St. Sophia in Kiev in 1934 when it was transformed into a museum. In 1936 he was arrested and exiled to Kazakhstan. His later fate is unknown.

**Archbishop Oleksander Yareshchenko** — arrested in April 1926, exiled to Turkestan. Later fate unknown.

**Archbishop Yosyf Oksiyuk** — terrorised by the secret police, compelled to return to secular life, lived in great poverty, arrested in 1935, released in 1950s. Died in 1961.

**Archbishop Konstantyn Malyushkevych** — arrested several times between 1930-34 and prohibited by Soviet authorities to fulfil his religious duties and to travel outside Kiev. Finally forced to return to secular life. In 1937 arrested, his subsequent fate remains unknown.

**Archbishop Yurii Zhevchenko** — bishop of Poltava and later of Odessa. Arrested in Odessa on September 1, 1929, tortured, then exiled to the Far Eastern concentration camps for eight years penal servitude. In 1937 he received a further sentence of 10 years of hard labour. His subsequent fate remains unknown.

**Archbishop Konstantyn Krotevych** — bishop of Vinnytsia, arrested in 1930 and exiled from Ukraine. According to one report he died in great poverty in the Caucasus, according to others he was exiled to Siberia where he was shot in 1931.

**Archbishop Yurii Mikhnovskyi** — deputised for Archbishop Malyushkevych in Kiev during the latter's frequent arrests. Himself arrested and shot in Kiev in 1937.

**Archbishop Stepan Orlyk** — arrested in 1928 and exiled to Solovki concentration camp in the North of Russia. After 10 years of exile he returned to Zhytomyr in Ukraine, but was rearrested and after two months' imprisonment in a dark dungeon he became blind. His further fate remains unknown.

**Archbishop Feodosii Serhiyev** — bishop of Berdychiv, forced to return to secular life in 1930, but nonetheless arrested in 1936 and exiled to Kolyma concentration camps in Siberia. His subsequent fate is unknown.

**Bishop Yukhym Kalishevskiy** — bishop of Cherkassy, later in Odessa, arrested and exiled apparently twice, in 1930 and 1936, forced to return to secular life, his further fate remains unknown.

**Bishop Volodymyr Samborskyi** — bishop of Hlukhiv and later of Vinnytsia, arrested in 1935 and exiled, returned from exile in 1942, but soon died due to the impairment of his health during the period he spent in concentrations camps.

**Bishop Mykola Karabinevych** — bishop of Uman', left Ukraine for Moscow after 1930. Arrested there in 1935 and shot.

**Bishop Konon Bey** — bishop of Cherkassy. After 1930 he was ordered by Soviet Russian authorities to leave Cherkassy for Irkutsk in Siberia. His further fate remains unknown.

**Bishop Oleksander Chervinskyi** — bishop of Chernihiv and later of Vinnytsia. Arrested in Vinnytsia about 1934, his further fate remains unknown.

**Bishop Yurii Teslenko** — bishop of Bila Tserkva. Arrested in 1930 and exiled to concentration camps in the North of Russia. Released after 10 years as a completely exhausted T.B. case. Worked as a collective farm guard near Voronezh. Died in Vinnytsia in 1943 from T.B.

**Bishop Maksym Zadvirniak** — bishop of Proskuriv, arrested in 1930 and exiled to Solovki concentration camp where he died.

**Bishop Volodymyr Dakhivnyk-Dakhivsky** — bishop of Tulchyn in Podolia. Arrested in 1931 and exiled to the North of Russia. His further fate remains unknown.

**Bishop Yakiv Chulayivskiy** — according to one report, he was arrested in 1931 and exiled to Siberia where he died.

**Archbishop Mykola Pyvovaryv** — bishop of Kamianets-Podilskiy, arrested on 27 August, 1929 together with 45 priests and faithful, kept in a single cell for six months and then sentenced at a secret trial by a special committee of three, to 10 years hard labour in Siberia. Owing to his poor state of health, he was released after five years and returned to Vinnytsia where he lived in great poverty and soon died of exhaustion.

## Appendix 2

### PERSECUTIONS OF THE HIERARCHY OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

**Archbishop Joseph Slipyi** — Metropolitan of Lviv and Halych, imprisoned in 1945, released in 1962 after nearly 18 years of imprisonment in concentration camps. Now Cardinal in Rome.

**Bishop Nykyta Budka** — Auxiliary Bishop of Lviv, imprisoned in 1945. Sentenced to 8 years hard labour. Died in Central Asian exile in 1949.

**Bishop Hryhorii Khomyshyn** — Bishop of Stanyslaviv, imprisoned in 1945, died in prison the same year, at the age of 80.

**Bishop Ivan Liatyshevskiy** — Auxiliary Bishop of Stanyslaviv, imprisoned in 1945. Sentenced to 8 years hard labour, but held in a concentration camp for 10 years. Died in 1957.

**Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovskiy** — Bishop of Peremyshl, imprisoned in 1944, then in 1946 by the Polish Communist regime, extradited to the Russians. Sentenced to many years of hard labour. Died in a Soviet prison in 1947.

**Bishop Hryhorii Lakota** — Auxiliary Bishop of Peremyshl, imprisoned in 1944, then again in 1946 by Polish Communist regime, extradited to the Russians. Sentenced to many years of hard labour. Died in Vorkuta concentration camp in 1950.

**Bishop Mykola Charnetskyi** — Bishop of Volynia, imprisoned in 1945, sentenced to five years hard labour, but kept in Vorkuta concentration camp for 11 years. Released in 1956. Died in 1959 at the age of 75.

**Bishop Theodore Romzha** — Bishop of Uzhhorod, murdered by the Communists in 1947.

**Bishop Pavlo Goydych** — Bishop of Priashiv, arrested in 1950 by Czechoslovakia's Communist regime, sentenced to life imprisonment. Died in Leopoldovo prison in 1960.

**Bishop Vasyl Hopko** — Auxiliary Bishop of Priashiv, imprisoned in Czechoslovakia in 1950. Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment, served 13½ years. Resumed his duties in Spring 1968, now retired.

**Mgr. Dr. Petro Verhun** — Apostolic Visitor for Ukrainian Catholics in Germany. Arrested in Berlin in 1945, died in Siberian exile in 1957.

All Ukrainian Catholic bishops within the reach of the Russian Communist regime were arrested and imprisoned and the Ukrainian Catholic Church was officially dissolved and liquidated. Most of the priests, monks and nuns and thousands of the faithful suffered the same fate as the hierarchy.



## Voices of Protest from Ukraine

# THE WITCHES' SABBATH OF THE CHAUVINISTS

## Open Letter from Young Creative Intellectuals of Dnipropetrovsk

To the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian S.S.R., V. V. Shcherbyts'kyi; Alternate Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, F. D. Ovcharenko; Secretary of the Writers' Union of Ukraine, Dmytro Pavlychko.

We wish to draw your attention, the attention of communists, leaders and public figures of our sovereign state, the Ukrainian S.S.R., one of the founding states of the United Nations, to that pogrom-like witches' sabbath which for several months has been raging in Dnipropetrovsk region, to the savage and absurd persecution of honest Ukrainian citizens devoted to the cause of the construction of communism. That campaign is unceremonious and unprincipled to such an extent that the wildest roguery of the Chinese Red Guards, well known to the entire world, grows pale in comparison.

A large group of citizens has been calumniated at all official and unofficial meetings of the Party regional, district and branch committees, every time their "views alien to the people" being twisted and the facts which will be related below extravagantly exaggerated at will. They have been

hounded in the regional press and radio, creating thus an appearance of a "public opinion" according to the classical example of Shchedrin's "mayor of the city of Glupov."

The so-called Dnipropetrovsk campaign has reached its fiercest brutality in connection with the appearance of the new novel written by our countryman, Oles' Honchar, *Sobor* [The Cathedral].

At first the regional newspapers, *Zoria* [Star] and *Prapor yunosti* [The Banner of Youth], and the Marhanets' city newspaper published favourable reviews of that work. But only a month later, at one of the conferences attended by secretaries of local Party branches of the Dnipropetrovsk region, the responsible press functionaries and the secretary of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, comrade Vatchenko, branded with shame all those reviews and ordered the press to prove to the readers that "the working class of Dnipropetrovsk region rejects *Sobor*." Immediately the newspapers of the region began to abound with "workers' opinion about *Sobor*", as an orchard with pears in the month of May.

Thus, the *Zoria* [Star] alone, in the course of a fortnight, "organised" three brutal and merciless "reviews" attested by their 400-line long vituperation.

The editorial board of *Zoria* received letters in response, protest letters from workers and working intelligentsia against the campaign of bespattering the author of the *Sobor*. The editor P. Orlyk and the head of the department of readers' letters of the newspaper, Ya. Novak, kept these letters under strictest secrecy and, after finding out the place of work and the addresses of the senders, reported to the regional Party committee and the KGB [secret police — Ed.].

The regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine banned the celebration of the 50th birthday of the writer [O. Honchar] at the Faculty of History and Philology of the University of Dnipropetrovsk, at the city library, although this was preceded by numerous announcements. Moreover, subsequently Dean of the said Faculty, comrade Pavlov, prohibited even a debate on the novel *Sobor* which several historians hoped to organise. Everyone who in any way or form expressed his disagreement with the hullabaloo, or even by chance spoke in a tone different from the one demanded, was severely punished. It is not in vain that the head of the ideological department of the regional Party committee, comrade Vasil'yev, stated at a seminar of the functionaries of the region: "The novel *Sobor* is a whirlpool around which everything that is ideologically harmful and hostile to our reality is rallying itself"(!)

As a result, one of the oldest journalists of our city, S. Yu. Shyinin, member of the staff of the department of propaganda and agitation of the newspaper *Zoria*, was dismissed from his job for having written a favourable review.

Member of the staff of the department of culture of the newspaper *Zoria*, M. T. Skoryk, was expelled from the Party because he suggested that the fabricated "article" by semi-literate workers, H. Dihtiarenko & Co. ("I See Life Differently", *Zoria*, January 6, 1968) should be hung on the editorial humorous notice-board *Tiap-liap* [Blubber and Splatter].

The talented journalist, V. Zarembo, was expelled from the Komsomol and fired from his job, because he had the courage to give a rebuff to the author of the slanderous article against *Sobor*, lieutenant of the KGB, head of the department of information of the *Zoria*, O. Z. Kyrylenko ("Not Cathedrals but People", *Prapor yunisti*, 7th June, 1968).

Member of the staff of the department of agriculture of the newspaper *Zoria*, Opanasenko, was dismissed from his job without any justification.

The talented producer from the T. H. Shevchenko Ukrainian Theatre in Dnipropetrovsk, Ryma Stepanenko, was expelled from the Party and fired from his job for producing M. Stel'makh's play "The King's Family Friend."

H. Prokopenko, a communist, teacher at the No. 64 evening school, received a severe reprimand and a warning (he insisted on the publication of an article answering the calumniators of *Sobor* and the "philosopher" I. Moroz).

S. Levenets', responsible secretary of the Dnipropetrovsk branch of the Ukrainian Theatrical Society, was dismissed from his job.

I. Sokul's'kyi, a young poet, was dismissed from his job with the factory newspaper at Prydniprovsk.

The editor of the above-named factory newspaper, M. Dunin, received a sharp dressing-down for publishing a favourable response of the workers D. Semeniak and B. Uniyat concerning *Sobor* (*Enerhetyk*, April 10th, 1968).

The poet V. Sirenko has been fired from his job (not for the first time). His persecutions (expulsion from the Party and dismissals from work) have been going on for some years already. Precisely since the time when the above-named comrade began to write in Ukrainian.

In the fever of the campaign, the writer V. Karapysch also received a Party reprimand.

And this list could possibly be extended!

An ordinary soirée of poetry at the Prydniprovsk palace of culture (of which there have been many here, according to its staff) snowballed, in the mad maniacal campaign fever, almost to the level of "a counterrevolutionary sally." For how is one to understand the fact that at all the meetings organised by the regional Party committee, as well as at the report-back and election conference of the [Dnipropetrovsk] branch of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, this innocent evening of poetry was branded with the most absurd labels and became the bugbear target at which "the struggle against ideological subversion" was to be aimed.

The participants in the soirée and its organisers became an object of close interest of the detectives from the security organs, many of them were called for anecdotic questioning where intimidation and blackmail were applied against absolutely innocent people.

At all the meetings of the Writers' Union and other gatherings, the talented poets, M. Chkhan, V. Korzh, and the already mentioned V. Chemerys, have constantly been "hammered" (condemned for "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism"). As a rule this sort of "pumping" is accompanied with a visit to the KGB.

Somewhat later an entire phalanx of young Ukrainian creative workers,

largely writers, Henadiy and Oles' Zavhorodnii, O. Ovcharenko, V. Semenenko, P. Vakarenko, the already mentioned I. Sokul's'kyi, M. Romanyushko, O. Vodolazhchenko, H. Malovyn and many others, were punished by various methods. And again for the same phantastic "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism", in fact for any kind of care about the fate of the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture in the crazily Russified Dnipropetrovsk.

Why is it that people of principle are usually dealt with in such off-hand manner, as if they were something to be spat out and forgotten — they are expelled from the Party, from universities, from jobs? Are they perhaps criminals? Why, true criminals continue to live undisturbed and have no cause to complain.

Recently the former first secretary of the regional committee of the Komsomol, the communist A. Hordiyenko, and the first secretary of the city committee of the Komsomol, the communist H. Druzhynin, were driving at a crazy speed after a drinking party and killed a man at Novomoskovsk. Do you think they were put behind the bars?.. The former man has now the job of an engineer at the Liebknecht Works in Dnipropetrovsk and the latter — of an engineer at the Babushkin Works. Both of them have remained in the ranks of the Party, no newspaper wrote about those "responsible" brigands!

Another example. The communists, members of the staff of the newspaper *Zoria*, P. Karakash and I. Ostrovs'kyi, stole 25,000 rubles of state money. P. Karakash held the post of responsible secretary and allotted RATAU [Soviet Telegraph Agency of Ukraine] material to his "buddy", I. Ostrovs'kyi. When the embezzlers were discovered, they were punished merely with reprimands from the Party and were



somewhat lowered in their posts... but continue to work as journalists. P. Karakash is head of the department of industry in *Zoria* and Ostrovs'kyi — in the industry department of regional radio.

As we see, the Party has place for murderers and spivs, moral rejects, but honest and principled communists are expelled from the Party and their jobs, so that some people could continue to speculate, drink hard and mock Party standards and Soviet laws.

Not so long ago the public of the Dnipropetrovsk state university named after the 300th anniversary of the reunification of Ukraine with Russia was shocked by the anti-communist behaviour of the then Dean of the Faculty of History and Philology, V. Vlasenko. This "pedagogue" tried to turn the Faculty into his private harem — he systematically used to deprave his pupils, girl students (and in this way he taught morality to the generation which is to live under communism).

Approximately at the same time the students learnt also about the shameful deed by a lecturer at the said Faculty, I. Lutsenko. Exploiting his post as supervisor of postgraduate students, he attempted to violate a girl student.

Do you think those "educators" had to say goodbye to the teaching profession? Not at all. There is place among teachers for such people! Vlasenko was merely demoted from his post to head of a Chair, and Lutsenko was obligingly freed from excessive duties, his unpaid work as leader of a literary circle. How now, are prostitution and misuse of one's official position for that purpose not considered anti-Soviet behaviour among us? Or is this "minor sin" easily forgiven those people as reward for their want of political principles, for the absence of "harmful ideas" in their learned heads? However it may be, one may

be certain of one thing in all such cases — such people will support any campaign, if only the odds are on its side, without ever giving it a thought whether it is in agreement with the Party line and with the Soviet laws.

In connection with the campaign of bespattering the *Sobor* [The Cathedral], the local KGB functionaries have enlivened their "educational" work and again the rumour started by themselves about "the nationalist danger" has begun to crawl out. It is ridiculous even to say that this "nationalist danger" appeared precisely in Dnipropetrovsk where in a city with almost one million inhabitants there is not even one Ukrainian kindergarten or crèche, no completely Ukrainian school, no higher educational establishment or technical college with Ukrainian as the language of instruction.

Surely, the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine ought to be disturbed by the extremely abnormal, anti-Leninist and anti-Marxist state of our native Ukrainian language in Dnipropetrovsk. Would it not be more correct to direct their malice and "efforts" not against honest communists and Komsomol members, but against those terrible violations of the Leninist nationalities' policy, when Ukrainian workers have become almost ignorant of their own Ukrainian language, their own culture, because they are forced all their lives to undergo grinding between the reliable, just as 50 years ago, mill-stones of Russification.

Maybe those honest citizens of the Ukrainian S.S.R. who have understood this tragedy of their people and do not wish to shun their own language, do not wish to deny themselves, are our enemies? The writer, V. Soloukhin, a great Russian, said on this account: "Had I been born a Ukrainian, I would not wish to be a Russian at any price."

Maybe Soviet patriotism of the present-day Ukrainian does not include national dignity, national pride in his great and talented Ukrainian people? One could continue those —maybe? ad infinitum.

One comes to think why is it so that only one path lies before the advanced and creative Ukrainian youth — "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" (the activities of the Dnipropetrovsk KGB are an eloquent witness of this fact), because, as we have already seen, its considerable majority, sooner or later, comes out precisely on that path. A man with an ordinary and not a twisted sense would see in all this only a feeble birth of elementary concepts of national dignity, of national integrity, and not infrequently also of a feeling of national insult, and finally, of ordinary human dignity.

Is "bourgeois propaganda" to blame for it? No, Dnipropetrovsk reality must be blamed. And, if we are Marxists, then it is necessary to change this reality in such a way that it should correspond to Leninist standards and the Soviet laws, and not to persecute all the foremost Ukrainian citizens, loyal to Marxism-Leninism.

At the same time the question arises: Are perhaps only our Russian comrades not influenced by bourgeois ideology? But what is it — their national exclusiveness? How is one then to explain the fact that in our city no representative of the creative Russian youth has ever been publicly criticised (without as much as mentioning any administrative punishment) for "deviations" analogical to those of the Ukrainian youth, and which should have been called "the influence of the rotten ideology of the Russian Great Power bourgeois chauvinism"? But that there are such deviations is no secret to anyone. Try just to speak Ukrainian not only at home! Try and you will hear: "I have no

time for the Khakhol [derogative name for a Ukrainian — Ed.] nation" (when by chance hearing Ukrainian language spoken), "It is humbug if translated into Russian" (when listening to an artistic work in Ukrainian), "How uncouth it is, that cad language" (addressed at Ukrainian language).

How then do our responsible comrades understand V. I. Lenin's precepts that it is necessary to fight on two fronts against local nationalism, above all combating Great Russian chauvinism, because it is precisely the latter which generates nationalism?

In no other terms but as Ukrainophobia can one describe the conduct of a certain Krylova, "scientific" collaborant of Dnipropetrovsk Historical Museum named after D. Yavornyts'kyi, during the barbarous, if not criminal, transfer of the grave of the legendary Chief of the Zaporozhian Sich, Ivan Sirko. *Literaturna Ukraina*, in one of its March issues, wrote merely about some of the more decent aspects of this "transfer." Thus it was bashfully passed over in silence that this transfer, like all thieves' exploits, was carried out by night and that in a hurry the remains of the world-famous military commander had been collected in a dirty sack (as if they were potatoes) and kept in this state till next morning in a closet of unknown purpose. And the above-named collaborant (it is not in vain that she calls herself a scientist!) rebuffed the people who were indignant at such a cynical Ukrainophobia: "But are you aware of the fact that he was an enemy of the Russian people?"

But, comrade Krylova, did the Russian tsars and their henchmen — that horde of hangmen and slave-drivers, against whom Sirko had fought — love the Ukrainians and the Ukrainian people? Nonetheless, it is probably precisely they (according to Krylova) who represent the great Russian

people! And is it not perhaps for this reason that monuments to the Ivans the Terrible, to Peter I, to Catherine II, to Suvorovs & Co. continue to stand, that their colonial robberies, their Asiatic barbarity and despotism are glorified in many-volumed novels and multi-serialised films?! And no one will say that they hated the Ukrainians, Tatars, Byelorussians, Poles, Georgians etc. with a fierce hatred.

For why is it then that among many things preserved at the Dnipropetrovsk Historical Museum the carriage is exhibited in which courtiers of the notorious Ukrainophobe, the empress Catherine II, had accompanied her courtisan majesty during her trip through the finally subjugated Ukraine? Why are the walls of the museum adorned with numerous portraits of magnates and conquerors of all sorts of the era of Catherine, but, to say it delicately, no place has been found for the portraits of, say, Ivan Sirko, or the last military secretary of the Zaporozhian Sich, the founder of the two biggest and the most beautiful parks of our city?

Moreover, various frightened people, as, for instance, the editor of *Zoria*, P. Orlyk, are spreading provocative rumours, invented by the KGB, that "Ukrainian nationalism has of late been manifesting itself under the mask of the preservation of Ukraine's antiquities." What about that flood of material urging the preservation of Russian antiquities, which is published in the Russian publications, *Komsomolskaya pravda*, *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, *Literaturnaya gazeta*, etc.?

What lies behind such rumours — "the nationalist danger" or the mumbling of the muzzling bully — Great Russian chauvinism about which it is not accepted among us to talk aloud lest, God forbid, Russian people should feel offended. What sentiment-

al kindness! Is it "nationalist danger" or national nihilism and wildness which borders on spiritual banditry of civilised gangsters? — we ask once again the authors and spreaders of such rumours.

We, the *avant-garde* Ukrainian youth, have been educated in Soviet schools and higher educational establishments on the works of Marx, Lenin, Shevchenko and Dobrolyubov, and we realise that history is an uninterrupted psychological development of mankind, and everything which is advanced and progressive in this development is worthy of study, respect and esteem of the future generations. Succeeding epochs, on the path towards their high and humanist ideals, have always drawn on all the best that had existed in the past.

Therefore we hold dear both the Zaporozhian Sich which Karl Marx described as a Cossack Republic in his *Chronological Notes*, and the monuments of the past, even if it be building of church architecture or a Cossack hut, for the preservation of which Honchar's Sobor fights so significantly.

The slanderer, H. Dihtiarenko, assures us in his already mentioned article, "I See Life Differently", that monuments are protected in our country as nowhere else in the world. Well, it is difficult to disagree. Indeed, monuments are protected among us... in a barbarous fashion as in no other country in the world. In Dnipropetrovsk region alone nearly all the monuments of church architecture have been destroyed in the last few years, under the slogan of "the fight against religion." Two years ago probably the last village church in Dnipropetrovsk region was blown up in the village of Surs'ko-Lytovs'ke. The remains of the famous Kodak fortress and the ancient Cossack church in Kodak did not escape plunder and ruin. Cossack Bilyi's hut



in Nikopol — a structure unique in its kind, the Cossack Church of Holy Mother of Protection, painted by Taras Shevchenko, the monument to the Zaporozhian Cossack L. O. Hloba in Dnipropetrovsk have all been destroyed. The Transfiguration Cathedral built by the well-known Russian architect Zakharov stands half-ruined, and so on.

In the long-term plan of monumental propaganda in the city of Dnipropetrovsk you will not find even the names of outstanding Ukrainian figures of the past, such as the founder of the Dnipropetrovsk Historical Museum, O. Pol' (so far a memorial plaque has not been installed on the building in Fuchik Street where he lived), Academician D. Yavornyts'kyi; the writers, I. Manzhar, O. Storozhenko, V. Sosiura, O. Dovzhenko (their lives were in one way or another connected with Dnipropetrovsk or Dnipropetrovsk region); the founder of the Taras H. Shevchenko Ukrainian Theatre in Dnipropetrovsk, Les' Kurbas, one of the most prominent Bolshevik revolutionaries, organiser of the revolutionary struggle in Katerynoslav, co-fighter of V. I. Lenin, Mykola Skrypnyk. Instead our city will be enriched with another monument to M. Gorky, a monument to O. Matrosov, monuments to Tchaikovsky, I. Glinka and

others [Russians — Ed.].

Esteemed comrades, kindly explain please, where is that "nationalist danger" about which conscious and unconscious "friends" of the Ukrainian people are jabbering? Who gave them the right to trample on the national dignity of the Ukrainian people with their dirty Russificatory boot?

We, the creative youth of Dnipropetrovsk, demand that they and all those who stage brutal Ukrainophobe campaigns — witches, sabbaths in the field of Ukrainian culture, who persecute honest people, dedicated to their nation, only because they want to be themselves and no one else, because they want to educate their children in Ukrainian kindergartens, schools, technical colleges and higher educational establishments, — we demand that those persecutors be made to answer.

Excuse us, if you please, for having written this letter in a rather sharp form, but to write about things of this kind without indignation would mean to write nothing.

We trust that you will listen to our sincere voice and will take immediate measures to rectify the abnormal situation in which the creative intellectuals of our city, hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians of Dnipropetrovsk and its region have found themselves.

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## The "Pacification" of the Ukrainian Population in West Ukraine in 1930

Pilsudski's government decided to solve the Ukrainian question in Poland by an act of violence, namely by the same methods which the tsarist Russian punitive squadrons had formerly applied against the Jews.

Punitive expeditions, consisting of police and cavalry detachments were sent to the Ukrainian territories; in West Ukraine in particular they wrought havoc; they destroyed the cultural and economic institutions of the Ukrainian people and harassed and tormented the peaceful population in a dreadful manner.

The Polish government designated this abominable and savage pogrom against the Ukrainian people as the "pacification of East Galicia." It began about the middle of September 1930 and assumed more and more sinister proportions every day. These incidents aroused the indignation and disgust of all civilized people. In brief, the "pacification" was carried out as follows:

On September 21, 1930, a police detachment which numbered 2,000 men and consisted of members of the police force of Central Poland and of trainees of the police school in Mosty, was sent to the Ukrainian territories. They were to "subdue" the Ukrainian population in the following districts: Zbarazh, Berezhany, Ternopil, Pidhaytsi, Rohatyn, Bibrka, Lviv, Yavoriv, Sokal, Rudky, Sambir, etc. At the same time squadrons of the Polish cavalry of the 6th corps overran the Ukrainian territories. Thereupon a wave of ruthless atrocities and crimes against humanity began. In the first place, activity in this respect was concentrated on those districts, villages and towns in which the population was especially enlightened in national respect, and in which the cultural and economic institutions were developed most. In each town and village (and there were hundreds) in which the punitive expeditions appeared, the "pacification" was carried out according to the following plan: a detachment of 80 to 150 police or cavalry suddenly encircled the village in order to prevent any of the inhabitants from fleeing; the commander of the detachment then divided his men into various groups or units for the purpose of carrying out different tasks. Orders were issued to the administration of the community to hand over a certain "contribution" within 2 to 3 hours' time, namely 50-200 cwts of oats or other grain (sometimes more), a number of pigs and other cattle, as well as several dozen

waggons full of fodder and straw; in addition, a hen or goose to be prepared for every soldier or member of the police. In some places several barrels of beer or other drinks were also requisitioned. If the village in question was unable to supply all these things by the fixed time, the contribution was doubled by way of penalty and the mayor and the councillors of the community were ill-treated and beaten black and blue. A money fine was also imposed in the case of some villages.

The biggest requisitions were on the whole imposed by the military units; the police usually limited its demands to beer and spirits and to the requisitioning of pigs, hens and geese, that is to say to all foodstuffs.

In the meantime a special unit of the punitive detachment arrested all the persons whose names had been given by the local police and by the Poles living in the village in question. These persons were taken to the village hall or to some other large building available, and here they were subjected to the most dreadful forms of torture. As a rule this took place under the personal supervision of the commander of the police or military detachments.

These unfortunate victims usually included — irrespective of age and sex — the local intelligentsia and the farmers who were particularly patriotically minded, who in addition to their agricultural or other work played a leading part in cultural and economic enlightenment, as well as leading members and directors of the cooperatives and of the "Prosvita" societies, and also conductors of choirs and orchestras, etc. Not even aged persons or pregnant women were spared. And as a rule those persons in the village who were most active in the cultural sector were subjected to the worst treatment.

The procedure was as follows: the names of the victims were called out in turn; their clothes were torn from their bodies and they were then forced to lie down on a bench or on the ground and a gag was thrust into their mouth. Two policemen sat on the victim's shoulders and two on his legs, whilst the commander gave orders as to how many blows were to be administered — usually 25 to 30 and in some cases 100 or more. When the unfortunate victim fainted, his tormentors poured water over him and continued beating him. In addition to purely physical tortures, these hangmen also invented moral tortures. For instance, the victim was forced after every 20th blow to call out "Long live Marshal Pilsudski!", or to sing the Polish national anthem, or to kiss the "Polish" soil and curse Ukraine. Nor were elderly persons spared. In the village of Petrykiv in the district of Ternopil, for example, the head of the cooperative, 57-year old Matvij Mitrynga, was ill-treated in a dreadful manner and was forced to dance and to sing defamatory songs. When he refused to do so, his tormentors beat him with the butt-end of their rifles until he



finally collapsed as a result of his serious injuries. The 60-year old manager of the cooperative in Nakonetchne, in the district of Yavoriv, — Ivan Pantshyshyn, received 200 blows. And an 85-year old man, of the name of Shtshebyvoloka, in Denyssiv in the district of Ternopil was treated in a similar way.

### **Sadism — the order of the day**

The extent of the punishment imposed depended on the public activity of the victim. If a person had held several public offices, then he was punished separately for each office. For instance, the bailiff Hryts Bereza of Hushchanka in the district of Zbarazh, a member of the consumers' and dairy cooperative and of the "Prosvita" society, was thus beaten for his native country Ukraine, for the cooperatives, for the "Prosvita" and for his son, who had fled; for each of these "crimes" he received 25 blows. But the "work" of the punitive expedition was not confined solely to physical punishment. Other military or police units meanwhile searched all the houses, in particular those of persons whose names were on the "black list." On the pretext of looking for weapons they wrought havoc in attics and cellars, smashed windows and pictures, especially pictures of famous Ukrainians. They slit open furs and cushions, smashed pots and pans, and scattered flour about the place and mixed it with dirt and feathers. They blew up barns and scattered the grain all over the farmyards. Sometimes they forced the owners of the property which they had acquired by hard work to destroy their own houses, to scatter the grain, and to smash and pull up the floor-boards, etc. In addition, they ill-treated women and children most brutally. In Shvejktiv in the district of Pidhaytsi, a woman who had just been confined — the wife of Vasyly Dutka — was beaten.

The most important task was entrusted to the units of these expeditions who had to carry out the "auditing" in the cultural and economic societies. In the cooperatives they promptly seized any goods which they caught sight of and removed them without paying for them. Sometimes, however, for the sake of appearance they paid a few pence for goods which cost hundreds of zloty, and then they threw all the goods they had taken on to a pile and set fire to them. In Kupchyntsi in the district of Ternopil, for instance, a squad of the 9th lancers' regiment from Terebovla wrought complete havoc in the "Nadija" cooperative; all the jewellery and manufactured goods, as well as foodstuffs were thrown on to the floor; petrol, oil and honey were poured over them, and the soldiers then trampled everything to bits. This cooperative alone suffered damage amounting to more than 100,000 zloty. In the same village a big modern meat cooperative and also a dairy cooperative were completely destroyed.

In particular, all goods made in Ukrainian factories or workshops

were destroyed. (For instance, the soap made by the "Tsentrosojuz" works, "Kalyna" cigarette-paper, and "Nova Fortuna" sweets, etc.).

In addition, the employees of the co-operatives were beaten by the men of the punitive expeditions and were forced to tear up the ledgers. On the pretext of searching for arms, the punitive expeditions destroyed all the furniture and equipment of the co-operatives, smashed the windows, and hacked the floors, doors and signboards to bits. It all depended on the mood of these hired pogrom organizers whether the buildings in which the cooperatives or the "Prosvita" societies had their offices or headquarters were destroyed; in such cases the roofs were then damaged and the walls were dismantled. After having completed their work of destruction the men of the punitive expedition would then mockingly tell their victims: "Your Ukraine is done for!" Most of the libraries of the "Prosvita" societies met with the same fate, and all the books which they contained were destroyed.

Thus thousands of Ukrainian cooperatives, thousands of "Prosvita" reading rooms and libraries, theatre equipment, musical instruments, etc., were destroyed, and very often the entire building in which they had been housed was razed to the ground. This destructive campaign was not merely confined to the villages, however, but also extended to the towns. Every Ukrainian monument was demolished. Nor were the cooperatives and "Prosvita" societies in the towns spared by these barbarians. In the town of Berezhany, for instance, the district cooperative with the entire stock of goods, the business ledgers and the furniture, and also the "Prosvita" society were demolished completely. In addition, the cooperatives in Podolia and the "Prosvita" society there, with its valuable library, a printing works in Ternopil, and the warehouse of the district society of co-operatives in Kozova, etc., were destroyed.

The punitive expeditions of the police and the soldiers were aided and supported by "persons unknown", who, under the protection of the Polish police, sabotaged Ukrainian public buildings by bombs and blew them up. This happened in the case of the following buildings: the private elementary school of the "Native School" society in Lychakiv, a suburb of Lviv, the reading rooms of the "Prosvita" society in Monajev and Danylivtsi in the district of Zboriv, and the "Prosvita" reading room in Zboiska near Lviv. In Radylychi in the district of Drohobych, two hand-grenades of the type used during the war were hurled into the building in which the cooperative had its headquarters, and also into the building of the district cooperative in Sokal. On October 2nd it was the turn of the regional union of the Ukrainian cooperatives of the "Tsentrosojuz" in Lviv. During the night a large time-bomb was placed on the ground floor of the two-storied building of the regional union of the Ukrainian cooperatives. The explosion caused considerable damage to the building and the ware-

house. A bomb was even placed in the monastery of the Studites in Lviv.

The same elements that laid bombs, likewise under the protection of the Polish police, set fire to Ukrainian public and private property. They burned down the reading room of the "Prosvita" society and the building of the cooperative in Bojutychi in the district of Sambir, and also the building of the cooperative in Mykulychyn. They also set fire to and destroyed the house belonging to the parish priests Lysyk in Demaniv near Rohatyn, Kochala in Lisnyky near Berezhany, Dr. Juryk in Zolochiv, and Hordynsky in Chernelytsia near Horodenka, etc.

### The Methods of Vandals

The smashing of windows of houses and of shop-windows was such an everyday occurrence that it was almost accepted as a matter of course. For instance, the shop-windows and signboards of the milk-shops of the dairy cooperative in various streets and on the market square in Lviv were smashed before the very eyes of the police. The windows of the "Narodnia Hostynnytsia" café were also smashed (the janitor was stabbed and injured when he tried to stop one of the vandals), as were those of the building of the Ukrainian Scientific Shevchenko Society and its bookshop, and also the windows of the chapel in Zamarstyniv. The kindergarten, the school and the cooperative in Levandivka were also destroyed.

The so-called "pacification" was thus carried out by the usual method of destroying cultural and economic achievements and torturing and harassing the Ukrainian population.

Incidentally, in countless places not only the inhabitants whose names were on the "black list" were tortured but also other persons. There were numerous villages in which the entire community was ill-treated and nearly all the buildings were destroyed or damaged. In Chernyliv-Ruskyj in the district of Ternopil, for instance, a cavalry squadron, after having encircled the village and set up machine-guns on all the roads and paths, forced all the inhabitants, including the women and children, to assemble on the village square. They then took all the children under 13 years of age, all the Jews and Poles away and began to beat and ill-treat the rest of the villagers, men, women and young people, in a most brutal manner. In Roskoshnytsi in the district of Zbarazh, the soldiers made all the inhabitants assemble on the square and then flogged them all.

In Mozolivka in the district of Pidhajtsi, 110 of 150 farms were demolished. The entire furniture including beds, stoves and crockery, was destroyed, clothes were torn to bits, and all the cushions and pillows were slit open and the feathers strewn all over the place. In addition, agricultural machines were damaged beyond repair, and all the wells were stopped up with dirt and feathers. Anyone caught



out of doors, even children, was beaten. And the vandals were so inhuman that they even beat an old man, Osyp Halka, who had been bed-ridden for a year and was at death's door. When the expedition eventually departed, the village looked as though it had experienced a dreadful earthquake.

The inhuman inventiveness of these punitive expeditions can be seen from the following incident. After it had completely ransacked and demolished the village of Kupchyntsi in the district of Ternopil and had tortured the inhabitants in the most dreadful way, the expedition left for Denysiv. By way of entertainment some of the vandals tied the village schoolmaster Oleksa Rosolak to a cart and, flogging him with a whip, made him run all the way from Kupchyntsi to Denysiv at the same pace as the horses.

Since these punitive expeditions had unrestricted freedom everywhere, they did not hesitate to rape Ukrainian women. In Zhyla in the district of Zbarazh, for example, the men of the punitive expedition, after having destroyed most of the property in the village and having satisfied their sadism by beating most of the inhabitants, dragged off some of the young girls to various buildings and then raped them in a bestial manner.

There were thousands of such incidents.

This bestial torture of human beings was prompted by one aim alone, namely to intimidate and terrorize the Ukrainian people and degrade them in their human dignity. Moreover, the punitive expeditions sought to ruin the health of as many prominent Ukrainian personalities as possible by these inhuman methods and thus bring about their death. These persons were a source of annoyance to the Polish government, but they could neither be punished nor liquidated by legal means. Many of them died as a result of the beatings and ill-treatment inflicted on them, but a large number of these poor victims lived on for a time, their health completely broken, until they finally succumbed to their injuries. They included persons of all social classes: priests, lawyers, teachers, doctors, workers and students.

The following incident is typical of the methods used by the punitive expeditions in dealing with prominent persons. In the village of Danylche in the district of Rohatyn, the punitive expedition assumed its "official function" by ill-treating and castigating the mayor, Andrij Hryvnak, a prominent personality in public life, who was also a candidate for a deputyship in parliament. He was tortured in his house, which was also the administrative headquarters of the parish, in a most bestial manner. He was then ordered to go up into the attic, which was allegedly to be searched. Here the men of the punitive expedition once more began flogging him until he finally fainted. Whilst he was unconscious they threw him down from the

attic to the ground floor. Later they took him to a neighbouring village and put him in prison there. He was here for two nights, and on both nights 5 policemen came into the cell and flogged him. He was then removed to the prison in Rohatyn even though he was at death's door as a result of the tortures inflicted on him.

The same fate also befell the mayor of Moloshkovytshi near Yavoriv, Mychailo Harasym. After completing his studies at the university, he had devoted himself to agriculture and had done very valuable work in his community in connection with cooperative and cultural progress. The men of the punitive expedition destroyed the entire village and were furious when they found that the mayor was not at home. After the expedition had departed, Harasym went to Yavoriv to attend a mayors' meeting which had been convened by the local government. When he left the building after the meeting, 10 soldiers of the 14th cavalry regiment were already lying in wait for him. They immediately seized hold of him and dragged him into a jeep. They then drove him to the suburb of Nakonechne, where the regiment was stationed. Here they dragged him into the reading room of the "Prosvita" society, tore off his clothes and threw him to the ground. After having gagged him, some of the soldiers held him down by sitting on his shoulders and his legs. They then flogged him about a hundred times, jeering as they did so, "So you think you can build up Ukraine, do you?!" After they had finished beating him, he lay on the floor unconscious for a while. Gradually, however, he regained consciousness and began to put on his clothes again. Thereupon one of the soldiers shouted "He hasn't had enough", and they then began beating him again until he collapsed. In the same way they also flogged Ivan Alekseytych, a graduate in philosophy, to death there. When the priest who gave him the Last Sacrament saw how they had tortured his body, he fainted. The same fate also befell a local grammar-school boy, Ostap Lynda. The number of persons who were beaten to death would make a long list.

Constant agitation campaigns on the part of the Polish press against the Ukrainian Catholic priests, mass razzias, and the mass arrest of innocent persons were the order of the day.

### **Inhuman Treatment of Priests**

The punitive expeditions not only destroyed the property of the parish priests but also treated them in a most inhuman and degrading manner. In Nakonechne in the district of Yavoriv, the parish priest was first flogged and then his tormentors rubbed his head with butter, mixed with feathers. His wife, too, was ill-treated, and his whole family was forced to thresh grain for the soldiers on a Sunday. In Bohatkovets they tortured the parish priest, Father Mandzij, in the following way: first they beat him with the butt-end of their rifles

and flogged him on the back. When he fainted they threw cold water over him, until he came to again. They then made him turn over and lie on his back. One of the policemen stood on his chest, whilst the others flogged him and pierced his hands with bayonets. When he fainted, they threw cold water over him again. After that, they poured boiling milk over him. They then threw a pan of hot potatoes on him and finally hurled two tables at him before they departed. In Gross-Lublin in the district of Pidhajtsi, the punitive expedition tortured the parish priest. Father Dedynskyj, in a dreadful way and made him sing the Polish national anthem whilst he was being tortured. Father Blozovskyj was flogged in a bestial way and suffered serious injuries in the the town hall in Pidhajtsi. And were countless similar cases.

In the course of this "war" on the peace-loving defenceless Ukrainian population, not only the police detachments but also the cavalry regiments, which were commanded by the elite of the Polish aristocracy, the sons of Polish landowners, high officials and magnates, revealed their "high culture." Not only did these officers organize the entire campaign and gloat over the suffering and horror of the innocent persons who were tortured, but they also stretched out their "aristocratic" hands to seize foreign property acquired by hard work, and stole it not merely in order to swell the military stores but also to enrich themselves and their own families. (It was impossible to count the number of pigs, hens, geese and other dainty morsels which finished up in the kitchens of the Polish aristocracy in those days!) And countless waggons of oats and fodder, requisitioned from the Ukrainian farmers, were sold, and the profit went into the pockets of these "aristocratic" gentlemen!

In Pidberiztsi near Lviv, for instance, the officers of the 14th cavalry regiment, who had tortured the inhabitants and had destroyed practically the whole village, took good care not to overlook all the geese and hens. After having completed the "pacification" they instructed the farmers to put down clean cushions on the village square, since, so they affirmed, Polish soldiers were not used to sitting on the ground. They then lit a fire and began their "banquet." They had even brought along their wives for this "festive" occasion. Until late at night they revelled in eating and drinking, whilst parents and children in the farm-houses groaned in pain as a result of the tortures that had been inflicted on them during the day. Eventually, the officers and men departed and drove off to Lviv with trucks loaded with property that they had stolen.

There were also "simpler" incidents; after the "pacification" in Nakonechne, a suburb of Yavoriv, the Ukrainian farmers were ordered to "contribute" a railway truck full of oats, and at the same time to send 20 waggons full of oats to the military depot in Lychakiv, near Lviv. In the evening a car containing four majors arrived



in Nakonechne from Lviv. They promptly sent some soldiers into the village who demanded 3 large sacks full of ducks and hens and some crates of eggs from the farmers. They put all this in a truck and the officers drove off again to Lviv. It is impossible to enumerate all these and similar "heroic deeds."

It is obvious from the above-mentioned incidents why the Ukrainian population in some of the villages fled into the forests and marshes on hearing that a punitive expedition was heading for their village. The inhabitants of the village of Holhoche in the district of Pidhajtsi, for instance, managed to escape into the forests and also succeeded in hiding their cattle. But such lucky escapes were unfortunately only few in number. People in the rural areas certainly fled out into the fields or into the towns, but if they were caught by the cavalry, they knew what to expect!

### **Worse than Tatar Hordes!**

During the first world war West Ukraine experienced various horrors. On several occasions huge armies — the Austrian, the Russian and the Bolshevik forces — invaded this unfortunate country, but all that grew pale compared to what was now happening. Not even the Tatar invasions seemed as dreadful as the "pacification" organized by the Polish government. For the Tatars only passed through a place once and though they took people prisoner, they did not mishandle them. The Polish punitive expeditions, however, were not content with one attack on a village, but raided the same place again and again. Many of the villages were pillaged and devastated as many as 3 or 4 times within a fortnight. The raids were carried out by different police and cavalry units each time. The following villages were for instance raided by punitive expeditions four times: Denysiv, Kupchyntsi etc., and many of the inhabitants there were ill-treated and tortured on all four occasions.

In addition to the tortures and ill-treatment inflicted on the population and the destruction of property, thousands of Ukrainians were arrested, and because there was no room for them in the prisons, they were put into military prisons and even into military barracks. In particular, persons were arrested who had held speeches which might have an unfavourable effect on the electoral lists of the Pilsudski government. By every means available, namely by inhuman terrorism, mass-arrests and mass-torture of innocent persons, as well as by the ruthless destruction of communal and private property, the Polish government sought to undermine the morale and courage of the Ukrainian people and make them vote for Polish candidates. In some villages the punitive expeditions forced the population to sign statement by which the Ukrainians pledged themselves to vote for persons chosen as candidates for Pilsudski's government. In order to make it

appear as though the Ukrainian population were guilty, the Polish police when searching houses and buildings belonging to the Ukrainians resorted to the methods once used by the tsarist police and now, incidentally, applied by the Bolshevik police; they deposited illegal publications and weapons in the buildings that they searched, and then the press later published reports about the "sensational" results of these searches. This method was used by the police in particular when searching those cultural institutions which the government from the outset had decided to liquidate. These searches were carried out as follows: 20 to 30 policemen rushed into the house or building that was to be searched; they forced all the people inside to leave and then proceeded to "search" the rooms without any other witnesses being present. Afterwards they then showed the amazed and terrified people the incriminating material which they had allegedly found. In Serafyntsi in the district of Horodenka, for instance, policemen searched the farm of a man of the name of Shuhajevycz. They forced the farmer and his sons into one of the rooms and forbade them to leave it, whilst they themselves started searching the house. One of the policemen went into the yard, drew a gun out of his own pocket and then called out that he had found it in the attic. Shuhajevycz' little daughter, who happened to be in the yard unnoticed by the policeman, saw him draw the gun out of his pocket. She told him that he was lying, whereupon she was ill-treated to such an extent that she collapsed and fainted.

At the Ukrainian private grammar school of the "Native School" Society in Rohatyn the police searched the classrooms and teachers' rooms, as well as the library, but found nothing, a fact which was confirmed in the records of the police. In spite of this, however, the press stated that incriminating material had been found there. Three days after this search, about 20 policemen raided the grammar school and after having searched all the rooms went up into the attic. The headmaster and the janitor wanted to be present during this search, but the police refused to listen to this request. After a while the policemen reappeared and produced a bomb which they had allegedly found whilst searching the attic. Soon afterwards the headmaster received a notification from the education authorities in Lviv to the effect that the grammar school was to be closed on the strength of a decree issued by the Ministry of Education on September 24, 1930. A similar method was also used in the case of the Ukrainian grammar school in Ternopil, which was likewise closed down.

In its methods of provocation the Polish government even went so far as to arrest Ukrainians on the charge that they had allegedly placed bombs in the buildings of Ukrainian cultural and economic institutions. To quote an example in this connection: when a bomb exploded in the elementary school in Lychakiv, a suburb of Lviv, the janitor Rudyj and his family were asleep in the first storey of the

building. The explosion, which occurred on the ground floor, tore part of the floor in the first storey away and wrecked the entire furniture of the room in which the janitor and his family were sleeping. By a miracle they escaped death. But ten minutes after the explosion the janitor was arrested by the police, and the press subsequently published a sensational report to the effect that he was one of the persons who had planted the bomb!

### Atrocities and Lies

When the reading room of the "Prosvita" society in Zboiška was blown up by a bomb that exploded on the premises, the head of the society, Hoshovskyj, was arrested.

The official reason given by the Polish government for this inhuman "pacification" in West Ukraine was that acts of sabotage were constantly being committed in the Ukrainian territories and were directed against the Polish state and its settlers there, who were supported by the Polish government in this respect so as to harm the Ukrainian population. These acts of sabotage were imputed to the secret organization, the UVO (Ukrainian Military Organization), by the Polish government. In this connection the following points must be stressed:

Against the explicit will of the Ukrainian people, the countries of the Entente by their decision of March 14, 1923, assigned West Ukraine to the Polish state, which undertook to concede to the Ukrainians the same rights enjoyed by its other subjects and to allow them a free cultural and economic development. The Poles ignored this international agreement, however, and once they had assumed power in West Ukraine promptly set about systematically destroying all the cultural and economic achievements of the Ukrainian people. About 3,000 state Ukrainian elementary schools, which the Ukrainians had possessed at the time when they came under Austrian rule, were converted into Polish schools; countless Ukrainian private schools as well as Ukrainian colleges and the majority of the Ukrainian grammar schools were closed down and dissolved; Ukrainian teachers were sent to Central Poland, hundreds of Ukrainian churches were closed down, and Ukrainian cultural and economic societies, in particular the cooperatives, were persecuted. All sorts of obstacles were put in the way of sports clubs and societies, especially in the case of the Boy Scouts organization. Thousands of acres of land were "colonized" by Polish settlers, thousands of Ukrainians were dismissed from their posts as civil servants, and the admission of Ukrainians to such posts was restricted, as was the admission of Ukrainian students to the colleges and universities. The entire country was forcibly "Polonized", and the designation "Ukrainian" was eliminated; Ukrainian literary works were mangled by Polish censorship, the develop-



ment of political organizations was prevented, and the leading members of such organizations were persecuted on account of "anti-state activity." A regime of oppression of all that was Ukrainian was introduced, with the aim of destroying the Ukrainian national element completely. Regardless of the fact that the Ukrainian peasantry possessed little land that it could call its own, the Polish government resettled former soldiers to West Ukraine and, at the expense of the state, assigned land which had originally belonged to Ukrainians to them, built settlements and farms for them, and supplied them with arms. The Polish government also incited these "colonists" to terrorize the defenceless Ukrainian people and to subvert their Ukrainian organizations. Surely there can be no peace in a country in which the subjects are graded according to two categories, — namely as privileged persons and as persons deprived of all their rights.

This oppressive atmosphere resulted in the founding of the secret organization of the UVO, which replied to the methods of oppression and terrorism introduced by the government with a terrorism of its own. For years this organization fought the Polish state and actively opposed the colonization, supported by the Polish government, of Ukrainian territory by Polish subjects.

When talking about the acts of sabotage which continued from June 1930 onwards, one must bear the following facts in mind. During all these acts of sabotage no member of the UVO was ever caught in the act. And even members of the Polish government, as for instance B. Nakoniecznikow, voiced the opinion that probably only about 50 per cent of these acts of sabotage could be imputed to the activity of the UVO. Hence there was no legal foundation for any accusation against the UVO as the instigator of these acts of sabotage, and it was therefore a great injustice to punish persons whose participation in such acts could not be legally proved before a court.

In this respect the Polish government, however, from the very outset of the acts of sabotage carried out mass-arrests amongst persons of whom it assumed that they were members of the UVO and to whom it wanted to impute a complicity in these acts. Irrespective of whether the accusations brought against the persons who were arrested were justified or not, and of whether such mass-arrests of innocent persons were permissible or not, one must however admit that the law is entitled to bring people to account or to attempt to bring them to account for anti-state activity. But this law demands that punishment should be meted out according to the individual case. No one can deny that the Polish government had a right to bring the member of a secret organization to account if their guilt could be proved before a court.

## A Violation of Rights and Laws

But the punitive expeditions were not directed explicitly against persons who were suspected of being members of the UVO or of having taken part in acts of sabotage, but against the entire Ukrainian population and against the latter's cultural and economic achievements. The ill-treatment and tortures inflicted on the entire population, including children, aged persons and women who were pregnant, the raping of young girls, the theft of private property from Ukrainian families, the destruction of cultural and economic institutions, the demolition of the cooperatives, including the pillaging of goods and the destruction of the business ledgers, — all this had nothing to do with any legal responsibility to combat the acts of sabotage, or with any attempt to ascertain who the guilty persons were. Indeed, all these atrocities were a mockery of all legal principles. The very fact that the punitive expeditions raided some villages several times, namely villages in which no act of sabotage had ever occurred (as for instance Chernyliv, Shvejliv, etc.), and, further, that the punitive expeditions continued their activity long after the acts of sabotage had ceased, clearly proves that the "pacification" had no legal basis whatsoever and was in no way connected with any attempt to ascertain the instigators of the acts of sabotage, but was solely directed against the achievements and property of the Ukrainian population. The fact that the "pacification" did not aim to restore peace, that is to say, was not intended to normalize conditions in West Ukraine and to establish law and order, is likewise perfectly obvious, for the entire country was transformed into a battlefield, as it were, and not only a state of war prevailed, but the regime also introduced a state of complete lawlessness and disregard of all rights. Furthermore, impulsive reactions on the part of the underground movement were provoked, allegedly as acts of sabotage which the Poles themselves perpetrated.

The fact that the punitive expeditions commenced their activity directed against the Ukrainian population at the beginning of the Polish electoral campaign and continued it until the elections had been held, and also that they forced persons whom they had ill-treated and whole communities to sign statements to the effect that they would vote for the Pilsudski government, is particularly striking. It clearly proves that Pilsudski and his government were not merely intent upon destroying the Ukrainian national movement and the cultural and economic achievements of the Ukrainian people, but were also determined to terrorize the latter to such an extent as to deter them from voting for Ukrainian candidates at the elections.

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## **“One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich” by Alexander Solzhenitsyn**

The literary school of “Socialist Realism” which began in USSR shortly after the October Revolution, and which proved to be disastrous from the artistic and aesthetic point of view, met a temporary slowdown at, and immediately after, the XXth Party Congress presided by Khrushchov. The now ousted leader denounced the “cult of personality” and launched the so called “de-stalinization” campaign which echoed in many walks of life, especially in literature.

Suddenly freed from the rigid orders of how and what to write, Soviet poets and writers for the first time published works in which they touched upon some of the ills experienced under Stalin’s reign. But such themes as “the great purge”, forced labour, and concentration camps, remained still a taboo subject for almost ten years. Only in 1962, in the journal “Novyy Mir”, an unknown writer at that time, Alexander Solzhenitsyn, openly admitted the existence of such camps and vividly described prisoners’ life in them, being himself one of the former inmates — called “zeks.”

Solzhenitsyn (1918-) was educated in Rostov, where he won a degree in physics and mathematics. During World War II he served as an officer and was twice decorated for bravery and outstanding military feats. In 1945, in a letter to a fellow soldier he carelessly remarked about Stalin’s wrong war tactics. The letter was discovered and the “Soviet hero” was thrown into a Central Asiatic labour camp for eight years. After his release Solzhenitsyn was not allowed to return to his native city, and only in 1956 he resumed his position as a teacher. Consequently, his experiences as an inmate found their way into his literary production. His novel “One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich” — a well known work — offers a first hand detailed account of a “happy day” in the camp life of Ivan — a prisoner; — a day which could have been Solzhenitsyn’s own.

In this Ivan Denisovich Shukhov, the main character, is serving his ninth year of a ten-year sentence. He is not concerned with the reasons for his imprisonment, because he knows that the punishment is not justified by any standards. Mobilized into the Red Army in 1942 he is captured by the Germans, but succeeds in escaping and rejoining his unit. Instead of being recognized for bravery Ivan Denisovich was tried for “high treason.” Aware that he could be executed on the spot, Ivan, with resignation signs a “confession” and is sentenced to ten years of hard labour.



The book concentrates on only one day of Ivan Denisovich's existence in a labour camp in the northern regions of the Soviet Union. The theme is that of survival and self-preservation of an innocent, honest, and even good human being in this man-made hell. It is a pathetic and tragic picture of misery, inhumanity, and persecution.

"One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" is rarely discussed in terms of its artistic values as a literary work, but rather in terms of its political and factual content. A document, rather than a work of fiction. The western reader is surprised and shocked that a story like this one was told by a Soviet writer; that in the midst of Soviet reality such taboo topics were discussed with the "blessings" of Khrushchov, who himself helped quite a lot in the making of Stalin's "cult of personality" and later hypocritically "condemned" it. In spite of the fact that promises of "liberal" policies after a short period of uncertainty were being systematically forgotten, Khrushchov probably for appeasement purposes at home and abroad allowed Solzhenitsyn's book to be published. He also said the following: "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich" was written truthfully from a Communist viewpoint" and that "the Party supports genuinely truthful works of art, whatever negative aspects of life it may deal with."<sup>1</sup>

Communists in the Free World have taken different attitudes towards this work. Some stated that "the book is partly a guarantee that neither the Soviet people nor the world will again experience violations of Socialist legality." Others believe that the novel was allowed to be presented to the public in order to eliminate the consequences of the "cult of personality", and ascribe all the sins and ills of the Soviet system to only one man — Stalin. This long-time "hero" and "father of the proletariat", three years after his death, became the "Lucifer of Soviet theology", and the new leaders felt it was proper to conveniently blame his reign for all the negative aspects of Soviet reality. Regardless what position one may take as to the reasons behind the publication of this book, it is beyond doubt that it is a startling document which laid bare the long decade of inhuman life in the vast concentration camp system of the Soviet Union: "The blanket of silence over the prison-camp universe was as thick as the snow over the world's greatest land mass stretching from the Kola Peninsula to Magadan, from Vorkuta to Kolyma."<sup>2</sup>

It is estimated that at the time of Stalin's death over fifteen million people were living behind barbed wire, in one way or another. Most of these people were neither "law-breakers" nor potential (or

<sup>1</sup> Yu. Kariakin, "An Episode in the Current Battle of Ideas", *The Soviet Review*, VI, No. 3 (Fall 1965), 22.

<sup>2</sup> Alexander Solzhenitsyn, *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich* (Montreal, 1963), Introduction, vi.

real) opponents or rivals for power like Trotsky or Beria, etc., who had to be neutralized somehow, but they were rather innocent human beings, often simple peasants or workers, who became the victims of a regime of constant suspicion and terror. Thus, the consequences of this "cult" was not only directed against officials, but the population of the Soviet Union as a whole.

One of the ideas expressed in Solzhenitsyn's novel is that the worship of an individual is against the interest of the people. The key to the relationship in circumstances like this one lies in the demand of an unquestionable loyalty to the leader, in the fact that a man is not entitled to his own convictions, and in the fear to express this conviction especially when it differs from that of the leader. In such a situation a man ceases to be a man, ceases to be an individual, and becomes only a numbered "zek." Those who argue in favour of the "cult of personality" say that such a system ensures that everything is regulated; but facts prove that it merely gives way to lawlessness and political perversion, as described in Solzhenitsyn's novel. Thus, before starting to build a "socialist town", "holes had to be dug, posts put in, and barbed wire put up by the prisoners for the prisoners, so they could not get out. And then they could start building." (Solzhenitsyn, p. 4).

Ivan's character itself is a prerequisite quality for the "cult of personality." He is complying and humble "because if you are stubborn they break you." But in spite of this Ivan is not resigned to animal existence, since in his work and hope he sees a way of survival as a man.

An optimistic reader might argue that if the principles of Socialism are perverted by the "cult of personality", with the alleged dismissal of this phenomenon the system is cleared of all the negative aspects. But here again we have proofs to the contrary. Many changes took place in the Soviet Union since "de-Stalinization", but the system continues to deny freedom of thought and expression, freedom of speech, etc.; it remains a one-party system permitting only one way of thinking, and it continues to control every aspect of human life. Slight deviations from prescribed forms end up in trials and deportations to the still existing Solzhenitsyn's labour camps. The latest examples were the trials of intellectuals like Daniel, Siniavsky, Chornovil, Dziuba, and many others, who dared to raise questions which should not be asked even under the new, "liberal", "collective" and "de-Stalinized" leadership. In addition to this the West is aware of the recent reinstatement of the KGB and the invasion of Czechoslovakia, for example, which mark once again a return to Stalinist methods.

The main theme, however, of Solzhenitsyn's novel is that of survival, the triumph of human will power to be in spite of the

environment which constantly strives to kill it. In this meticulous account of what happens to prisoners in one day of life in the camp, Ivan's personality stands out as a type which embodies the behaviour of an average prisoner striving to somehow enforce the above mentioned will power. He, above all, tries hard to preserve at least the minimum of human dignity; and precisely in this lies his strength, and ultimate greatness. He shares this spiritual attitude with an unforgettable old prisoner, whose name we never learn, but who sets an example for Ivan and the rest of the prisoners: "... in the camp you could pick him out among all the men with their bent backs because he was straight as a ramrod. When he sat at the table it looked like he was sitting on something to raise himself up higher... His face was all worn-out but not like a "goner's" — it was dark and looked like it had been hewed out of stone... You could see his mind was set on one thing — never to give in." (Solzhenitsyn, p. 172). Solzhenitsyn relates his story without pathos; but, nevertheless, the effect it produces on the reader is pathetic. The world he depicts bears no traces of unreality or fantasy. Ivan, who belongs to squad No. 104, together with his companions, coolly battles against frost, hunger, guards, insane production norms, and sheer brutality brought about by the system.

Ivan's daily activities begin at reveille at 5 a.m. when he has to leave his bug-ridden bunk without delay in order to avoid punishment for being late. His breakfast, a matter of life and death, consists of boiled gruel with fish skeleton and rotten cabbage. Next comes the roll-call in the polar frost: prisoners line-up with their numbers sewn on their backs, knees, caps, and breast. After the roll call they are escorted under the surveillance of police dogs and armed guards to their place of work: —There were escorts all over the place. They ringed the column going to the power station, shouldered their tommy guns and pointed them straight at your face. And then there were fellows with dogs. One of the dogs was baring his teeth like he was laughing at the prisoners." (p. 40) . . . . "A step to right or left will be considered an attempt to escape, and the escort will open fire without warning." (p. 42) Such was the treatment of people, called often by Stalin "the most valuable capital."

The squad, ill dressed and fed, arrived at the power plant. "And what kept them going? Their empty bellies were held in by rope belts. The cold was fierce. There was no shelter and no fire. But they came and so life began again." (p. 65) In the course of the day spent at the construction site, squad members emerge as vivid portrayals, ranging from old-timers like Tyurin to the newest "zek", Captain Buynovskiy. They emerge as individuals who have not only survived, but kept their dignity and preserved their will to go on living.

Solzhenitsyn does not offer us a psychological probing like Dostoyevsky in his *House of the Dead*, nevertheless, his descriptions



produce often sombre effects of Kafkaian flavour. The author successfully depicts the "simple" people personified in Ivan Denisovich; and by portraying the camp life through the eyes of a semi-literate, forces the reader to feel Ivan's own experiences and observe them through the narrow focus of his mind and ways of expressing himself (language). By using this restricted focus the feeling of being trapped and doomed to hopeless existence is enormously heightened.

Ivan is by now adjusted to camp life. He wants to go on living and fights for it in his own way — cunningly, but without ever lowering himself below his concept of human dignity. He manages well: he succeeds in getting extra bowls of kasha, a piece of bread, a pinch of tobacco, and a slice of sausage from Cezar's "Care" package. The protagonist tries this way to pull through the day the best he can without stopping to think why he was sentenced; he "went on living like this, with his "eyes on the ground", and his "head with no time to think about how you got in and when you would get out." (p. 76) He learned quite early that in the camp life was regulated by the unwritten law of the jungle: the survival of the fittest. But he also remembered the words of his first gang boss who advised the new prisoners: "even here you can live. The first to go is the guy who licks out bowls, puts his faith in the infirmary, or squeals to the screws" (p. 2). Ivan learned to accept all this plus the injustice without any shock, which, nevertheless haunts the reader throughout the novel.

Ivan's prison term was almost finished, but he did not believe in freedom to come for no one has left the camp so far because "they twisted the law any way they wanted. You finished a ten-year stretch and they gave you another one. Or if not, they still would not let you go home. But sometimes you got a kind of funny feeling inside. Maybe your number really would come up one day. God, just to think you might walk out and go home!" (p. 75)

Solzhenitsyn's detailed description of Ivan as an able craftsman (he was a carpenter and bricklayer) who, in spite of being a prisoner, experiences even a sort of joy when working on a construction site in the camp, shows the wastefulness of the system which keeps such handyman like Ivan in prison without any reason. How much needed is he in his village where women have to do all the hard jobs since the thirties; how necessary is his return home, where his family lives in poverty in the old shack. Instead, Ivan and his fellow prisoners have to spend the best years of their lives in camps, where their creative energy is being wasted in projects neither planned nor needed. "For the good of the cause" prisoners' labour is being squandered for what seems to be a useless and irrational purpose.

Some sceptics might smile when the author draws the reader's attention to such prosaic matters like Ivan's indecision where to hide

his extra chunk of bread, or how to wrap around his face a small piece of cloth in order to get some protection from the bitter wind. They might ask: what about Ivan's concern about philosophy, ideas, aesthetic values, etc. But if we were to find such thoughts in Ivan's mind, this would totally change the value of the book, for it would no longer be an authentic experience, but false and artificial. It is suitable for Cezar to discuss art with fellow intellectuals; (his parcels from home bought him a secure position in the office), but for a semi-literate carpenter Shukhov who "breaks his back" all day in the freezing tundra, such meditations would be highly improbable.

Solzhenitsyn portrays masterfully not only his simple-minded hero, but he also presents excellent portrayals of other prisoners: Alyosha, the Baptist, who was sentenced for passing on the Bible; a navy captain, accused of spying due to his correspondence with an English admiral; a sixteen year old Ukrainian boy "Hopchyk", sentenced like an adult for taking milk to Bandera partisans;\* there is also a gang boss, Tyurin, who has been in various camps for nineteen years, his only crime being that he was the son of a "kulak."

In this description of a single winter day in the camp the author reveals to us many tragic paradoxes: the inmates of the camp wonder about the value of the lives of the rest of the "free" people living on the other side of the barbed wire fences. Here, inside the camp, Vdovushkin, for example, can write "the sort of thing he could not write 'outside'." (p. 24).

Only in the camp one could hear such arguments like: "you think that old moustached bastard in Moscow is going to have mercy on you?" (p. 176). In conclusion the author states: "The great thing about a penal camp was you had a hell of a lot of freedom." (p. 177)

We also learn that the number of prisoners grew proportionally to the increase in the hysterical suspicion of the Soviet authorities. As a consequence, and in a matter of days, former prosecutors and judges were reduced to "zeks", only to be followed by their own superiors after.

Solzhenitsyn also reveals in his book the presence of other nationals other than Russians: we meet Ukrainians, Estonians, Latvians, and others. These non-Russians appear to be double prisoners: inside the camps they are on equal basis with the rest of the prisoners, "outside" they may be subjected to the discriminatory nationalities policies implemented by the leading Russian Soviet Republic.

However, the author seemingly faithful to the Russian imperialistic ideal, did not stress this latter issue at all. He considers non-Russian

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\*) Stepan Bandera was one of the leaders of the Ukrainian resistance against both Nazis and Communists. He was assassinated in 1959 in Munich, by a KGB agent B. Stashynsky. (From: Hearing before the... Committee on the Judiciary U.S. Senate. 98th CONGRESS. 1st session. March 26, 1965).

prisoners only as victims of a bad regime, rather than victims of Russia. Solzhenitsyn erroneously thinks along the lines of a conflict between the so-called "Soviet people" (sociologically impossible, and non-existent) and the negative aspects of a dictatorship, rather than focusing his attention on the struggle between Russia on one hand, and the subjugated nations on the other. Bandera's freedom fighters — mentioned by the author himself — represent precisely one of the facets of this struggle. Solzhenitsyn probably realizes this quite well, but could not, or did not want to take a correct approach to such a "delicate" topic as it is the so-called "nationalities problems" in the USSR, which are usually solved by means of concentration camps similar to those described by the author. In conclusion, Solzhenitsyn did not dwell on the main causes of the existence of such camps, and this can be considered as one of the major defects of his book.

Solzhenitsyn also touches upon the religious question; he contrasts the Baptist Alyosha with Ivan, whose faith in past years had diminished substantially. Ivan stopped believing in paradise or hell; nevertheless, he believes in God, and draws some strength from the knowledge that someone "above" knows about his existence. When confronted by the warden who might possibly find a piece of wire on him (not allowed to have in the camp), he demonstrates in practice his faith: "God in heaven, help me and keep me out of the can" (p. 149).

But the most interesting remark on the religious question is about the inherent religious feelings of the Ukrainian people, no matter how harsh a spiritual and physical oppression could be. On one occasion describing prisoners' behaviour during a meal-time, the author makes the following observation: "On the other side of the table there was a young fellow who was crossing himself before he started to eat. Must have been a Western Ukrainian and new to the place. The Russians didn't even remember which hand you cross yourself with." (p. 15) This remark touches upon one of the basic traits of the spiritual make-up of the Ukrainian nation, directly antagonistic to the psyche of the Russians.

In this review we have not yet mentioned many of the atrocities portrayed in "One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich": the brutality of the guards who carry whips, the police dogs, the barbed wire everywhere, the punishments which may be fatal (like "ten days in the cooler"), etc. These are only a few of the horrors which pile up high by the end of this "happy day."

We have discussed the theme of survival and the will to live, without mentioning what changes took place in the hearts of the prisoners. It would be naïve to expect a perfect inner harmony in Ivan's soul, which has been stripped of much of human beauty by eight years of humiliation. Ivan himself recognizes this inner doubt

*(Continued on p. 86)*



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## THE STRUGGLE FOR UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE IN 1917-1918

(Extracts from the unpublished M.A. thesis, *The Hetmanate of  
P. P. Skoropadskyi in Ukraine in 1918*, Continuation — 6).

### CHAPTER 4

#### THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE HETMAN'S GOVERNMENT

The foreign policy of Skoropadskyi's Government was conditioned by the presence of the occupation forces in the country, by the absence of a Ukrainian army and by the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. The main task of Skoropadskyi's foreign policy, as seen by D. Doroshenko, its Foreign Minister, consisted of "leaning on Germany — the strongest among the states which signed the treaty at Brest-Litovsk — of doing our utmost to become our own masters as soon as possible. At the same time we had to free ourselves from the presence of the Austro-Hungarian troops in the country. With the help of the Germans, while they were still strong enough, we had to conclude a peace treaty with Soviet Russia and to secure for Ukraine the outlying districts on which some of our neighbours had claims."

The Foreign Minister's next task was to achieve the recognition of Ukraine as an independent and sovereign state by the neutral countries and the Entente powers. Such recognition was improbable during the war but the Foreign Department worked in that direction none the less. D. Doroshenko states that a total victory of either side was not in the interests of the Ukrainian State. While a total victory of the Central Powers would give the Germans a free hand in Ukraine and quite probably would make the country their colony, the complete defeat of those powers would bring the revenge of the Entente powers on Ukraine for her conclusion of the Brest-Litovsk treaty with the Central Powers.

But the most probable outcome of the war in the spring of 1918, as seen by the Hetman's Government and hoped for by the German Secretary of State, Richard von Kühlmann, was the possibility of a suspension of hostilities as a result of complete exhaustion on both sides and a conclusion of a peace treaty settled by mutual concessions.

Being guided by such hopes the Hetman's Government considered its most important duty the organization of its own army as early as circumstances would allow it.

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1) See D. Doroshenko, *op cit.*, vol. II, p. 129.

### Relations with the Central Powers

According to the convention between the Germans and the Austro-Hungarians concluded in Baden on March 29th, 1918 (Ukraine-abkommen) the Ukraine was divided into two zones of occupation. The main points of this convention were as follows: Austro-Hungary occupied the southwestern part of Volyn' province up to the line Kovel' — Dorosino — Ul'niki — Korshev — Radomyshl' — Bokum — Verba, along the river Ikva to Mlynova — Sushovtsi — Starokonstantyniv. The towns situated in this territory, however, belonged to the Germans. Austro-Hungary also occupied the provinces Podillia, Kherson and Katerynoslav.

The Germans held the remaining provinces of Ukraine, Tavia and Crimea. Mykolaiv, Mariupol' and Rostov-on-the-Don were to have joint garrisons. The Germans were to occupy Mykolaiv and Rostov-on-the-Don, whereas the Austro-Hungarians had to have Mariupol'. Tahanroh and Novorosiisk were to be in the German sphere of influence.

The management of all the railways and of all water transport on this territory were to be placed under the supervision of the German Representative in Kiev: his deputy was the Austro-Hungarian representative.

The coal basin which lay in the east part of the Katerynoslav Province was to be under joint management and to be used on a fifty-fifty basis. The use of ore was to be determined on the principle established in Berlin concerning the use of raw materials and coal, as follows: "... the railways are to be supplied first, next comes the navy and the merchant fleet of the Black Sea." And lastly "... The rest of the coal is to be under supervision of the Central Railway Management in Kiev ..."

"Kiev is to accommodate the Austro-Hungarian garrison which will not exceed 2 battalions... The Austro-Hungarian line of communication service in the German zone... will be supervised by the German Supreme Command. The German Supreme Command take upon themselves the supply of these units.

"In the parts of the Austro-Hungarian zone where there are German settlements, only units of the Austro-Hungarian army consisting of Germans are to be stationed ..."

Somewhat later a conflict arose between the Germans and Austrians concerning their occupation zones in the Ukraine. But after much embittered correspondence between the two Emperors and between the German and the Austrian Central Headquarters, a

2) See J. W. Wheeler-Bennett, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

compromise was reached.<sup>2</sup> On the Black Sea Austria retained Odessa and Kherson while Germany received Mykolaïv and Sebastopol. In Ukraine the northern sector remained under German influence, leaving the south to the Austrians.<sup>3</sup>

The German army in Ukraine was removed from Hoffmann and put under the control of Field Marshal von Eichhorn. Both Germany and Austria sent their diplomatic representatives to Kiev, Baron Mumm von Schartzensten and Count von Forgach. General Wilhelm Gröner was appointed Eichhorn's chief of Staff. He was especially transferred from the West where he had served as Chief of the Transport Section of the General Staff in the first year of the war.

In August, 1918 the German forces in Ukraine consisted roughly of six army corps (about 20 divisions). The heavy artillery units were at this time sent from Ukraine to the Western Front.<sup>4</sup>

The Austrians had four army corps in Ukraine, and, in addition, two separate divisions (the 9th, the 12th, the 17th and the 25th corps and the 5th and 7th cavalry divisions).<sup>5</sup>

The two allies differed considerably, however, in their attitude to the country they occupied. This question of Ukraine as an independent political unit was not completely new to Germany. During the war, the German Government, especially its military circles, made sporadic efforts to organize special camps for the Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Russian army, and to form them into special military units.

At the end of the war, a more clear-cut idea of weakening Russia by supporting the new Ukrainian state was born in German military circles. That idea was also popular among such German publicists and economists as Paul Rohrbach, Axel Schmidt and others. In return for help, they planned, the young Ukrainian state would give Germany bread, would fall within the German sphere of influence, would counterbalance Poland and, perhaps, even Russia and, in addition, would provide a large market for German industry.<sup>6</sup>

The activity of this group resulted in the treaty with the Ukrainians at Brest-Litovsk.

The Ukrainian point of view toward Germany was expressed by the Foreign Minister Dmytro Doroshenko, who stated that close collaboration with Germany was useful to the Ukrainian State not only because Germany was the strongest partner of the Central Powers coalition but also because it did not adjoin Ukraine and

<sup>3</sup>) See Ludendorff, *op. cit.* II, p. 625; Grats and Schuller, *op. cit.*, p. 130; John W. Wheeler-Bennett, *Brest-Litovsk; Krakh germanskoi okkupatsii na Ukraine: po dokumentam okkupantov*. Moskva, 1936, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup>) See the report of count Forgach to Minister Burian of August 24, 1918 No. 2047. D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 30. (Bib. ref.).

<sup>5</sup>) See the report of the Odessa Central Council Zhitkovs'kyi to Minister Burian of August 20, 1918, no. 17. D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, p. 30. (Bib. refs.).

<sup>6</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-151.



therefore did not lay claims to any part of the Ukrainian territories.<sup>7</sup> And, what is more, neither Germany nor Ukraine, he believed, wished to see Poland, which might emerge as an independent state after the war, too large or too strong. Such a state of affairs would tempt Poland to seize some of the Ukrainian or Byelorussian territories. Nor had either Germany or Ukraine, he felt, any liking for an Austro-Hungarian solution of the Polish question — an inflated Poland under the aegis of the Hapsburg dynasty.

The German attitude to the Slav, and especially to the Eastern Slav, question during the War could be estimated by count Tundutov's statement. Count Tundutov came from Kiev to Novochoerkassk in the company of the German agent Dobrynsky as messenger from Field Marshal von Eichhorn to General Krasnov. The chief aim of their journey was to acquaint General Krasnov with Wilhelm II's point of view, which was, in brief, that the Germans were tired of the eternal Slav question and decided to solve it once and for all. In future, they informed Krasnov, there will be no "United indivisible Russia" (Yedinaya nedelimaya Rossiya). Instead, four "kingdoms" were to be created, Ukraine, the Union of the South-Eastern countries, Great Russia, and Siberia.<sup>8</sup>

Paul von Hintze, the German Foreign Minister, also assured F. Lyzohub that Germany would support a federation of the States in Southern and South-Eastern Russia.

In his note to General Krasnov Field Marshal von Eichhorn suggested that the General should organize a Union of the South-Eastern States, make the Volunteer Army (Dobrovol'cheskaya Armiya) leave the Don and either disarm its soldiers or remove its anti-German officers and then help the Germans in their fight against the Entente on the Eastern front. In return, the Germans promised General Krasnov military, political, and economic support. The General agreed to their terms and began to work in that direction energetically.<sup>9</sup>

The child of German anti-Bolshevik aspirations was the "Yuzhnaya Armiya" (Southern Army). It was an anti-Bolshevik military organization which became active at the time of Hetman Skoropads'kyi. It consisted partly of volunteers and partly of men conscripted from the south-eastern part of Voronezh province. The "Yuzhnaya armiya" operated from October till December 1918 at the north-western part of the Don front along the line Kantemirovka—Mitrofanovka—Leski.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>7</sup>) *Ib.* p. 151.

<sup>8</sup>) See *Donskaya Letopis'* No. 3, 1924, Belgrade, pp. 92-93. Article by K. Kaklyugin "Donskoy ataman P. N. Krasnov i yego vremya."

<sup>9</sup>) See *Ib.* p. 93.

<sup>10</sup>) See *Donskaya Letopis'*, Belgrade, 1924, No. 3, article by P. I. Zalesskiy "Yuzhnaya Armiya", p. 252; see also: George Nikolayevich, Duke of Leuchtenberg "Kak nachalas' Yuzhnaya armiya.", *Arkhiv russkoy revolyutsii*, vol. 8, pp. 166-182.

The organizers of the "Yu. A." were the lawyer M. E. Akatsatov and the Duke of Leuchtenberg. At first they organized the Union "Nasha Rodina" (Our Motherland) which attended to the formation of the "Yu. A." The Bogachev district of the Voronezh province was chosen as the place where the army was to be organized. This district was occupied at that time by the Don Cossacks and was considered by the Germans as neutral territory.

With money received from the Germans Akatsatov went to the Don to discuss plans with General Krasnov. During his journey he met Semenov, who was either general or colonel (nobody seems to be sure of his rank).<sup>11</sup> Semenov had his own military unit and he agreed to enter the "Yu. A." with it. Thus the basis for the new army was created.

At the meeting with Akatsatov General Krasnov agreed to have "Yu. A." on his territory. He also bestowed upon Colonel Semenov the title and power of Governor-General of Voronezh and gave him the command of the First Division of the "Yu. A." Colonel Semenov made his headquarters at the station of Chertkovo which became an organizing centre for the whole new army.

The voluntary part of the "Yu. A." was recruited in Ukraine with German money, but from the very beginning this army came, although unofficially, under the authority of General Krasnov.

The slogan under which the recruitment was made was "For a National and Monarchist Russia",<sup>12</sup> much the same as the slogan of the Volunteer Army "For a United and Indivisible Russia."

In August 1918 there were, in all, four anti-Bolshevik armies located along the Eastern Borders of Ukraine: the Don Cossack Army under the command of General Krasnov; the Volunteer Army under the command of General Kornilov, later of General Alekseyev and Denikin; the Yuzhnaya Armiya, and the Astrakhan Army. The last was, like the Yuzhnaya Armiya, sponsored by the Germans and its leaders and organizers were the above-mentioned count Tundutov and Dobrynsky.

In August, 1918, the "Yu. A." numbered 700 men and by the end of October 9,000 men. In November it consisted of 20,000 men and officers but only 3,000 of them were at the front line. The rest were comfortably placed in more than 40 newly created Headquarters Staffs.

During his meeting with General Krasnov at the station Skorokhodovo in November, 1918, Hetman Skoropads'kyi agreed to help the "Yu. A." with 76,000,000 karbs.<sup>13</sup> At that time all the money given for "Yu. A." by the Germans was already used up. It seems that Colonel Semenov was not a very scrupulous man where money was concerned. He also was not in a hurry to take part in the fighting

<sup>11</sup>) *Ib.*, p.

<sup>12</sup>) See Donskaya Letopis', *op. cit.*, p. 263.

<sup>13</sup>) See Donskaya Letopis', *op. cit.*, p. 239.

but preferred to use his official position to indulge his personal needs and pleasures. In November General N. I. Ivanov, who was then Commander-in-Chief of the "Yu. A." by the appointment of General Krasnov, had to dismiss him.

Kantemirovka, the headquarters of the "Yu. A." was visited once by the Entente representatives. Two days they spent there trying to discern the political orientation of the "Yu. A." officers. It appeared that the majority of them were in favour of "United indivisible Russia."

"The "Yu. A." carried out two unsuccessful offensives: in November and in December of 1918. This army was subject to the usual shortcomings of all the "white" movements in Russia which existed during that period, namely: corruption among its officers: unwillingness of the soldiers to carry out orders: desertion; and, in many cases, hostility of the peasants. But the "Yu. A." had an additional shortcoming: a perpetual conflict between General Krasnov and the Union of "Nasha rodina", both of whom considered themselves the highest authority on "Yu. A." matters. Very often this rivalry complicated a situation which was entangled enough without it.<sup>14</sup>

All that and the German defeat in the Western front, which brought about the fall of the Skoropadskyi and the Krasnov Government, destroyed also this short-lived and abortive anti-Bolshevik army.

On examining the German policy concerning Bolshevik Russia, one feels that the Germans often contradicted themselves. On the one hand they concluded the peace treaty at Brest-Litovsk with the Bolsheviks and ceased all fighting against them at the front. They even swallowed without much fuss the murder of Mirbach in Moscow. On the other hand they supported "white" movements and even organized armies to fight the Bolsheviks. However, all this becomes more understandable if we consider the fact that there existed two schools of thought in Germany concerning the Bolsheviks.

One of them, the civilian authorities, were in favour of partition of Russia. But, believing that the Bolsheviks themselves were going to achieve partition, this group supported a policy of non-interference in Russian internal affairs. They won hence the peace treaty with the Bolsheviks at Brest-Litovsk.

The opposite school of thought was mostly represented by the German military elite. They considered Bolshevism in Russia to be a menace to Germany. Therefore they were in favour of overthrowing the Bolshevik Government in Russia. This group believed that Russia, once freed of the Bolsheviks (it did not matter, they argued, which Russia it was going to be, "united and indivisible" or Federal),

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<sup>14</sup>) See Donskaya Letopis', *op. cit.*, p. 237.



would become an ally of Germany. Hence the German policy of support for the "white" movements,<sup>15</sup> and for all the other movements directed against the Bolsheviks, including the Ukrainian national movement.

Such was the attitude of Germany to the East Slav question in general and to the Ukrainian in particular.

Austro-Hungary's attitude was quite different, especially where the Ukrainian question was concerned. Austro-Hungary had two provinces with Ukrainian inhabitants, East Galicia and Bukovina, and had a background of enough trouble trying to please their Poles and at the same time not to make enemies of their Ukrainians. The Poles almost always came first, as in the case of Karl I, for example, who, in order not to anger the Poles, had dropped out the passage about "the Ukrainian Kingdom of Galicia" in the final edition of his manifesto.<sup>16</sup>

Being forced by starvation, Austro-Hungary had to conclude the peace treaty with Ukraine at Brest-Litovsk. But it was done with reluctance and never ratified. The mere existence of Ukraine as an independent and sovereign state was a threat for Austro-Hungary, because there would always be a possibility that East Galicia and Bukovina would join Ukraine. Meanwhile the pet idea of Austro-Hungary was to seize the part of the Ukrainian territory situated on the right bank of the river Dniro and either, adding it to the two Ukrainian provinces, form a special province, Kronland, of it, or add this territory to the autonomous Poland under the Hapsburg crown. That is why the policy of Austro-Hungary towards Ukraine was through and through insincere and double-faced.<sup>17</sup>

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As D. Doroshenko states, the German military and civil representatives in Ukraine, being aware of their strength (they had 20 divisions at their disposal), were feeling themselves masters of the situation and often interfered in the internal affairs of the country. They tried to put as many obstacles in the way of the formation of the Ukrainian army as they could. They often tried to influence the appointment of this or that person to an important post. Very often they abused their powers in the provinces.

In order to overcome such a state of affairs, the Ukrainian Government in general and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in particular decided to make attempts to transfer the centre of the German-Ukrainian relations from Kiev to Berlin so as to be in a position to

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<sup>15</sup>) See Donskaya Letopis', *op. cit.*, p. 233.

<sup>16</sup>) See Krezub, A.: *Narys istorii ukrains'ko-pol's'koi viiny 1918-1919*. L'viv, 1933, p. 8.

<sup>17</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.* p. 132.

settle controversial questions, not with the German representatives in Ukraine, but with the Central German Government, with the German General Headquarters, and with Wilhelm II himself.

As a first step in that direction baron E. R. Shteingler was appointed ambassador to Berlin. He entered into personal contact with the German Foreign Minister and other German statesmen. The next move was the journey of the Ukrainian Premier F. Lyzohub to Berlin. The culmination of all this was a meeting between the Hetman and Wilhelm II, as we shall see.

All those measures produced desired results and in the autumn of 1918 all major matters of the German-Ukrainian relations were settled in Berlin. But by this time the Germans, having been defeated on the Western front, had become much softer in their policy towards Ukraine. They even allowed the Ukrainian Government to begin the formation of the Ukrainian army and navy.

### The Army

According to the agreement between P. P. Skoropads'kyi and Gröner, concluded on April 24th, 1918 the Ukrainian Army could be formed but its size and use had to be approved by the Germans.

The Skoropads'kyi Government inherited very little from the Central Rada in the way of forces. There was only the General Natiev's Division, which was at the front. The two Central Rada Bluecoat Divisions — which were formed from Ukrainian prisoners of war in Germany — and the regiment of the Galician Sich Riflemen had been disarmed by the Germans on the eve of the Skoropads'kyi coup d'état.

The War Office of the Central Rada Government (Viis'kovyi Sekretariat) and especially its Chief of Staff, Colonel Slyvyns'kyi\* began organizing the Ukrainian regular army basing it on the territorial principle. It was to consist of eight infantry corps and four-and-a half mounted divisions.

When Skoropads'kyi took office, Colonel Slyvyns'kyi was left at his old post but instead of A. Zhukivs'kyi, General Rohoza was appointed to the post of Minister of War. O. O. Linhau\*\* and M. L. Maksymiv were appointed his deputies. These four people accomplished most of the work forming the Ukrainian regular army.

At the end of May, 1918, the Law concerning the General regulations of military service in the Ukrainian army, which were worked out by the General Staff, was approved by the Council of Ministers. Its

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\*) Oleksander Volodymyrovych Slyvyns'kyi during the war of 1914-1918 was Chief of Staff of mounted corps, and was decorated for his distinguished service receiving the Order of St. George (grade IV).

\*\*) O. O. Linhau was a staff officer. During the war he was Chief of Staff of the 7th corps of the Russian Army.

main points read: The task of the Ukrainian National Army is to defend the State from the external enemy and to maintain order inside the country...; the Hetman is Supreme commander of the Ukrainian army and navy...; all officers' appointments (either of army or navy) have to be approved by the Hetman...<sup>18</sup>

The chief points concerning relations and discipline in the new Ukrainian army could be found in the order issued by O. O. Linhau which he addressed to all men in military service. Linhau declared: "...The army stands outside politics. Its only task is to serve the state faithfully." And further. "...Without strict discipline... the organized armed forces are unmanageable. Therefore I demand from all persons in military service to keep up strict discipline, this whatever their rank... Discipline has to be maintained on the basis of respect for the human rights of subordinates. The best educational method, I think", continued Linhau, "is an example set by the superior, which calls for respect from the subordinate. Where this respect is lacking, such a firm discipline cannot be maintained... Every person who is a member of the army has to aim at an ideal of being a man of honour and of doing his duty towards the Motherland. I demand of you to keep up the principles of decentralization in order to give independence of initiative to every man... At the same time I won't stand any wilfulness.

"Each punishment which has to take place has to have a legal and sound foundation; each person should feel that his rights are under the protection of just and unbiased law. All intrigue and secret denunciations will be punished mercilessly..." And as the final note: "... All correspondence and official contacts have to be carried out in the State (Ukrainian) official language. Keeping in mind that the interest of our cause comes first and believing that a narrow chauvinism is harmful where culture is concerned, I do not exclude the possibility of keeping in service people with knowledge, experience and talent although they are not Ukrainians by origin, on condition of their absolute loyalty to the Ukrainian State."<sup>19</sup>

On August 1st, 1918 an order was issued by the War Office concerning the legislative rights of person employed under the War Office. According to it all persons engaged in military service were forbidden to make use of their active suffrage, that is, they were not allowed to vote although they were allowed to be elected on condition that they would leave the military service after the election; they were also not allowed to be member of any unions, parties and other political organizations nor to participate in any meetings or other kinds of political gatherings and manifestations.<sup>20</sup>

Along the same lines spoke the Minister of War, General A. Rohoza, when in June he gave an interview to the Kiev newspaper "Vidro-

<sup>18</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-237.

<sup>19</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 236-237.

<sup>20</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-29.



dzhennia" ("Rebirth.") The Minister closed the interview with the words: "... At present, tireless activity goes on in the War Office. It is to be hoped that this activity will soon be crowned with success and the young Ukrainian State will have a strong army on the pattern of the European army system which will be supported by old military institutions which, being created throughout many centuries, were adjusted to the new demands and experiences of war."<sup>21</sup>

In September, 1918, the plan for the organization of the new Ukrainian Army was approved by the Council of Ministers. This Army was to consist of: eight Army Corps,<sup>22</sup> one Guard (Serdiuk) Division, one special Tavria Unmounted Brigade, four Mounted Divisions, three Brigades of Heavy Artillery, three Air Units, three Units of Aerostatic Balloons, one squadron of large aeroplanes (type "Ill'ia Muromets"), one aero-school, one railway brigade consisting of four battalions, 108 District Commandants, Officers, etc.<sup>23</sup> The service with the colours in the infantry was set at two years, with artillery at three years. The recruitment was to be carried out locally and the eight corps corresponded to eight military districts, namely Kiev, Volyn', Odessa, Chernyhiiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, and Katerynoslav.

The expenditure on the Army was laid down at 1,254 million karbs. a year. The recruitment had to be carried out on two main dates: November 15th, 1918, and March, 1919.

But all these instructions remained on paper.

Meanwhile, the acting army of the Ukrainian State, which was a hired one, was in a state of transition. As mentioned above the Skoropads'kyi Government inherited from the Central Rada the Division of General Natiev which consisted of six regiments, three battalions and two aeroplanes. It was stationed in the district to the east of Kupiansk. Beside this division, there were also some small units: the Zaporizhs'kyi Kish of 400 men stationed in Mohyliv-Podil's'k and Chornomors'kyi (Black Sea) Kish of 500 men in Berdy-chiv. On August 26th, 1918 the First Cossack Division was handed over to the Ukrainian Government by Austro-Hungary. This division was called Sirozhupannyky (Graycoats). It had been formed in Austro-Hungary of Ukrainian prisoners of war, like the two divisions of the Synezhupannyky which were formed in Germany in the same manner. This division was stationed in Volodymyr-Volynsk and it consisted of four infantry regiments of 140 officers and 3,300 men. Having been handed over to the Ukrainians the division was trans-

<sup>21</sup> *Ib.*, pp. 237-240.

<sup>22</sup> One Army corps consisted of two Infantry Divisions, two Brigades of the Field Artillery, one Brigade of heavy artillery, one mounted regiment, four units of armoured cars, four radio-telegraph units, one aero unit, one battalion of pioneers and two companies of the railway workers.

<sup>23</sup> See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 242-243.

ferred from Volodymyr-Volyns'k and quartered around Starodub and Konotop in the Chernyhiiv province.

On July 5th, 1918 the Skoropads'kyi Government began a recruitment for the Guard Serdiuk Division of 5,000 men, and, soon, the division was formed. It consisted of young boys, sons of the Khlibo-robs (well-to-do peasants) mainly of the Poltava province. The division was originally formed from volunteers, boys of 18 to 25 years of age, but later on it was made up by conscripting men born in 1890.

In September a separate regiment of Sichovi Stril'tsi was formed. Later on it was reorganized into a brigade and was stationed in Bila Tserkva.<sup>24</sup>

In addition to these units the Ukrainians had so-called "Okhranni sotni" (Security Companies) which were given the task of maintaining order in the country.

In October, 1918 the formation of the new Ukrainian Army made considerable progress as can be seen from the report of the corps commanders' conference with the Hetman. This conference took place in Kiev. It stated that the main obstacle to the army formation was the absence of quarters for the forces. The reason given for this was the fact that many of the old barracks were either destroyed during the recent disturbances or were occupied by allied forces.

P. P. Skoropads'kyi, being at one time commander of the Free Cossacks, knew how much the old Cossack tradition appeals to the Ukrainians. Therefore, he now decided to reintroduce the Cossacks as a separate social estate. On October 16th, 1918 he accordingly issued a manifesto in which he said: "... We appeal to you, the descendants of the glorious Zaporozhian Knights, and ask you to wear with honour the Cossack coats given to you by us to take care of, not to cover them with shame or disgrace nor to disgrace either our Cossack escutcheon or the great pages of our history of which we had reason to be proud till now..."<sup>25</sup>

At first the Cossack estate was to be reintroduced in the Chernyhiiv, Poltava, and Kherson provinces. All the descendants of the old Hetmanshchyna i Slobids'ka Ukraina Cossacks were to belong to it. The other citizens of the Ukraine could be given the Cossack rank only under special conditions.

The Cossacks of one province had to form a group called a Kish with a Koshovyi otaman as its chief. One Kish had to be divided into several regiments. Each regiment was to be headed by the Regiment ataman. The highest authority was to be the Great Cossack Council (the "Velyka Kozacha Rada") the Hetman being its chief.

In the autumn of 1918 there began also the formation of the "Special Corps" which was to consist of the officers of the old Russian

<sup>24</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 244-248.

<sup>25</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253.

army who were not Ukrainians (in the majority they were Great Russians) who had found themselves in Ukraine in 1918. D. Doroshenko complained that this corps was formed: "... in order to give an outlet to their officers' anti-Bolshevik sentiments... because in the majority they consisted of restless, discontented, and embittered elements." The main task of this corps was "to fight anarchy in the borderlands of the country."<sup>26</sup> It consisted of two divisions of four regiments each. The corps was under the Hetman's supervision but did not belong to the Ukrainian regular army. It was situated on the Ukrainian-Russian ethnic borderline, between Putivel' of the Kursk province and Sumy of the Kharkiv province. General Y. Erastov was appointed its commander.

D. Doroshenko explains that for the same reason — i. e. to get restless, embittered elements off the Ukrainian territory — recruitment in Ukraine for the "Yuzhnaya Armiya" was allowed.

The Ukrainian democrats, on the one hand, accused Skoropads'kyi of organizing the Russian-dominated army in Ukraine, while the supporters of "United, indivisible Russia", on the other proclaimed that under the appearance of a Russian "Special Corps" he was hiding a new Ukrainian force which had the task of the defence of the Northern borders of Ukraine against the Bolsheviks.<sup>27</sup>

Thus the Hetman had in all at his disposal about 25,000 or at most 30,000 soldiers scattered all around the large territory of Ukraine. And even those very few were not strong and disciplined enough to withstand the propaganda they were subjected to and especially such skilful propaganda as the Bolsheviks used. Therefore these forces were very unreliable and, as later events, proved, easily stirred up to revolt.

### The Navy

According to paragraph 5 of the Brest-Litovsk peace treaty between Germany and Soviet Russia the Russian navy had to be disarmed. In March, 1918 the Bolshevik press in the Crimea announced the creation of the Perekop front. In Sebastopol the Headquarters of defence of Crimea Soviet People were organized. These Headquarters supplied the needs of Perekop. Some artillery from ships was sent there, as well as from Sebastopol two hundred of the Chinese soldiers who served in the Red Army. In April 1918 almost the whole of the Black Sea Fleet was concentrated in Sebastopol. It consisted of: the First Battleship Brigade of two dreadnoughts; the Second Battleship Brigade of three battleships; the Third Battleship Brigade of three battleships;

<sup>26</sup>) *Ib.*, p. 254.

<sup>27</sup>) See *Arkhiv Russkoy Revoliutsii*, Vol. 5, pp. 243. Article by P. N. Krasnov "Vsevelikoye voysko Donskoye."



the Cruiser Brigade of four cruisers; the Hydrocruisers of six ships; (the Torpedo division of 27 destroyers, 17 submarines, 5 gun-boats; a few squadrons of patrol ships, trawlers and transport ships: the ships for special purposes of small destroyers, and the battleship "Georgii Pobedonosets" which was anchored by the Grafskaya landing pier and was the ship of the Commander of the Black Sea Fleet as well as his Headquarters.<sup>28</sup> Different ensigns were flown by various vessels: red ensigns were flown by the vessels under the Bolsheviks, yellow and blue under the Ukrainians. Some ships which were under the Anarchists flew even the black ensigns. Sometimes the vessels changed their ensigns according to the mood of the sailors which, as a rule, changed after meetings.<sup>29</sup>

When Holubovych, the Premier of the Central Rada, asked the Germans about the fate awaiting the Black Sea Fleet he was informed that all the warships had to be disarmed. Holubovych then communicated with Baron Mumm and insisted in his letter that the Black Sea Fleet should be handed over to the Ukrainian National Republic. It was true, he said, that some of the ships had been seized by various gangs but the Ukrainian Government hoped to take possession of them eventually. The Premier asked Baron Mumm to inform the German authorities that the Black Sea Fleet should be the property of the Ukrainian Government.<sup>31</sup>

On April 29th, 1918 the rear admiral Sablin, who was Commander of the Black Sea Fleet, gave the order from the "Georgii Pobedonosets" to raise the Ukrainian colours on the ships. But the Germans did not hand the Fleet over to the Ukrainians, so admiral Sablin with the dreadnoughts and with the majority of the destroyers went to Novorosiisk. The command in Sebastopol was taken over by the rear admiral Ostrohradskyi.<sup>32</sup>

During the summer of 1918 the Germans took over the majority of the Black Sea vessels which had been seized previously by the supporters of various political groups. Hoping to take possession of the Black Sea Fleet eventually the Ukrainian Government organized an Admiralty with rear Admiral M. Maksimov as its head, kept the naval officers on payroll, and did some repair in the Sebastopol and Mykolaiv harbours.

The Soviet Government also had a claim on the Black Sea Fleet and the question was debated at length during the Ukrainian-Russian negotiations in Kiev. The Ukrainians persisted in pursuing the issue,

<sup>28</sup>) See *Za derzhavnist'*. Materialy do istorii Viis'ka Ukraïns'koho. Zbirnyk 2, pp. 120-121. Article by S. Shramchenko. "Pidnesennia Ukraïns'kykh praporiv v Chornomors'komu Floti."

<sup>29</sup>) *Ib.* p. 120-121.

<sup>31</sup>) See "*Za derzhavnist'*", *op. cit.*, p. 120-121.

<sup>32</sup>) See D. Doroshenko, II, *op. cit.*, pp. 256-257.

and it was debated in Berlin when Premier Lyzohub, and later Hetman Skoropadsky visited the German capital. In the late summer the Germans began to yield to the Ukrainians. At first they insisted that the Black Sea Fleet, under the Ukrainian banners, should sail to the Mediterranean and take part in the armed demonstration against the Entente powers. The Ukrainians did not agree to that, and the Germans eventually gave way to them. In the middle of August, captain Svirskyi went to Berlin entrusted with the task of working out the plan of the transfer of the Black Sea Fleet, which was in German hands, to the Ukrainians. The Ukrainians were to receive the dreadnought "Volia", cruiser "Kahul", eleven torpedo-boats, a few submarines, seven battleships, a few supply ships, and the "Kron-shtadt" which was a combination of a supply ship with a workshop. Besides that the Ukrainian Government was to receive the dreadnought "Maria" which had been raised from the sea-bed and was being repaired at that time. The Ukrainian ship's flag was to be crimson.

Before the fall of the hetmanate the Ukrainian Admiralty formed a commission which was given the task of demobilizing the merchant navy in the Black Sea and of returning the ships to the owners from whom they had been requisitioned during the war. The sea-coast was cleared of mines. This work was done under the supervision of the Head of the Black Sea harbours, admiral Pokrovskyi.

*(To be continued.)*

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### *"ONE DAY IN THE LIFE" (Conclusion from p. 72)*

and hesitations, for he does not know what to wish for and what to expect. "He did not know any longer himself whether he wanted freedom or not . . . And he did not really know where he would be better off, at home or in here." (p. 199)

Since that time when the first sputnik was launched, many people in the West became hypnotized by the new and modern façade of Russia. With further technological achievements more and more black pages of Russian history are being torn out, and embarrassing stains erased.

But, in the name of truth and justice, in the name of the innocent prisoners still dying the slow death in the "de-stalinized" camps, in the name of his own sufferings, Alexander Solzhenitsyn wrote this novel to show once more how the Soviet system works!

## Obituary

### PROF. ROMAN SMAL-STOCKI, UKRAINIAN SCHOLAR, EDUCATOR AND STATESMAN

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Prof. Smal-Stocki, outstanding Ukrainian scholar, educator and statesman-diplomat, died on April 27, 1969 at Georgetown University Hospital, after a short illness, at the age of 76.

He was a Visiting Professor at the Catholic University of America for the past few years, and resided at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, 201 Taylor Street, N. E., Washington, D.C.

Prof. Smal-Stocki was born on January 9, 1893 in Chernivtsi (Czernowitz), Bukovina, then under Austria-Hungary (now part of the Ukrainian SSR). He came from a prominent and distinguished Ukrainian family, holding the nobility title of von Rawicz, bestowed upon the family in 1685. His father, Dr. Stepan Smal-Stocki, a professor at the University of Chernivtsi, was an outstanding Ukrainian philologist, member of the Provincial Diet of Bukovina, and a leader of the Ukrainian national rebirth in Bukovina; his mother, Emilia, née Zarevych, was born into a Ukrainian priestly family.

Upon his graduation from a *gymnasium*, Prof. Roman Smal-Stocki studied at the Universities of Vienna, Leipzig and Munich, where he specialized in Slavic studies under such prominent scholars as W. Wondrak, E. Bernecker and A. Laskin, in comparative Indo-European philology and philosophy under A. Kulpe and W. Wundt. In 1914 he received *summa cum laude* his Ph.D. degree at the University of Munich.

#### SCHOLASTIC CAREER

Dr. Smal-Stocki began his academic career in 1917 when he became a lecturer at the *Orientalische Akademie* (German Foreign Service School) in Berlin. From 1921 to 1923 he was Associate Professor at the Ukrainian Masaryk University in Prague, and in 1924-25 he was a guest professor at King's College of London University, the School of Economics, and Pembroke College of Cambridge University. Subsequently, from 1925-1939 he was Professor of Slavistics at the University of Warsaw, Poland, where he was also very active in Ukrainian cultural and political life. With the outbreak of World War II, he was arrested by the Gestapo and was detained as a civilian internee for the duration.

In 1947 he emigrated to the United States and joined the staff of Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisc., where he taught Slavic history until his retirement in 1965; he was also Director of Marquette's Slavic Institute since 1949. From 1965 until his death he was a Visiting Professor at Catholic University of America and Director of the Ukrainian Studies Center at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary, both in Washington, D.C.



## PROLIFIC AUTHOR, DEDICATED EDUCATOR

Prof. Smal-Stocki's contributions to the studies of Ukrainian and Slavic linguistics are enormous. Early in his scholastic career he published *New Educational Trends* (4 volumes, 1917-1919, together with Prof. W. Simovych), *Studies on Ukrainian Linguistics* (together with Prof. I. Ohienko) and *Travaux de l'Institut Scientifique Ukrainien* (6 volumes). In 1929, with the establishment of the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Warsaw, Prof. Smal-Stocki became its secretary and editor; under his direction, 40 volumes of Ukrainian studies had been published. He also participated in the publication of a complete edition of works of Taras Shevchenko, and was editor of its 15th volume in Warsaw.

In the United States, under his direction there appeared 6 volumes of the *Marquette University Studies* and 18 volumes of *Marquette University Slavic Institute Papers* (edited jointly with Prof. Alfred Sokolnicki).

Prof. Smal-Stocki wrote many books in Ukrainian, German and English, among them: *Outline of Word-Building of Ukrainian Adjectives* (1921), *Significance of Ukrainian Adjectives* (1926), *Primitive Word-Building* (1929), *Ukrainian Language in Soviet Ukraine* (1935), *Shevchenko in Foreign Languages* (1936) — all in Ukrainian; *Abriss der Ukrainischen Substantivbildung* (1915) and *Germanisch-Deutsche Kultureinflüsse im Spiegel der Ukrainischen Sprache* (1938) — in German; and *Slavs and Teutons: The Oldest Germanic-Slavic Relations* (1950), *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communism* (1952), *The Captive Nations* (1959), and *The History of Modern Bulgarian Literature* (1960, with Prof. Clarence A. Manning). In addition, over 78 scholarly articles and papers were written by Prof. Smal-Stocki in Ukrainian, Polish, Bulgarian, German and English.

As president of the American Shevchenko Scientific Society (since 1951) and president of the Supreme Council of Shevchenko Scientific Societies (Europe, Canada, Australia and the United States), Prof. Smal-Stocki contributed greatly toward the prolific activities and expansion of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the United States, which in fact is a free Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Under his presidency, the Society organized two World Congresses of Ukrainian Free Science and hundreds of scientific conferences and lectures, dedicated to Ukrainian history, language, culture and science. The American section of the Society under his direction issued 18 volumes of *Proceedings*, 18 volumes of *Ukrainian Studies*, 31 volumes of lectures, 21 volumes of monographs, 9 volumes of *Proceedings* of various sections of the Society, 3 volumes of *Ukrainian Archives*, and 2 volumes of *Ukrainian Literary Library*, and several non-serial publications. He was the founder in 1956 and president of the Committee of American Slavic Learned Societies in New York and served as its president since that time.

## POLITICAL LEADER, STATESMAN AND DIPLOMAT

Prof. Smal-Stocki was one of the great and outstanding Ukrainian political leaders, statesmen and diplomats who took an active part in the establishment of a free and independent Ukrainian state in 1917-1920. His political career

began in 1915 when he joined the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine", on behalf of which he worked among Ukrainian POW's of the Russian armies in several prisoner-of-war camps in Germany, notably in Wezlar, his work resulting in the organization of two Ukrainian infantry divisions which were sent to Ukraine to take part in the struggle against Communist Russia. In 1918 he was appointed diplomatic representative of the Western Ukrainian National Republic in Berlin; after the Union of the two Ukrainian Republics on January 22, 1919, Prof. Smal-Stocki became counsellor of the Ukrainian Legation, and after the resignation of M. Porsh, he served as Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary of the Ukrainian National Republic in Berlin, 1921-23. In 1924-1925 he was Minister of the Ukrainian government in England. As a member of the Ukrainian government-in-exile, headed first by Simon Petlura and later by Andrew Livytsky, Prof. Smal-Stocki held various important political and Diplomatic posts: Minister to the Polish government in Warsaw; Deputy Minister of Culture and Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, and following the resignation of Minister Alexander Shulhyn, he became Foreign Minister; after the death of Premier Vyacheslav Prokopovych, he was named Deputy Premier of the Ukrainian government-in-Exile. Prof. Smal-Stocki was also a member of the Ukrainian delegation (along with Minister A. Shulhyn) to the League of Nations, and was vice-president of the Ukrainian Association for the League of Nations, 1929-1939.

In 1936 Prof. Smal-Stocki was elected president of the Linguistic Congress of the Nations Enslaved by Communist Russia, which was held in Warsaw; he was president of the "Promethean League of the Enslaved Nations" from 1927 to 1940, and in that connection gave lectures in Bulgaria, Rumania, Finland, Poland, Latvia, France and England.

#### HEADED STATUE MOVEMENT IN UNITED STATES

In the United States, Prof. Smal-Stocki was also very active in the political field. He was a member of the executive board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and on its behalf appeared before several Congressional committees in Washington with his testimonies at hearings dealing with Soviet Russian genocide, religious persecution and Russification of Ukraine and other captive non-Russian nations in the USSR.

One of his most outstanding accomplishments in this country was his chairmanship of the Shevchenko Memorial Committee of America, from 1960 to present day, which Committee established the Shevchenko Monument on public grounds in Washington, D.C. Over \$450,000. was collected by Americans of Ukrainian descent for that purpose, and at the unveiling of the monument on June 27, 1964 over 100,000 persons heard the late President Dwight D. Eisenhower laud the 19th century Ukrainian poet-laureate Taras Shevchenko for his dedication to freedom and justice for men everywhere. He was a recipient of the "Shevchenko Freedom Award" for his singular service in this project.

Prof. Smal-Stocki had been a frequent target of the Communist press in Ukraine and in Russia for his unswerving dedication to the principles of freedom for the Ukrainian and other captive nations.

Essentially, Prof. Smal-Stocki was a philologist. He made analyses of the Ukrainian language, its structure and semantics, and provided historical researches on its development. At the same time he wrote books and essays on Ukrainian history, culture and political developments. Altogether, he wrote over 160 scientific publications from the field of linguistics, literary criticism and Soviet studies in many languages. He also wrote monographs and memoirs on noted Ukrainian men of science and politics. He knew and was closely associated with many great Ukrainian political figures of the 20 century: Hrushevsky, Petlura, Vynnychenko, Skoropadsky, Livytsky, Doroshenko, Mazepa, Shulhyn, Yakovliv, Generals Salsky, Udovychenko, Pavlenko and Sinkler, and many other Ukrainian leaders who led the Ukrainian national revolution in 1917-20.

Prof. Smal-Stocki, in addition to being president of the Shevchenko Scientific Society and the Shevchenko Memorial Committee of America, was also Curator of the Byzantine Slavic Arts Foundation in Washington. He was a member of the Ukrainian Institute of America; the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.A.; the American Historical Association; the American Catholic Historical Association, the American Association of Teachers of Slavic and East European Languages; "Academie Internationale Libre des Sciences et des Lettres", Paris; Polish Institute of Arts and Sciences; Pilsudski Historical Institute and the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences in America. He was also president of the Ukrainian Studies Center at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Washington, a member of the executive board of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and a member of the Editorial Advisory Board of *The Ukrainian Quarterly*. Last summer he led three delegations of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in welcoming His Eminence Joseph Cardinal Slipy, Ukrainian Cardinal, on his visits to Philadelphia, New York and Washington.

With his passing, the world-wide Ukrainian movement for freedom loses a great and indomitable fighter, inspirer and leader.

A bachelor all his life, Prof. Smal-Stocki is survived by a brother, Dr. Nestor Smal-Stocki, who resides in Lima, Peru, and a sister, Mrs. Irene Luckyj of Toronto, Ont., Canada.

A Requiem Mass was held on Wednesday, April 30, 1969, at 10:00 A.M. at the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception, 830 No. Franklin Street, Philadelphia, Pa. Burial took place at Our Lady of Sorrows Ukrainian Catholic Cemetery, Langhorne, Pa.



## ANNUAL CONVENTION OF AF-ABN IN NEW YORK

### Commemoration Of The 25th Anniversary Of The Founding Of ABN

On the 8th and 9th of March 1969 the American Friends of ABN held their annual convention in New York, USA.

On the 8th of March in the East Ball Room of the Hotel Commodore the 25th anniversary of the founding of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was celebrated. Representatives of more than twenty different nationalities oppressed today by the Communists were present. Over 600 people attended. The most prominent guest and main speaker on this occasion was *Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko*, former Prime Minister of Free Ukraine and President of ABN, who came from Europe especially for this celebration.

On the stage there was a display of flags of all participating nationalities. Beautiful girls in national costumes of Ukraine, Hungary, Croatia and Byelorussia were the honour guard which provided a magnificent view of the stage.

*Mr. Miro Gal* (Croatia) was the master of ceremony. *Mr. Aristide Nicolaie* (Rumania) was the director of the musical programme. The Reception Committee was made up of *Mr. Charles Andreanszky* (Hungary), *Capt. A. Doszhen* (Croatia) *Mr. M. Spontak* (Ukraine) and *Mr. A. Pleskaczewski* (Byelorussia).

The celebration was opened by *Dr. Ivan Docheff*, Chairman of AF-ABN and President of the Bulgarian National Front. In his opening address he said: "ABN was founded 25 years ago in Ukraine by the leaders of the Ukrainian underground resistance — General Chuprynka, who fell in battle, Stepan Bandera, assassinated in Munich by a Communist terrorist and Yaroslav Stetsko, who is now president of ABN and is with us tonight." At these words the audience gave a standing ovation to Mr. Stetsko. Dr. Docheff continued: "Today ABN is fighting Russian Communism all over the world to regain freedom and independence of all captive nations. The very successful world conference in London last October, the very successful conference in Saigon, Vietnam, where the ABN delegation played a leading role, and the success of today's celebration are proof that ABN is in fact the strongest anti-Communist organization in the free world."

Many congratulatory messages were received from leading American officials: congratulations and good wishes for the success of the convention. Other speakers on this occasion were *Dr. Austin J. App* of Washington, D.C., President of the Federation of American Citizens of German Descent, and *Dr. Nestor Procyk* of Buffalo, President of AF-ABN.

Many congratulatory messages were received from leading American officials: the Office of President Richard M. Nixon; the Office of Vice-President Spiro Agnew; New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller, Governor of New Jersey, Richard J. Hughes; New York City Council President Francis S. Smith; Senators Jacob K. Javits and Peter H. Dominick; Members of Congress: Gerald

R. Ford, Michael A. Feighan, T. J. Dulski, Edward J. Patten, Halpern, Peter W. Rodino, Jr., John W. Wydler, Lester L. Wolff, Leonard Farbstein, Edward Derwinski and others.

There were also messages from various ABN organizations all over the free world: ABN of Sydney, Australia; ABN of London, Great Britain; ABN of West Germany; the Croatian Association of Europe; Lithuanian Christian Democratic Union; Croatian Liberation Movement of Sweden; Byelorussian Liberation Front of Germany; ABN of Denmark; Organization of Free Ukraine of Washington; and many others.

The second part of the celebration consisted of a musical programme with performers from different nations — *Mr. Ivo Baskovich*, Croatian folk and popular singer; Byelorussian singers: *Mrs. A. Machniuk*, *Mrs. H. Pietysh*, *Mrs. Kosciuk*, *Mrs. L. Machniuk* and *Miss L. Score* at the piano; *Mrs. Rodica Cicos*, Rumanian singer; great Rumanian violinist *Miss Nusha Diona* accompanied at the piano by *Mr. Roland Granier*; and the *Ukrainian Bandurist Ensemble* of the Organization for the Defence of Four Freedoms for Ukraine of Hempstead, N.Y. The excellent performance of all participants was enthusiastically received by the audience.

The observance ended with the American Anthem, played by an Estonian pianist, *Miss Frederika Tanner*.

On March 9th the AF-ABN Convention held its working session from 9 a.m. to 6 p.m. at the Windsor Court Room, Hotel Commodore, New York. It was chaired by *Dr. Ivan Docheff*, Chairman of AF-ABN. *Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko*, President of ABN and *Mrs. Slava Stetsko*, Editor of *ABN Correspondence* attended. The delegations of Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, Cossackia, Croatia, Estonia, Georgia, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, North Caucasus, Rumania, Slovakia, Ukraine and USA were present. There were also delegations from the New York, Chicago, Washington, Buffalo, Rochester, Cleveland, New Jersey and other chapters of AF-ABN. The ABN of Canada was represented by *Mr. Vasyl Bezchlibnyk*.

*Dr. Ivan Docheff* as Chairman of the Executive Board of AF-ABN reported on past activity. *Mrs. Slava Stetsko* outlined the future activity of ABN. *Dr. Nestor Procyk* reported on the Bylaw Committee. *Mr. C. Andreanszky*, *Mrs. Slava Stetsko* and *Mr. Ted Jenning* reported on the Resolution Committee.

After proper discussion on each of the reports they were adopted.

At the end the convention unanimously elected new officers as follows:

#### EXECUTIVE BOARD

*Chairman* — *Dr. I. Docheff*

*Vice-Chairman* — *Mr. C. Andreanszky*, *Mr. Gal*, *Mr. Pleskaczewski*, *Dr. A. Sokolyszyn*

*Secretary General* — *M. Spontak*

*Treasurer* — *W. Pielesa*

## PRESIDIUM

*President* — Dr. N. Procyk

*Vice-Presidents* — Baron De Besselyey, Capt. A. Doshen, Mrs. U. Celewych, Dr. G. Paprikoff, Prof. A. App

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

*National Representatives* — Mr. R. Babaoglu (Azerbaijan), Dr. I. Docheff (Bulgaria), Mr. J. Kosiak (Byelorussia), Mr. M. Gal (Croatia), Ataman I. Bilyj (Cossackia), Mr. E. Lipping (Estonia), Col. A. Tchankeli (Georgia), Mr. D. Schroeder (Germany), Capt. Z. Vasvary (Hungary), Mr. J. Jasaitis (Lithuania), Mr. Arslan Bak (North Caucasus), Mr. A. Nicolaie (Rumania), Mr. M. Balko (Slovakia), Dr. N. Procyk (Ukraine).

*Organization Representatives* — Mr. N. Stoyanoff (Bulgarian National Front), Lt. Col. N. Nazarenko (Cossackian War Veterans), Mr. L. Reicherzer (United American Croats), Mr. A. Nosich (Croatian Guard of Liberty), Mr. E. Derrik (Estonian Veterans), Mr. Barron (Federation of American Citizens of German Descent), Dr. J. Carja (Former Rumanian Political Prisoners), Mr. J. Rampak (Slovak American Ass.), Dr. Th. Krupa (Ukrainian AF-ABN Divisions), Mr. T. Jenning (US Christian Youth Ass.)

*Branch Representatives* — Each AF-ABN Branch to nominate up to three representatives.

Stephen HALAMAY

West Virginia Institute of Technology, U.S.A.

## A LOOK INTO THE FUTURE OF SCIENCE

To my boy who thinks he likes science.

During the first fifty years of the Twentieth Century, we have witnessed a tremendous growth of science. The applied science, or technology, made such big strides that one can truly say that technology is revolutionizing all aspects of human life. No wonder then that brave and penetrating minds are endeavouring in efforts to project this rapid development, one can say the explosion of knowledge, into the future, that is into the Twenty-first Century.

The development of various fields of science was successful to such an extent that, in popular minds, a strange belief was born, namely that of omni-potency of the science. To an average citizen, science seems to be capable of finding the solution to all difficult questions. Only the scientists and scholars themselves know how far from the truth is such a view. The scientists themselves admit that many difficult and very fundamental, theoretical, academic and philosophical problems will persist and their successors will be concerned with those problems as well as with practical, industrial and social economic solutions.



One of the fundamental problems will pertain to elementary particles of nature. Since we can only look into the future on the basis of the past developments, we have to remind ourselves that for thousands of years philosophers and other thinking people have speculated on the nature of the building blocks of the world and of the universe.

Over and over these thinking men studied, theorized and experimented in order to learn more about molecules, atoms, ions, nuclei of atoms, electrons, protons, neutrons, mesons, pions, quarks and anti-matter.

In the past, larger and larger smashing, matter smashing installations were built and refined sensitive methods of detection of the products of such smashing processes (decomposition) were devised. Thus, in the Nineteenth Century, primarily through the philosophical research, the discovery of atoms and molecules was made which, in turn, was the basis of the industrial chemistry and metallurgy. The discovery of neutrons became the basis of the nuclear energy development of the Twentieth Century. Recent discoveries of anti-matter, mesons and pions naturally will lead to important and rather rich sources of energy.

One basic line of investigation is easily discernible, namely search for the ultimate particle in the structure of matter. The larger the machine the greater the cost. Thus, in Europe it is necessary that for the purpose of building a larger accelerator several countries must join together. Yet, the mankind will never find the ultimate particle. The truth is that the more ultimate particles can be discovered by larger and larger atom smashers. Much will depend on how much each nation or country will be willing to spend on such an enterprise. Besides, we shall never know whether beyond the "ultimate" particle that we can manage to find there may be sub-ultimate and sub-sub-ultimate that we have yet not found.

Moreover the future generation is going to discover as we need that there is a limit to our knowledge or, in other words, even in the material world there is an unknowable.

Naturally, bright and brilliant men will suggest new ways to build accelerators and use the newly discovered elementary particles as reservoirs of energy and comfort. Scientific periodicals report that some nuclear physicists succeeded in trapping electrons in a magnetic storage tank and they rotate around and around in circular orbit and emit light. This light could be used to monitor the number of electrons that were in this storage tank. In another magnetic storage tank, the same was done for positrons — the anti-matter equivalent to electrons. They, too, whirled around in circular orbit and, at the same time, were emitting light.

Now this light is not from ordinary matter but it comes from anti-matter. Again all these anti-matters constitute the anti-world which can be photographed. Furthermore, moving pictures of this anti-world can be seen. On the other hand, both electrons and positrons being trapped can be used for high energy because they could be shot against one another, annihilate one another and emit high energy. This situation could be readily extended; namely, to including the trapping of other forms of anti-matter such as anti-protons and, in this way, still bigger explosions could be triggered. But this does not mean that the ultimate in the volume of energy or the ultimate in the smallness of matter was obtained or will ever be obtained. It is not difficult to visualize that more men and women, that is, scientists will continue to search and get excited about the adventure of discoveries.

As far as could be foreseen, new atoms will be produced in nuclear reactions and in particle accelerators. At the same time, the process of chemical synthesis should not be over-looked. It started during the middle of the 19th Century and it is going to continue everywhere in the world. It might be worthwhile to remember that more than seventy years ago many of the chemicals were isolated from plants and animals. The study of their structure led toward successful synthesis of dyes, explosives, drugs, vitamins and other chemicals. The raw material was coal tar and, in the middle of the 20th Century, petroleum became the base so that petrochemicals which is a by-product of the internal combustion industry are the basis of the plastics, paint and fibre industries.

Pesticides, insecticides and herbicides — all were produced and given to the farmer so that he could raise the productivity of his land.

New and larger number of compounds will be produced in the future. Chemical laboratories are capable of multiplying the number of chemical compounds. Some scientists studied that, at the present time, every ten minutes a new compound is being synthesized. Naturally, some refinements in properties of these compounds will take place. Thus, all conditions of human beings will undergo the process of sophistication and beautification.

Not only will the storage ability increase but also the information retrieval will make a tremendous progress. It goes without saying that all these new developments should accompany more creative activities on the part of intelligent people.

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## ***Book Review***

**Mykhailo Sosnovskyy: U K R A I N E IN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS 1945-1965: Problems and Perspectives of Ukrainian Foreign Policy (In Ukrainian):** Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Studies, Vol. 22. Published by The Studium Research Institute, Inc. Toronto-Ottawa 1966.

This book deals in considerable detail with those aspects of contemporary politics which have a bearing on Ukraine's struggle with Soviet Russian colonialism. It represents perhaps the first attempt to place the Ukrainian problem in a wider international perspective. In it, the author raises and answers a number of questions which have been largely disregarded by the Western students of the Soviet system. Why has Ukraine, the second-largest republic of the Soviet Union, been ignored at a time when developments there are more significant than those in the smaller satellite states? Why has Ukraine been viewed by the West in exactly that light which Moscow chooses to project on her? In whose interest is it to continue treating Ukraine as an integral and inseparable part of Russia when, even in its present situation, the Ukrainian SSR has all the trappings and legal prerequisites of statehood? Why is the rift, which exists between the Ukrainian people and Russia, not taken advantage of by the West. These and other questions form the framework for an astute analysis of the legal, political and even

psychological aspects of Ukrainian nationhood.

In developing his main argument, the author discusses those political and economic processes which brought independence to so many Afro-Asian states. The colonialism of yesterday, which is whittled away by inexorable historical developments, exists now only in the Soviet Union, but even there its breakdown appears to be imminent.

The author makes his examination infinitely more realistic emphasizing the vital role played by the Ukrainians abroad in the struggle for Ukraine's independence. It is difficult, of course, to speak of the external policy of a state which, in many respects, does not even exist as an independent agent in international relations. Yet, when one adds the limited freedom of action enjoyed by Ukraine to its legally recognized position as founding member of the United Nations and other international bodies, one can not only realistically discuss her aspirations for independence but also anticipate their realization in the near future.

**THE TERRORISTS** by Roland Gaucher

(From Tsarist Russia to the O.A.S. History of the XX Century). Published by Albin Michel, Paris, 1965, 375 pages with illustrations.

The author assembled extensive material on the "influence by force" on political events with the help of assassination attempts on heads of states or prominent members of the government, who directed the fate of various peoples. Without these attempts the map of Europe would probably look quite different. The author believes that the tsarist Russia was the cradle of assassination attempts in the 19th century when the Russian terrorists, with the help of bloody attempts, tried to influence the

development of political events inside the tsarist empire. Gaucher comes directly to the point when he describes the struggle of the Russian secret police with the terrorists, turning to Azev who worked on two fronts and finally was disavowed by Burtsev who was also working for the downfall of the tsarist regime. Of course, the author devotes a great deal of space to Lenin, including an attempt on his life after Lenin usurped power in Russia. Gaucher also mentions the approval of terrorist acts by Chernov.



Chernov told the author of these lines in Prague in the 30's that it is not always possible to solve complicated political problems in a peaceful way. This seems to be the answer to Mr. Gaucher's thesis.

On p. 130 we read about the great ovation for the Ukrainian delegate at the 5th Congress of the Russian Bolsheviks. In a Moscow theatre the representative of the Ukrainian peasants was greeted with shouts: "Long live the risen Ukraine! Away with the Brest-Litovsk Treaty! Away with Mirbach! Away with Germany's henchmen!" Here the author should have explained to the French and foreign readers of the publication that the Russians were not concerned about an independent Ukraine but about getting her back in their grip "and majorem Russiae gloriam." On the basis of the aforementioned slogans a foreigner could be under the impression that the Russians defended Ukraine against Germany. This is unfounded because Ukrainians considered the Russians as well as the Germans their enemies and invaders. Therefore, the murder of the German commander-in-chief, von Eichhorn, in Kyiv, was not aimed at helping Ukraine to achieve her independence, but rather at occupying her by the Russian army. Thus, these places in the publication need clarification (appropriate commentary) in order to make the meaning of intervention by Russian terrorists in the internal affairs of the sovereign Ukraine in 1918 clear to the foreign reader.

The same can be said of the author's mentioning (on p. 132) of "Petliura's White Army" which is contrasted with the Russian army of the White General Denikin in the struggle for the domination of Kyiv in August, 1919. In the first place, a foreign reader should be informed that there was no Ukrainian Red Army (in contrast with the Russian Red Army), but only a Ukrainian National Liberation Army which fought against both the Red and the White Russian occupational armies.

The reader of Mr. Gaucher's book will get a similar, uncalled for impression about Ukraine when he reads on p. 136 that a non-Ukrainian Savinkov organized a terrorist group in Ukraine. It can be stated that in

the first two chapters of the book the Ukrainian question is not presented very clearly, but rather obscured. However, the publication very vividly describes the liberation movements and the struggle for independence of Macedonia, Ireland, Israel and Algeria. The struggle of the latter is very closely knit with the French anti-government organization known in France under the initials O.A.S. (Organization of Secret Army).

When the author mentions the terror in Russia in the 19th century, he could also have mentioned, even in one sentence, the attempt on the life of Count Andrew Potocki, of Polish descent, who was an Austrian viceroy of Halychyna (Galicia) and a great hater of Ukrainians, by Myroslav Sichynskyi, a Ukrainian student, on April 8, 1908. This attempt created a great political sensation not only in Austria but in Europe as a whole. Here the Ukrainian question, dangerous to Russia, was involved: the establishment of a Ukrainian university in Lviv. The Poles were on the side of Russia because they feared that through a Ukrainian university in Lviv the Ukrainian political influence in East Halychyna would be strengthened. Russia considered the establishment of the Ukrainian university at Lviv as its *casus belli*. The strain between Vienna and Petersburg was much greater because of the Ukrainian question, than because of the events in Serbia (or in the Balkans altogether), as is revealed by recent studies of foreigners on the political situation in Europe at the time directly preceding the outbreak of World War I. An English Slavist Seton Watson, Sr. (Scotus Viator) often stated that one of the direct causes of World War I was the Russian-Ukrainian antagonism.

The remarks regarding the devotion of too little attention to Ukrainian political problems in the book of Mr. Gaucher, do not, of course, detract from the value of this original and interesting publication. We hope that the author will devote more place to the Ukrainian question in his new work which he will make public in the near future. For this reason he recently contacted competent Ukrainian sources.

V. Luzhanskyi





*The*  
**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



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## 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.

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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

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Vol. XVI No. 4

Winter 1969

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**A Quarterly Magazine**

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

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**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.**

## Sombre Anniversary — A Source of Renewed Dedication

Ten years ago — on October 15, 1959 — Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.) was brutally assassinated on orders from the Russian Government by a specially trained agent. The Russian State Security Committee — the KGB, headed then by Alexander N. Shelepin succeeded in eliminating a man who represented a grave danger to the Russian colonial empire. Bandera was seen as a great and imminent threat to the security of the Russian empire not only in terms of his leadership of the revolutionary movement for the liberation of the Ukrainian people and for the re-establishment of the national independence of Ukraine, but also in terms of his untiring efforts to coordinate the independence struggle of all non-Russian peoples oppressed by Russia. Thus it must have appeared imperative for the Kremlin masters to destroy Stepan Bandera in the hope that the entire revolutionary movement for the liberation of Ukraine and other nations would receive a deadly blow. This was, certainly, the reason why Shelepin himself issued the orders to assassinate Bandera, why he closely followed the plan of attack and why he personally — on behalf of the Moscow government — bestowed the Order of the Red Banner for the successful “liquidation” of Bandera, congratulating B. Stashynsky — the agent-assassin. This was verified by the latter’s confession — testimony during his trial at the Federal Supreme Court in Karlsruhe, Germany. Consequently, the main burden of guilt for Bandera’s death rests with A. N. Shelepin and the Soviet Russian Government. Sooner or later, the leading men in the Soviet hierarchy will have to account for their crime before the Ukrainian people, before O.U.N. and before humanity at large.

Admittedly, Stepan Bandera’s death, through assassination by the Kremlin’s agent, was a cruel blow to O.U.N., a bloodstained page in Ukrainian history, a page of pain and sorrow to the Ukrainian people. However, Moscow failed to attain her desired objective, namely to deprive the Ukrainian liberation fight of leadership. On the contrary, this heinous political assassination aroused new, or enhanced old, feelings of detestation towards the surreptitiously treacherous Russian cowardice.

Neither Bandera nor the members of O.U.N. ever denied being open and avowed adversaries of Russian colonial imperialism or its totalitarian regime in Moscow. The Russians, on the other hand, have publicly proclaimed friendship and brotherly dedication to the progress, prosperity, cultural development and happiness of the



Ukrainian people, but in practice they hamper every move of the Ukrainian people to attain genuine satisfaction and achievements in life. The Russian occupation forces in Ukraine, while proclaiming brotherhood, dragged independently-thinking Ukrainians out of their homes, out of their beds at night, out of their work or school or church, using most perfidious inhuman means or methods, separating husbands from wives, children from parents, brothers from sisters, bringing them to secret trials, before firing squads, to prisons or jails for slow death or sentencing them to distant labour and concentration camps. Should this go unheeded or forgotten...? Thousands, hundreds of thousands and millions of Ukrainian patriots — men and women, old and young — have perished under Russian invented tortures and maltreatment with sheer disregard for the most primitive framework of human freedom and in an atmosphere of mockery of human rights, drafted so clearly and splendidly into the United Nations' Charter of which Russia was a "revered" co-signatory... Should that be disregarded, too?... To talk, or even to carry a thought, of national independence for the Ukrainian people has been considered the most alarming crime within the realm of the Russian empire — the so-called Soviet Union, notwithstanding the democratically worded "Soviet Constitution."

Yet, the Ukrainian nation remained unbent through the years and decades of intolerable pressure and the Ukrainian people, having overcome the fear of terrorist Russian oppression, are actively engaged in the search for ways toward their national fulfilment and final perfection. This the Ukrainian people owe to the heroic figure of Bandera and his acts of ideological, political and practical perseverance throughout his life.

Bandera's untimely martyred death through blatant political assassination has elevated him to the level of his heroic predecessors on the Ukrainian Olympus: Hetman Ivan Mazepa, President Symon Petlura, Col. Evhen Konovalets, Gen. Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych. Bandera, also, left a legacy of dedicated followers and a most worthy successor. The Ukrainian nation has given ample proof to that heroic heritage through the centuries, the last decades in particular, and neither Shelepins nor Kosygins or Brezhnevs, nor any other slaughterers of human life and dignity, will be allowed to hold their position indefinitely against those, who, through faith in God, love and dedication to their nation, patience and perseverance in their worthy struggle, will be ready to sacrifice their energies and lives for their people's brighter future. ..

**"If they kill us we shall but die . . ." (2 Kings VII. 4)**

During the first decade after Bandera's untimely death we have witnessed a long stride made by the Ukrainian people in Ukraine and abroad. The young intellectuals in Ukraine, born and brought up

during the "Soviet" system, begin to raise their voices in revolt against injustices imposed and inflicted by the foreign Russian invaders. In their own blunt way these Ukrainian patriots demand the right for their people to claim title over their own land. The Ukrainian prisoners of Russian labour and concentration camps write open letters with accusations directed toward the highest Russian public officials, pointing out the injustices and criminal acts perpetrated upon the Ukrainian people and institutions. All this takes place against the background of continuous Russian efforts at Russification of Ukrainian schools, institutions and people; continuous secret police and court trials of Ukrainian intellectuals and patriots; continuous persecution of Ukrainian Churches, their clergy and faithful; continuous bloodshed and frustrations. Such is the situation of the struggle for national independence on Ukrainian soil within the "Soviet Union" — the disguised Russian colonial empire.

Simultaneously, Ukrainian communities in the Free World are being harrassed both openly and secretly by Russian Bolshevik propaganda through various communication media and under various disguises, in an attempt to disgrace, defame and humiliate Ukrainians in general, and their liberation movement, led by O.U.N. in particular. By means of threatening letters, attempts to sow discord within the Ukrainian organizations and communities, smearing "information" about leading Ukrainian individuals, the Russians have tried — with little success — to undermine the inner strength and closeness of mutual cooperation within and between the Ukrainian emigration groups. By means of underhand denouncing, unfounded charges and untrue information, they attempted — and often with some success — to approach the official circles and members of various governments in the Free World with a clear objective of destroying or undermining these circles' confidence in the cause of the national independence and sovereignty of Ukraine and in the sincerity and integrity of O.U.N. and its leaders. The high political echelons of many Western countries and nations still seem to be blindfolded. These blindfolds, placed by deceitful Russian propaganda and diplomacy, still seem to remain in place with too many Western leaders and governments. Neither the deportations or massacres, massive strikes or upheavals of countless Ukrainian patriots nor the heroic endeavours of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in Ukraine and other areas of the "Soviet Union", nor the Hungarian uprising, nor the impudent Russian aggression upon Czecho-Slovakia, depriving the Slovak and Czech nations of tiny crumbs of freedom — none of these seem to have managed to pull down these artificial blindfolds. It appears that the peoples of the Free World need more victims and more sacrifices of innocent nations, now in Russian bondage, before they come to believe that it would have been better, and with less sacrifices on their own part, to bring justice earlier to those enslaved and to the world.

On behalf of O.U.N., we wish to reiterate on this Tenth Anniversary of the heroic death of Stepan Bandera — the eminent Ukrainian and brilliant leader of our Organization that, notwithstanding the distressing pain and shocking sorrow caused by this great loss, Bandera's name, his life, his legacy and his death will serve us and the Ukrainian people as a source of never ceasing inspiration and of renewed dedication to our cause and people; notwithstanding Moscow's attempts at intimidation, regardless how brutal and cruel the means of these attempts may be, we are going to increase and amplify the measures of our struggle against Russian imperial occupation forces in Ukraine and abroad, for . . . "if they kill us we shall but die . . ." and we number millions around the world; notwithstanding the utter indifference, lack of understanding or open reluctance in various circles and governments of the Western world, we are going to continue, and more vigorously, to inform, penetratingly to appraise and to convince these circles of the righteousness of our cause and of the imminent need to change the policy of the Western democracies toward the Bolshevik Russian and Red Chinese colonial empires for the sake of genuine peace in the world.

We not only firmly believe but we are totally dedicated to the ideological platform professed by Stepan Bandera. This platform is well expressed in the slogan: Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals! Recently O.U.N. added a further war cry: Kyiv versus Moscow!

For we profess, as Bandera did, that freedom and national independence for Ukraine is a MUST and no one can deny or disregard this objective. The Ukrainian people have the undeniable right to be masters of their Ukrainian ethnic territories. Kyiv, the capital city of Ukraine, is known from the most ancient history as the cradle of culture and the most noble traditions of the Ukrainian people. It is therefore symbol of devotion to our Ukrainian ancestry, tradition and entire cultural heritage that Moscow tends to destroy. We aim therefore to raze Moscow as a symbol of Russian colonial imperialism, red totalitarianism and a source of all that is evil, against God and humanity. We further profess that the same rights as we claim for our Ukrainian people are due to all nations and men, oppressed by Russian or any other imperialism. Russians cannot bluff or pretend any longer!

We call, therefore — as Stepan Bandera did or would — on all the oppressed peoples and their kin in the Free World:

Unite with us — the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — in the struggle against Russian and all Red imperialism for your freedom and ours!

Unite in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)!

1969

**Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (O.U.N.)**



Anathole W. BEDRIY, M.A., M.Sc.

## WHO IS UKRAINE'S ENEMY?

(From the writings of the late Stepan Bandera)

### Ukraine versus Russia

Stepan Bandera expounded his views on the main enemy of Ukraine in his extensive work "Ukrainian National Revolution, Not Merely Anti-Regime Resistance", written in 1950. He stated: "For our liberation policy it is important that the Ukrainian liberation revolution is fully evaluated as the *continuation of Ukraine's historical struggle against Russia*, against Russian imperialism of all kinds, not merely the Bolshevik one. This struggle will not cease until the full realization of our goal is achieved, which is a *complete break between Ukraine and Russia*, the reestablishment of the Independent United Ukrainian State, the disintegration of the USSR and the establishment of independent national states in Soviet-dominated Europe and Asia, the total defeat of Russian imperialism and creation around Russia, confined to her own borders, of such a system of states, which would make it impossible for her to engage in imperialistic aggression again." (Italics added — A. W. B.).

And further Bandera wrote: "It has to be emphasized most clearly that *our struggle is the struggle of Ukraine against Russia*, the struggle which is uncompromising and continuous in its historic succession." He argued: "As contrasted with the concept of national liberation, the concept of a mere anti-regime resistance rests on the fundamentally erroneous and harmful principle. The supporters of mere anti-regime resistance are combating Bolshevism and its imperialism only, and not Russia, and what is more, God forbid, not the Russian people. *Allegedly Bolshevism and Russian imperialism are separated from the Russian nation*, which is not responsible for its imperialism, does not want it, does not support it, but to the contrary, wants to overthrow it. . . On the other hand the general line of our liberation policy is based on the reality, that the *struggle for Ukraine's state independence* — is the *struggle against Russia*, not just against Bolshevism but against every form of Russian grasping imperialism, which is characteristic of the Russian people throughout history and at the present time." The author repeats time and again: "Due to the fact that this *grasping imperialism is carried on, is perpetuated by the Russian people*, — our struggle is and will continue to be the *struggle of Ukraine against Russia!*" (Ibidem)

Stepan Bandera declared: "In the liberation revolution the whole struggle and activity in the internal Ukrainian sector must be conducted in such a way as to strengthen and to sharpen the *front lines between Ukraine and Russia*, between everything Ukrainian, the Ukrainian spirit and essence — and everything Russian, as much as possible and in all fields. In the *total struggle against Russia* the Ukrainian nationalist movement . . . must assume an uncompromising posture as a counter-offensive to her total aggression." (Ibid.)

In the introduction to his greatest work, "The Perspectives of the Ukrainian National Revolution" (1958) Stepan Bandera analyzed the perspectives of Ukrainian international policy and came to the following conclusion: "Ukraine's strivings toward independence are offensive acts against Russia at the point which she considers most sensitive."

### Russian Imperialism

Stepan Bandera gives reasons for the enmity between Ukraine and Russia. We have to fight against Russia because "*Russian imperialism is characteristic of the Russian people*, throughout history and at the present time . . . The Russian people, as heretofore, *will carry this imperialism*, will do everything possible to keep Ukraine in subjugation." ("Ukrainian National Revolution . . .") Russia is Ukraine's enemy because she is consistently perpetrating genocide on the Ukrainian people: "The Bolsheviks are attempting to drug the political thinking of Ukrainians by the illusion that through union with Russia — Ukraine, the Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian individual — have all the possibilities for advancement and can take advantage of the achievements and the might of the whole empire. By such illusions, created by propaganda, they are trying to kill the feeling for and the understanding of reality — that Ukraine is only a Russian colony, that the Ukrainian people are slaves of Russia, the suppliers of human power, brains, hands and wealth; that the Ukrainian culture has been robbed of all achievements and deprived of an opportunity to develop, that the Ukrainian creative forces have either been compelled to work creatively for Russia or have been destroyed; that the Ukrainian individual has been totally enslaved. The doors are opened to those who betray their national "I" and place their honour, their know-how, their ability, their creativity, their work and blood at the service of the Russian empire. Moscow does everything in its power to kill the very perception of this reality in our people and to inculcate it with the Soviet way of thinking, the Soviet patriotism." Stepan Bandera considered Soviet patriotism as Russian patriotism. "Soviet-Russia" is a spiritual product of Russian culture in its grasping, imperialistic sense. Bandera concluded that Russian imperialism is the fruit of "the spirit of Moscow." In the article "The Unchangeable Policy of Moscow" (1956) he said that Russian imperialism is the product "of the *imperialistic attitude of the Russian people*,

the maintenance and extension of Russian domination over other peoples, the merciless persecution and extermination of all centers and forces of national, political, religious cultural and social resistance and the fight for freedom."

In his "Remarks to Ukrainian Nationalists-Revolutionaries" (1948) Bandera forecast that "Russia, with her deeply rooted, and, at the present time, the most widespread grasping imperialism will in every situation, under all conditions, throw herself upon Ukraine with all available forces, with all fierceness in order to keep her as part of her empire or to reenslave her."

In the article "The Question of Atomic War and the Liberation Revolution" (1957) S. Bandera pointed out that "as a result of the Second World War the might of Hitlerite Germany has been turned into rubble, while old Russian imperialism remained alive and became the threat to the whole world."

In his article "The National Liberation Revolution and Russian Anti-Communist Forces" (1958) Bandera noted that "as far as the political orientation of the Russians, the majority of the Russian people, is concerned, the imperialistic tendencies were and are dominant." A little further down in the same article he spoke about "the uncontrollable imperialism of the Russians." In the article "The Necessity of the National Liberation Revolutionary Struggle" (1958) Bandera once again emphasized: "*The imperialism of the Russian people* — is a phenomenon of historic order, which changes its forms and methods of action, but remains the same in essence. It is essentially a constant attempt to conquer other nations and to increase their own power, their sphere of influence, the expansion of the Russian nation and its empire at the cost of their exploitation and destruction." The Russian imperialism is the product of the Russian nation and works exclusively in its interest. Therefore, Bandera concluded: "We should always remember that the main and the never-changing enemy of the independence of subjugated peoples is Russian imperialism, all the imperialistic forces of Russia."

### **Against Bolshevism and Communism**

In the article "The Unchangeable Policy of Moscow" Stepan Bandera wrote: "The programme of Bolshevik policies, directed toward the domination over all nations and the destruction of everything which is opposed to materialistic Communism and Russian imperialism, has been drawn up by Lenin, who reconciled the imperialistic strivings of tsarist Russia with the Marxist doctrine." Hence, Bolshevism is the synthesis of Russian imperialism and Communism.

Because Bolshevism is the synthesis of two phenomena, both of these phenomena are enemies of Ukraine, since Communism became a partner-ally of Russian imperialism — Ukraine's enemy number one. Bandera explained this dual enemy as follows: "Present-day international relations are dominated by the many-sided conflict



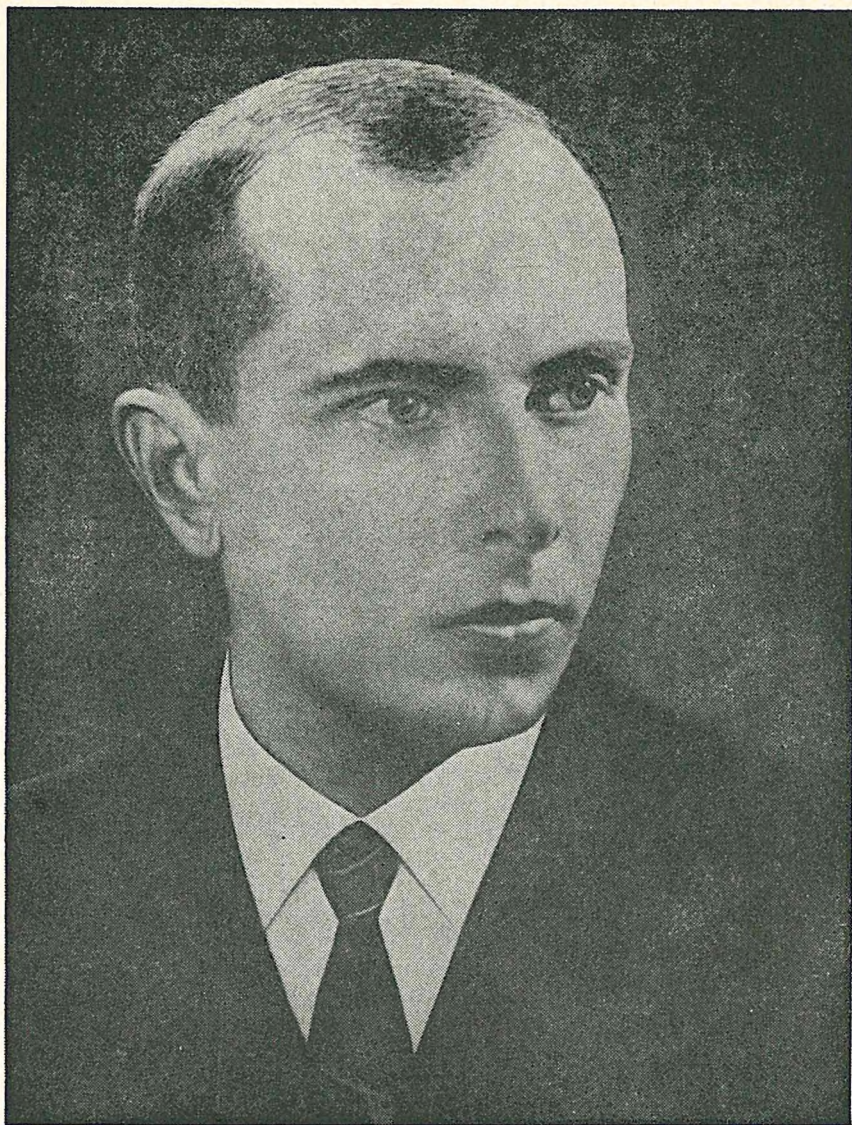
between the USSR and the rest of the world. This conflict is composed of two basic elements: the struggle with Communism, which is striving to dominate the whole world and with the expansive grasping Russian imperialism." ("Ukrainian National Revolution...") Neither of the two factors can be taken lightly for the very "Communist doctrine, as a point of view and the socio-political system, paired with historical Russian imperialism, has given rise to all the horrors of Bolshevism." ("For a Proper Understanding of the Revolutionary Process of Liberation", 1955).

In Bandera's opinion only those people who recognize both factors as hostile to Ukraine can become her liberators: "Complete adherence to the national revolution consists not only of the anti-Russian struggle, but no less of the recognition of the aim and the basic principles of this revolution; therefore, it also consists of the *rejection of Communism as a whole...*" ("The Problem of the National-Communist Front", 1958). On the other hand "the subjugated peoples, struggling against Bolshevism, are combating not only the Communist order and regime, but also, to the same degree, the Russian imperialistic force and its domination." ("National Liberation Revolution...") Bandera concluded: "At present, *Communism and Russian imperialism are a common enemy of all.*" ("The Common Front of the National Liberation Revolution", 1958).

Stepan Bandera felt that *everything which came from Bolshevism is detrimental to Ukraine*: "The struggle on the ideological and political front against all forms of Russian aggression and intrigues is of primary importance in the whole liberation struggle. The nationalist movement must take a completely clear-cut and revolutionary-uncompromising stand against everything which stems from Russian Bolshevism, or leads to it. All questions of ideological and political order must be viewed first of all from the point of view of the struggle against Russian imperialism and its form-instrument-Communism." ("Ukrainian National Revolution...") Bandera declared: "We are fighting against Russian Bolshevism in all its manifestations, in all fields." (Ibid.) "Every tendency which attempts to justify, to preserve any manifestations and relics of the Bolshevik order is reactionary, anti-national." He maintained: "A true fighter for independence cannot speak about the 'achievements' of the October Revolution, about some positive aspects of Communism, about the correct course of the Socialist programme..." (Ibid.)

"Among the Russian Communists and bureaucrats the tendency above all to keep the empire intact will be dominant even at the cost of deviating from the Communist system." ("The Problem of the National-Communist Front").

"The destruction of the Soviet government on the Ukrainian territory, its organs and the instruments of power, the destruction of the Communist Party and system, the removal from Ukraine of all the forces which defend Russian imperialism and oppose the struggle



STEPAN BANDERA

for independence, is a prerequisite to the renewal of independent state existence." ("The Development and Factors of the Revolutionary Process", 1958).

Stepan Bandera was opposed to Communism not only as an instrument of Russian imperialism, but in principle as well. He called



the Communist doctrine a "source of evil" ("For Proper Understanding..."), because "... Communism always remains the enemy of the nation, its values and original life." ("The Problems of the National-Communist Front"). Only those who "will reject Communism as a whole can and will take part in the national struggle for liberation." (Ibid.) "The goal of the national liberation revolution is to remove from Ukraine Communism as a whole and in all its variations." In the article "The Necessity of National Liberation..." Bandera explained: "Communism is now the most important form of disguised Russian imperialism. Disregarding the non-Russian origin of Communist doctrine, Communism became in fact an instrument of Russian imperialism, one of its main forms and the chief instrument of its disguised manifestation and action. This is true not only of the obviously Russian, but also of international Communism."

### **History of Russian-Bolshevik Imperialism**

Stepan Bandera's historic view on Bolshevism and Russian imperialism is worthy of attention. Tsarism and Bolshevism were considered by him as "two variations of the Russian imperial system." ("Unchangeable Policy of Moscow.") Lenin was the successor to Russian imperialism of the tsarist era adding to it the Marxist doctrine. He was followed by Stalin. "The attempts to justify Lenin and Leninism in this respect and to attribute all grasping campaigns of Russian Communism to Stalin alone are completely false... The Bolshevik imperialist aggression was set in motion at full speed by Lenin and Trotsky at the very beginning of the Communist rule. Stalin only consistently continued this imperialistic course and was only the one who consistently realized it, but was not its founder..." (Ibid.) "Arbitrariness and terror, as it was revealed, were not temporary measures of "war Communism", but remained an inseparable part of the Bolshevik system, and the foundation of its domination." ("The Bolshevik Tactics and the Liberation Struggle", 1956). "In fact the whole internal Bolshevik system is a permanent military system." ("The Importance of War for National Liberation", 1958). Therefore, in this imperial system basic changes are impossible, because such changes would immediately lead to the downfall of the empire. The concentration camps as well "belong to the basic instruments of Bolshevik national and domestic policy, the policy of Russian subjugation of other nations and the communist class struggle." ("Unchangeable Policy of Moscow"). The homogeneity of the empire is mandatory: "The so-called collective leadership of the Kremlin has shown itself before the whole world in the true light, as a consistent heir and imitator of the Leninist-Stalinist methods." ("The Primary Conclusions", 1956).

### **Against the Orientation Toward the Evolution of Bolshevism**

Stepan Bandera felt that no evolution of Bolshevism will be instrumental in the liberation of Ukraine. On the events of 1956 in



Hungary Bandera wrote: "The world was indifferently silent when almost forty years ago Bolshevik Russia has conquered and continues to persecute and ruin Ukraine, Byelorussia, the peoples of the Caucasus and Turkestan . . . At long last the repetition of Bolshevik atrocities in Hungary has given a moral and political shock to and provoked a reaction from the Western World, as if it had just heard about such methods and crimes of Russia, or as if it had just awoken from a deep sleep . . . the Bolshevik pogroms in Hungary have put an end to all illusions that after Stalin's death a transformation began, that its methods are becoming more moderate, more humane, and that the aggressiveness of Russian imperialism is beginning to lose its edge . . ." ("The Primary Conclusions.") He reminded us: "but even during the times of Lenin and Stalin there were thaws and relaxations of the regime . . . Some people would like to use this in support of an argument that, allegedly, the revolutionary path to liberation is impossible and inexpedient under the Bolshevik conditions, but that the people can gain freedom by gradual evolutionary means. This view is self-deceiving . . . Moscow acts without a mask, regardless of whether it is dealing with a revolutionary insurrection, or with evolutionary development . . . the Bolsheviks are always ready to take the predatory leap from a lurking position. Each evolutionary development gives them the opportunity to act according to a plan and to choose the most opportune time and method for the deadly blow.

Bandera wrote a special article on the subject of "The Evolution of Bolshevism and the Partial Gains of the Struggle" (1958). He argued that "as in all kinds of life, so in the Bolshevik situation and in the Bolshevik system changes are taking place . . . Changes which are planned and initiated by the Bolsheviks themselves, are always serving the Bolshevik aims exclusively." Therefore, "non-imperialist, freedom-loving trends and forces, which are interested in the welfare of the people, cannot be conceived in the Bolshevik party . . ." Hence, "the evolutionary changes in Bolshevism do not lead to its transformation into a non-imperialist system which is advantageous for the peoples, because it does not have an ideological foundation or the necessary human material." To the contrary, "the evolutionary changes in the Bolshevik system which are taking place with the predominant influence of the Bolshevik elements themselves are aimed at strengthening Bolshevism, and at the expansion and strengthening its domination over other nations."

Bandera expressed his view very clearly in "The Remarks . . .": "The concepts of an evolutionary reconstruction or transformation of the USSR into a union of free nations, but bound together in the same way, with the same membership, with the superiority or the central position of Russia — such concepts are opposed to the idea of the liberation of Ukraine, and they should be completely eradicated from Ukrainian politics." In his opinion to the category of harmful and hostile concepts belong "new anti-independence, federalistic,

union, cosmopolitan tendencies..." (Ibid.) Bandera opposed all sorts of minimalistic concepts or orientations because "the Bolsheviks are always attempting to retract all concessions made under duress... the Bolsheviks never reconcile themselves with a constant reinforcement of de facto gains of anti-Bolshevik forces and actions, and are trying to liquidate them at every opportunity." ("Evolution of Bolshevism...")

Bandera was against "all tendencies of approachment to Communist positions, of building bridges to them. To erase a clear line between an independence, liberation movement and Russia or Communism, to fill the gap between them — this is the primary goal of the enemy's endeavours along the lines of moral demobilization of the Ukrainian independence movement." ("Ukrainian National Revolution...") Bandera also opposed those "who were for Communism, for its realization, but who were hostile to the regime and its practices" because of "its betrayal of Communism." (Ibid.)

### **Against so-called National Communism and Marxist Socialism**

Stepan Bandera wrote: "After studying the history and the essence of German National-Socialism and Russian Socialism-Communism, placed side by side, we come to the conclusion that after finding an appropriate ground in some nation, socialism of the international as well as the national brand, leads to totalitarianism... socialism is not a contradiction to imperialism, subjugation, arbitrariness; it protects neither people nor individuals and can be a good instrument of imperialism, subjugation, tyranny, exploitation and extermination of peoples and individuals. Going deeper into the subject we will find that the greatest misfortune in Ukrainian political life, the greatest internal dissension and damage to the liberation struggle — was brought on by the materialistic viewpoint, stemming from alien, demoralizing, socialist ideologies and concepts... In Ukraine's liberation struggle against Bolshevik Russia the greatest damage was caused by socialism." (Ibid.)

Opposing all trends of Marxism-Socialism-Communism Bandera concluded: "National Communism leads to the same thing as international Communism." (Ibid.) Thus, he also added national-communism to the hostile forces. Using an example from World War II he pointed out that "at that time an attempt to activate the Ukrainian national Communist movement (UNKA) played into the hands of both Berlin and Moscow."

Bandera considered national communism as a short-lived event: "In those countries where Communism is spreading, the so-called national communism is implanted under the influence of Moscow, is a transient phenomenon between national independence and subordination to Bolshevik imperialism... in the countries which are already dominated by Bolshevism and where Communism as the instrument of Russian totalitarian imperialism rules in its native form, there the national-communist tendencies are the result

of the pressure of the spontaneous national independence movement and a transitory phenomenon from subjection by Bolshevik Russia to national independence." ("Conclusions from Current Events and Processes"). Then he explained more clearly: "In the non-Russian countries which have achieved national independence, the local communists would rather break with Moscow, attempting to stay afloat with the help of the Communist elements within the national framework." ("Problems of the National Communist Front"). Thus this other kind of national communism is the expression of the epigones of the dying Russian imperialism and colonialism. It is the reaction of Quislings and Janissaries. This leads to the following conclusion: "Ukrainian nationalism is in principle negatively disposed to national communism, considering it contrary to the nature and the well-being of the Ukrainian nation, and harmful to it because of hostile influences. The goal of the national liberation revolution is to remove from Ukraine Communism as a whole and in all its varieties." (Ibid.).

### **Against Anti-Communist Russians**

Stepan Bandera expressed the following view on the Russian emigrés and their relation to Ukraine: "The Russian emigré forces, regardless of their internal differences, are acting uniformly when it comes to foreign policy, attempting to influence the West to oppose only Communism, but not to violate the indivisibility of the Russian empire." ("The Importance of War"). After analyzing various Russian centres Bandera came to the conclusion that "there is no single platform for the common front of the national liberation and Russian anti-Communist forces... diametrical contrast and mutual hostility exist between the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations and the anti-regime strivings within the Russian people." ("National Liberation Revolution...") Bandera came to this conclusion on the grounds that "all Russian political forces, which in any way demonstrate their organized existence and activity, regardless of their greater or lesser anti-Communist attitude, are taking an equally hostile stand toward the subjugated people's struggle for independence." Therefore, "the possibility of the creation of the second Russian front against the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations is very real and should be taken into account in the plans for the unfolding of a revolution." This second front was taken very seriously by Bandera. He felt: "It would be a mistake to treat some Russian imperialists as terrible and others as more moderate..." (Ibid.) A continuous Russian anti-Ukrainian front exists in many forms: "Open Russian imperialism works against the independence of Ukraine not only in the form of Bolshevism, but also as anti-Communist Russian imperialism." ("The Inevitability of the National Liberation Revolutionary Struggle.")

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Ivan DZYUBA

## THE POETRY OF MYKOLA VINHRANOVSKYI

Mykola Vinhranovskyi likes decorative multiplicity and poetic "cabalism" of numbers. He never misses an opportunity to stun the trusting reader by a surprisingly accurate and incontrovertible cipher of his spiritual affects and corresponding revelations of nature: "Thirteen thoughts, the fourteenth has arisen"; "fifteen oceans of purity"; "three hundred partings"; "three hundred good-byes" (and correspondingly "three hundred heavens")... The absoluteness of an odd number almost hypnotizes like the official statistics: "three" loves or "seven" misfortunes could possibly be written off as traditional symbolism dating back to the times of undeveloped mathematical analysis; indefinite "countless numbers" could be allowed to pass by the ears as a tribute to the old-time jargon and all kinds of extraordinary "sextillions" could be regarded as contemporary intellectual show of vigour. But fourteen clever ideas, or let us say, two hundred and forty three spiritual flashes — here nothing else remains but to accept this as an accomplished fact and to fill oneself involuntarily with respect for the poet's extraordinary coefficients and the luxurious pedantry of his self-analysis... As far as M. Vinhranovskyi is concerned, then he is most fond of "100", and here there is nothing to joke about: "one hundred black chimneys in the Fatherland", "one hundred bright anthems of the native land", "one hundred proud colossi over gone-by ages", he also speaks of one hundred eyes and one hundred faces, and one hundred thoughts — "one hundred proud thoughts on a proud forehead", "the thought about the nation, my hundredfold thought"...

One hundred seems to be some fatal and familial number of Mykola Vinhranovskyi, his measure of vital and poetic fullness of existence. It is not an accident that he called his second collection, for so long and ardently awaited, "One Hundred Poems." However,

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it is this very innocent invention which has revealed itself to be ill chosen, publicizing the disinterested poetical bluff. If it is impossible, even with the present achievements in cybernetic modelling and the contemporary technique of working with an artist, to control the index of thoughts in a poetic soul, and is therefore necessary to believe his custom's declaration, it is easy to check upon the number of poems in his book. This can be done easily not only by a fundamental academic institution by methods appropriate to it, but also by an ordinary reader — simply by turning the pages. I have undertaken this God-pleasing work (of my own initiative and without evil designs) and was rewarded for my diligence with a remarkable discovery. The number of poems in the book "One Hundred Poems" was not one hundred, but exactly ninety-nine. And the hundredth, the final one is missing. This is an indisputable fact. What is it: a publishing trick, a commercial "shrinkage" or the author's parable about the hundredth the most thoughtful thought? We shall leave the discovery of the secret of this unintentional symbol to future researchers, so to speak. We ourselves have every reason to hope that Mykola Vinhranovskyi will rise before his reader in all his immaculate hundredfold-thoughtfulness, but in the meantime let us look at these 0.99 (or perhaps even less?) poems.

More than five years have elapsed since the appearance of "Atomic Preludes", the first collection of poems of Mykola Vinhranovskyi. Today it is quite clear what event it had been in our literary and cultural life in general, side by side with "Sunflower" by I. Drach; what influence on creative searching of the youngest poets did it have, and what responsibility did it place on Vinhranovskyi himself. This responsibility was intuitively felt by the poet himself, even if perhaps he was not fully conscious of it, when he addressed himself, his poetic fate as follows:

Stop, my step! — before me maturity.  
To cross it with all my potentiality . . .

This beautifully courageous and firmly sober-minded bearing, a noble bearing; this virtuously blooming potentiality was awaited by all his readers of good-will, of whom there were many right away, almost as many as there are lovers of Ukrainian poetry in the world.

But after that the poet became silent for a long time. This was incomprehensible to many. His anticipated collections of poems did not appear and even in newspapers one almost did not come across his poems. Nothing else was left to the readers but to suppose various things as to the reasons of such shocking silence which suddenly took the place of youthful "Sturm und Drang" (storm and stress, the name given to a German literary movement — Ed.). And there were many suppositions. Not everyone was aware of the fact that the poet was still creating, fruitfully and fervently; some were inclined to believe that there was a creative crisis or a decline, an

extinguishment. Had there not been many talents in Ukrainian poetry who had thriven only during one spring? Only to bloom, without ovary and fruit? Poets, who bursting into bright flames only once began to flicker and to smoke? But who has seen Vinhranovskiyi at close range, felt his unsubdued pulse, knew that a greater measure of the spirit was assigned to him, that he was destined to a greater poetical fate.

And now at last a new collection of poetry by Mykola Vinhranovskiyi. In the last five years the character of our living and literary situation has changed; the visible poetic potential and the course of poetical values have changed; the immediate need and tastes of the reader have changed. Some of the things which seemed unheard of and desperate then and led to the hoarseness of professional and amateur guardians of law and order, are today a fact of general poetic usage, and at times even a favourite food of epigones. The poetry of the so-called "poets of the sixties" has exhausted some of its functions, and has passed over some others, having no time to develop them genuinely. Unfavourable conditions and the illusion of saturation, which appear when feeble taste and childish greediness have caused acerbity on eating the forbidden fruit have also left their mark. Real new problems, new tasks, have also arisen. Younger poets have come, who took control of themselves after the first hypnotic influence of Drach and Vinhranovskiyi and began to search for and to find their own roads, and to speak clearly their creatively independent, and often polemic word. All this made the position of recent idols of young poetic vogue unusually complicated and dramatized it, has placed them before the inevitability of total demobilization, which would provide strength for a new answer to a new question of life, for unweakening initiative, which guarantees the necessary "pace ahead in the lead." A sharp and ambitious realization of this situation is characteristic of I. Drach, and thus his determined self-programming for a constant change, a desperate and exhaustive search, a calculated and merciless outdoing of himself and even more over everything which is connected with the already exploited spiritual sentiment and hinders new orientations. As far as the energy of searching, the momentum of outrunning and the sadism of self-change, which sometimes borders on self-treason, are concerned — Ivan Drach is an unusual phenomenon in the entire Ukrainian poetry.

The poetical make-up of Mykola Vinhranovskiyi is completely different and his answer to the new day is also completely different. If the whole Drach — is an aching spiritual incompleteness, a frightful undiscoveredness, constantly renewed disharmony, while the extent of deficiency grows in proportion to the extent of growth of the learned or tried and thus the driving spiritual self-deficiency appears to be unabridgeable — then the whole Vinhranovskiyi is a rare, strange spiritual datum, self-sufficiency, harmony — an finiteness in



himself, but without limitations from the outside: concentricity growing into space. Vinhranovskyi is also changing and outgrowing himself, but in qualities of self: and "the measurements" are taken from a certain constant point.

Mykola Vinhranovskyi's new book is proof of the author's inner work. He remained the same and at the same time became different. He did not scale down; he did not stifle his mission; he did not tire of his frankness to the whole world and did not cool in his suffering for his nation. He did not become indifferent and reconciled. However, he became more reserved and elegiac, less insolent in straightforward maximalism; more attentive to various shades of spiritual life. In place of regardless expectations and eloquent pretensions he more often deals with recollections, doubts and surmises, filled with deep spiritual meaning, about the fact that not all plans will come true, that youth and determination are not so all-powerful and all-timely and the account in the book of life so incalculable as it has seemed recently . . . Then some things are being "revalued" by him; something which has been neglected assumes importance and what had been passed over hurriedly, now flows to the surface with a spiritual ache. The aims of his own future, the "load" of his own mission, incompatibility of self-assurance — are being examined and balanced by lucid marks of the past, are finding their relation with them, The past assumes greater value as it is increasing. Vinhranovskyi is now half-way between his past and his future (the past is already beginning to summon him: "Already then, in the spring . . .", "Somewhere there is a ravine . . ." and other poems). A tally of spiritual losses begins, the abandoned or inachieved heights and the unrealized potential of his own "I." But this is not only a banal account of the fading of youth and progressive entropy of personality, but — to the contrary, first of all a true, more courageous self-realization and fuller, spiritually wiser, approach to life. There is an oddity in the book — among many just as odd poems "A spectre is spreading its hands over the holt . . ." where a simple recollection of a chance and forgotten vision of youth, a moment of beauty which passed away — a simple cadre from the stream of cadres of emotional memory: a ravine, a hazelnut tree, a young girl turning her head and hazel eyes upon the quietly floating cloud, and you, an accidental witness — thus this very ordinary reminiscence surprisingly and uncontrollably grows into a merciless judgement of self:

This small ravine where the girl and the cloud,  
And rain, the one for parched soil,  
And that dike of the heart broken by love  
You failed to bring . . . Shame on you and punishment  
For everything, which you loved, but never  
Admitted to yourself . . . but only slept contentedly by night!

To whom did you lie? Whom did you serve — at what price?  
What did you live for, you poor and naked?  
You are nought. You are a millet meal. Like ashes of a pyre  
Blow away, and rise up, and curse your own shadow! . . .

Anyone who does not know Vinhranovskyi's poetry, would consider as news this supposedly unmotivated transition from partial ground, a petty irritant, to stormy, self-scolding, all-encompassing generalities. Vinhranovskyi is "total" in his poetic feeling, his poetic feeling, his poetic soul is indivisible, and transgression in something is for him an entirely metaphysical fault. To lose the living, "actual" feeling, a constant spiritual presence of the most remote intimately valuable experience — is to give up a part of yourself to the obscurity of impersonality, this is this entropy of the mind, against which personality is mobilised. Here, among other things, Vinhranovskyi touches upon one of the secrets of the composition of the human "I": among millions of childish and youthful impressions, which always have to make room for newer and newer ones, are those which are supposedly no different than others, by some strange order illuminate human souls from the very bottom as a diamond of its jewel-like foundation, as the initial eye in its emotional fibre. And it is unknown if one would become what one is, if it were not for this something, perhaps accidental and perhaps half-forgotten impression . . . The ability to see and feel what has been lost, to be tormented by it — is a guarantee of spiritual youth. When the spirit is becoming dimmer — the circle of losses felt is also getting smaller, and only the immediate pains remain. Spiritual maturity and full existence are not only the fight for one's own future, but also of one's past, its assimilation, its expanded and more clear reproduction. Included in this is also the defence of one's personality, one's duel with the world and at the same time one's communion with it. Vinhranovskyi is making more and more discoveries for himself and becomes aware of different themes and a different character of the experiences of his past, these submersions into the history of his soul of his old and recent days — from individual flames of an accidental reminiscence to the "itinerary" of a pilgrimage into his boyhood, from the overtaxed and "chaotic" inner monologue to a small aquarelle with enlightened sorrow (no wonder that at one time Vinhranovskyi wrote about his "ancient friend Li Po"):

Beyond the village on an evening road  
In the rays of an autumn sun  
I met my father and mother, —

a factual and emotional range of this repeated mastering of his spiritual gains, his spiritual extent is proved by the intensiveness of this invisible internal work on "self-preservation", on the defence of basic values of his "I", which is the foundation of self-assertion.

It is typical of poets to talk about their doubts and agonies, about the greatness of their world troubles, about the alleged impossibility to slip away from the diligent eye of their own conscience, about the pains of self-analysis and self-torture, etc. Many willingly bring appropriate mottoes into the titles of poems, and the underlined construction of self-condemnation is conveyed as a live nerve and flesh. Nowhere does Vinhranovskiy mention his credo, nor his principles, nor convictions, ideas or ideals, nor self-analysis, his doubt, confession — he almost never even uses similar words; poems, let us say, with such names as "Credo" or "To Mother from a Prodigal Son" with their emphasis on self-revelation, self-accusation, self-criticism, are not to be found in Vinhranovskiy. And meanwhile, are not all his poems constantly renewed, ceaseless self-accusations and self-condemnations, self-searching and self-assertions in their spiritual flesh and not in a logical armature; not in the concepts and the ideologized motives (which, understandably, in their own way can rise to the level of great poetry) not in the setting and planning, but in the very "material" of spiritual life, in its insubordinated spontaneity, in the bursting out of the unexpected and unable to be recreated, momentary, as a storm, experiences. All of Vinhranovskiy's poetry is strenuously and vibrantly concentrated on "cursed questions" — both eternal and relating to our times (let us recall his famous: "... and there is a nation which suffers from curses more horrible than a nuclear war"), — but it passes over their terminological, qualifying solution and operates by those deep emotional plans which arise behind them, by those primeval, "Pre-ideological" components and pictures of spiritual life which determine and illuminate one's outlook on the world. In the chimerical and passionate meditation which begins by the words: "The splashing of the water among the rushes..." we find no concept from the sphere of community life (only perhaps the most general: "your sacred aim..."), but nevertheless, in contemporary Ukrainian poetry it would be hard to find another work in which with such force and with such undeniable poetical "technique" the dramatism of civic sentiment, the public mission of a contemporary Ukrainian poet would be expressed.

How unsurprisingly organically and invisibly, and at the same time irrepressibly and beautifully, and from all angles, with many nerve fibres this wholesome civic thought rises from this broader and more general emotional order of the soul, from its intimate primordial impressions from apparently chimerical play — secret interaction of its sacred untouchable pictures:

The splashing of the water from among the rushes,  
And the moon's horn over the rushes  
The Dnipro, and an orchard, and the sun's lightning,  
And the sky's sleepiness, and the blue sleepiness of roads...



I did no rush. I know the value of blood.  
No, I am not the one, who tears down his own dike,  
I am building them for faith and love,  
Although from the bog the bull booms misfortune for me.

I am not talking about that . . . I'm thinking about a cuckoo,  
About the moon, and about silence, and about sleepiness,  
About sleepiness and bread, about bread and about fire,  
About that fire, whose eyes I cannot close.

For everything that happens inside me,  
That burns the nerves until they are white-hot,  
When you cannot feel anymore, as in a dream,  
The smarting of a wound, nor the ache of the soul,

When you are thinking: this is your end! the end!  
And, overtaken by fear, quickly, running to yourself,  
You search for hands, heart . . . you are not a corpse!  
Your days under the sky are around you.

Everything will start burning! And your sacred aim  
Will shine again into your frightened face.  
And — you arise. And the word grows  
Into a single and burning cry . . .

Mykola Vinhranovskyi's world outlook and his civic duties, his views and his feelings of a citizen are very often taken not in their final form, separateness, specialization, but as if in their relation to the initial general emotional state, in their inseparability from the general perception of the world, they are supposedly directed to their spiritual primary sources. In this connection a certain loss of development, clarity is possible; nevertheless it is often prevented by a very precise, adequate "translation" of the social ideological language to an individual "code" of spiritual spontaneity (already the very "texture" of spiritual life, the very process of the connection of pictures from Vinhranovskyi's "indivisible fund", which for the most part is essentially a "national gold fund" of Ukrainian spirituality, is drawn from it — gives a sufficient outline to the progress of thought). However, the most important — the world and community consciousness is included in the broader and unfathomable sphere, in the general dynamism of spiritual life, becomes all-permeating and omnipresent in the soul: spreads its rule over the whole spiritual being of a man, instead of remaining, as is often the case, a separate branch of special efforts.

Here we are approaching perhaps the major quality of Mykola Vinhranovskyi as a poet, that which makes up the basic principle of his unique poetic individuality.

Vinhranovskiyi's poetry is an element which completely lacks any kind of predetermination. There is no premeditation, "rigidity", straight-forwardness of spiritual movements. Had there existed a dimension or a term to define an "absolute zero" of spiritual inertia, stagnation, hardening to define something completely opposite to it — it would be applicable here. This is like some crystal clear spiritual activity — movement and transfusion, resistance and agreement of all the forces of the soul. All of Vinhranovskiyi's poetry is a liquid, variability, metamorphosis. There is nothing forced, nothing evident in advance, no prejudice. It is impossible to guess what he will say in a moment, what will strangely emerge from the depths of his soul and what mood will overcome him like a wave, and like a wave will fall, to make room for something else. Everything upon which his spiritual eyes have rested and which audibly and inaudibly touches his soul at one time — all of it is constantly alive in him, is in a state of "readiness", is glowing with a glow which can burst into flames any minute. What has been grasped once, what has been experienced in one happy and single moment in one's whole lifetime — all that never becomes murky and does not cool off, and is not removed with time to the remote recesses of the mind. Physics teaches that an object is present where it acts and its presence spreads to the full range of its activity. In Vinhranovskiyi every mental act can encompass the whole entirety of the mind, in its vastness and in its history; every experience can draw into its "magnetic field" all acquired spiritual material and to actualize it. Therefore Vinhranovskiyi's poetry is like a constant mutual transfusion of various feelings and various states of mind, its various "levels." As though inspiration together burns through sluices in a complicated system of reservoirs of different levels, and diverse elements are streaming in incomprehensible directions, until a beautiful and free equilibrium is achieved, in which everything becomes broader, clearer and finds itself anew.

Of course, all that has been said above is an attempt to transmit a general impression on the character of the poetry of Mykola Vinhranovskiyi. His every poem does not necessarily have all these dimensions, although the type of poetry with the following structure is dominant: all-encompassing spiritual spectacle. In some of his poems his full spectrum unfolds before us ("After a summer...", "The splashing of the water from among the rushes...", "A cloud over the grove...", "The night of Ivan Bohun", "Ryabko and rain, and the world with the wind..." and others) in others it is as if summarized, only the major features are given, the results of what happened behind the scenes, what has been lived through in silence, inside yourself and for yourself ("You, grey forest...", "All can be forgiven now..."):

All can be forgiven now. I'm afraid.  
I have been afraid yesterday and today.  
I am afraid that I will reveal to myself  
What I have been, what I am, what — oh, never mind.

What blasphemy, oh my God!  
What cold blasphemy!  
Be cursed, oh you paunchy fate,  
Of those content words, a hungry swarm.

My nation, how good it is  
That I have you in the world.  
It has not been swept away? It will not be swept away.  
If there is a cradle — there will be children.

In such "summing up" poems that which is the essence of Vinhranovskyi's poetry, the vibrating centre around which the whole subject matter of spiritual life develops, and to which everything returns one way or another, to which everything irrepressibly gravitates, appears more clearly. That is *the people, the nation, Ukraine*. For him Ukraine, with all the complexity of her historic fate is not a theme, not a motif, not a picture to which one turns occasionally or often, paying tribute to the topic of the day or to one's own sentiments. It is simply that by which his soul is living ("No, Fatherland! Not only am I turned to you in suffering or happiness!") Moreover, everything which he writes is about her. No matter what is he talking about — he is speaking about her. And he who in the most intimate poems ("In the blue sky . . .", "And the dark shadow of the linden tree . . .", "I dreamt of you as my wife . . ." and others) takes Vinhranovskyi's references too literally, believes the directness of the voice too much, the irrefutability of intimate feeling, — will often be taken aback and will be punished for the blindness of his heart: it will become clear that Vinhranovskyi speaks "about something quite different", that he speaks about a different love, and his love is the love of a son, a husband, a father — an aggregate of the earthly and heavenly love: his madonna, his Mary, his betrothed, his friend, wife, mother, his girl friend, child, a baby swallow — is all one and the same . . . If you please, even an outspoken, allegedly "erotic" poem, "A mare with wild and proud legs . . .", the only one of its kind in Vinhranovskyi, is not so unambiguous and in the original ends as follows:

You are vague. Just as my people is vague.  
I am resting at your feet, as a sword.

And in vain the editors "slightly corrected" the poet by omitting the following: "As my people . . ." Without this the poem can in fact be interpreted as purely "erotic" insolence, which is completely uncharacteristic of Vinhranovskyi.



Of all those once so stern "poets of the sixties" (we are not concerned here with the younger poets, from Mykola Kholodnyi down) Vinhranovskyi has preserved his "one-hundredfold thought" about his nation in the most unchanged, the most undiluted state. He did not chase it into the "sub-texts", did not make it more cunning by using modern wise-crack remarks, did not dissolve in the hastily mixed, intoxicating cocktails of world ultrascepticism (of the home-grown variety), did not decentralize it to the point of indistinctness. It remained in his works obvious, honest and uncompromising as a flood. Because it remained a living pain, encompassing the whole being — a dimension which is above the strategies of poetic and non-poetic behaviour. And it is not concerned with the secular demand or the exchange rate for poetical currencies, because it is not subordinated to the spiritually-aesthetic conjuncture, but creates it. In its unchangeability and inaccountibility it (his thought) does not even suspect that the stimuli of rejection and oversaturation exist and weigh heavily on many above-average efforts, timely and completely good-intentioned reflections to the effect that: "we have too much of that in our poetry already", "today, this is not what is most important", "we will never reach the world level with such motifs", etc. Thus, it seems, that the world or any other level (let us not confuse this with fashion!) is reached through certain motifs and by a special route, according to alpine topography, and not above all the motifs and orientations, just by being yourself. Poets speak about their nation, about their Fatherland, without asking the world whether it cares about it or not. And perhaps they speak about it all the more, when this is the least concern of anyone. Had not Rasul Gamzatov also forced those who had no idea about his nation and felt no need to have such an idea to think about it? And there are many such examples in history, some even more significant.

Every major poet establishes his own relations with his people. A poet could have enlightened his people. He could have led or could have wanted to lead it. He could have set out for himself an entire programme of manysided work in the national field, the enrichment of its culture, the broadening of its spiritual horizons. He could have directed his efforts to the cultivation of aesthetic tastes... He could have turned to the people as a whole, to the common people, but also could have worked on the narrow stratum of the aesthetically specialized intelligentsia, through which he hoped to influence in a desired direction gradually the spirituality of society as a whole, the level of its cultural mode of life. Furthermore, all these paths and methods can be combined in various ways and can cooperate in different undertakings. Here we are not trying to analyze everything which concerns Vinhranovskyi: which historic examples and traditions are close to him, where did the road lie on which he "met his father and mother." But he did meet them, and not with an empty soul at that. In his conversation with his people,

when he speaks about his nation, there is something in him which comes from Taras Shevchenko. And this, especially, or perhaps primarily — this double, mutually contradictory and dual awareness: of his patronage, of his mission, of his placement over the cradle of the life of his people (compare Shevchenko's excellent phrase: "I will place a word near them to guard them"; in Vinhranovskiy: "I will place the atom and goodness near you to guard you") — and at the same time his smallness before his people, his guilt and his indebtedness to it, his limitation as set by the people, his dependence upon it — in the character of his spirituality, in the store of holiness, in the possession of that unchangeable spiritual gold which has been carried by the people and only the people:

. . . the executioners  
 Have spit upon you, pure;  
 Have defiled you, gentle! and you . . .  
 Like gold in this furnace,  
 Have revived in the human soul  
 In the small soul of a slave,  
 In the afflicted and poor soul.

(Taras Shevchenko, "Mary")

No similar words are to be found, or could be found in Vinhranovskiy, but there is a similar consciousness — in contrast to those for whom the nation is only a glorious abstraction and who are not bound by anything living and sincere to some nameless and speechless “slave of non-existence” — a consciousness of the spiritual strength of the “poor in spirit”, a consciousness of what is yours inside you, and your Fatherland, and your Ukrainian life, your Ukrainian ideas — all that is not yours, but had been preserved for you by the people; all that speaks inside you came from the people; moreover, the consciousness of a deep historical guilt before the people and an admiration for its ability to live:

... And the nation waded. In places where one could cross and  
where one could not.  
Without us, non-pullers, it pulled itself from non-existence  
into existence.  
Because it is nation. Because it is the voice of life.  
It is the change of changes. There is no change for it.  
Because it alone through springs and through winters  
Traces its step from the non-existent into the existent.

Mykola Vinhranovskyi has the gift of comprehending his people all through history and at the same time to see that which was contributed by the "poorest" soul. And he can fall on his knees before it . . . And that is not a pose, not a comfortable position, just for the people's sake — but an organic perception of objective value:

he who preserved the living spirit in a life much harder and darker than yours, possesses more of this spirit than you . . . Moreover, this too is Shevchenko-type consciousness; here Vinhranovskyi in his own way has somehow associated himself with the fraction of those painstaking feelings which had given strength to Shevchenko, Franko and Lesia Ukraïka to withstand conceited vanity, which "outgrew" its people in a sense that it learned to attribute to the people more of its pretensions or enriched itself with Daltonism acquired by evolution as far as it was concerned. Besides, historically speaking, great statesmen and artists had two poles in their attitude to their nation: the feeling of guilt and debt, the torment by it and for it, and proper service to it, and a corresponding drive to reveal from the inside its spirit and beauty — and a view on it as on something which is historically imperfect and inadequate, a titanic attempt to formulate, to mold it, to impose on it "the mark of their own spirit." In geniuses of "national feeling" (and in the feeling of one's people there are various gradations of ability) both of these poles are combined, and between them there is a world of possible attitudes and feelings, as for example in Shevchenko, Petöfy, Mickiewicz and Schiller. It is hard for a contemporary poet to encompass this whole grandiose sphere "without assistance", if only because of its enormous growth and unheard of historic complexity, because of the hypertrophy of the solely contemporary reflections in this respect — and how to achieve that spiritual scale, that giddy and at the same time sober height and that majestically simple-minded courage? But all the (given) national literature as a whole, as the aggregate of its countless attempts, has to satisfy that ever-pressing and constantly renewable need (a complete and objective historical evaluation of one's nation), for otherwise it will not accomplish its mission as far as its people is concerned.

Mykola Vinhranovskyi is a strictly contemporary poet in his spiritual composition, in the character of his perception of the world, and in his expression. It is hard to describe and to designate logically what is "contemporary" and what is "non-contemporary" in this sense. But each of us will unmistakably distinguish an "old fashioned" poet from a contemporary one. Although both of them will be using similar realities, will be writing about the same thing and supposedly using the same words there is some imperceptible inner tonality of the age, the level and the theme, the "colouring" of its spiritual functioning and feeling. Mykola Vinhranovskyi is contemporary in the sense that the sphere and the tone of his spirituality is the sphere and the tone of contemporary youth, the most sensitive part of society, which is "impending" in the future, and the character of his expression is the expression of spiritual potential for which they are searching. He does not even have a trace of spiritual backwardness, stiffness, routine and exotic provincialism; he is pure spiritual and sensual activity, a spiritual avant-gardist, not intentionally, but out



of the organic spiritual essence, a perfect child of his age: his artistic language is adequate for the language of his age.

But at the same time Mykola Vinhranovskyi has a quality, which, advantageously or disadvantageously (in my opinion advantageously) sets him apart from many of his colleagues — poets with contemporary ideas. Many spokesmen of "contemporaneity" lack inner peace (not in the sense of quiescence, but in the sense of not being fussy, of having spiritual equilibrium or rather the ability to concentrate, to be face to face with oneself), the independence of thought. They are captives of vanity, accidental impressions and planned themes, captives of vogues, external obligations, the pretensions of the reader, their own prestige, their own popularity, their own duties — and even while writing about the most intimate things, they remember and take into consideration the fact that they are watched by many zealous eyes. They lack organicity and steadfastness; therefore they raise dry "volitional" fabrications to the level of a principle. Today, it is hard to be able to achieve artistic harmony — and disharmony is proclaimed to be the sole contemporary state of creative spirit. Many categorical and intolerant aesthetic manifestations stem from the unconscious drive to pass poverty for well-being, weakness for gallantry, their own infirmity — for the general order of the age. Of course, when one speaks not about trickery and bluff, but about something which has serious foundations, then both the rationalistic poetry and the disharmonious poetry have existed and will continue to exist, discovering the heretofore inaccessible depths. Nonetheless, not everything is accessible to them either, but is there no way of contradicting them?

Mykola Vinhranovskyi's experience shows in particular that a contemporary poet, being modern in everything and availing himself of all dramas, contradictions and dizzy disharmonies of the present world, absorbing all its senseless voices, can at the same time himself attempt to achieve artistic equilibrium and harmony, reach a conclusion and synthesis, the classical "well-roundedness", the wholeness of the spiritual process. Mykola Vinhranovskyi, with all his impetuosity and passion, with all the ungovernability of fantasy, with all the "nervousness" of poetic intonations and the feverishness of poetic pace, with acute reproduction of the antagonisms of the age, with all the bustle and curses, which go with it, is brilliantly and nobly balanced in spite of all that. In places he has almost Pushkin-like plasticity and harmony. And it is completely easy to find in him the intonations of the neo-classics, Rylskyi (especially in the poetic experiencing of the world of nature), even though formally he is far-removed from them. And this is not external harmony, not a sleepy balance, which is reached after a not-too-deeply-moving experience. This is a consequence of that spiritual "totality", aggregation, a constant presence of all "resources" of the spirit, the whole vastness of the poet's "I", about which we have spoken and which

provides an opportunity to accept fearlessly any kind of upheaval, by replying to it instantly with a new reshuffling of the spiritual sphere, a new organic synthesis. Among our contemporary poets Mykola Vinhranovskiy is one of the few who is approaching an ideal: the reconciliation of the contemporary polytonality, nervous strain, quick reactions, associativeness and disassociativeness, a discourisiveness — with a noble spiritual balance, lack of haste and fuss, spiritual "reliability" and "steadiness", with inner life-giving, spiritually creative peace, egocentricity and untouchability, the sovereignty of his own "I" — with spiritual wisdom and harmony.

Perhaps, one of the sources of such quality in Vinhranovskiy, one of the reasons for such spiritual structure — is his deep organic closeness to the people and the nation. From here stems much of what is to be found in the spiritual type, in the theory of poetry of Vinhranovskiy. Let us recall Dovzhenko's thoughts about inborn tact and virtue, sober-minded dignity and spiritual wisdom of his father and grandfather — Ukrainian peasants, about their inner culture and nobleness, about their strange artistic feeling. Something of these qualities of the "Dnipro tribe" is felt in the substratum of Vinhranovskiy's poetry.

It has been noticed long ago, that the measure of the human element in an individual is best manifested in the treatment of women, in the most intimate sphere of love. And perhaps, the spiritual make-up of the poet is evident most clearly and most naturally from the way he loves and the way he speaks about his love. In the last few years in Ukrainian literature as well, poetic "eroticism" and "sex" have won some rights for themselves; some swarm around them and rush to overwhelm the reader by them, as some backward provincial — with the impatience of that same provincial who is itching to imitate "the tricks performed in the capital". Little by little it is becoming fashionable to boast to the public about their supposedly most unusual "sexuality", and to show it off as a decorated bag. It is possible to understand this peculiar bravado and to welcome the narrowing of the sphere of various taboos. As late as a few years ago the appearance, for instance, of the well-known ballads about the romanticism of horse-mating and various orangutan-like piquancies would have been impossible for reasons other than literary. However, even admitting the value of the finally achieved rights to elevate one's own suppressed complexes and the voices of one's sensual wrongs to the level of the so-called "cruel" intellectualism (and this too, it seems, is called intellectualism), the right to taste in poetry "straightforwardly" with boyish arrogance, that which the elementary masculine discipline will not allow to be discussed in everyday life — with all the importance of these significant public achievements, the real depths of "the forbidden" are accessible only to the biblically-virtuous (or, which is the same thing: biblically-sensual) poet, and only the crystal virtue of the soul can be truly bold here. Read

Vinhranovskiy's poem "When my hand is at times quiet, at times evil . . ." (or "The Black Rainbow") — and you are fascinated, you are made happy by this spiritual artistry, this organic nobility, this totally spiritual way of experiencing the intimate closeness as a quiet reverence, as a lucid ecstasy (and what is outside its limits — is a "dark fame" which defies words and memory) . . . It is hard to believe that this has been written today and on such a "subject", where everyone is trying to worm his way in from a dark alley (hiding the expression of thieving guilt on his face by pomposity); that today's completely contemporary erotic lyric poetry, with its frankness and explicitness, can sound so brilliant and holy, so devout and artistic — so eternally human.

The organic noble artistry of Vinhranovskiy (as a poet) which makes itself felt both in the refined sense of proportion and the infallible taste, in the luxury of intuition, and in the very character of reflections and "subtlety" of even the most simple verbal reactions ("Is that you? That is you. Thank you . . .") — is felt in particular in his poetic language. In very few is the Ukrainian language so noble and so artistic, in very few does it reach such volatility and transformation, divisibility and compatibility; in very few is it so flexible and susceptible, conscious, with its whole nature, of the finest nuances of thought, so able to reproduce them in their substance. And at the same time in spite of the ease with which words flow, the inspired playfulness of words — his words at times are threatening, stern and lapidary and always firmly accurate (as to the latter one can refer to the poem "In Memory of Vasyl Symonenko", as if exhaled in a single breath) — is in general sympathetic to everything which has contemporary spirituality. His poetic phrase is simple, resilient and well balanced and at the same time almost always unintentionally aphoristic. "And slavery sounds the golden trumpets", — let us ponder over it: here everything has been said about the whole era; here are the depths of meaning, and this is a "rank and file" expression for M. Vinhranovskiy; it contains the fundamental characteristic of his way of speaking and it seems that every time he says much more than he himself had intended.

And how inaudibly — happily the substance of a word submits to him its trembling flesh. One could repeatedly give examples of unbelievable and at the same time organic creation of language in Vinhranovskiy, which discovers the unknown plasticity of the Ukrainian language and its inexhaustible morphological resources . . . There are poets about whom it is said that they are especially fond of verbs and verbal word construction, others — of nouns and a noun word construction, still others are especially inventive with definitions . . . Vinhranovskiy revels equally in all verbal spheres; even the auxiliary parts of speech in him seem to be somehow animated, unshackled — but with a verb he seems to be using magic, witchcraft:



It has rumbled, wandered in, flowed in.  
 It has nestled, embraced, cuddled up,  
 Cried and — unnoticeably slipped away  
 Black-haired flame with sad eyes . . .

Or:

And everything will be forgotten, will heal, will wither . . .

. . . . .  
 In the corner I will stop being quiet, I will fly into a rage . . .

And what fullness of sound, how dense and at the same time free  
 and easy soundtrack:

In the field a star is sleeping beneath an ear of grain  
 And sleepily listens to the ballad of the ears.  
 And sleepy silence with a sleepy tongue  
 Whispers a grey lullaby to the orchard . . .

. . . . .  
 And sleepy blue sunflowers  
 In the salty sun of sleepy braids . . .

In all forms of pictorial art, side by side with the universal principle of contrast, the utilization of light and shade and the arrangement of various colours — an effect could be achieved by other methods as well: reaching to the depths of this or that colour by using, let us say, white on a white background, underlining white by white and thus achieving, or attempting to achieve pure "absolute" whiteness... Something similar often occurs in Vinhranovskiyi ("White sky over a white field . . .") — he goes deeper into some concept by the concept itself, raises it to the highest power, drains it to the bottom:

Grief is silent, and sorrow is silent in sorrow.  
 And you are silent. Silence, and even that is silent.

This is not simply a play of words, an attempt to stupefy a sober reader. No, this is one of his, Vinhranovskiyi's individual methods of growing into the substance of the word and a way of transmitting his feelings to the reader; at the same time it is a method of overcoming simplifications, approximations and dilatations of words and concepts through the stratification of associations, automatisms, acquired or routinized meanings, of getting to the first form of the word, its pure and simple nucleus. At the same time it is closely bound with fluctuation, mutual confluence and therefore also with apparent incompleteness, inexhaustibility and lack of boundaries of everything in the poetic world of Vinhranovskiyi. There nothing is something of itself. . . And sorrow — is not only sorrow; silence — is not yet silence; it is nothing and everything, because it can both speak and laugh and cry and say yes and slumber and wheeze contentedly and keep silent

cunningly . . . But when silence is silent — this in itself is frightful. This in itself is fathomlessness, the inescapability of the darkness of silence. Such silence places a man on the verge of reckoning with himself, in relation to life and death:

Do not look back! What are you doing, what is the matter with you?

M. Vinhranovskyi's elusive contact with the finest edge, with the very bottom of the spiritual act and a word which corresponds to it should be properly evaluated. In *such* a form this is not to be found in any of our poets; this is his characteristic, the secret of his spirit, his way of perceiving the world.

. . . Thus, a critique, you see, has turned into a panegyric. We are not going to try to save ourselves by hiding behind the traditional "but", "however", "it is to be regretted all the more" . . . Permit us "for now" to forget about regrets, for we were not attempting to deal with critical calculation. And although Vinhranovskyi's book has its own touchy places, beginning with the fact that some things of unequal worth have found their way into it, including some accidental "tricks of the pen" (besides, the compilation of the collection was not completely in the hands of the author) and ending with the fact that his happy gift of chimeral integration of the most remote and the most diverse spiritual impulses is sometimes transformed by him into an automatic method, into a rhetorical gimmick — but we are not concerned with that at this point. We are interested in something else, something more important, in our opinion: the possibilities of a highly "intuitive" poet in our highly "intellectual" and mechanized age.

Of course, today Mykola Vinhranovskyi is not the only elevation above the plateau of contemporary Ukrainian poetry, but only one of the many peaks of its strange mountain range, at a time when this young mountain range is still in the process of formation, and when new peaks are bound to rise . . . Mykola Vinhranovskyi is one of the poles in the multi-polar magnetic field of contemporary Ukrainian poetry, one of the component parts of its great resultant force. One can and should distinguish him from others, and even in a certain sense to contrast him with others, but one cannot ignore or underestimate the others, to overshadow them. The present-day spiritual life of societies, the poetic life, is so varied, rich and diverse, that no poet can or should dominate it. He can at most satisfy most adequately some particular need or particular needs of the age and the people, at a time when other poets will satisfy other needs, perhaps just as important and pressing. But the golden rule: "Many poets, good and diverse" — is fruitful and sound only in one case: when dissimilarity of many good poets is not only sharply perceived, but also becomes a reality of their tense outside interaction. Dissimilar is different only when it fights for its singularity and sensitively and accurately reacts to everything which does not represent this singularity with the

whole complexity of aggressive and defensive reactions of a living organism. When in addition it is objective, for an onlooker it has something essentially its own and with this essentially its own will resist others in a certain sense. Without resistance no personality is possible, just as there cannot be any without solidarity. Every important poet opposes others in a certain sense — all or some — and is didactic for them, at a time when in a different sense he himself should ponder over their teachings. The experience of every major poet contains some truth for the whole literary situation. Today, Mykola Vinhranovskyi's book in particular must remind us that poetry is also the plastic art of feeling, the spontaneous outpouring of the soul, and not necessarily just the feverish sophisticated attempts so widespread and popular today, whether they are called "intellectualism" or not — steep, salty, bitter, cruel, horrifying, baked, burned — as you like it. And even if one speaks about intellectualism without quotation marks, even then it will not eliminate or take the place of the eternal wonder of poetic intuition.

10. III. 1968

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LaVerne R. and John P. PAULS

University of Cincinnati\*

# RYLEYEV AND UKRAINE

*"Ryleyev is a hero, whom all Literatures must envy the Russian..."*

A. Brueckner

Kondraty Fyodorovich Ryléyev (1795-1826), the Russian Schiller of the Decembrist conspiracy, who humbly but resolutely declared himself "not a poet" but "a citizen", was hanged at the age of thirty-one, as one of the principal leaders of the revolt of December 14/26, 1825, against autocracy.

He was born on September 29, 1795 at a small homestead, Batovo, near Tsarskoye Selo, the son of the poor and stern Col. Lt. Fyodor Andreyevich Ryleyev, (who died in 1814), and his good-natured wife, Anastasya Matveyevna, née Essen. Already at the age of six, Kondraty was sent as a "volunteer" to the First Cadet Corps in Petersburg. There the little boy studied well, read much, already writing his youthful poetical experiments on the "meaning of life, the destiny of man, the fatherland, and heroic deeds", dreaming "to be a hero, to rise above all humanity", (a motive which, incidentally, dominates all his later mature works), but he also showed "deliberate defiance" of the severe school authorities.<sup>1</sup> One of the books read by the young Ryleyev, a liberal and elevating biography of the Tsar Boris Godunov by P. Zheleznikov, in which the controversial tsar was described as an enlightener and benefactor of the people, had "a disastrous influence" on the future rebellious poet, as his schoolmate, N. I. Grech, stated after Ryleyev's death.<sup>2</sup>

\*) The authors of this monograph are Dr. JOHN P. PAULS, Professor of Russian Language and Literature, and Mrs. LaVERNE R. PAULS, Ed.M., Adjunct Instructor of Russian at the University of Cincinnati, U.S.A.

1) Neyman, B. V., K. F. Ryleyev: *Zhizn' i tvorchestvo*, Moskva, (OGIZ), 1946, p. 10.

2) Ryleyev, K. F., *Polnoye sobraniye sochineniy*, (ed. by A. G. Tseytlin), Moskva, (Academia), 1934, p. 588.

At the beginning of 1814, the young cadet graduated as an ensign and was immediately sent abroad with the first reserve artillery brigade to Saxony, Switzerland and France. On December 3, 1814, Ryleyev is again within "Russian borders", training new soldiers in horse riding at Nesvizh in Minsk province. After Napoleon's return from the island of Elba, Ryleyev, on April 12, 1815, is moved once more with his unit to France, and already in September he participates in the occupation of Paris, and stays on there. As he himself later admitted in court, it was there that he "was initially infected with free-thinking."<sup>3</sup>

In the summer of 1817, Ryleyev and his company returned home and were stationed in Ukraine, in the small town of Bilohirya on the Don, not far from the historical city of Ostrohozhsk, in the Voronezh province. There he spent three pleasant, quiet years, reading, writing, strolling along the shores of the silent Don River, "admiring the enchanting scenery" and arguing with his colleagues about plans for the future, including his dream "to go there where the people live and breathe freely", that is "to America", as his colleague officer, A. I. Kosovsky wrote in his memoirs.<sup>4</sup> Ryleyev soon befriended some local landowners; one of them, Tevyashev, who later became his father-in-law.

The Ostrohozhsk years in Ryleyev's life are not yet completely "worked out" in the poet's biography, says L. N. Nazarova, and thus there are some unclear episodes during that period.<sup>5</sup> The time the author spent in the Ostrohozhsk District is most important, however, for his first hand information of Ukrainian history, customs and contemporary conditions. In fact, his best poetical works are those having Ukrainian themes; and that is precisely why we should study this period more carefully. Fortunately, we have some of the poet's own remarks about these years and about Ukraine, as well as reliable memoirs of his colleagues and friends.

The Ostrohozhsk District, the native land of the great Mykola Kostomarov, where Ryleyev's company was stationed, was officially attached to the Russian Voronezh province, but "according to mode of life and habits of the population, it gravitated toward the Ukrainian city of Kharkiv."<sup>6</sup> "Ukrainian landowners of the Voronezh province, in comparison to their Russian counterparts, were better educated, richer and more efficient in their farming. They were less inclined to go on a spree, not fond of military service... They were more eager to learn... Their connection with the main center of Little Russian Ukraine, Kharkiv, was always strong", says De-Pule

<sup>3</sup>) Neyman, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

<sup>4</sup>) "Vospominaniya A. I. Kosovskogo", *Literaturnoye nasledstvo*, t. 59, Moskva, (AN SSSR), 1954, p. 244.

<sup>5</sup>) Nazarova, L. N., "Neosushchestvlennyi zamysel Ryleyeva 'Istoricheskiy slovar' russkikh pisateley'", *Lit. nasled.*, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

<sup>6</sup>) Maslov, V. I., *Literaturnaya deyatel'nost' K. F. Ryleyeva*, Kyiv, 1912, p. 67.

in his memoirs.<sup>7</sup> A contemporary admirer of the poet, a self-educated writer and freed serf of that region, A. V. Nikitenko, who first met him in a bookstore in Ostrohozsk, while Ryleyev was buying *De l'esprit des lois* (*Spirit of the Law*) by Montesquieu, testifies that better educated inhabitants of the Ostrohozsk region, "were interested in literary, political, and social problems. They discussed not only personal matters, but also the principles involved. One could sense in their discourse a striving for freedom and conscious protest against the oppression of the then almighty bureaucracy. In this circle of progressive intelligentsia of Ostrohozsk, the newest books about state were read. They discussed science, art, they argued foreign and domestic politics, and were even attracted to the ideas of the representative form of government. Even many merchants and city dwellers there had collections of books of serious content."<sup>8</sup>

In 1821, Ryleyev himself wrote a historical paragraph "About Ostrohozsk", where he stressed its Cossack origin, when in 1652, a thousand people with their Col. Dzen'kovskiy left Polish occupied Ukraine and "on the order of Tsar Alexis" built city near the Don, and later faithfully for "almost a whole century, they defended the borders of Russia" from the Nogay and Crimean Tartars. Ryleyev notes that Ostrohozsk land "were tilled by free people or Cossacks", and only Catherine II and Paul I succeeded in "attaching them to the soil", 1796; but even after that those people called themselves "only subjects, but not serfs."<sup>9</sup>

Very complimentary are Ryleyev's impressions of Ukraine and her people, in his letters, as for instance in the letters to his mother from the settlement of Bilohirya, half a verst from the Don, near the city of Pavlovsk, of August 10, 1817, where everything to the author was simply wonderful: quarters, region, people. "On holidays", Ryleyev wrote, "we are visiting other landowners, and I go more often to our winter quarters in the settlement of Pidhirne, where also lives a hospitable and kind landowner, Mr. Tevyashev; in his family we are also received as their own — and we spend time very, very pleasantly."<sup>10</sup> In the next letter to his mother, of September 17, 1817, Ryleyev revealed his secret by stating: "visiting quite often the good and respectable landowner, Mikhail Andreyevich Tevyashev, living 30 verst from Bilohirya. I was accepted in the house as a relative and I had the pleasant occasion to see his daughters, and to learn their kind and most virtuous qualities, and especially of the younger (one)."<sup>11</sup> There he almost worships his "kind Nataliya", whose "only defect is that she does not speak French." Assured of Nataliya's reciprocal love and her parents' "very excellent disposition" toward

<sup>7</sup> De-Pule, M. F., *Russkiiy arkhiv*, 1877, No. 8., p. 437.

<sup>8</sup> Nikitenko, A. V., *Zapiski i dnevniki*, t. I, SPb., 1893, p. 88.

<sup>9</sup> Ryleyev, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 439.



him, Ryleyev asked his mother "to bless your son and, to permit him to leave the army, to devote himself only to yours and kind Nataliya's happiness."

His fellow-officer Kosovsky, in his memoirs, wrote that in Pidhirne, Ryleyev "found a true refuge for himself for two years."<sup>12</sup> Yet, he paid for this with private lessons given voluntarily to the two youthful but "uneducated daughters of the good-hearted, retired Major Mikhail Tevyashev." After "two years of strenuous work" they made "remarkable progress" and their teacher — Ryleyev "hardly noticed he was enamoured with the quiet character of" one of his pupils, "Natáliya Mikháýlovna." Only in June, 1818, the poet's mother and after that also Nataliya's parents gave their consent for marriage, and evidently in accordance with the current Ukrainian preference of the Ostrohozhsk region, "with the condition, however, that he would quit the army", which actually happened on December 26, 1818, when Ensign Ryleyev was discharged as sub-lieutenant "for domestic reasons", after four years of service. His colleague, Kosovsky, who retired as Lt. General, was evidently accurate in saying that, Ryleyev "was superfluous in the service", because he did not like it, and "during the years of 1817 and 1818, he used up mountains of paper writing" his poetry.<sup>13</sup>

Possibly, this was the same Kosovsky, who after Ryleyev's wedding (January 22, 1819), suggested that the poet "remain in Ukraine forever", as we can see from the short poem "To K—y" (1820), in which Ryleyev resolutely refused his friend's advice, because he pities a man who wants "to kill his young years in a lazy sleep"; the poet is lured by bewitching fame — "an idol of the young soul", which was calling him "to the shores of the Neva River" — to Petersburg, "under the banner of freedom", apparently to join the conspirators. Nevertheless, he is sorry to leave this beautiful country with its "blooming orchards, magnificent fruit and the silent waters of the Don River . . .", where he could live carefree "in the friendship and love of his relatives." He accepts the challenge of exciting young years, hoping "for the laurel crown" when "he is lonely and gray."<sup>14</sup> Alas, six years later, he found the gallows there instead.

In recounting the poet's life in Ukraine, we should mention also his interest in the *Ukrainian Messenger*, published in Kharkiv, which Ryleyev used to read, while he was stationed near Ostrohozhsk. He became well acquainted with the names and writing of fourteen Kharkiv authors (e. g., M. Bilozers'kyi, I. Sreznevs'kyi, P. Artemovs'-

<sup>11)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 441.

<sup>12)</sup> "Vospom. Kosovskogo", *op. cit.*, p. 243.

<sup>13)</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 244.

<sup>14)</sup> Ryleyev, *op cit.*, p. 92.

kyi-Hulak), whom Ryleyev intended to include in his contemplated, but never completed "Historical Dictionary of Russian Writers."<sup>15</sup>

In the autumn of 1820, the young couple moved to the exciting capital of the Empire, where they lived "amidst trouble and anxiety" (Ryleyev's situation became better, however, when, on January 24, 1821, he was chosen as a judge in Petersburg, and then became co-editor of the *Polarnaya Zvezda* (Polar Star), 1823-25; later he was secretary of the Russian-American Company, engaged in developing Alaska), seldom visiting his wife's parents near Ostrohozhsk (his wife went there more often), which only now the poet came to appreciate fully, as one can see from his letter from Ostrohozhsk to his friend, F. V. Bulgarin, of June 20, 1821: "Here, already for three weeks, I am feasting in Ukraine..." Ryleyev was only happy to leave "the noisy city of Peter" and was "flying to his beloved friend", wife, in order to "revive his cheerless spirit" in this "free steppe and blooming nature." Ryleyev loved those endless steppes, "the steppes of Ukraine", and probably that is one of the reason he wrote so extensively "about the Cossack struggle for freedom" and their "native steppes..." Later, in his letter to Pushkin, of May 12, 1825, in the same vein, Ryleyev said: "Petersburg is tiring for me; it chills any inspiration: my soul is longing for the steppes; there is more space for it; only there can I accomplish something worthy of our age."<sup>16</sup>

How differently Pushkin wrote of Petersburg: "I love thee, city of Peter's making..." in *The Bronze Horseman*.

Almost three months after the horrible Petersburg flood of November 7, 1824, the depressed Ryleyev wrote his wife (January 27, 1825) from the devastated capital, about his ill feelings and poor health: "How healthy I was in Pidhirne! I wonder myself and do not know to what I should attribute that: the climate of Pidhirne or the people's good nature How often I was sorry that insurmountable obstacles chain me to Petersburg, when poor health, moral disposition, wishes, poetry and feelings all pull me to Ukraine."<sup>17</sup>

As an indicator of the poet's feeling toward Ukraine, "to the land of the free Cossacks" are his unfinished fragments of lyrical sketches, such as:

By gifts of lavish Nature endowed  
I greet you, oh blessed country,  
Seeping from your earth milk and pure honey!

But the fruitful soil of beloved Ukraine  
Became drenched in blood, covered with mounds...

<sup>15</sup>) Nazarova, *op cit.*, p. 309.

<sup>16</sup>) Ryleyev, *op. cit.*, p. 494.

<sup>17</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 478.

\* \* \*

The rich fields of your wonderful land  
Remind us of your horrible fate . . .<sup>18</sup>

These poignant statements would be valid today:

He is burning with anger toward falsehood  
The yoke of the countrymen haunts him with anxiety,  
Free Slav in his soul, he cannot remain servile

\* \* \*

Tired of hostilities  
All of Ukraine is longing for peace,  
Thirsting for peace with all her soul . . .

These were only minute sketches, like a probe of the pen for his longer ballads or historical meditations, called *Dúmy* (1821-1823), written mostly after the pattern of the historical folksongs of Ukraine. Ryleyev's interest in history was awakened by Karamzin's work: "to combine love for one's country with the first impressions of memory of youth" was the intention of the Polish and American champion of freedom, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (1757-1841), an adjutant of the famous Kościuszko, whose *Spiewy Historyczne*, the rebellious Russian poet imitated in his *Dúmy*. "*Dúma*", continues Ryleyev in his "preface" — "an ancient heritage from our southern brothers (Ukrainians) is our native, Russian invention.\* The Poles borrow it from us. Until now, Ukrainians sing *dúmy* about their heroes: Doroshenko, Nechay, Sahaydachnyi, Paliy — and to Mazepa himself is ascribed composition of one of them."<sup>19</sup> Ryleyev glorified some remarkable characters and events in Ukrainian and Russian history in verse, creating a kind of native Plutarch's *Lives*. He intended to instill by them in his youthful readers, a desire for glorious deeds, citizen's ideas, and an enlightened and just government. The old Ukrainian Princess Olha, at the grave of her husband, Igor, killed by the abused Derevlyany tribe, teaches her little son, Svyatoslav, the duties of a ruler, in 964: "Be a father to thy subjects, rather prince than warrior, a friend of thine own, a menace to enemies." Liberated from the Polish dungeon by "Czaplitski's wife", Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi calls upon his Cossacks "who prefer death to slavery" "to fight the enemy" — the oppressive Polish nobility. In the *Duma*, *Peter the Great in Ostrohozhsk* Hetman Mazepa venerates "the conqueror of Azov" with a precious Turkish sabre and shield with the promise "to be enemy of Peter's enemies", but seemingly, "the severe leader kept some secret in his heart;" and this happened "there, where the waves of the Ostrohoshcha River joined the silent Sosna", and "where, in that blessed country, in the shade of rich orchards, was hidden the secluded town of the Ostrohozhsk Cossacks."

\*) Of course, Ryleyev regarded Ukraine as part of Russia.

<sup>18</sup>) *Ibid.*, pp. 406, 735.

<sup>19</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 120.



In his following more mature works, Ryleyev even more often utilized Ukrainian themes. The Russian liberation movement of 1810-1820, was closely connected with Ukraine. There was an active "Southern Secret Society", "Society of the United Slavs"; there, in Ukraine, lived and wrote the first persecuted Decembrist, poet-educator, Major Vladimir Rayevsky (1795-1872). During the Golden Age of Russian poetry, and especially from 1820 onward, when the short-lived romantic movement began, the Ukrainian theme (similar to the Ukrainian school in Polish poetry with A. Malczewski (1793-1826), S. Goszczyński (1801-1876), B. Zaleski (1802-1886), and others), occupied a prominent place in Russian literature. The pioneering works of V. T. Narizhnyi (1780-1825) were continued so splendidly by Ryleyev's friend, F. M. Glinka (1786-1880), the great enthusiast of Ukrainian history and folklore, whose poems (*The Memorable Match-Making*, *Zaporózhian Raid from Sich into Volýnia*, *The Negotiations in Bila Tserkva*) are thematically connected with the novel published by him, *Zinoviy Bogdan Khmel'nitsky or Liberated Little Russia* (1817). Glinka's method of collecting historical songs is so aptly expressed in his poem, *Kháta* (*The Hut*), where he says:

Sing, you maiden-singers  
About your good old days  
About ancient wars of Hetmans  
Sing, you maidens, song of *cháyka*  
And praise to me in these songs  
Khmel'nitsky and Nalivayko.

The first popular work of I. I. Kozlov (1779-1840), the translator of Moore's immortal *Evening Bells*, was his verse tale *Chernéts' (The Monk)*, 1825, in which the darkness of a Byronic hero is sentimentalized and redeemed by ultimate repentance. The noble Decembrist leader, K. F. Ryleyev, wrote his outstanding historical poem, *Voynaróvsky* (1823-1824), the exquisite sketches of the unfinished poem, *Naliváiko* (1824-1825), and other unfinished historical works, *Khmel'nitsky*, *Haydamáka*, *Paliy* (1825). The pseudo-historical novel, *Kochubéy* (1827) by E. Aladyin, preceded the biased but "magnificent in its very baldness and terseness" historical poem *Poltáva* (1828, published 1829) by A. S. Pushkin (1799-1837), this time free of Byronic influence, except for "the merest idea of narrative in verse with a lyrical coloring and with abrupt passages from episode to episode."<sup>20</sup> A. A. Del'vig (1798-1831) published his *Little Russian Melodies*. The collaborator of Del'vig's *Literary Gazette*, O. M. Somov (P. Bays'kyi) diligently used fantastic Ukrainian tales in his novels and stories,

<sup>20</sup> Mirsky, D. S., *A History of Russian Literature*, New York, (Knopf), 1949, p. 90.

modestly regarding himself as not even a writer, but an ethnographer.\* The first Ukrainian translator of Byron and a great admirer of Ryleyev, folklorist and poet, M. A. Markevych, wrote a collection of original poems, *Ukrainian Melodies* (1831).<sup>21</sup>

It was not only the *History of Little Russia*, published in 1822, by the servile descendant of a Moldavian immigrant, D. N. Bantysh-Kamensky, and *Istóriya Rúsov* (circulated in manuscript), work of some anonymous "Little Russian Titus Livius", as Pushkin aptly called him, but most of all, the rich Collection of *Ancient Little Russian Songs*, published in 1819, by Prince Nicholas Tsertelev, (which included ten historical *dúmy* and many patriotic folksongs), and the friendship and warm relationship with Ukrainian intellectuals, which contributed to Ryleyev's enthusiasm and knowledge of Ukraine's past and present. The Polish philologist, Alexander Brueckner, even went so far as to say of Ryleyev: "As he could find in Russian history no struggles for freedom, he sought them among the Cossacks in their struggle against the Poles, and was the first of his countrymen to glorify the Khmel'nyts'kyi's, Nalyvaykos, and Voynarovs'kyis; soon Pushkin was to follow him on these subjects. Thus, he became the first didactic poet of modern times."<sup>22</sup>

According to A. G. Tseytlin, Ryleyev's friend, F. N. Glinka, (whose brother Grigory was Mayor of Ostrohozhsk) with his novel *Bogdan Khmel'nitsky*, had already generated literary interest in "the splendid epoch of life of this national hero of Ukraine." The history of this country attracted the Decembrist novelist by its heroic content: "Who can count all the heroic deeds and the merits of the inhabitants of the Don and Ukraine in the military and civic field? .. How many distinguished men these fortunate countries under their clear skies, men whose names live in posterity and will shine with undiminished light in our later annals!"<sup>23</sup>

For his first mature work from Ukrainian history, Ryleyev chose Mazepa's rising against Tsar Peter I, and the tragic fate of his nephew, Voynarovs'kyi — "friend of the people", who fought "against autocracy."

(To be concluded)

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\*) In 1831, he sent Pushkin a poem, *Voice of an Ukrainian...*, with a witty dedication: "To His Excellency *pan Het'mánych* of the illustrious Apollo, A. S. Pushkin, from the lowliest servant on Mt. Parnassus — Porfiry Bayskyi." (O. Biletskyi, *Pratsi*, t. 4, 1966, p. 196).

*Spelling:*

When referring to book's title in Russian, then *Voynarovsky*, *Khmel'nitsky*, etc. but otherwise in Ukrainian *Voynarovs'kyi*, *Khmel'nyts'kyi*.

<sup>21</sup>) Bilets'kyi, O. I., *Pratsi (u 5-ty tomakh)*, t. 4, Kyiv, (AN USSR), 1966, p. 196 ff.

<sup>22</sup>) Brueckner, A., *A Literary History of Russia*, London (Unwin), 1908, p. 157.

<sup>23</sup>) *Dekabristy i ikh vremya*, (sbornik), M. — L., 1951, p. 332.

Olexa WOROPAY

# CUSTOMS OF OUR PEOPLE

## Part I

### *In the summer time...*

#### **Holy Day of field flowers**

June 25th is St. Onufriy's day. In the Ukrainian province of Podolia this day is also considered as the holy day of field flowers, and the people of the province relate a charming legend about it.

Once upon a time flowers of the field, a little daisy, a red poppy, a cornflower and several others, tried to find out from the wind if angry old man Mr. Frost intended to freeze them. The poor little flowers looked for protection and complained to St. Father Onufriy, who was walking amongst them, admiring them. Saint Father Onufriy felt very sorry for the flowers, so he went to angry old Mr. Frost and asked him not to touch the defenceless little wild flowers. Angry old man Mr. Frost was so obstinate that St. Father Onufriy lost his self-control, he seized an axe and struck Mr. Frost on the head with the blunt side. Now Mr. Frost will be very ill until "Spasa" (Holy Saviour's) day (19th Aug.) so all the field flowers will be able to bloom and blossom peacefully.

At this time of year the peasants tell many stories about the flowers. They say that the cornflower that blooms in the rye was once a young boy with very blue eyes, a mother's only son. One day he happened to be walking in the field at the same time as three mermaids were there. The mermaids quarrelled as to whose he should be, and in the end decided he should belong to no one. They caught him and tickled him into a cornflower and left him in the field for the girls' amusement.

The "bratky" (*Viola tricolor* L.) is also in full bloom in June. This flower rather resembles a violet or small viola, some have yellow petals, the others blue. These also were once human, it is said, brother and sister, who not recognising one another fell in love and were married. For this God punished them, and now they bloom in the two colours to remind people who take them home and decorate the icons.

In the morning when the girls wash their faces, they rub their cheeks with red poppy petals so that their complexions will always be rosy.

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In the olden days the country people believed that on St. Onufriy's day it was not permissible to mow the grass.

### **Before Peter's Fast**

In Ukraine St. Peter's day is celebrated on the 12th of July. The preceding fortnight is a period of fasting. On the first Monday of the fast there is much festivity, the chief celebration being the funeral of the old Pagan god Yarylo.

Yarylo was the god of all the Slavonic races, he personified fertility and the power of the Spring sun. In olden days people imagined that before St. Peter's feast the old god walked in the fields all night dressed in a white sheet, with a wreath of poppies and hops on his head, in his hands a sickle and ears of ripe rye, wheat and barley. Then as fertility, the energy of the earth and the sun had arrived at culmination point and began to decline, Yarylo died — so the mock funeral of the god was a symbol of this old belief. It was a funeral unmarked by grief, with great merrymaking. The young women were particularly gay, their play was known as "Chasing the Hawk" and in some places no men could join in, in fact only young married women took part, widows and young girls never joined in.

For the "Chasing the Hawk" the young women met in a public house and drank "horilka" (vodka), then they danced and sang songs that at any other time they would have been ashamed of singing.

The young girls float on a river wreaths of wild flowers which they braided on the first day of Whitsun.

### **The celebration of "Kupalo"-Day**

Kupalo, according to Slavonic mythology, was the god of the soil and all that grows therein. It is celebrated on July 7th when natural energy arrives at its zenith before it weakens and fades into Autumn.

In olden days the Ukrainian peasants brought bread to Kupalo, as it represented the greatest of the earth's fruits — this was their sacrifice. The great imagination of the Ukrainians endowed flowers and plants with supernatural powers. They believed that on Kupalo night the plants could move from place to place and that all herbs gathered in the middle of the night had great curative powers — also that on this night the bracken bloomed and that whoever found this flower would be happy, well, and know all the secrets of the world.

During this festival water was also believed to possess curative powers, and young children rolled in the dew so that they would be beautiful.

Besides all this there was supposed to be a great deal of activity from fays, mermaids and all kinds of spirits particularly evil ones. In olden days many symbolic plays were performed — many of which are forgotten.

Nowadays Kupalo day has been merged with St. John the Baptist's Day, and although the old pagan celebrations have disappeared, there still exist many poetic traditions of ancient Ukrainian origin.

### The wreath of Kupalo (Fragment)

Very early in the morning, before sunrise on Kupalo day the girls of Ukraine decorate their homes with leaves of burdock and branches of trees.

Then as the sun rises and the dew shines on the grass they go to the fields and gather wild flowers to make a wreath to wear on their heads. They intertwine wormwood with the flowers — this is for protection from mermaids. They believe it is very dangerous to be without wormwood on Kupalo Day — as without this charm a mermaid might catch them and tickle them to death.

At night when it is dark and silence is all around, the girls go to the river, take off their wreaths, fasten a candle on to them, which they light, and then gently lay them on to the water. Thus in the dark and silence of Kupalo night, on the quiet waters of the river float many wreaths with their golden trembling lights — predicting the fate of the girls...

### St. Peter and Paul's Day

The feast of St. Peter and St. Paul is celebrated in Ukraine on July 12th. The Ukrainian peasants believe that these holy saints have certain farmer's duties to perform and that they commence the reaping of the rye and wheat. One of the Ukrainian Christmas Carols speaks about the two apostles as ploughmen who plough the field for autumn sowing:

Saint Peter walks beside the plough,  
As Saint Paul the oxen drives,  
And God Himself the wheat doth sow,  
Saint Illya harrows so it thrives.

This is a holy day in Ukraine just as in the West and every girl as she goes to Church is garlanded with flowers.

When the services are over rich and poor eat "mandryky". These are dough-nuts baked with flour, eggs and cheese. Old women say that when St. Peter and St. Paul were on their long travels teaching the Holy Gospel they ate nothing but mandryky (Ukr. *mandruváty* = to wander, to travel).

The cuckoo stops calling on this day and the peasants believe the day's silence is God's punishment to it because one of its ancestors stole St. Peter's *mandryky* for which sin it chokes on St. Peter's day and stops calling.

In the west Carpathians around the mountain Raina this was the day when an interesting and curious old custom was observed, this was known as the Fair of the Girls.

The parents of unmarried daughters took them to the mountain Raina complete with their dowry, which consisted of a hive of bees, a cow, and maybe other treasures of the home. Every family occupied separate hut together with the would be bride's riches. There they awaited the arrival of a fiancé.

The arrival of the boys with their parents and kinsfolk caused great excitement among the girls. Then the parade started, the boys walked by the huts where the girls were seated, choosing their brides, while the parents kept a sharp eye on the "marriage settlement." All eligible boys and girls wore the traditional wedding dress of the region.

In most cases the boys and girls had come to an arrangement with their sweethearts before the fair and the choosing of a bride was merely a pretence — but there were great arguments among the parents as to the value of the dowry. When at last all was settled and the arrangements were complete, the betrothal was made secure in the presence of a priest, who blessed them and their families, and the future bride and bridegroom exchanged a beautiful embroidered shawl.

Nowadays the fair does not exist but until the early part of the 19th Century, the Girls Fair on St. Peter's and St. Paul's Day around the mountain Raina was a reality.

### St. Mokryna's Day

The 1st of August is devoted to Saint Mokryna. The farmers take great interest in the weather on this day. If it is raining they believe autumn will be wet, if the sun shines, then autumn will be dry.

### St. Illya's [Elijah's] Day

This is celebrated on the 2nd of August. According to folk mythology St. Elijah (Illya in Ukrainian) is reputed to be the heir of Perun, the old Pagan god of thunder. He is also the patron of "Harvest Home."

One Ukrainian Christmas Carol describes how St. Elijah walks across the fields at New Year waving a whip of rye in his hand:

Illya walks on the 1st of the Year,  
Carrying of rye a fruitful ear,  
Where he waves it people know  
Rye and wheat and oats will grow . . .

The harvest is all gathered in before St. Elijah's feast. An old proverb says: "On St. Illya's day — new bread is on the table."



No one bathes in the rivers after this day — children are told that anyone who does grows a willow from his seat.

The sky becomes more and more cloudy after the 2nd of August, another old proverb says that — Before St. Illya's day the clouds float with the wind, after St. Illya's day against the wind.

Autumn is drawing nearer... The gnats no longer bite, St. Illya forbids them. The bees that are swarming are useless and the apiarist doesn't bother to hive them. Thunder rumbles — that is St. Illya driving across a sky bridge in his fiery chariot.

Very often at this time of the year there are tremendous storms during the night in Southern Ukraine, with such vivid lightning and loud thunder that even the birds cannot sleep — these are known as "Sparrow nights." It makes a beautiful picture, watching the birds' activities in the brilliance of the lightning if observed from the window of a little forest hut.

If on the eve of St. Illya's day a star falls from the sky and vanishes, people say a witch has caught this star and hidden it in her bosom.

### Harvest Home — "Obzhynky"

When the last of the harvest is gathered in Ukraine the girls and women glean the fields, and from the ears of wheat and rye they weave a wreath. While they work they sing traditional songs of the good harvest and the joyous work of the fields. When the wreath is finished they sing "The song of the wreath." This is sung to the owner of the lands just harvested:

The wreath was rolling through the field  
Asking the master to let it into his barn:  
"Let me, dear master, into your barn,  
For I have been a long time out in the field.  
I heard the songs of the flighty wind,  
And drank a fill of the morning dew.  
I will not rest in the barn for long,  
But will go back to the field anew."

Rye and wheat must go back to the field for the autumn sowing, so that the reapers would have something to reap next year.

In Podolia the girls weave a large bouquet of wheat in addition to the wreath. The bouquet is very interesting. Five bunches of wheat are taken. Each bunch is weaved in such a way that it forms an enormous petal, then the five petals are put together to form a huge flower.

When the wreath and the "Flower" are ready, girls or young married women choose a pretty girl — she is the Queen of Harvest Home. They place the wreath on her head, put the "Flower" into her hand and she heads a procession of the girls and women who follow her joyfully towards the farm singing:

The grove is full of voices,  
The road with noises ringing.  
The master's reapers are coming,  
A wreath of gold are bringing.  
O bright moon, dear little moon,  
Shine on our path soon,  
So that we do not lose our way,  
Do not lose our wreath as well,  
Because our wreath is nice,  
As the dear little moon bright,  
It is taller than a fence,  
And dearer than gold itself.  
It is taller than a hill,  
Than a star brighter still.

Or:

We are merry, our master, merry,  
Because the wreath we do carry,  
Rejoice even more we'll be able  
When we place it on your table.  
In the wind the rye was swaying  
When in the field it was standing,  
But it will no longer be able  
To sway lying on your table.

This is sung still in the fields. But when the reapers enter the village they sing the following song:

Come out, master, this time,  
From us our wreath do buy!  
Give us a minted thaler  
For this woven wreath, darling.  
For by the girls it was twined  
To taste *horilka* tonight.  
Hang the wreath on the wall,  
Give us a jug, even small.

The farmer comes out, and smilingly accepts the wreath and the "Flower." He invites them into his house where tables are laid with spotless white cloths and piled high with good food and wines, and the feast begins. The girls and women eat and drink and sing:

We have reaped the wheat and rye,  
And we wait for next year's yields.  
As many stars as are in the sky,  
So many stooks will be in the fields . . .

The table song which the reapers sing is interesting — the motive combines thanksgiving for the harvest with the theme of a wedding. If the wreath and "the Flower" have been carried by an unmarried girl then all the guests wish her to wear her bridal wreath soon.

When the dinner is over all the guests go outside, where music is playing, there they dance and sing and enjoy themselves, till very late, sometimes even all night.

The wreath and "Flower" of Harvest Home are blessed with the fruits and vegetables in the Church on "Holy Saviour's Day" (Harvest Festival). This is always held on the 19th August. Thus the wreath and "Flower" become sacred and are kept for a year, until the following Holy Saviour's Day, when they are threshed, and mixed with the newly threshed rye and wheat — and sown in the field, to bring a better harvest.

### Makoveya [Maccabees] Day

The 14th of August are two feasts celebrated on this day — the feast of Makoveya and the first "Spasa" or "Spasa on the water."

In the morning women and girls, old and young, go to Church wearing the celebrated national dress. They carry many autumn flowers: — yellow and bronze marigolds, cornflowers and the best of the ripened poppy heads. In the Church the flowers are blessed. When the service is over the flowers are taken home and put behind the icons, there they stay until the following Spring, when the seeds from the poppy heads are sown in the garden.

The girls weave the dried holy flowers into their plaits on the feast of the Annunciation in the belief that they will prevent their hair from falling out.

The people who are sick with fever bathe in the river for on that day it is believed to possess curative powers.

Until the 18th Century in Kiev, the capital of Ukraine, it was the custom of all the citizens to go to the river Dnipro for the ceremony of blessing. This was done to commemorate the adoption of Christianity by baptism in the river in the year 988. All men were expected to appear for this sacred ceremony wearing the parade dress of the Cossacks.

On Makoveya Day a sweet cake called "shuliky" is eaten — it is delicious and contains much honey and poppy seeds.

There is a folk anecdote often told when shuliky is put on the table. One Makoveya day a Moskal called at the home of a Ukrainian — now to a Ukrainian every Russian is a Moskal whether he hails from Moscow or not. As always hospitable, the Ukrainian invited the traveller to dinner — for desert that day shuliky was served. The Moskal had never seen this before and he looked at it with suspicion and asked:

— What is it?

— Shuliky, of course! — replied his hostess. The Moskal had never heard that word before and misunderstanding thought his hostess had said "kuliky" (kuliky — is swamp bird-Himantopus). He sprang to his feet and shouted:



— Kuliky, kuliky! — they will fly out!  
And he flung the shuliky out of the window.

— What are you doing, Moskal? — asked the hostess, — why don't you taste? It is sweet!

The Moskal tasted — he liked it very much and running to the window shouted:

— Kuliky, kuliky, fly back again, my plate is empty!  
So the silly Moskal had no shuliky on Makoveya Day.

### **"Spasa" [Holy Saviour's] Day**

Although the apples, pears and plums have ripened in the orchards long before 19th August, no old people will ever eat them before that day — Harvest Festival or in Ukrainian language — Spasa Day.

Folk legend says: In Heaven on this day, an angel appears to dead children, bringing them fruits. The angel gives apples, pears and plums to all the children except those whose mother and father have eaten fruit before Spasa Day. To these children the angel says:

— For you I have nothing because your mother and father have eaten your apples.

So remembering their dead children, Ukrainian mothers never eat fruit before Spasa Day.

At the foundation of this legend is the idea that children are responsible for the actions of their parents. This motive is frequently found in Ukrainian folklore.

Before Spasa Day there was fast during two weeks. Folk legend says that the fast that precedes Spasa Day is a continuation of the Lenten fast. When God first made the fast of Lent it was of nine weeks duration. The saintly Fathers beseeched Him to divide the fast into two parts because it was very hard for people to fast for so long a period. God consented and made the fast of Lent for seven weeks in spring time and said the other two weeks fast should be observed at the end of the summer, before Spasa. That is why Ukrainians observe this shorter fast in exactly the same way as the Lenten fast.

On the morning of Spasa Day everybody goes to Church carrying new baskets filled with apples, pears and plums together with pots of honey. All this will be blessed. Afterwards, at home, fruit with honey is eaten for the first time after dinner.

Spasa Day closes the round of the agrarian celebrations.

Now Mr. Frost, whom Saint Onufriy stunned on the 25th of June is by this time recovering. — The folk proverb says:

"Keep your gloves in store, Spas is coming." — Any night now may be frosty.

After Spasa Day the Autumn begins . . .

*(To be continued.)*

Nicholas D. CHUBATY

## UKRAINIAN (RUTHENIAN) RITE CHURCH AFTER VATICAN COUNCIL II.

### Introduction

#### About the author:

Nicholas Chubaty, Ph.D., LL.D. h.c. is former professor of Church history of Eastern Slavs at the Ukrainian Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv (Western Ukraine) until 1939.

He is author of several historical and historico-juridical works, the last of which is entitled *THE HISTORY OF CHRISTIANITY IN RUS'-UKRAINE*, V. I, Rome-New York 1965, Ukrainian Catholic University Press.

In USA he established and during 13 years edited *The Ukrainian Quarterly* review.

The Second Vatican Council introduced changes of vast ramifications in both the religious-theological thinking of the Catholic world and the constitutional structure of the Universal Church. The very definition of the role of the Bishops' College engendered autonomic tendencies heretofore unknown in the Western Church. But the Council's Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches went much further in that it actually demanded the return of the administrative structure of the Universal Church to what it was before the separation of Churches in 1054. *This Decree approved by Pope Paul VI became the constitutional law of the Universal Church on January 21, 1965*, effectuating a reorganization, especially of the Eastern Churches united with Rome. Their new status was intended to serve as an example for the Orthodox Churches separated from Rome in case they decided to join the Holy Catholic Apostolic Church, as defined by the first Ecumenical Councils of the fourth century.

Among the Eastern Catholic Churches reorganized in accordance with the new decree, the new status of the Church of the Ukrainians (Ruthenians)\* merits closer scrutiny. This Church, the largest in the group of 14 rites, with over 60 per cent of all Eastern Catholics traces its origin to the period of Kievan Christianity which flourished in the eleventh century.<sup>1</sup>

This Church has preserved its pure eastern character until this very day, and demonstrated its loyalty to the Catholic faith by martyrdom and steadfast adherence to the teachings of Christ.<sup>2</sup> The structural reorganization of this Church in accordance with the Council's Decree on Eastern Churches, both in letter and in spirit, was meant to set an example for the Orthodox Churches. Such a Church, administratively self-governing yet closely connected with the Holy See, was probably the ideal of the late Pope John XXIII, the great architect of the Second Vatican Council.

*Four years have passed since the Decree on Eastern Churches became the fundamental law of the Church, but the Ukrainian Catholic Church has yet to be reorganized in line with the principles set forth in that document.* In the meantime, several articles have been published by more or less competent writers, which obfuscate rather than clarify the post-Council status of this Church.

Of major importance is the question to what extent the pre-Council canon law, promulgated in 1957 by *Motu Proprio "Cleri Sanctitati"*, is still in effect, in the face of the new constitutional law of the Church contained in the conciliar Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches.

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\*) The Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite has for centuries been referred to in official Vatican terminology as "Ruthenian", an archaic name for "Ukrainian."

<sup>1</sup>) This period is described by George Fedotov, Russian Church historian as follows: "Freedom was especially enjoyed by the Church... Relationship between the Christian Church and the Christian State in the Kievan experience, short and unstable as it was, can be considered as one of the best Christian achievements... The Church was able to develop a deep and sincere national consciousness which remained quite free from venomous nationalism..." George P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind*, Cambridge, 1946, pp. 400, 409. See also Mykola Chubaty, *Istoriya Khrystiyanstva na Rusi-Ukraini*, Vol. 1, Rome-New York, 1965, "*Kyyivs'ke Khrystiyanstvo v ideolohiyi i praktytsi*", pp. 756-61.

<sup>2</sup>) The final Communist occupation of Western Ukrainian lands (Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine) in 1944/45 provided Moscow with an opportunity to launch the fourth attack in modern history on the Eastern Catholic Church of the Ukrainians (Ruthenians), united with Rome since 1596. In April, 1945, the Archbishop of Lviv and six other bishops of the Galician province were imprisoned. In 1947, the bishop of Uzhhorod was killed and the two bishops of Priashiv were arrested three years later. Of the ten Ukrainian (Ruthenian) bishops, eight died in prison. Only Metropolitan (now Cardinal) Yosyf Slipyi and Bishop Vasyl Hopko of Priashiv are still alive. No bishop ever renounced his loyalty to the Catholic Church. Despite persecution and a legal ban, the Eastern Catholic Church is very much alive behind the Iron Curtain with a clandestinely functioning hierarchy, parishes and even monasteries.



## I.

**The Role of the II Vatican Council in the Legislature of the Eastern Catholic Churches**

The Second Vatican Council, essentially an internal assemblage of the Catholic Church, was bound to be affected by trends and opinions prevailing within the Orthodox world. Pope John XXIII, who was well versed in the problems of the Orthodox East, had two primary reasons for convening the Council: (1) to adapt the Church to the modern conditions of life (*aggiornamento*) and (2) to lay the groundwork by means of various decrees for a broader unity of the Christian world (ecumenism). He was well aware of the adverse effect that the schism of 1054 had on the internal affairs of the Universal Church. Since that time, the Western Church tended to broaden the power of the Pope, investing the office with new attributes, which had no legal foundation in the Holy Scriptures and no precedent in the traditions accumulated during the first millenium. As a result, the eastern Christians were becoming increasingly alienated from Rome. To open the doors to Christian unity, the internal structure of the Universal Church, particularly the prerogatives of the Supreme Pontiff, had to undergo some changes and be restored to their pre-schism status.

**Structure of the Universal Church Prior to the Schism of 1054**

Scholars, historians, and canon law experts have produced a number of excellent works on the structure of the Universal Church prior to the schism of 1054. Among them is the work of Prof. Wilhelm De Vries of the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome.<sup>3</sup> His work, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens*, published during the Second Vatican Council, describes the relationship as follows:

Up to the schism of 1054, the Universal Church was divided into five patriarchates and a few eastern autonomous Churches with a patriarchal structure, although heads of the latter did not possess the titles of patriarch but were called (Major) Archbishops or Catholicos. The first in the hierarchy of the patriarchs was the Roman Pope, i. e. the Western Patriarch. The four eastern patriarchs were ranked as follows: Alexandria, Antioch, Byzantium, and Jerusalem. After the Council of Chalcedon in 451, the Byzantine Patriarch rose to second place in the hierarchy despite objections of the Roman Pope. The power of the Roman Pope was centralized, whereas that of the patriarchs or protohierarchs of the autonomous Churches was Synodal, i. e. the patriarch ruled with the help of a patriarchal synod. Apart from titular dignity, all patriarchs and protohierarchs were equal and independent.

<sup>3</sup>) Wilhelm De Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens*, Freiburg, 1963; also Francis Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy*, Fordham University Press, New York, 1966.

The Church of Cyprus was the first autonomous Church under the authority of an archbishop. Later, the Churches of Georgia and Armenia acquired similar status. Their protohierarchs were known as Catholicos. The Bulgarian Church also had the same structure from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. It failed, however, to attain permanently patriarchal status.

New research on the Church of Rus'-Ukraine reveals that since the official introduction of Christianity in the Kievan Realm, that Church also had autonomy and its protohierarch, archbishop of Tmutorokan (Tamatarcha), had probably the title of Catholicos. In administrative matters he was wholly independent of either Rome or Byzantium.

The autonomous Church with the patriarchal structure was vested with the following rights: it could maintain its own laws and liturgy and to canonize its own saints; it could establish rules for the clergy and faithful. Thus the Patriarchal Church was an autonomous part of the Universal Church.

Although the Roman Pontiff had neither legislative nor administrative competence in the East, he was considered the Primate of the Universal Church. He was the "coordinator of the sacramental and juridical community", according to De Vries. He also had appellate jurisdiction in matters concerning the entire Church. He had the final say on the questions of faith, usually formulated by the Church Councils. The Patriarchs' autonomy did not extend to the matters of faith. On the contrary, it was the Roman Pope who had the right to excommunicate heretics also in the patriarchates of the East.

After the schism of 1054, the Roman Church changed its status, allowing the Pope to assume administrative authority of the Eastern Churches wherever it was practically possible. Naturally, parts of the Eastern Church which had restored unity with Rome fell under the jurisdiction of the Pope and the Roman Curia. Rome thus became the centre of legislature for the Eastern Churches as well.

## II.

### **The Vatican Council and its Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches**

The decisions of the Church Councils, regarding both questions of faith and jurisdiction, always had the force of *fundamental constitutional laws of the Church*. The Decree on Eastern Churches, adopted at the Second Vatican Council, also falls into that category. Essentially applicable to the Eastern Catholic Churches, in view of Pope John's XXIII ecumenical plans, the Decree was formulated in such a manner as to be acceptable to the Orthodox Churches contemplating unity with Rome. It introduced a series of fundamental changes which were bound to conflict with the existing canon law. The Decree even states so specifically: "Therefore, the Holy Council resolves that their (those of the Eastern Churches — N. D. Chubaty) rights and privileges

be restored in line with the ancient traditions of each Church and in line with the decisions of the Church Councils. *And these are the very rights and privileges that were in effect during the period of unity between the East and the West, although they have to be adapted somewhat to the modern conditions.*"

Anyone who reads the Decree carefully must admit that the present laws on the Eastern Catholic Churches did not and, in fact, could not exist prior to the schism. Thus the laws, particularly those that contradict the Decree on Eastern Churches, are not binding today. This then is the scholarly interpretation of the canon *Cleri Sanctitati*.

The Decree states that every Eastern Church (including the Ukrainian) should have a patriarchal structure, i. e., to be headed by a patriarch or an archbishop-major equal in authority to a patriarch. According to the Decree, it is not a privilege but a duty of the Eastern Churches to maintain a patriarchal structure. And the Decree is quite clear on the nature of the patriarchal system.

The Decree is not just another law. It is the fundamental constitutional law of the Church which changes the relationship of Rome to the Eastern Churches within the framework of the Universal Church. Like every other constitutional law, the Decree must be supported by executive laws which make it enforceable. Still, the Decree became law of the Universal Church, approved by the Pope on November 21, 1964, and actually went into effect two months later on January 21, 1965. In approving the Decree, the Pope said in effect to the protohierarchs of the Eastern Churches approximately the following: Here is the Decree. It becomes binding in two month or sooner. Use it and benefit from it.

The approval of the Decree on Eastern Churches was an event of great historic significance. By this Decree Pope Paul VI abdicated magnanimously all of the competence with regard to the Eastern Churches which Rome had appropriated since the schism of 1054 up to the Second Vatican Council inclusively. This was indeed a great sacrifice in the name of unity between the Christian East and the West.

Naturally, the Decree granted the right of implementation to the protohierarchs of the Eastern Catholic Churches. On December 22, 1964, the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) rite Archbishop-Major Josyf Slipyi issued a declaration in the first issue of his official publication *Blahovisnyk* that for this Church the legal force of the Decree would begin on the feast of the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary (March 25, 1965, according to the Julian calendar).

Regarding the relationship of the Decree to the canon laws promulgated by *Motu Proprio: Cleri Sanctitati*, some authorities point out that the Decree itself supposedly cites the existing provisions of the canon law. As an example they cite the phrase "ad normam iuris" repeated in the Decree. To be sure, the Decree states that this or that



provision will be regulated "ad normam iuris", but there is no statement to the effect that this will be done in accordance with the canon law code of 1957. On the contrary, this notation signifies that appropriate legal regulations will be made. Obviously the laws of *Cleri Sanctitati* was found not fully workable in the light of the newly promulgated conciliar Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches.

The Council Decree states further that the patriarchal institution constitutes "the traditional form of administration in the Eastern Churches" (pr. 2). "The title of Eastern Patriarch (or Archbishop-Major, par. 10) belongs to the bishop who has jurisdiction over all other bishops, not excluding metropolitans, clergy, and faithful of his territory or rite (par. 7). Furthermore, the decree provides that "wherever a new hierarch is appointed outside the patriarchal territory, he remains aggregated to the hierarchy of the patriarchate."

This means that every Church subdivision — metropolitanate, eparchy or exarchate — falls under the jurisdiction of the Patriarch or Archbishop-Major, providing it is within the territorial boundaries of the said patriarchate or is of the same rite though situated outside the latter's territory. The hierarchs of the same rite outside the territory of the patriarchate are included in the hierarchy under the patriarch's jurisdiction.

Thus according to the Decree and the ancient traditions, a regular Eastern Church is considered a unified Church with a patriarchal structure, providing it meets the following conditions: (1) it must be headed by a patriarch or archbishop-major, (2) it must have a territory of its own, or a common rite of its own; common to all of its component units. Thus the jurisdiction of the patriarch extends to all Church subdivisions functioning on the territory of the patriarchate as well as those of the same rite outside the territorial limits. Patriarchal jurisdiction is territorial and personal as well.

### III.

**Let us look at these conditions as they apply to the Kiev-Galician Major Archiepiscopate of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Rite:**

#### **a) The Problem of the Kiev-Galician Major Archbishop**

The Church of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Rite never had a patriarch despite its efforts to secure the title for its protohierarchs.<sup>4</sup> However, since its early beginnings the Church of Kievan Rus'-Ukraine always had an archbishop-major as its head (before and after the Union of Brest Litovsk). The Kiev-Galician Church has always been a major archiepiscopate. According to the Council's Decree on Eastern Churches it is equal to a patriarchate. Therefore, this Church does indeed have the patriarchal status. No one in Rome

<sup>4</sup> Krajcar, J. K., S. J., "The Ruthenian Patriarchate", *Orientalia Christiana*, Vol. XXX, Fasc. I, 1964.

questions this fact today. Soon after the arrival of Archbishop Yosyf Slipyi in Rome, Pope Paul VI confirmed the hierarchical status of the prelate on the basis of ancient tradition (December 23, 1963).

Still, the Kiev-Galician Major Archiepiscopate should be officially elevated to patriarchal dignity for a variety of reasons. This Church, the oldest in the eastern part of Europe, has for centuries served as an outpost of Christian missionary activity that spread the teachings of Christ into Russia and Byelorussia. After reunion with Rome in 1596, the Kievan Church asked the Holy See on several occasions to be elevated to the patriarchal dignity. The requests, though unsuccessful, were supported by the Ukrainian Catholics and Orthodox alike. By virtue of its present heroic stand against the unabating onslaught of atheism in Ukraine, the Church deserves the elevation of its primate to the dignity of a patriarch.

#### **b) The Territorial Problem of the Archiepiscopate**

The Kiev-Galician Archiepiscopate always had a patriarchal territory. Because of alien occupation, the present Archbishop-Major is compelled to take up temporary residence in Rome. Since the Union of Brest Litovsk, the Ukrainian Catholics have borne the brunt of Moscow's religious and political onslaughts. Consequently, the territory of the Kievan Archiepiscopate diminished steadily at the expense of the spawning Orthodox Muscovite Patriarchate.

In the southwest, part of the territory with Ruthenian (Ukrainian) population was cut off from the Archiepiscopate by the political boundary with Hungary on the Carpathian mountains. For political reasons, the Hungarian authorities prevented a segment of the Ruthenian (Ukrainian) rite Church from formally uniting with the neighbouring Galician Church province which was an integral part of the Kiev-Galician Major Archiepiscopate despite the fact that the Carpatho-Ruthenians (Ukrainians) themselves desired such a union. The Holy See was also favourably predisposed to such a union (Pope Gregory XVI, Pius IX, Leo XII).

At the present time this territory is politically united with the Galician Church province. There the Eastern Catholic Church survives despite official bans and uninterrupted persecution. It has thus become a part of the Kiev-Galician Major Archiepiscopate. The ancient Eastern Church canon provides that the boundaries of the territory of the national Church of the same rite should be adjusted to the political boundaries.

While it is true that the basic territory of an autonomous Eastern Catholic Church does have some significance in establishing the Church's identity, the fact cannot be overlooked that there are Churches in the Christian East which lost their basic territory as a result of political upheavals. Consequently, the centres of these na-

tional Churches moved to the territories of the neighboring patriarchates of different rite, which thus became a kind of extended territory of the national Churches. As examples one can cite the Armenian and the Melkite Churches.

The Armenian Eastern Catholic Patriarchate has no jurisdictional claim over any part of Armenia; its domain extends over the neighbouring territories of the former patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem. The Melkite Patriarchate also extends its domain to the former patriarchates of Antioch, Jerusalem and Alexandria. These are canonically established eparchies on the territories of these patriarchates of different rites and no one questions the jurisdiction of the Armenian and Melkite Patriarchates over them.

These precedents are of utmost importance in establishing the original extended territory of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) rite Catholic Church as an autonomous Eastern Catholic Church. Specifically, this concerns the delineation of the jurisdictional territory of Major Archbishop Yosyf Cardinal Slipyi.

Naturally, the basic territory of the Kiev-Galician Major Archiepiscopate is the Western and Carpathian region of Ukraine. Since the second half of the eighteenth century, however, thousands of Ukrainians (Ruthenians) emigrated to the territory of the present-day Yugoslavia where the eparchy of Krizevci was established by the Holy See. At the turn of this century the first wave of Ukrainian (Ruthenian) immigrants came to the USA and Canada where new Ukrainian (Ruthenian) rite Church units were canonically erected.

#### IV.

#### **Daughter-Churches of the Kiev-Galician Major Archiepiscopate in North America**

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the first faithful and clergy of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) rite arrived in the United States from the original territory of the Major Archiepiscopate. The first Exarch in the United States, Bishop Soter Ortynsky, arrived from the original territory of Galicia thanks to the persistent efforts of the Archbishop of Lviv, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptytsky (1907). Five years later Bishop Nicetas Budka was named Exarch for Canada. Both of these Churches were under the spiritual care of the Major Archbishop in Lviv who came to Canada and the United States for extended official visits. The successors of both Exarchs, Bishops Constantine Bohachevsky, Basil Takacz for the USA and Bishop Ladyka for Canada, also came from the original territory of the Archiepiscopate, Galicia resp. Carpathian Ruthenia, today called Carpatho-Ukraine.

The great catastrophe that befell the Church in Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine in 1945-50, resulting in the total destruction of its external structure, led the Pope Pius XII and Cardinal Tisserant (who



headed the Eastern Congregation) to devise a more permanent status to the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Rite Churches on the North American continent. The Philadelphia and Winnipeg Exarchates were transformed into Metropolitan Sees with eparchies in Toronto, Edmonton, and Saskatoon in Canada, and Stamford and Chicago in the United States. In 1963 the Pittsburgh Exarchate also was transformed into two canonically erected eparchies of the Ruthenian rite with seats in Munhall near Pittsburgh and in Passaic. In 1969 the western part of the Munhall-Pittsburgh eparchy was separated and transformed into a third eparchy with the seat in Parma near Cleveland. After this reorganization the three eparchies created from the former Pittsburgh Exarchate were united into the second Metropolitan province of the Ruthenian rite in the USA, called Munhall Metropolitan Province. Both Metropolitan Provinces of Philadelphia and of Munhall have jurisdiction on the same territory in the USA over the faithful of the same Ukrainian (Ruthenian) rite and even of the same Ukrainian (Ruthenian) origin. Their Mother Church, the Church of martyrs and confessors of Christ in Ukraine, badly devastated by the Russian atheistic communist regime expects some missionary help from them in the future. But the double Catholic hierarchy of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) rite Church abroad is rather weakening her activity and missionary capacity.

Some publicists less familiar with the character of the Ukrainian (Ruthenian) rite Catholicism in the USA started to call the rite of the three eparchies of the Munhall Metropolitan province Byzantine. Byzantine is family name, not an individual name, of several rites, which in the past originated from the Patriarchal Byzantine Church, as the Melkite rite, Bulgarian, Ukrainian (Ruthenian), Rumanian, Russian, Serbian, Macedonian. *The above mentioned canonically established Metropolitan and eparchial sees in USA have in fact extended the domain of the Kiev-Galician Major Archiepiscopate to the territories of the United States and Canada, much like the Armenian and Melkite Patriarchates in earlier periods of history.*

There are, in addition, two Exarchates of the same Ukrainian (Ruthenian) rite in South America (Argentina and Brazil), one in Australia, and three in Western Europe. They also come under the jurisdiction of the Major Archiepiscopate of the same Ukrainian (Ruthenian) rite in accordance with the conciliar Decree on Eastern Catholic Churches (p. 7). Their common centuries-old Ukrainian (Ruthenian) rite is decisive in this respect.

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*VOICES OF PROTEST FROM UKRAINE**Dr. Volodymyr HORBOVYJ*

## Appeal from the Mordovian Concentration Camp

USSR, Mordovian ASSR,  
P/O Yavas, p/ya ZhKh 385/7,  
HORBOVYJ Volodymyr.

Herewith I have the honour to state my situation.

My name is Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj. I was born on January 30, 1899 in the town of Dolyna, Galicia, formerly Austro-Hungary, by nationality Ukrainian. My citizenship was first Austrian, then Ukrainian, afterwards Polish, and in 1947 I became temporarily a Czechoslovak citizen. I was never a Soviet citizen and as a free man never lived in the USSR. Before World War II, I was a member of the Council of Advocates of Lviv (Lvov), during the war a judge at the Polish Appeal Court in Cracow, and after the war a legal consultant at the Ministry of Agriculture of the Czechoslovak Republic.

My imprisonment has no legal basis, and it occurred as follows: In July 1947 the government of Poland proclaimed me a "war criminal" for alleged collaboration with the Germans during the war. For this reason, upon the demands of the said government, I was arrested in Prague on August 1, 1947, and extradited to Poland on August 7, 1947. In the note which was issued by the Polish government it was said that I would stand trial. Unfortunately, the trial

was never held, and could not have been held, for a whole year of persistent investigation failed to produce any incriminating evidence. On the contrary, I proved that I had been critical of Hitler's political course and in general was not guilty of any crime, and that the "document" which provided arguments in support of the demand for my extradition was ineptly fabricated. The Polish authorities were embarrassed, but instead of sending me back to the Czechoslovak Republic, they handed me over to the Soviet authorities in Warsaw on July 9, 1948. For this purpose they fabricated a new "document" which this time accused me of being a Ukrainian nationalist.

In the USSR the Polish story repeated itself. Another year of dramatic investigation also failed to produce the required results for the MGB (Ministry of State Security — Transl.) It is well known what atmosphere prevailed within the MGB at that time. Instead of giving me an opportunity to return to the CSR and to continue my work there in peace, I was sent to the forced labour camps by an administrative order on the basis of a closed-door decision of the Special Conference of Ministry of

State Security of the USSR, No. 2906-49, of July 6, 1949, under Article 54-2, 54-11 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, for a term of 25 years. The Ministry of State Security does not exist any more, its "special conferences" have also been formally abolished, but their strange fruits continue to carry legal force.

In order to provide a characteristic of the legality and justice in these parts I wish to quote the following facts:

a) The Soviet Criminal Code and the UN Declaration of Human Rights, which was signed by the Soviet Union, permit the punishment of an individual only on the basis of a decision of the court, and, at the same time, guarantee the rights of defence to the accused. Regrettably, in the USSR the above stated legal principles are only propagandistic in nature, for reality is completely different. In my case there was no trial, no sentence, no opportunity to defend myself, yet I have been suffering imprisonment for the last 15 years (22 years by 1969 — Translator.)

b) According to a decree of March 24, 1956, the Commission concerned with the investigation of cases of individuals serving sentences for political, violation-of-duty, or economic crimes, should have reviewed the grounds on which each person was imprisoned at the place of confinement. This Commission summoned me and interrogated me on October 1, 1956, but a negative verdict had already been reached on September 29, 1956. On October 1, 1956 the Chairman of the Commission formally notified me that my case was being scheduled for an additional investigation.

c) My petition in my case dated May 22, 1960 was dealt with by the Prosecutor General's Office of the Ukrainian SSR by its decision No. 01-20776/60 which said: "The Prosecutor

General's Office of the Ukrainian SSR can find no basis for protesting the decision of the Special Conference of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR No. 2906-49, because the Committee of State Security declares that the accusations have found confirmation." Formally, the Prosecutor General's Office should watch over the activities of the security organs and not vice versa.

d) In the period from July 2, 1960 to November 22, 1960 I was confined to the investigating isolator of the KGB of the Ukrainian SSR in Kiev, which meant that investigation in my case was being conducted. According to the regulations of the Criminal Procedural Code, an investigation can end either with an indictment and subsequent trial, or with the suspension of an investigation and the release of the arrested. In my case neither one nor the other occurred.

e) In 1955 the Soviet authorities formally agreed to the repatriation from the USSR of all foreigners, but in practice do not make it possible for me to take advantage of it even though I have demanded to be returned.

f) The decree of September 3, 1955 and the order of the Ministry of Internal Affairs No. 0323 of August 10, 1956 on the release from imprisonment of invalids has not been applied in my case, even though I have been an invalid since January 11, 1952.

g) The ChK, GPU, NKVD, KGB — are various names for one and the same institution, which is represented by one and the same element. Therefore it would be strange if the same people and the same institutions now worked for the restoration of the so-called socialist legality, which they themselves discredited. It is not hard to imagine what this restoration of legality actually looks like in real life.

I declare that never in my life did I commit any crime or was mixed up



in something bad. My only blunder was that I thoughtlessly trusted Soviet propaganda about Soviet humanitarianism and legality and remained within their reach.

As early as 1921 I became interested in jurisprudence, I have years of experience and know many things. Reading the statements made by the representatives of Soviet justice about genuine renewal of socialist legality in the USSR, or listening to statements made by political leaders of that state to the effect that there are no longer any political prisoners there, and comparing it all with the situation of people like me, I cannot help but wonder at that chimerical and malicious Soviet morality, which I am unable to comprehend.

I wish to remark that one can get a true picture of the situation of a political prisoner in the USSR only on the basis of an inspection by an impartial committee of the places of his confinement, and by questioning him, and listening to explanations by myself or people like myself.

I should be grateful if you would become interested in the situation of the political prisoner in the USSR and in my case, and if you would help me to avail myself of the rights which are due to me as a man and a citizen, and most of all — to help me to free myself from illegal imprisonment, to enjoy freedom of movement and to obtain satisfaction.

Yavas, January 30th, 1962.

HORBOVYJ

Documents smuggled out of Ukraine

## THE CHORNOVIL PAPERS

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## "Cowardice is Another Name for Meanness"

An Open Letter to the Presidium of the Union of Writers of Ukraine

Copies to:

Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine,

F. D. Ovcharenko,

Editors of the *Vsesvit* magazine.

Not so long ago O. Poltoratskyi's, article "Whom Do Some 'Humanists' Protect?", appeared in *Literaturna Ukraina*. The article calls for a number of substantial objections and prompts one to engage in deeper thinking.

1. As is known, the Black Hundred of [Stalin's — Ed.] personality cult gang have renewed their pogroms since the middle of 1965. In the course of the following period dozens of people — artists, scientists, engineers, teachers, students — have been convicted for political reasons; hundreds of apartments of members of creative intelligentsia have been searched; many scholars and highly skilled editors have been dismissed from their jobs; not a few students have been expelled from higher educational establishments; many a talented book has been strangled — such as those by M. Osadchyi, M. Dal'ko, M. Kholodnyi, V. Vorobyov, L. Kostenko; thousands of souls have been hurt. Many of those pogroms were described in the letter by V. M. Chornovil addressed to the Government (the list of banned authors increased by many a page afterwards). The repressions have not ceased even now. Quite recently well-known scholars — the historian M. Yu. Braychevskyi and the literary critic M. Kh. Kotsiubyns'ka, the palaeontologist H. Bachyns'kyi, the physicist I. Zaslavs'ka, the cybernetics expert Bodnarchuk — have been dismissed

from their jobs; A. Hors'ka, L. Semykina, H. Sevruck and others have been expelled from the Union of Artists; one of the most gifted contemporary Ukrainian poets, V. Holoborod'ko, has been hounded and called into the army.

Correcting "enemy lies", O. Poltoratskyi mentions only S. Karavans'kyi and V. Chornovil.

May I ask, why Poltoratskyi & Co. did not write their pamphlets at the time when mass arrests were taking place, when many people addressed questions to the Government? Did the Poltoratskyis give those people any convincing answer? Why has Poltoratskyi armed himself with his talented pen only after people in the West began to talk about the Bartholomew's nights of past years? Certainly Poltoratskyis are absolutely indifferent to what their compatriots are thinking about the events within the country, but feel very awkward if their enemies learn about them. It seems to me that the clique of Poltoratskyis is not so much afraid of their foreign adversaries, as of their own compatriots. Is it not strange that the first public mention of the past trials appeared in *Visti z Ukrainy* [News from Ukraine] (a newspaper published for abroad), and in the national press till the present moment we have not had any mention of them, if we disregarded the hideous *feuilleton* aimed against I. Dzyuba by a domestic versifier?

II. As is known, almost 150 Kievites in their letter came out in defence of the constitutional rights and democratic freedoms of the Soviet peoples. Poltorats'kyi consciously evades the main contents of the letter, as it is hardly suited for "destructive criticism." The author of the article dwells only on certain facts, and even so the accomplished literary flibusterer lies in a very untalented manner.

The entire article rests on excursion into Karavanskyi's distant past (and Poltorats'kyi is not embarrassed by the fact that that name is not encountered in the letter at all). There is no denying that Karavans'kyi's past, if one is to believe what has been written by Poltorats'kyi, does not evoke great sympathy. But can one believe Poltorats'kyi? The unpraiseworthy past of the condemned man is mentioned by the author of the article in suspiciously precise detail: Is it not, maybe in order not to say anything about the present? Has Karavans'kyi perhaps been thrown into Vladimir prison not for his past, but for some recent deeds which Poltorats'kyi prefers not to mention? And, perhaps, they are not suited for a destructive criticism either? The author, after all, could have dropped at least a word about Karavans'kyi's "anti-Soviet" appeals to the communist parties of the world concerning the repressions in Ukraine in 1965! It is not hard to understand why Poltorats'kyi decided not to decipher the "criminal" activities of Karavans'kyi in 1964-65.

III. Poltorats'kyi lies in a talented manner also when he "reveals" V. M. Chornovil.

1) "The former advertising inspector" V. Chornovil, prior to the disastrous events, used to work as an editor at Lviv TV studio, was secretary of the Komsomol Committee of the Kiev hydroelectric power station — an all-Union Komsomol youth show-piece construction project. The

same "inspector" Chornovil supervised a department of the *Moloda Hvardiia* youth newspaper, published several of book reviews and articles on literary topics, passed a qualifying examination for a Master's degree, and in a brilliant manner passed entrance examinations for post-graduate studies at the Kiev Pedagogical Institute. But soon after the beginning of the pogroms he was compelled to become an inspector...

Naturally, all these facts from Chornovil's biography are rather inconvenient for Poltorats'kyi, and so he either keeps silent (i. e. lies) about them, or distorts them (i. e. shamelessly lies).

2) Poltorats'kyi writes that V. Chornovil "was caught red-handed writing, multiplying and distributing slanderous letters in Ukraine and sending them clandestinely abroad." Every word here is a lie. Even the court did not prove any facts of distribution of 1965-1966 trials material by Chornovil. The more so there are no grounds for accusing Vyacheslav [Chornovil — Ed.] of having clandestinely sent the collected material abroad. Does O. I. Solzhenitsyn bear any guilt in the fact that his *Cancer Ward* has found itself in the West instead of having been published in his native country? Is it not our cruel censorship which has brought about such a spate of "self-published" literature?

3) The evaluation of Chornovil's letters as slanderous is completely unconvincing.

As is known, the first letter of V. M. Chornovil dealt with numerous facts of reprisals against the young creative Ukrainian intelligentsia, about the arrests, accusations, investigations and the very course of judicial trials. The letter contained simply trial material and testimonies by individual eyewitnesses. Analysing all these documents, V. Chornovil quite logically



came to the conclusion that all the judicial trials in 1965-1966 had been illegal and anti-constitutional. I think that there may have been some factual errors in the letter in view of the fact that V. Chornovil was unable to check his material against stenographic reports of the closed court trials. In such cases Poltorats'kyi should have told the truth, quietly arguing every such error.

However, he does not do this, but instead works himself up into but little convincing passion: all this is a libel!

As regards the second letter, *Lykho z rozumu* [Woe from Wit or Misfortune of the Intellect], it merely contained brief biographic notes about every convicted person, gave an account of their creative work, quoted prisoners' appeals to the Government, letters from the Mordovian political camps. What was libellous in all this? Of course, if, let us say, the talented artist P. Zalyvakha is strictly forbidden "to write and paint", and people outside Mordovia learn about it, then Poltorats'kyis get angry. As a result they vent their anger on those who tell about these Benckendorffian methods of "re-education."

\*

Today many people are beginning to understand that all the past arrests, searches, investigations, closed trials, draconic sentences by law-keepers infallible as gods — all this has been crying mockery of socialist legality, jurisprudence, democratic freedom, and, not the least, the ideals of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

4) Poltorats'kyi's meanness reaches an apogee when he attributes to V. M. Chornovil the horrible phrase about the Komsomol. Being one of Vyacheslav's colleagues, I have not the slightest doubt as to who is the true author of this phrase. Besides, one need not be Dr. Shakhovs'kyi or

Babyshkin to sense in it the typical style of people who talk like Poltorats'kyi. It may not be beside the point to recall one historical fact. This is how H. Epic [a Ukrainian writer — Ed.] had to write in 1935 under the regime of Balitskiy, the chief of the KGB of those times: "While preparing terroristic actions, we assured the Party with innocent expressions, of our loyalty and honesty and, for many years, played rôles compared with which actions of a highwayman are an example of honesty and humaneness. I realise that the most merciful verdict of the proletarian court is to deal with me as with a rabid dog, to destroy me like a glanderous horse, to extract me from the body of society. The Communist Party has magnanimously believed my repentance. The Party has granted me my life, thus giving me the greatest of all the possible rewards on this earth — the right to life, to the joy of work."

And the fact that Poltorats'kyi resorts to his unheard of lie, merely reassures us that he is powerless to find any arguments to justify the pogroms.

IV. The author of the article published in *Literaturna Ukraina* does not understand that, in revealing the "criminals", he reveals himself. I shall dwell on one point alone. With the delight of a sadist Poltorats'kyi notes that the "miserable little people" mentioned by him are completely without talent, because no one has heard about those writers among our people. The powerless anger of the Poltorats'kyis contributes to gross mistakes, even blunders. First, his statement is read in a rather unambiguous way: "After all we have not let them exist, we have destroyed them in bud." Secondly, what relation has this to the essence of the accusations? Are "the talented member of the union" and "the talentless instructor of the [Nature Conservation] society" not subject to the same morality, do they

not have the same rights and duties? Poltorats'kyi does not realise that his logic strikes at himself: you see, "no writer at all" V. Chornovil deceived (!) P. Yu. Shelest, V. Kasiyan and Nikitchenko and was punished for it with imprisonment, and "the talented writer" Poltorats'kyi deceives tens of thousands of readers of *Literaturna Ukraïna* and, probably, receives thanks for it even.

Finally, history shows that Poltorats'kyis have always been indifferent to someone else's talents. Did they not at one time or another refuse to acknowledge talent in O. Vyshnia, M. Zerov, L. Kurbas, Yu. Yanovskyi, M. Ryl's'kyi and many others? And another analogy. In 1934, hurrying to stake his right of having been the first to do it, Poltorats'kyi informed the public that four years earlier "I succeeded in achieving the main thing — to define for the first time in Ukrainian Soviet literary criticism anti-proletarianism, want of talent and kurkul ideology of the "creative work" of that individual (O Vyshnia — V. S.)" Poltorats'kyi's patent was indeed confirmed: "that individual" was despatched for 10 years to the concentration camps of the Ural taiga. So why should a man who has been of such a tremendous service to the Ukrainian *belles lettres* not rejoice: "Now I am happy to note that that has already happened and that my article is becoming an epitaph on the rubbish heap where the creative works of O. Vyshnia are buried."

Speaking at the second regional congress of the Soviets of the Kiev region in 1935, I. Le [an officially favoured writer — Ed.] said: "It is difficult, even impossible for the counterrevolutionaries — the Kosynkas, Fal'kivs'kyis [Ukrainian writers shot after mock trials — Ed.] to win the name of Ukrainian writers. Let us be frank and sincere. What is the significance of the Kosynkas, Fal'kivs'kyis, Dosvitniys, Pylypenkos, Pidmo-

hyl'nyis and others in our literary development? Were they known to our broad masses, were they writers at all? They were no writers, They were mere hack-writers." I shall permit myself another quotation. The notorious I. Stebun (the one by whose solicitations V. Holoborod'ko has been dismissed from Donetsk university), speaking at the meeting of Kiev writers on October 17, 1947, stated: "The plenary meeting sharply criticised the works by M. Ryl's'kyi, Yu. Yanovs'kyi and I. Senchenko not because those writers occupy a prominent place in Ukrainian literature. Their inartistic, ideologically hostile works have no importance in Ukrainian literature." True, at that time, Ukrainian writers, according to the same Stebun's words, were surrounded by personal attention of comrade L. M. Kaganovich. With whose constant attention is surrounded Poltorats'kyi when he, poorly coping with his writer's as well as policeman's duties, has for forty years now been firmly sitting in the saddle of a janissary?

V. It leaves a bitter feeling in one's mouth to know that Poltorats'kyi is always right: both when he murders and when he is occupied with the rehabilitation of his victims of the day before. And there are not a few like him. Those who occupy themselves with literary vandalism hardly ever make mistakes. It is enough to mention all those Sanovs, Stebuns, Shamotas, Morhayenkos, Khinkulovs, Pron's, Shchupaks, Hanses, Agufs [official Party literary critics who denounced patriotic Ukrainian writers — Ed.]...

Twenty years ago, discussing *Vesniani Vody* (Spring Flood) by M. Ryl's'kyi, Shamota stated: "The medical doctor Ivan Ivanovych ends his life heroically. What gave him strength to rise to such a feat? As always, the same abstract heroism, "love of one's neighbour", and not the bright idea of communism, not the passion of a

Soviet patriot. "The philosophy", to which M. Ryl's'kyi bows, is not so innocent as may appear at the first glance. It has already served the enemies of the working people on many an occasion."

As you see, the "humanists", Ryl's'kyis, served the enemies of the people. And the Shamotas, Poltorats'kyis, Sanovs, Stebuns, Morhayenkos (humanists without inverted commas) — all of them honestly and selflessly have been serving the people. Truly as in one of the wise poetical visions of Vasyl Holoborod'ko:

Everything was mixed up:  
the doves flocked to the battlefield  
and picked the eyes of the dead  
soldiers  
ravens were fed in city squares  
were painted kissing one another  
with their beaks  
and songs were sung about them  
Surely we shall not be frightened,  
merely surprised  
and shall shoo off the doves from  
the corpses  
for we feel sorry for the ravens.

Are not Ukrainian writers and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine ashamed that they are giving up our literature to the Poltorats'kyis as a prey? And for how long, after all, will the forces of Just-

ice and Goodness feel on their lashed  
backs the everlasting righteousness  
of the servants of Belzebul?

At the end of the 1940's S. Skliarenko [a Ukrainian writer — Ed.] publicly said about Stebun: "Is there any place where this sworn foe of our people has not caused harm? He is in the Writers' Union, he, that ignoramus, is also in the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences, and on the editorial staff of *Radians'kyi pys'mennyk* (The Soviet Writer) magazine, in the *Dytvydav* [Children's Literature Publishing House — Ed.], in the *Molod'* (Youth) Publishing House, in the Radio Committee, in film studios, in educational establishments — he occupies all posts, paid and unpaid." When will these words be repeated again?

VI. Are the editorial board of *Litcraturna Ukraïna* not ashamed of having given its pages at the disposal of Poltorats'kyi's lies? Or, maybe, that editorial board serves the people together with Poltorats'kyi?

In the cursed old times, people like Poltorats'kyi were challenged to a duel. Nowadays Poltorats'kyi is in no such danger in view of the fact that we are living in beautiful times. Moreover, conscious calumniators always avoid an honest single combat: cowardice is another name for meanness.

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## Open Letter to the Editors of *Literaturna Ukraina*

In *Literaturna Ukraina* of July 16, 1968 we have read the article by O. Poltorats'kyi, entitled "Whom Do Some 'Humanists' Protect?"

The political and moral uncleanness of this author is well known to all ever since the times when he used to publish denunciations of Ostep Vyshnia, branding the most popular writer among the people a "kurkul" remnant and a fascist agent, and demanding that he be physically dealt with. Nevertheless, what we have read in *Literaturna Ukraina* shocked us because it was impossible to believe that in this day and age a writer can return to such squalid and provocative trade.

The article was written allegedly & propos the well known group letter concerning the violations of socialist legality at political trials. The letter had been signed by over 100 scientists, artists, workers and writers, including ourselves. For this reason we cannot pass by O. Poltorats'kyi's sally in silence.

From the very beginning O. Poltorats'kyi grossly twists the contents of the letter which deals with concrete facts of violation of judicial procedural standards and expressed the anxiety that this was causing harm to socialist democracy and to public life of our society.

Meanwhile O. Poltorats'kyi avers without any argumentation that the authors of the letter were defending the "enemies" and "ideological subversionists" (the same terminology which he used to employ 35 years ago!), V. Chornovil and S. Karavans'kyi.

Let us first deal with S. Karavans'kyi. We shall not try to evaluate his guilt for which he has been taken away, without any trial, to serve the remainder of his 25-year sentence, now non-existent according to the laws of our country, because there was not a word about him in the letter itself — his name was not even mentioned. However, this did not prevent O. Poltorats'kyi from writing black on white that the letter defended precisely S. Karavans'kyi. And a half of his elaboration he devotes precisely to S. Karavans'kyi, painting his biography in all sorts of hues. What is the purpose of such a conscious and clumsy card-sharpening? Surely to frighten the reader who is unfamiliar with the essence of the matter.

Now about V. Chornovil. What right had O. Poltorats'kyi to mislead the readers of *Literaturna Ukraina* regarding the indictment brought forward against Chornovil in court, the definitions that the court gave to his activities and the verdict pronounced by the court? One may approve or disapprove of the verdict against V. Chornovil (those of us who were present at the trial convinced themselves that the accusations brought forward against Chornovil had not been proved and at one time approached the appropriate institutions with factual argumentation about it, but one may not, as an afterthought, freely alter and "supplement" official court definitions. This, however, is precisely what O. Poltorats'kyi is doing by stating provocatively

that V. Chornovil had allegedly been tried for "propaganda of nationalist views and illegal sending of anti-Soviet material abroad" — while nothing of the kind had been said in court.

O. Poltorats'kyi shamelessly twists V. Chornovil's biography. He assures the reader that V. Chornovil is a (word unclear — Ed.) and a shady character who has nothing in common with literature and journalism: "a former advertising inspector of *Knyhotorh* (book trading corporation — Ed.), and later was an inspector of the Lviv Branch of Nature Conservation Society." But he passes over in silence the fact that V. Chornovil took those jobs only after a series of persecutions and misfortunes. And before that he for several years worked as secretary of the Komsomol committee of the Kiev hydroelectric power station construction project, was member of the editorial board of *Moloda Hvardiya* (The Young Guard) Komsomol newspaper, was on the editorial staff of the newspaper *Druh chytacha* (The Reader's Friend), published several score of articles on literary topics in the republican (i. e. Ukrainian — Ed.) magazine and newspapers, including *Literaturna Ukraina*.

The purpose of this falsification of the biography and the creative face of V. Chornovil, in particular the passing over in silence of the fact that he had recently been a Komsomol activist, becomes understandable when we come to the most shameless and basest invention of O. Poltorats'kyi. He attributes to V. Chornovil wild and senseless words, altogether impossible on the lips of a mentally sane young man educated in a Soviet family and in Soviet school where, after all, the young people belong to the Komsomol: "This is a completely useless organisation which should be abolished, maybe even physically. Some time ago

kulaks used to cut open the activists' bellies and fill them with wheat; nowadays it is necessary to fill the bellies of the same activists with their programmes and demented slogans."

This "dictum" which O. Poltorats'kyi places between inverted commas, as if belonging to Chornovil, simply stinks with the spirit and phraseology or those troglodytes and man-killers who used to compose "confessions" and "self-denunciations" of various "terrorists" and "enemies of the people" during the notorious trials in the thirties.

We demand that O. Poltorats'kyi prove with documents that those words belong to V. Chornovil, or else that he publicly excuse himself for libel.

In view of the fact that statements similar to Poltorats'kyi's article are capable of merely fanning suspiciousness and man-hatred, that they encourage chauvinistic bloodthirstiness of the philistines who see a "nationalist" and a "Banderist" in every Ukrainian; that they poison the atmosphere of living side-by-side and the friendship of the people — we consider it our civic duty not to pass by them in silence but to give them moral evaluation and to correct them as to the essence of the matter.

We beg the editorial board of *Literaturna Ukraina* to publish this letter. Otherwise we shall be compelled to communicate its contents to the readers of *Literaturna Ukraina* by every possible means. If necessary, we shall not spare our effort and time to copy it 40,000 times by hand, and to send it to every subscriber of *Literaturna Ukraina* in order to dispel at least a little those cannibalistic fumes, that atmosphere of lies and impunity.

Ivan Dzyuba, Yevhen Sverstiuk,  
Mykhailyna Kotsiubynska, Lina  
Kostenko, Victor Nekrasov.

Volodymyr BOHDANIUK

## ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF UKRAINE BY RUSSIA

On January 29, 1969 the Soviet newspapers published in Ukraine carried the report by the Central Statistical Board at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, "On the Results of the Fulfilment of the State Plan of the Development of the National Economy of the Ukrainian SSR in 1968." The figures about the output of industrial and agricultural production quoted in this report bear an eloquent witness to the enormous contribution which Ukraine is forced to make towards the construction and growth of the Russian Bolshevik empire. These figures, moreover, refer only to the area of Ukraine within the narrow borders of the Ukrainian SSR and do not include data about considerable output of various parts of the Ukrainian territory which Moscow saw fit not to permit to be joined to Ukraine (such as the extremely rich Kuban and Stavropol regions, southern parts of Bilhorod [Belgorod] and Voronezh regions and the south-western part of Berestya [Brest] region).

On January 1, 1969, the Ukrainian SSR had a population of 46.8 millions, i. e. it had, 19.6 p. c. of the total population of the Soviet Union (239 millions).<sup>1</sup> This considerable population (about one fifth of the entire USSR) is concentrated on an area of 233,000 sq. miles which constitutes only one fortieth part of the USSR. For although the territory of the USSR is huge, it is for the most part especially in the East, unpopulated tundra, taiga, swampland and desert. Ukraine with its fertile black soil, extremely rich natural and mineral resources, healthy moderate climate, able-bodied and industrious population, comparatively developed agriculture and industry, its geopolitical situation constitutes a very valuable possession of the Russian bolshevik empire and its insatiable bureaucracy.

Strategic and military considerations are decisive in the planning and development of the economy of the USSR, because its leaders constantly live in a psychosis of a feverish preparation to a future war with other world powers for the domination of our planet.

All the time there is the tendency to strengthen and develop the economic military potential of the empire at the cost of the peoples enslaved by Russia in the USSR. For this purpose the more developed subjugated nations are often sapped in order to force economic growth of those parts of the USSR which are regarded by Moscow as strategically important, in order to ensure for Russia a future predominance in the world balance of forces.

Since its First Five Year Plan four decades ago Russia endeavoured to develop industrial bases in its eastern regions, particularly in the Urals and Siberia, in order to make itself invulnerable to an attack from the West. Ukrainian industrial development could not be neglected because of its tremendous

<sup>1</sup> *Radians'ka Ukraïna*, January 26th and 29th, 1969



economic advantageousness, but increasing proportion of material and manpower resources were switched over to the development of the Eastern areas. Despite these huge investments and hecatombs of human sacrifices made by millions of slaves in forced labour camps, Ukraine has retained its very important, even decisive, role in the overall economy of the USSR.

In 1968, after seven Five Year Plan periods, after the development of new industrial bases — the Kuznetsk Basin in Western Siberia, the Urals, Kazakhstan, Magadan in the Far East, Norilsk in the Far North of Siberia, Vorkuta in the North of the European part of the USSR, etc. — the proper weight of Ukraine in the total output of some of the most important industrial and agricultural products in the USSR has declined but little compared with the early years of the Soviet regime. As an illustration we shall quote some figures:

*The share of the Ukrainian SSR in the industry of the USSR with regard to the output of some of the most important items of production in 1968.<sup>2</sup>*

Item of production	Quantity	Percentage of the total output of the USSR
Electric power —		
in milliards kW	116.5	18.2
Petroleum — million tons	12.1	3.9
Gas — milliard cu. metres	50.9	29.8
Coal — million tons	200	33.7
incl. coking coal	78.3	50.5
Pig iron — million tons	38.6	49
Steel — million tons	44.2	41.3
Rolled metal — million tons	35.6	41.8
Iron ore — million tons	99.2	56
Mineral fertilisers —		
million tons	9.4	21.6
Tractors — thousands	139	32.8
Meat (industrial output) —		
million tons	1.4	21.2
Butter, cheese and other		
dairy products calculated		
in milk — million tons	9.7	22
Granulated sugar — million tons	6.4	59.2
Canned food — milliard cans	2.4	25.2

These by far not complete figures (a fuller list is given in the Appendix) confirm the decisive importance of the heavy and food industries, as well as agriculture of Ukraine for the USSR. Huge resources of mineral raw materials indispensable for a further development of the metallurgical, fuel and chemical industries, ensure for Ukraine great importance for the future, too. The greater bulk of all the manganese ore resources prospected in the USSR, up to one third of all the resources of iron ores, one fifth of the resources of natural gas and common salt, are situated in Ukraine. By its resources of natural sulphur Ukraine occupies the first place in the USSR.<sup>3</sup> The newest

<sup>2</sup>) Calculated on the basis of the data in the above issues of the *Radians'ka Ukraina*.

<sup>3</sup>) *Geograficheskiye problemy razvitiya krupnykh ekonomicheskikh rayonov SSSR*, ed. by V. V. Pokhyshevskiy, "Mysl", Moscow, 1964, p. 190.

research shows that Ukraine possesses also considerable resources of non-ferrous metals, such as titanium, used in the modern aircraft and rocket technology, as well as precious metals and rare elements.

Despite the forced development of certain branches of the heavy industry necessary for the Moscow imperial centre from the strategic and military considerations, and the starting of some new branches of industry, as for instance, non-ferrous metallurgy and instrument-making, branch structure of Ukrainian industry remains lop-sided, unsound, directed towards the satisfaction of the supra-national needs of the empire and not towards serving the real needs of the Ukrainian people. And although Bolshevik propaganda inflates in every way and praises to the skies facts of the creation of some new branches of the engineering and light industries as tremendous achievements of the "Leninist nationalities policy" and the selfless help of "the great Russian people", the fact remains that Ukraine serves Moscow above all as a colonial appendage from which Moscow is able to squeeze out the greatest quantities of industrial raw materials and semi-products: coal, gas, electric power, metals, as well as food products: grain, meat, milk, butter, sugar, etc. at ridiculously low prices while supplying Ukraine on monopoly basis with other industrial products required there at disproportionately high prices.

The engineering industry which has undoubtedly developed in Ukraine over the last few decades, is located in Ukraine only because it was most convenient for Russia to place it there from the strategic and economic points of view. It produces on the whole machines that are bulky and use large quantities of metal which it would be too costly to transport over great distances. These are above all railway wagons, tractors, excavators, diesel engines, metallurgical and chemical plant, agricultural machinery. Manufacture of devices, instruments and consumer goods is underdeveloped in Ukraine, industry is still not using gas to a large extent, motor car industry is growing at a snail's pace, electrical engineering, chemistry of organic synthesis, plastics industry, textile industry, building materials industry are growing but slowly. Metallurgy is also lagging behind the demand. One result of it are irrational shipments of manufactured goods from other parts of the USSR. Even given such a great development of the ferrous metallurgy as exists in Ukraine, many kinds of rolled steel have to be imported from other parts of the USSR.<sup>4</sup> As example of the underdevelopment of Ukraine in the light industry can serve the data about the part played by Ukraine in the manufacture of textiles:<sup>5</sup>

Type of textiles	Ukrainian SSR (mil. sq. metres)	Percentage in relation to the total output of the USSR
Cotton	225	3.6
Wool	44.2	7.6
Linen	54.5	8.0
Silk	64.1	6.7

<sup>4</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 191 ff.

<sup>5</sup>) *Radians'ka Ukraïna, ibid.*

The above figures bear witness to the fact that the share of Ukraine in the manufacture of textiles in the USSR is rather small. True enough, it is rising but at a very slow rate.

The share of Ukraine in the manufacture of chemical fibre amounts to a mere 10.6 p. c., metal cutting machine-tools — 14.2 p. c., motor cars — 12.8 p. c., radio sets — 9.7 p. c., refrigerators — 13.3 p. c., washing machines — 9.8 p. c., motor cycles — 5 p. c.<sup>6</sup> The petroleum processing industry is lagging far behind the needs of Ukraine. Three fifths of the volume of petroleum products used in Ukraine have to be imported from other Republics of the USSR. Processing capacities of the meat-packing, dairy, sugar and canning industries in Ukraine fall far short of the resources of agricultural raw materials. If one is to speak of the sphere of services, i. e. about the network of shops, restaurants, workshops of all kinds, laundries etc., then the situation in Ukraine is pitiable. The development of this sphere of economic activity has been, during the entire period of the Soviet Russian occupation, consciously retarded, and what is more in some periods even suppressed in order to channel all available resources away from consumption to the development of the heavy and armaments industries. To a large extent the same is applicable to the production of consumer goods. Thus, for instance, it is often impossible to buy an ordinary saucepan or spoon in the shops of the big industrial towns of East Ukraine where there are huge steel plants and even if they are in stock they have been imported from Russia.

The uneven development of certain branches of industry in Ukraine is accompanied by a very uneven territorial location of industry predominantly in the south-eastern part of Ukraine, in the Donbas and Dnipro Bend region, while Ukrainian provinces to the West of the Dnipro and in the North-East are underdeveloped industrially, although there are considerable natural resources and huge manpower resources. At the same time, the apparently highly developed, from the industrial point of view, Donbas and Dnipro Bend area suffer from the shortage of a great number of branches of the light industry and from underdevelopment of consumer services.<sup>7</sup> One should not exclude the likelihood that Moscow is consciously not favouring a rapid industrial development of the part of Ukraine to the West of the Dnipro River, in order to have the possibility to ship a large part of its manpower resources eastwards, to Siberia under the pretext of the development of those thinly inhabited regions and in order to stem the Chinese pressure.

Moscow has uncontrolled power over the disposal of the output of the Ukrainian industry and agriculture. It is not by chance that almost all the branches of the national economy were under Stalin, and are now under Brezhnev, subordinated to the central "Union" ministries in Moscow, some of them directly without any ceremonial fuss of subordination to some intermediate "Union-Republican" ministries which have their branches in Kiev. No wonder therefore that Moscow dictates both the production plan and the

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<sup>6</sup>) *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup>) *Geograficheskkiye problemy . . .*, p. 192.



marketing plan, including export to other Republics of the USSR and abroad to its satellites and other countries. Within the framework of this plan Ukraine exports a considerable part of its industrial and agricultural production, above all raw materials, such as natural gas, electric power, coal, iron ore, food products. In the total export of the USSR the share of Ukraine amounts to 25 p. c. Ninety percent of this export goes to the so-called "socialist" countries. In the last few years Ukraine has been supplying 100 p. c. of the entire export of gas from the USSR, nearly 100 p. c. of the entire export of electric power, 98 p. c. of the export of iron ore, 81 p. c. of the export of rolled metal, 72 p. c. of the export of coke. In 1966 the export of iron ore from Ukraine, mainly to Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, East Germany amounted to 25 million tons.<sup>8</sup> All this is exported by the All-Union ministries and goes to the credit of Moscow, and Ukraine gets merely scraps from the table of the Russian overlords for its work.

Moscow fixes also prices for goods manufactured in Ukraine. These prices, as already stated above, are fixed in accordance with the political line of the Communist magnates and bear no relation to the true market prices which would be established if a possibility for it had been given. The artificial lowering of prices of Ukrainian goods<sup>9</sup> by itself alone conceals the exploitation of the Ukrainian worker and farmer. The Bolshevik leaders themselves sometimes admitted this lowering of prices when they carried on propagandistic "reforms" in order to quieten down the population, as happened for instance after the death of Stalin and the criticism of his policy of requisitioning of agricultural products.

Over the last few years the costs of production in agriculture have been rising at a much more rapid rate than the State purchasing prices. Thus, for instance, between 1958 and 1966, the average purchasing prices of sugar beet rose by 31 p. c. and the cost of production in the collective farms — by 95 p. c., sunflower — respectively — 16 p. c. and 24 p. c., potatoes — 59 p. c. and 107 p. c., vegetables — 5 p. c. and 12 p. c. As a consequence, rentability of these important branches of agriculture in Ukraine has decreased significantly and the growing of vegetables has even begun to bring in a loss for the collective farms. The costs of milk production have risen in the meantime by 33 p. c., of cattle raising for meat — by 65 p. c., and of pork — by 24 p. c. Despite several rises in State purchasing prices for animal products, their production results in losses in many collective and State farms. In 1966 the production of wool resulted in losses in 65 p. c. of collective farms, eggs — 56 p. c., milk — 61 p. c., meat — 34 p. c. of collective farms in Ukraine.<sup>10</sup> Of course, that which is a loss to the Ukrainian collective farms, must have been a net gain to the Russian parasitic bureaucratic imperial apparatus which spends the acquired means in order to raise its own standard of living and to spread Bolshevik propaganda and Moscow's influence all over the world.

<sup>8</sup>) *Ekonomika Radians'koï Ukraïny*, No. 4, 1968; *Komunist Ukraïny*, No. 11. 1957.

<sup>9</sup>) *Natsional'nyi dokhod Ukraïns'koï RSR*, chief ed. O. O. Nesterenko, publ. by Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR, Kiev, 1963, p. 152.

<sup>10</sup>) *Ekonomika Radians'koï Ukraïny*, No. 2, 1968.

Some Ukrainian economists tried to find out how much Ukraine is losing due to her dependence on Moscow from the economic and financial points of view. Such an attempt was made by Mykhailo Volobuyev as far back as 1928. On the basis of the research by the economist Dobrohayev, he proved that, both under tsarist Russia and under the Soviet Russian regime, Ukraine fails to get back about 20 p. c. of its financial and material means taken away by the imperial government by way of taxation and other payments.<sup>11</sup> This bears witness to the fact that Ukraine continues to remain an economically exploited colony of Russia. Volobuyev was hounded for such a bold and frankly stated idea and suffered reprisals. For many long years no one under the Soviet regime dared to touch upon this subject. Only during Khrushchov's reign, when a certain decentralisation of economic management became fashionable for a short while, it was possible to touch delicately also upon this painful topic. The book, "National Income of the Ukrainian SSR in the Period of an All-Out Development of Communism", was published in Kiev in only 1000 copies by the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.<sup>12</sup> Its authors tried to discover the volume and distribution of the national income of Ukraine and, among other things, touched on the subject of financial relations between Ukraine and the "All-Union" government. They found that the share of the national income of Ukraine in the total income of the USSR amounted to 19 p. c. in 1960 and constituted the sum of 27,000,000,000 rubles in actual prices. This share was to be maintained in the same proportion even until 1980, despite the planned forced development of the industry in the eastern regions of the USSR. The share of the net income of the agriculture of Ukraine in the total sum of this sphere in the USSR amounted to 25.5 p. c. in 1961.<sup>13</sup> Striking the balance of relations between the USSR and the "All-Union" budget, the authors found the following:<sup>14</sup>

Year	Revenue of Ukr. SSR passed on to the Union budget (million rubles)	The share of expenditure of the Union budget falling to the Ukrainian SSR	The balance of mutual relations between the Ukrainian SSR and the Union budget
1959	4809.1	922.4	+ 3886.7
1960	5288.8	1113.0	+ 4175.8
1961	4916.8	1252.0	+ 3664.8

From the above table it becomes clear that each year from 1959 to 1961 about 4 milliard rubles passed on from the Ukrainian SSR to the "All-Union" budget failed to return, in one form or another, to Ukraine. This represented a net loss for the Ukrainian economy. The authors themselves, however, note that, owing to great difficulties in obtaining the necessary information, these data are far from full. Among other things, the revenue of the transport services (railways, shipping, air transportation) should be added to the sum of the revenue passed

11) Article in *Bil'shovyk Ukraïny*, No. 2, 1928.

12) See note 9; altogether 336 pp.

13) *Ibid.*, pp. 51 and 67.

14) *Ibid.*, p. 151.

on to the All-Union budget, and the expenditure on defence and the State apparatus should be added to the sum of expenditure of the All-Union budget which falls to the share of the Ukrainian SSR. But, to look realistically on this latter expenditure, one should realise that this is expenditure towards the aims that are totally hostile to the interests of Ukraine — this is expenditure for the maintenance of the colonial regime and the occupation army in Ukraine. Thus we see that even in the period 1959-61, the most convenient from the point of view of the Bolshevik propaganda, when almost the entire industry of Ukraine (97 p. c. in 1960 by the gross volume of output)<sup>15</sup> was formally subordinated to the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, a great part of the national income of Ukraine (over 4 milliard rubles or about 15 p. c. of the total national income) even statistically did not return to Ukraine. In actual fact the true figures of the exploitation of Ukraine by Russia run much higher, but are at present difficult to establish with any precision.

Since that time of formal decentralisation a great deal has changed, and at present practically the whole industry, agriculture and trade have been handed back by Brezhnev and Kosygin to the "Union" and "Union-Republican" ministries which have their seats in Moscow. "Union" ministries often do not even bother to inform the puppet "government" in Kiev about their manipulations. As an illustration to what extent the economy of Ukraine is now dependent on the central management in Moscow, we shall quote the following facts. Industrial enterprises in Ukraine, as well as State farms, building, transport, geological prospecting and other State and co-operative undertakings and organisations are subordinated to 26 "Union", 60 "Union-Republican", 24 "Republican" ministries and directorates, as well as 25 provincial executive committees and two city executive committees. In the building industry, for instance, undertakings subordinated to the "Republican" directorates, carry out only 11 p. c. of the volume of work of the entire branch; 19 p. c. are carried out by the undertakings subordinated directly to the "Union" directorates, and 70 p. c. — subordinated to the "Union-Republican" directorates.<sup>16</sup>

The results of the Russian policy of exploitation of the Ukrainian farmer and worker are obvious to anyone who views with some objectivity the situation. Poor housing conditions, inadequate nutrition of the population living on the most fertile soil in Europe, shortage of good-quality and well-cut clothing, shortages of many of the simplest consumer goods, queues in front of the shops, absence of Ukrainian tourists in other countries of the world — these are only the most striking indicators of the low living standard of the Ukrainian citizen, not due to his reluctance to work, but due to the policy of exploitation and blind and ruthless arbitrary rule on the part of the Kremlin bosses who refuse to listen to the voice of the people and its aspirations.

One of the characteristic features of the low living standard of the population in Ukraine are the meagre sums deposited by the population in Ukraine in savings banks. Thus, in the rural areas of Ukraine the number of deposits with the savings banks did not rise at all in the period 1959-61. The average size of

<sup>15</sup>) *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>16</sup>) *Ekonomika Radians'koï Ukraïny*, No. 2, 1968.



deposits is rising extremely slowly. By the end of 1961 it amounted to 187 rubles in towns and 137 rubles in the countryside. The average size of deposits with the savings banks of Ukraine was lower than that in the USSR as a whole.<sup>17</sup> Calculated per capita of the population the average size of the deposits was even lower, because it amounted to 81 rubles in towns and 18 rubles in the countryside in 1961. In the Western provinces of Ukraine it amounted to between 3 and 11 rubles in the rural areas. There is no need to explain how ridiculously small these figures are and how they testify to the "prosperity" of Ukraine under the Bolshevik Russian "sun". By January 1st, 1969, these deposits allegedly amounted to 6,100,000,000 rubles, i. e. about 133 rubles per head of the population,<sup>18</sup> which equals about six weeks' wages of a semi-skilled worker. There is not much to enthuse about.

The results of the economic exploitation of Ukraine by Russia are strikingly apparent in the constant decline of the natural increase of the population in Ukraine. While in 1926 the annual increase amounted to 2.2 p. c., in 1968 it amounted already to 319,000 people,<sup>19</sup> or 0.687 p. c., that is less than one third of the rate of increase in 1926. This is due, *inter alia*, to the separation of families, to the Russian policy of terror, deportations and forcible resettlement of the population, shortage of housing, as well as the dire need for women to engage in gainful work in factories or agriculture in order to earn their living. In Ukraine, 43.7 p. c. of the entire female population is engaged in gainful occupations. This is the highest percentage of working women in the entire civilised world, approximately twice as high as in Great Britain or the USA, where the percentage of working women is comparatively high. No wonder then that while in the years 1925-26 the average number of births per woman during her whole life was 5.4, by 1939 it declined to 3.9, and at present amounts to only two children.<sup>20</sup>

Voices of protest, more or less subdued, are being raised time and again in Ukraine against the policy of exploitation practised by Moscow. Recent *critique* of the Russian policy is directed mainly against the excessive centralisation of the system of national economic planning which stresses the economic planning and management centrally by branches of industry on the all-Union scale, without sufficiently taking into account comprehensive regional planning and management by the Republics and other territorial units. This *critique* proceeds under the slogan of improvement of comprehensive territorial planning. However, it is too early as yet to say whether it will have any positive results in bringing about a change in Moscow's policy with regard to the interests of individual territorial units in the USSR, including the Ukrainian SSR. Probably not, because the nature of the Russian Communist totalitarian regime is like that of a beast of prey, unable to change, just as a tiger is unable to change his spots.

<sup>17</sup>) *Natsional'nyi dokhod* . . . , pp. 147-8.

<sup>18</sup>) *Radians'ka Ukraïna*, Jan. 29th, 1969.

<sup>19</sup>) *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup>) *Ekonomika Radians'koï Ukraïny*, No. 10, 1968.

Appendix**INDUSTRIAL OUTPUT OF UKRAINE IN 1968**

ITS SHARE IN THE TOTAL PRODUCTION OF THE USSR

(On the basis of *Robitnycha hazeta*, 26th and 29th January, 1969)

<i>Product</i>	<i>USSR</i>	<i>Ukr. SSR</i>	<i>%</i>
Electric power (milliard kWh)	638	116.5	18.2
Petroleum (million tons)	309	12.1	3.9
Gas (mlrd cu. metres)	171	50.9	29.8
Coal (million tons)	594	200	33.7
including coaking coal	155	78.3	50.5
Pig iron (mil. tons)	78.8	38.6	49
Steel (mil. tons)	107	44.6	41.3
Rolled metal — total — mil. tons	85.2	35.6	41.8
incl. finished rolled metal	74	31.7	42.8
Steel tubes mil. metres	1751	387	22.1
thousand tons	11211	3913	34.9
Iron ore — mil. tons	177	99.2	56
Coke — mil. tons	*	36.3	*
Mineral fertilisers — mil. tons			
(in conventional units)	43.4	9.4	21.6
Pesticides — thousand tons	243	32.3	13.3
Calcinated soda — thousand tons	3292	886	26.9
Caustic soda — thousand tons	1658	201	12.1
Sulphuric acid — thousand tons	10166	1918	18.9
Plastic and synthetic resins — thousand tons	1293	*	*
Chemical fibre — thousand tons	554	58.7	10.6
Tyres — millions	31.8	3.1	9.7
Turbines — mil. kW	15.7	4.4	28
Turbine generators — mil. kW	14.5	3.4	23.4
Electric motors A/C — million kW	33.8	6.4	19.2
Large electric machines — thousands	*	5.9	
Power transformers — million kVA	*	52.6	
Metal cutting machine-tools — thousands	200	28.4	14.2
Forging and pressing machines — thousands	42.1	6.6	15.7
Devices, means of automation and computers			
— mil. rubles	2181	425	19.5
Metallurgical equipment — thousands tons	312	148	47.4
Petroleum plant — thousand tons	125	22.5	18.0
Chemical plant and spares — million rubles	448	153	34.1
Diesel locomotives — sections	1499	1420	94.6
Electric locomotives — thousand HP	2476	*	
Goods wagons — thousands	48.1	22.6	47.0
Automobiles — thousands	800.9	103	12.8
including: goods cars	478.2		
buses	42.4	25	4.8
Passenger cars	280.3	78	27.8

<i>Product</i>	<i>USSR</i>	<i>Ukr. SSR</i>	<i>%</i>
Tractors — thousands	423	139	32.8
Agricultural machines — total — million rubles	1766	400	22.6
Spares for agricultural machines — mil. rubles	249	53.8	21.6
Grain harvesting combines — thousands	101	*	
Excavators — thousands	26.9	7.2	27
Bulldozers — thousands	29.6	13.4	45.2
Paper — thousand tons	4000	182	4.5
Cement — million tons	87.5	15.7	17.8
Sectional ferroconcrete — million cu. metres	74	12.4	16.6
Building bricks (without collective farm output) — milliards	36.6	6.8	18.6
Fabrics — million sq. metres:			
cotton	6115	225	3.6
wool	585	44.2	7.6
linen	676	54.5	8.0
silk	950	64.1	6.7
Garments — milliards rubles	13.4	2.6	19.4
Knitted underwear — million items	824	162	19.6
Upper knitwear — million items	302	50.1	16.6
Leather footwear — million pairs	597	122	20.4
Meat — total — million tons	11.6	*	
including industrially processed	6.6	1.4	21.2
Sausage products — thousand tons	2200	401	18.2
Fish and sea foods — thousand tons	6700	650	9.7
Butter, cheese and other dairy produce calculated in milk — mil. tons	44	9.7	22.0
Granulated sugar — total — mil. tons	10.8	6.4	59.2
including from sugar-beet	9.0	5.5	61.1
Vegetable oil — thousand tons	3200	1028	32.1
Confectionary goods — thousand tons	2500	512	20.5
Canned food — milliard cans	9.5	2.4	25.2
Soap — thousand tons	1700	322	18.9
Synthetic detergents — thousand tons	345	50.2	14.6
Radio sets and radiograms — thousands	7000	677	9.7
TV sets — thousands	5700	1275	22.4
Refrigerators — thousands	3200	428	13.3
Washing machines — thousands	4700	440	9.8
Vacuum cleaners — thousands	*	281	
Motorcycles & motorrollers — thousands	802	40.2	5.0
Bicycles, motor bicycles and mopeds — thousands	4300	941	21.9
Furniture — million rubles	2400	499	20.8



Roman MALASCHUK

## THE DEAD RETURN...

Ebensee, a small and almost unknown town, is located in the north-western corner of Austria, in the province of Salzburg. Nothing special in itself, that place had gained a peculiar fame during the Second World War since it had on its outskirts a branch of the "renowned" concentration camp of Mauthausen.

That camp served me for a last compulsory sojourn after, in January 1945, all prisoners were evacuated from the not less famous concentration camp of Auschwitz where I had spent three years.

Ebensee Camp, like the town itself, was situated at the foot of the Alps. It consisted of twenty-eight barracks; the whole place, enclosed by thick barbed wire and "abattised", cut off by high forged gates and guarded around by machine-gun posts, looked like a fortress.

Twelve thousand prisoners, the inhabitants of the camp, had to quarry hard granite with hand-borers and to build tremendously long galleries for underground factories furnishing arms and implements of war. Standing in water and marsh, and powdered with dust, the hungry, torn people ate into the rock, forced on by taskmasters. The way had been opened with dynamite; it proceeded with our sweat and blood.

The work went on uninterruptedly day and night. Of course, the bosses were in a hurry. In consequence, day and night, the prisoners who had perished were carried into the camp. At check-in time all had to be present: the living, the dead, and the unconscious. During the parade the dead and those unable to stand lay on the ground... to strike a balance...

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At last one more day of hard labour had been brought to an end. It had become completely dark as twelve thousand prisoners returned from their adits and were ranged on a vast parade ground for the nightly check-in behind barbed wire. That time I lay among others on the ground...

My last sharply engraved memory is: on my hands and knees I crept two hundred yards from the place of check-in into the barracks, foul water trickling down from my rags. dirt and mud marked my track. My face was besmeared with dust and bloody sweat. My cap had been lost.

Having gathered all my remaining strength I clasped an interior pole, that had served as a support for the ceiling of the barrack, and pulled myself up. With both my arms I had embraced the pole as if it were my best friend whom I had not seen for a long time, and I strove to hold out to the last. I fell down to the floor. With painful effort I clutched the pole and got up again. And again I fell down. I tried over and over, but always with the same results.

All at once I perceived that my tin tureen fastened with a wire to my rags, for some reason or other had been torn off and had rolled away. — "If I lose the tureen, I won't get to eat" — the last feeling of an instinct for self-preservation. I wanted to cry wildly; however, words stuck in my throat.

Abruptly everything darkened. Even my last support and hope — the pillar — became useless. Gloom... complete blankness... nothing...  
Might it be death?

\*

They had seized me by the feet, dragged my body along the camp-walk and finally had thrown on the cement floor of the entrance-hall of the crematorium. As I lay among corpses, accidentally my friend who was executing the function of a physician spotted me on this horrible place. Thanks to that extraordinary concurrence of circumstances I had been brought into a barrack called "hospital" — in fact, a place for those who hadn't died as yet. I had been laid on bare planks; my rescuer meanwhile exerted his best to call me back to life. Eagle, physician and my friend!

Suddenly an air raid warning set in. In a flash droning heavy bombers were hammering our neighbourhood.

All lights of the camp died out. Physician's hands dropped away. Any hope was extinct.

This happened towards the night on the 17th of April.

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World War II at that time was nearing its apogee. Squeezed from all sides with iron tongs "The Millennial Reich" like a tremendous giddy apocalyptic beast was flooded with its own and alien blood. With its load it pressed its own people and those who were by mischance in the neighbourhood.

A delirious man's frenzied myth of domination over peoples and lands was drawing to a tragical close.

But how? — Ashes, ruins, devastation and blood. Complete and utter defeat! The last act of a tragedy.

The end.

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It was the time for the spring to come, indeed.

But it didn't. All the roads, paths and ways were barred with bayonets, swamped with corpses and flooded with blood. Thus, how could it?

And men? — It seemed there were none. Were those exhausted, terrified, in torn rags from head to foot besmeared, those mutilated, squashed and desperate, those scuttling at random under a downpour of fire, ashes and death, those weltering backwards and forwards — were they men?

Were they the men who carrying out Hitler and Co.'s orders had advanced some time before so confidently, proudly and insolently, who had conquered land after land, had sown distress, horror and death for the peoples of Europe — not only for those in the fighting lines but also for the defenceless? Were they the men who had plundered, shot, hanged, dragged them out and deported them for hard labour — who with fire and sword had ruled over a wide-spread area of many hundreds and thousands of square miles?

Now like lunatics they aimlessly wandered in an area abruptly reduced to a score or two of miles — literally on the brink of ruin; without any plan without any idea, without any thought.

"Verloren." Finished. Everything lost. At once everything became purposeless, worthless, completely useless. And everything was covered with a down-pour of fire, smoke and death. From all sides and from above.

Primeval chaos! And a situation without a solution, without a chance to come out. Without any chance!...

Through snow and puddles roamed dismay and like a hungry wolf howled towards the sullen sky where the moon would shine if she had not been obscured by smoke and fumes and dust.

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... But, behind the double and triple barbed wires, the tangle of tumbled tree trunks that walled in Ebensee, there still agonized human beings — the pitiable remains of those millions from almost all European nations, Ukrainians as well as others who in consequence of having made resistance against the outrage of invaders found themselves behind the bars and wires. Millions had been tortured, murdered, shot or gassed.

These few thousands remained — nobody knew — how or why. Possibly their turn just hadn't come. So they were staying there as if forgotten or as if they had never existed. Merely ruthless death working day and night had laid masses of corpses everywhere: on roads, on walks, in ditches, in barracks and especially in drifts. The crematoria were busy uninterruptedly but could not master the task; corpses of prisoners lay like firewood for a huge furnace.

These did not wait for another spring; it was for them entirely useless. Their springs had been turned into ashes and smoke which, dense and sooty, was escaping from a towering chimney and hugged the ground beyond barbed wires and farther...

No! those definitely could not use another spring.

And far away there were despairing mothers and fathers waiting with a vain hope for their sons who could never return.

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But thousands of others had waited for the spring. With the remainder of their strength they snatched at the chimerical thread of life which snapped now and then like a fragile cobweb, although hopes melted like snow and turned into muddy marsh puddles. Life has trickled like the wax from a guttering candle...

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Nevertheless somewhere beyond those damned wires, beyond crematoria and chimneys, beyond those dismal inanimate mountains tightly surrounding from all the sides our camp of death, — certainly there was spring. Grass was growing green, streams were splashing and flowers were blooming in the meadows.

Somewhere there lived our relatives and friends who possibly had kept us in their minds and had thought of us. Possibly they even at that hard time worried about us. Or — who could know? — maybe they had forgotten us. Nearly four years had passed by since we had parted from them. Four hellish years for everyone! It was a war neither seen nor experienced till now!



But at least our relatives were free. To be free, even in the worst circumstances means a great deal. Freedom means life! "Nothing could be worse than in captivity to recall freedom." We did not have any hope of freedom. Strictly speaking there had not been occasion for hope. Each hour, even each minute had been stolen from death. Half of my closest friends already had escaped through... the chimney and over the broken bodies of doomed men there was wafted an ice-cold breath of destruction.

Spring for all flesh, even for those who had driven us onto death and now have themselves weltered on their own soil along all roads and ways unknowing what to do.

But as for us, why on earth? We did not belong to this world any more. Some found it hard to agree? Well, what about it? Who asked your consent?

To tell the truth, no one of us was able to solve such problems. It would be too much for us. And there was no need whatsoever. That matter belonged to the past time, to the other world, to the life left far behind...

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But contrary to appearances, somewhere on the very bottom under ashes and slag of frustrated hopes there smouldered a paltry sparkle of life. Maybe the last one. We clutched at that last like a drowning man would at a straw: those who were hardly able to drag their legs along and those wallowing on camp roads, lying in ditches and those on bare planks and even on concrete in the antechamber of the crematorium — exhausted beyond limit and starved to extremity, the ragged gray remains of the men with tightly pressed jaws and with faces as taciturn as the earth itself.

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The spring has come after all. Death had not strength enough to stop her. May had arrived. 6th day. Sunday. 12 o'clock noon.

On the high chimney still throwing out heavy dense smoke waved a white flag. "The Millennial Reich" had raised up its hands. Had surrendered.

Camp-gates had been torn away and stood widely open. The American tanks had just passed through but were stuck amid a huge crowd of prisoners who roared and jubilated over their miraculous escape and danced a crazy dance, drunk with freedom, spring and bread...

— "It's Easter" — whispered my friend and sank with his face to the plank as to his mother's hand. To get up would have been beyond our strength.

— Christ is risen! We will live!

\*

... There has been many a peck of salt eaten since that time... And every time I recall those hellish events they would seem like a nightmare even if the permanent "souvenir", the number 57349, were not tattooed on my left arm.

To-day once more a frenzied myth of delirious men, this time a myth of Russia about domination over the whole world, is drawing to its inevitable close.

A widespread myth but as certainly as with the Nazi-Germany in 1945, all the same its end will come.

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## BANDERA ANNIVERSARY IN MUNICH

**Impressive demonstration by Ukrainian exiles and their friends on the tenth anniversary of the murder of Stepan Bandera: torchlight procession through Munich: flags of shame and slavery publicly burned: failure of KGB agents' sabotage.**

Exactly ten years ago the national Ukrainian politician Stepan Bandera was murdered by shots from potassium cyanide gas-pistol. This took place during the noonday hours on October 15, 1959 in the Bavarian capital, a few minutes away from the main station. Those responsible for ordering the assassin Stashinsky to act — the government of the USSR, the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the State President, and finally the Committee for State Security (KGB) — wanted to affect by Bandera's murder the will towards liberation of the 45 million Ukrainian nation. The shots of October 15, 1959 were meant for all Ukrainians, they were to paralyse, to kill the morale, the Christian and national impulse of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation struggle. This treacherous aim was not attained by the Russian Bolshevik imperialists. The cowardly attack on Stepan Bandera — at the time of his murder the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists' units abroad (OUN) — caused a reaction among the Ukrainian people: students, abroad sections of the workers, the farmers and intelligentsia, which was: now more than ever! Our periodical reports continuously — even in this issue on striking events in the liberation struggle, now gaining ground, partly legally, part illegally, in occupied Ukraine.

On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the death of Stepan Bandera the Ukrainian emigrants in Munich put on a series of meetings and church ceremonies, to which Germans were also invited. The result: two unforgettable days of reflection, of grief, but also days of national pride!

The agents of the KGB and their West German collaborators had planned everything possible (and also impossible) to sabotage these ceremonies and to throw the Ukrainian emigrants off balance. Thus leaflets were circulated which falsely claimed that the meetings and services would take place in other places and at other times. Telegrams, telephone messages and anonymous letters with insulting or threatening content reached the Ukrainian Bishop Kornilyak in Munich, which did not stop him from performing his Christian and patriotic duty. The treacherous game of the KGB saboteurs even went as far as terrifying the German occupants of Zeppelinstr. 67, where the numerous offices and editorial staff of the Ukrainian exile liberation front are to be found; they were threatened with bomb attempts! The director of the "Theater on the Briennerstrasse" was offered 50000 DMs — a sizable Judas reward! — if he cooperated in preventing the announced main event organized by the Ukrainians. Otherwise the building was threatened with being blown up by a bomb!... Even the German police in Munich were pestered continually

with wrong messages and denunciations, but the good, disciplined officials from Ettstrasse kept their iron nerve.

Finally, when all these macabre tricks and bluffings by Moscow Murder Inc. had been exposed, an attempt was made to intimidate personally specific prominent speakers. The Byelorussian representative, Colonel D. Kosmovich heard that if he nevertheless took part as a speaker in the ceremony of mourning in the Waldfriedhof cemetery, he would not survive the day! Similar threats of murder against the Chief Editor of the weekly newspaper, "Schlach Peremohy" and other prominent Ukrainian exiles were put into circulation. But the KGB had not counted on the personal courage, the revolutionary discipline and the moral strength of those being threatened. The planned ceremonies took place without disturbance and according to plan, there was no single case of calling off, of changes, "withdrawing."

A start was made with a well-attended press conference held of October 10. "Why is there in Munich a commemorative plaque for Lenin, the honouring of a man, that is, who is considered the creator of modern Russian imperialism, to which East and Central Germany have already been forcibly incorporated? Why instead is there no plaque for Stepan Bandera, who was assassinated here in Munich on the order of the Soviet government?" This question was asked by Yaroslav Stetsko, President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and former head of government of Free Ukraine in 1941, of the representatives present from press and radio, who had been informed by the exile Slovak politician Dr. Ctibor Pokorný about the occasion and meaning behind the commemorative ceremony.

Questioned on the chances of a popular revolution in Ukraine and the true motives of the Russian imperialists in the invasion of Czechoslovakia on August 21, 1968, Yaroslav Stetsko, one of the closest and most authoritative colleagues of Stepan Bandera until October 15 1959, replied: "A simultaneous coordinated struggle for freedom is at the same time a guarantee for the avoidance of an atomic war... Czecho-Slovakia was occupied by Russian troops, not so much to force the Dubček-regime to its knees (that could have been done with simpler means), but above all to close the "Window on the West" (that is, freedom) for fighting Ukraine and other non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Russian rocket bases were transferred into the Sudetenland..."

With hard words, yet keeping to the facts, Yaroslav Stetsko who today is the head of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), turned against attempts in a part of the West German press to stamp without exception political emigrants from the East as "trouble-makers" and "cold war warriors." He said: "Was not also Lenin once an emigrant, or de Gaulle, the Greek, Norwegian and Dutch royal families? Was not the future finally theirs? Who forms today the new German Federal government? Two former emigrants, Willy Brandt and Herbert Wehner. We have not been driven out by our nations, we did not want to rescue our lives from a foreign occupying power, but we came to defend our cause, which is also the cause of the Free World. Our ideas are those of the youth behind the Iron Curtain... It is ridiculous to wish to blame the murders carried out by the Communist occupying regimes on emigrants in the West, on the "jungle-like" condition among emigrants."



Looking back at the Stashynsky trial in 1963 Yaroslav Stetsko declared at this memorable press conference: "We regret it extremely that the German court did not require the Federal Government to summon those who gave the order for the murders of Stepan Bandera and Lev Rebet before an international tribunal, that the UN Commission for Human Rights, the Court of Human Rights at the Council of Europe, the International Court of Justice in the Hague and the International Commission of Justice in Geneva have said nothing..." The assassinations had given proof more convincing than any other that the "main danger for the continuance of the Russian Bolshevik rule of force lay in particular in the activation of the idea of national liberation."

On October 11, a Saturday, a Ukrainian Orthodox service took place at 10 o'clock in the church of St. Nicholas, in the east of Munich, extremely well attended by members of both Ukrainian Churches — evidence of genuine ecumenical spirit characterized by a determined defence of Christianity!

Several thousand Ukrainians from the Federal German Republic, from Belgium, Britain, France, Austria and the USA, accompanied by a large crowd of Byelorussian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Georgian, Bulgarian, Rumanian, Hungarian, Czech, Slovak, Croatian, German, Cossack, Armenian, Turkmenian and Tatar friends, took part on October 11 in a service at Bandera's grave at the Waldfriedhof cemetery. Celebrant was Bishop Platon Kornilyak (Ukrainian Catholic Church). Unforgettable remained the reverent words of the bishop at the white stone cross at Bandera's grave; the bishop spoke from the heart to all Ukrainians present, Catholics as well as Orthodox, when he stated:

"Our Ukrainian people in the course of its historical existence has known the sacrifice of hundreds, of thousands of such heroes, who were not afraid to devote their lives to the realization of the ideals of the freedom of our country. Today we pray jointly for the spiritual servant of God, Stepan Bandera, who, as before him Lev Rebet, had to die for this reason by an enemy hand, since he had set as the aim of his life the gaining of freedom by force for his oppressed Ukrainian nation. He was a genuine patriot, and he was also a believing Christian and a true son of the Church."

The Ukrainian "Homyn" choir from Great Britain sang; addresses were delivered by representatives of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). In the "Theater on the Briennerstrasse" the same evening, before an audience of about 3,000, Yaroslav Stetsko, the outstanding leading figure among Ukrainian emigrants, spoke, followed by the Bulgarian emigré leader Dr. Dimiter Waltscheff and Bohdan Schuper, student and delegate of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), to their fellow-countrymen and numerous guests from home and abroad. Yaroslav Stetsko declared unequivocally: in the revolutionary struggle for liberation of Ukraine no half measures would be taken, there was no compromise with the main enemy of national freedom — Russia. Accompanied by tumultuous applause, the former Bulgarian state secretary Dr. Waltscheff declared: "The battle-cry of our struggle is still: 'Marx or Christ!'" The Bulgarian speaker sharply attacked the illusionary thinking of so many Western politicians.

The appearance of the famous Ukrainian male choir "Homin" was impressive, singing revolutionary and Cossack songs. Applause was also accorded the bandura player Volodymyr Lutsiv and the opera singer Tetyana Ara-Shuflyn, becoming a tempest of enthusiasm when a SUM trio took the stage. Three young Ukrainian girls sang freedom songs, settings of poems by the opposition poet from Ukraine of today, Vasyl Symonenko, who died so early. Rhythm and guitar accompaniment in thoroughly modern form ("protest songs"), soul-stirring and militant drew from young and old in the hall prolonged applause.

The appearance of the SUM trio from Britain as well as the pledge of loyalty of Ukrainian youth at Bandera's grave point to an interesting fact: active participation of numerous youth groups from Germany and abroad in the memorial celebrations in Munich. About a third of all taking part in the solemnities and protest marches were Ukrainian youths, students, schoolboys, young workers, many in the simple grey uniform of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM).

The main meeting in the Theater on the Briennerstrasse closed with an impressive torch-light procession through the city centre of Munich. In Kreitmayerstrasse, the scene of Bandera's murder, the young people laid a wreath. While the Ukrainian national anthem and national revolutionary songs were heard, a red flag went up in flames: a moving climax to the unforgettable days of memorial in the Bavarian capital in 1969.

On October 12 the Bandera memorial celebrations closed with a pontifical service in the Catholic Church in Kreuzstrasse, celebrated by Bishop Kornilyak.

Stepan Bandera the man is dead, but the ideas of Bandera the politician and revolutionary live on.

*Wolfgang Strauss*

## **PROMISE AND REALITY**

**50 Years of Soviet-Russian "Achievements"**  
**An Indictment of Russian Communism**

**by SUZANNE LABIN**

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## U S SENATE ON SHELEPIN'S CRIME

Exerpts from *Murder International Inc.* (Murder and Kidnaping as an Instrument of Soviet Policy)

Page 1-2

Petr S. Deriabin, who was an officer of the NKVD was heard on Friday, March 26, 1965 by the US Senate, Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary.

The subcommittee met at 9:50 a.m., in room 457, Old Senate Office Building. Senator Dodd was presiding and also present were: J. G. Sourwine, chief counsel; Benjamin Mandel, director of research; David Martin and Robert McManus, investigations analysts.

*Senator Dodd asked: Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this subcommittee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?*

Mr. Deriabin answered: I do.

Petr S. Deriabin testified that he served as an officer of the NKVD and later of the Ministry of State Security between 1944 and February 1954. In this organization he had reached rank of major.

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*...Mr. Sourwine asked: You have testified, Mr. Deriabin, to the fact that the Soviet Government used murder as an instrument of policy throughout the dictatorship of Stalin. The documents in the Bandera-Rebet case made it clear that Stashynsky, the man who murdered these Ukrainian*

*patriots, was a mere tool of the Soviet Government under the dictatorship of Nikita Khrushchev. He produced in court documentary proof that he had been decorated for these murders and awarded the Order of the Red Banner by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. The award was presented to him by Aleksander N. Shelepin, who at that time was chairman of the Committee for State Security of the USSR. That means he was head of the KGB, does it not?*

Mr. Deriabin: That is correct; he was head of KGB.

*Mr. Sourwine: Shelepin is presently a member of the Presidium, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Deputy Premier of the Council of Ministers of the USSR. That means he is a top official of the ruling group which succeeded the Khrushchev regime, doesn't it?*

Mr. Deriabin: That is correct.

*Mr. Sourwine: Doesn't his presence in that position foretell or indicate that the new regime will continue the Khrushchev-Stalin-Lenin practice of using murder all around the world as an instrument of Communist policy?*

Mr. Deriabin: I am sure of that. And Shelepin, it should be noted here, while being chairman of State Security, was at the same time Vice-President of the World Federation of Democratic Youth. He was elected to a 2-year term in 1957, when he was chief of Soviet State Security.



Mr. Sourwine: This is a clear case, isn't it? A tip off to the fact that a change in regime from Khrushchev does not mean any change in this policy of murder and assassination and kidnapping?

Mr. Deriabin: I don't think there will be any changes from Khrushchev's policies in the future.

Mr. Sourwine: Isn't this something which would perhaps be better understood in non-Communist countries — that changes in the top leaders in the Soviet Union are not going to mean a change in the face of Communism or the policies, practices, or tactics of worldwide Communism?

Mr. Deriabin: Your statement is correct; I am in complete agreement with that.

Mr. Sourwine: We have heard several times that folks used to say, "Well, if Stalin dies everybody will be all right."

Mr. Deriabin: I didn't believe it even then. I defected after Stalin's death, and I knew that the face of the Communist regime would not change.

Mr. Sourwine: Then, when Khrushchev was deposed there were many stories in newspapers in the Western World that things would be different. This was either pro-Communist or Communist propaganda, or just plain foolishness, wasn't it?

Mr. Deriabin: That is correct. And it should be said, if we give a little value to Khrushchev for his liberalism within the Communist regime and if we then have people like Shelepin at the top, I do not expect it to become better than it was under Khrushchev; I expect worse.

Mr. Sourwine: Then the liberalizations are basically tactical rather than changes in policy?

Mr. Deriabin: Tactical.

# DERABIN TESTIFIES THAT SOVIET STATE SECURITY MURDERED PETLURA AND KONOVALETS

Mr. Deriabin: I can only add to the Khokhlov testimony the fact that Soviet State Security engaged in assassination as early as the twenties, especially against the Russian and Ukrainian emigrant leaders.

I would give one example which was common knowledge while I was working in state security — the Soviet State Security assassination of General Kutepov in France. Also, there was the case of one Ukrainian nationalist leader, Petlura. With regard to the case of the Ukrainian nationalist leaders, Bandera and Rebet from my knowledge of the Emigré Department of State Security, they were put on the list for assassination — in the case of Bandera, before World War II. They had been hunting for him since World War II.

Mr. Sourwine: By "hunting for him", you don't mean necessarily that they didn't know where he was, but that they were trying to set up a situation in which they could accomplish their purpose?

Mr. Deriabin: That is correct.

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Mr. Sourwine: On May 25, 1926, Gen. Simon Petlura, then leader of the Ukrainian nationalist movement was assassinated in Paris.

Mr. Deriabin: I have heard it said in the Emigré Department of State Security that Petlura was assassinated by Soviet State Security.

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Mr. Sourwine: Col. Evhen Konovalets, killed by explosion of a parcel bomb in Rotterdam.

Mr. Deriabin: I can only say that I have no personal knowledge about that, but I heard that his killing was organized by State Security when he was working with the Ukrainian nationalist movement.

*Mr. Sourwine: Konovalets was a leader of the Ukrainian nationalist movement at the time?*

Mr. Deriabin: That is right.

*Mr. Sourwine: These Ukrainian nationalist leaders seem to have been selected as victims in a large number of cases. Was there a special concentration on them, or was it just at*

*that time that they were a particular danger to Soviet objectives?*

Mr. Deriabin: They were a particular danger before World War II, and especially so right after World War II, which is why Soviet State Security kidnapped or killed such persons as Petlura, Bandera and Rebet — because the nationalists, especially in the West Ukraine, were very active in 1946, 1947, 1948, and as late as 1949.

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## CENTER OF UKRAINIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY AND REFERENCE

After over two years of preparatory work an agreement between the Association of Ukrainian Librarians in America and the Ukrainian Institute of America has been signed on July 27, 1968 concerning organization by these two institutions of a Center of Ukrainian Bibliography and Reference.

This Center will be located in the House of the Ukrainian Institute of America in New York.

Its purpose will be to give to a student of the Ukrainian problems all necessary bibliographic information. This Center will consist of: Union Catalog of Ukrainica in the North American Libraries, collection of bibliographies and indexes concerning Ukrainian problems topped with a bibliography of Ukrainian bibliography. Index of Ukrainian biography, list of the Ukrainian research in progress, of academic dissertations on Ukrainian topics, a list "who knows what in Ukrainian matters" and all other possible files which can be helpful to a student of the Ukrainian problems.

For this project to be a success requires financial resources for paid professional and clerical staff, bibliographic tools and office equipment and supplies. It needs also voluntary workers and correspondents.

Banking account of the: Center of the Ukrainian Bibliography and Reference is: 4269 in the: "Selfreliance" Federal Credit Union. 98 Second Ave, New York, N. Y. 10003.

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Board of Directors of the Association of Ukrainian Librarians in America.

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## *Book Review*

J. B. Rudnyckyj, *AN ETYMOLOGICAL DICTIONARY OF THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE*. Winnipeg: Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences, 1962-1969. Eight parts, 776 pages.

Professor J. B. Rudnyckyj started his work on *An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* in 1941 while in Prague, Czechoslovakia. In 1945, all cards (about 25,000) were transferred to West Germany where the compiler added more entries. In 1949, he arrived in Winnipeg and resumed his work, translating all explanations into English due to the new environment and the lack of any English-language etymological dictionary of a Slavic tongue. It was planned in such a way that this work should perform a reference service not only for Ukrainian but also for other Slavic languages, since Russian, Belorussian, Polish, Czech and other equivalents are used to define the origin and the meaning of the entries.

The first part of J. B. Rudnyckyj's dictionary was published in 1962 by the Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences of which the author has been president since its incorporation in Canada. Part eight appeared in 1969, and there should be fourteen or fifteen more parts.

Rudnyckyj started his work with all responsibility, publishing his original "Etymological Formula" in *Slavistica*, No. 44 (Winnipeg, 1962), and "Variants of the Etymological Formula" in *Die Welt der Slaven*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1963). The findings were discussed by linguists at scholarly conferences, and this assured its author a strict scholarly approach to his work.

*An Etymological Dictionary of the Ukrainian Language* embraces a rich vocabulary, including archaic and dialectal words. Applying a comparative method, the author, whenever possible, gives data when the word was first used or repeated in different forms in the subsequent literary monuments. We would like to illustrate this painstaking research with

the word *bida*, misfortune (p. 130). This word was first recorded as *бѣды* in the eleventh century manuscript, repeated as *въ бѣдахъ* (XIIth century), *бѣдою* (XIVth century) *въ сѣхъ бѣдахъ* (1489), *бѣда* (1596), *бѣда* (XVIIth century), *въ будѣ* (XVIIth century), *буды* (1630). In the last two examples the letter *ѣ* has been replaced by *у* (=i) in the originals. The equivalents of this Ukrainian word are supplied from Belorussian, Russian, Bulgarian, Old Church Slavic, Macedonian, Serbo-Croatian, Czech and Old Czech, Polish and Old Polish, and Upper and Lower Sorbian. The Ukrainian derivatives in this entry such as *bidak*, *bidnyj*, amount to 31 words, family names as *Bidnjak* to eight, including three from the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries. Two place names, *Bidyliwka* and *Bidywka*, conclude the long list of derivatives, and then eleven synonyms of *bida* follow. The origin of the entry *bida* has been traced to reconstructed Proto-Slavic form and to the Indo-European root of the word, which is compared to the cognates in Albanian, Gothic, Old Icelandic, Anglo-Saxon and Old High German. Finally, four relevant etymological sources are listed. Never before in Ukrainian philology had there been such a broad treatment of this subject. As a matter of fact, never before had there been an etymological dictionary of Ukrainian published. During Stalin's reign almost all Ukrainian linguists were arrested and disappeared without a trace. In the 1950's R. V. Kravchuk had prepared his etymological dictionary for publication, and the first volume was to be published in 1962. So far nothing has appeared and the author, according to rumours, was transferred from Ukrainian to another Soviet republic where he could not continue his research in this field.



Rudnyckyj's dictionary promises to be an epoch-making contribution to Ukrainian philology. It has been reviewed by several linguists, highly praised and criticized, especially by Professor O. Horbach in *Suchasnist'* (Munich, 1962), for its insufficient presentation of dialectal words and even omission of some active words used in everyday life. Probably, this kind of work can not be complete, because there is no complete historical dictionary of Ukrainian (Tymchenko's *Istorychnyj slovnyk ukrajins'ko-ho jazyka* (1930-32) covers only the first nine letters of the alphabet) and only a few dictionaries of local words are published. It seems to us that it would be much better from the practical point of view to omit passive words and to include in this etymological dictionary only those words which are actively used now or were active in classical writings. Why does the author have to list *baznyk*, "lilac" (p. 52), *verenva*, layer of sheaves (p. 352), and hundreds of similar dialectal words which were used perhaps only once a long time ago and are unknown even to linguists? These could be omitted without any harm to the work; instead of them *Alushta* and *Bakhchysaraj*, place names, and hundreds other active words, especially toponyms, should be listed. It would

probably reduce the cost of publication and make the dictionary more serviceable for readers.

Another weak point in the dictionary is that the author sometimes does not pay enough attention to the standard spelling of modern Ukrainian words. He often lists dialectal words as standards. Thus we find in the dictionary *banket*, used in Middle Ukrainian and even by T. Shevchenko, but *benket*, a standard of today, has been not discussed; it is simply referred to *banket*. There should be no place in the dictionary for such words as *bojsyk* (*bajsak*), a little boy, *havz, gara*, car, used as slang in Canada and the U.S.A. Surprisingly enough, Rudnyckyj's dictionary gives passport to such words which contribute to the decline of Ukrainian in the New World. Even the author's explanations are sometimes not given in a good standard language; for example, *vylozhena kaminnjam* (p. 220) should be changed to *vykladena kaminnjam*.

These minor shortcomings do not lower the value of his etymological dictionary which is well organized and scholarly presented. It is hoped that the following parts will be published soon.

University of Alberta

Yar Slavutych

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UKRAINE AND RUSSIA: AN OUTLINE OF HISTORY OF POLITICAL AND MILITARY RELATIONS (DECEMBER 1917 — APRIL 1918) by Matthew Stachiw, LL.D. Translated by W. Dushnyck. Preface by C. A. Manning. New York, Ukr. Congress Committee of America, 1967, ill. 215 pp. Shevchenko Scientific Society, Ukrainian Studies Series 20, English Section v. 4.

The book by Dr. M. Stachiw is a very timely contribution to an insufficient collection of materials in English on the true exposure of Soviet-Russian policy toward Ukraine. It treats the periods of five important months during which the fate of Ukraine's independence and Russia's empire were being decided. In the first chapter Mr. Stachiw concluded that immediately after Lenin's rise to power in Russia, his forces, "the Russian Sovnarkom (Soviet of People's Commissars) set up a two-pronged attack against Ukraine: military

aggression in conjunction with a planned putsch in Kiev." (p. 18). That was in December 1917. The "war ultimatum" of the Sovnarkom in which Lenin treated Ukraine as an indivisible part of Russia, which has no right to national sovereign statehood at all and therefore the newly formed Ukrainian state and government must categorically submit to Russian dictates, served as an official pretext to the military invasion. When the invading army conquered Kharkiv in late December, the so-called First All-Ukrainian Congress of Workers',

Peasants' and Soldiers' Councils of Deputies was organized under the protection of Russian bayonets "to provide a cover for the Soviet Russian aggression..." (p. 35). It "consisted almost exclusively of Russian or Russified elements." (loc. cit.)

In chapter 2, the author convincingly proves that the Red Army in Ukraine not only came from Russia, but was composed mainly of Russians and served Russian colonial imperialistic aims as formulated by Lenin. The main antagonists were the Ukrainians and the Russians: "the Ukrainian army *alone* sustained the brunt of the Bolshevik attack and *alone* began a counter-offensive... The historical facts show that there was not a single Ukrainian unit among the Bolshevik troops which took Kiev in February, 1918." (p. 118). Many valuable proofs of Red-Russian economic colonialism towards Ukraine are brought to light.

In the third chapter, the Russian colonial government in Ukraine during this first Bolshevik invasion — December 1917 — April 1918 — is analysed. It was characterised by a complete disregard of Ukrainian sovereign rights, by full subjection of Ukraine to Russia, and by direct governing of Ukraine from Moscow. All the Bolshevik institutions in Ukraine, namely, the soviets, party organisation, the army, Cheka — were controlled and ruled by the will of the sovereign Russian people.

A study of the Ukrainian-Russian relations at the Brest-Litovsk Peace Conference follows. Prior to the proclamation of Ukraine's independence on January 22, 1918, the Russian Bolshevik delegation at the conference treated Ukraine as part of Russia. Afterwards, the policy became more complicated: the Russians acknowledged the right of Ukraine to form her own state, but tried to retain sovereignty over her by all means.

Next Dr. Stachiv proves that the counter-offensive against the Bolshevik advance in Ukraine was started and mainly carried out by the Ukrainian national army with the support of the Central Powers, and not as the Russian propaganda usually states, that it was German aggression and

occupation of Ukraine, while Ukrainian troops were just an appendage.

In the seventh chapter the author shows that the dominant concept of Lenin's policy towards Ukraine was the traditional concept of the Russian empire, the "one and indivisible." The motive which prompted Lenin to sign the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty and to recognise the Ukrainian independent national state was not resignation of the imperialistic aims towards her but preserving Russia's sovereignty and giving a respite in order to re-build the Russian army for the eventual re-conquest of Ukraine.

The following chapter deals with Lenin's strategy of establishing an "independent Soviet Ukraine" by which he planned to camouflage Russian aggression toward the Ukrainian national government as if it were a civil war, for Russia formally concluded a peace treaty with the Central Powers and temporarily suspended direct military confrontation. Documents are produced to show that the Bolsheviks never considered Ukraine as a separate national entity striving for a national state. Actually the Bolsheviks had no allies in Ukraine, with the exception of Russians and few Russified aliens. Even "the proletariat of Ukraine did not follow the Bolsheviks..." (p. 149). There were no Ukrainian Bolshevik military units of any significant size, and the existing Ukrainian soviets were leaning toward a national non-Communist government.

Chapter 9 treats the termination of the first "Ukrainian Soviet Republic" which voted its own dissolution on April 20, 1918.

The concluding chapter is valuable. In it Dr. Stachiv plainly reveals that the Russian Communist Party of the Bolsheviks was the sole architect of expanding its power into Ukraine and that at that time there was no Ukrainian Communist movement at all. "No Ukrainian party had anything to do with the establishment of the Soviet regime in Ukraine." (p. 166) "The government in Kharkiv was created on direct orders of the All-Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks." (p. 168) Russians created the Communist Party of Bolsheviks of Ukraine which

in March 1918 counted 4,364 members, 130 of whom considered themselves to be Ukrainians. (At that time there were over 30 million Ukrainians!) In the said Ukrainian Soviet Government "with the exception of Skrypnyk and Shakhrai, who were Ukrainians, all

were Russian chauvinists." (p. 176) With respect to the party "the true leaders of the R.C.P. in Ukraine in 1917 and at the beginning of 1918 were only Russians, Russified Jews, Poles, Latvians, and others." (p. 182).

A. W. Bedriy

Yar Slavutych. *ZAVOJOVNYKY PRERIJ*. Edmonton, Alta. "Slavuta." 1968. 48 pages

*Zavajovnyky prerij* ("The Conquerors of Prairies") is Yar Slavutych' seventh collection of poems and the third to be published in Canada. It consists of four parts: "Zavojovnyky prerij", "Polarni sonety" (Polar Sonnets), "Pivnične sjajvo" (Northern Lights), and "Skarha" ("Grievance"). The chief virtues of this collection are sincerity, depth, and stylistic brevity. Slavutych' vocabulary is rich — each word is loaded with meaning and creates the necessary poetic resonance. His use of epithets is colourful, and his nouns and verbs are properly chosen to make his images expressive.

He portrays the modern conquerors of the Canadian prairies who brought the wilderness of the West in touch with civilization, who turned the forests into wide fields and laid the foundations for a new life. They are hopeful and determined characters, who work from dawn till dusk and cut trails through the wilderness. The author portrays the ploughmen in "Pluhatari" much more forcefully. In this poem appear the old and the modern techniques of cultivating the soil. As once the grandfather rejoiced cutting the ground with his crude plough, so today the grandchild exults on seeing modern machinery in the broad fields of the Canadian West. Of historical significance is the ballad "Troje" ("Three") which portrays John, Jean, and Ivan, who experienced a similar fate in the Canadian West. Harsh conditions and meager reward soon disappointed John and Jean, and they left looking for a better life. Ivan, however, remained and continued to toil and to suffer until success became his. Finally John and Jean returned to govern this part of Canada. Ivan is portrayed with great strength, deeply rooted in tradition and with a vision of a better future.

The five "Polar Sonnets", written between 1964 and 1967, are skillful portraits of the North. The poem "Skarha" describes Ahapij Honcharenko who, during his stay in Alaska, published Shevchenko's works and edited the *Alaska Herald*, in which he fought a battle with the Tsarist regime. The poet looks for traces of this Ukrainian immigrant in California where he once lived and prayed to God.

The only criticism that may be levelled against the publication is the lack of a brief introduction. The reader is not sufficiently informed about the author and the incentives that caused the appearance of this fine collection.

Yar Slavutych — one of the most prolific Ukrainian authors on the American continent, now celebrating his fiftieth birth anniversary, stands in the vanguard of Ukrainian poetry abroad. He was born in 1918, in the Ukraine, where in 1940 he graduated from the Pedagogic Institute in Zaporizhzhia. He obtained his A.M. degree (1954) and a Ph.D. degree (1955) from the University of Pennsylvania. Before coming to the University of Alberta in 1960, he served on the faculty of the U.S. Army Language School at Monterey, California.

His publications include: *Spivaje kolos* ("The Singing Ears of Wheat", Augsburg, 1945), *Homin vikiv* ("The Echo of Ages", Augsburg, 1946), *Pravdonosci* ("The Crusaders for Truth", Munich, 1948), *Spraha* ("Thirst", Frankfurt, 1950), *Don'ka bez imeny* ("The Daughter Without Name", Buenos Aires, 1952), *Oaza* ("Oasis", Edmonton, 1960), *Majestat* ("Majesty", Edmonton, 1962), *Trofeji* ("Trophies", Edmonton, 1963), and *Zavojovnyky prerij* ("The Conquerors of Prairies", Edmonton, 1968). He has also written



and published numerous literary essays, articles, and book reviews in both Ukrainian and English. Yar Slavutych is an author of *Conversational Ukrainian*, I and II, Winnipeg, Edmonton, 1959, 1960. His poems have been translated into German, Spanish, Rus-

sian, Byelorussian, and English. The English edition *Oasis* (New York, 1959), presents the best the author has written during his two decades of creativity.

W. T. Zyla

Texas Technological College

**ZWISCHEN WALDHEIM UND WORKUTA; ERLEBNISSE POLITISCHER HÄFTLINGS, 1945-1965** (Between Waldheim and Vorkuta; Experience of political prisoners, 1945-1965), collected and edited by Sigurd Binski, foreward by Karl Wilhelm Fricke, published by Vereinigung der Opfer des Stalinismus e. V., Bonn, 1967, 191 pp.

This book is a compilation of 46 reports by Germans who were imprisoned by the Communists in the Soviet zone of Germany or by the Russians in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Norilsk and others. From these reports we get a panorama of events in the Russian slave camps during the 1950s, where "people of almost all nations of the Eastern world" were suffering and dying. (p. 126) A clear impression arises that Ukrainians composed not only the most numerous group of those incarcerated, but also the most dynamic, anti-colonialist group, even under slave camp conditions.

Sigurd Binski relates the following conversation which took place in Vorkuta: "One Ukrainian asked me: 'Surely, there are mines in America?' — 'Naturally.' 'Who works in them?' — 'Well, who should work in them? Miners.' — 'Yes, but of what nationality?' — 'Americans, of course.' 'Americans? In mines?'" (p. 114) The Ukrainian meant to say that in the USSR only members of the enslaved non-Russian nationalities have to work in mines.

Several reports tell about the heroic and large uprisings in Norilsk and Vorkuta in the early 50s under the slogans of national and personal freedom and destruction of the Russian slave empire. The testimony of Ernst Hegemann on his talk with two prominent political prisoners in Vorkuta is significant. One of them was Ivan Ilkovich Chyshchuk, a Ukrainian "professor from Lviv, with a fine European education." (p. 164) Mr. Chyshchuk said: "With respect to

Ukraine, I can assure you that she will always strive for her independence and will fight for it, no matter against whom!" (p. 170) The other man, P. I. Gerasimov, complained: "I am convinced that the world press has passed over our uprisings of the summer of 1953 with hundreds of dead — among whom there were also prisoners from the Western World — with 20 printed lines. Why people there do not see that the Bolsheviks can be overcome *without a war* if only we were helped? Don't they know that the great Ukrainian liberation movement declined after the war because the West was too cowardly to give it effective assistance? ... The West is intoxicated with the concept of freedom — and tolerates the oppression of hundreds of millions of people; it extols humaneness — and looks on unmoved at the spiritual and physical enslavement of whole nationalities. It awakens the ultimate hopes in the best hearts of the whole continent — and brings them to nought for 'security reasons'..." (p. 174).

Another former inmate, Horst Bienek, reports: "The Ukrainian linguist was a lecturer of French literature at the University of Kyiv. He was imprisoned in 1950 during a purge. During the war he belonged to a nationalistic movement which wanted to re-establish the sovereignty of Ukraine... As late as 1950 — the lecturer said — four illegal monthlies were printed in Ukraine... The MGB imprisoned hundreds and thousands of Ukrainians for possessing these

materials. The nationalism of many Ukrainians is very strong... they deeply respect their native poets... During the time of my imprisonment I met hundreds of Ukrainians, among whom there was not even one who did not know the works of the greatest Ukrainian, Shevchenko. The resistance after the war remained for the most part only in Ukraine, where people have especially strong roots in

the Christian past. Churches, whose members often are sharp enemies of Bolshevism, blossom there." (pp. 176-7).

This compilation is a good source material to support the contention of the ABN that its concepts of national revolutions of the peoples enslaved by Russia are verified by the actual freedom-fighters of recent years.

A. W. Bedriy

Siegfried von Vagesack, *AS TRANSLATOR IN THE EAST* (The events of the years 1942-43) Published by Harro v. Hirschheydt, Hannover-Doehren, 1965, 265 pages, 12 pictures made by the author himself.

The author has travelled extensively during his life (he even visited the exotic South America) and wrote a whole series of novels, short stories, letters from abroad in a book form, etc. In his introduction Vagesack states that he wants to write only the truth and, therefore, he does not trust the official reports which are intentionally distorted. The author takes a positive attitude towards the German army (Wehrmacht) but condemns the corrupted civil administration of the German-occupied Ukraine.

Vagesack emphasizes that the entire tragedy of the German and the Ukrainian peoples was that the German policy towards the East showed signs of bankruptcy. The population which greeted the German army as liberators, was driven by the incompetent and corrupt German civil government into the embrace of Bolshevism. (p. 13).

On p. 21, the author again reminds the Germans that in the East it was necessary to distinguish between two distinct nations: the Ukrainian with Kyiv as capital, and the Russian with Moscow in the North. The Russians are not really Europeans in our sense of the word; their viewpoint is turned more to the Asian East. This is confirmed also by the fact that Russia, in the north, is mainly covered with

sands and forests, at the time when Ukraine is the home of black fertile soil. Therefore, it would not be contrary to fact to state that what we refer to by a common name "Russia" is nothing else, but two separate geographic-political areas: Ukraine and Russia or better still, Great Russian Moscovia.

The author spends a considerable length of time describing the treacherous position of Moscow toward Ukraine immediately after the Pereyaslav Treaty which was broken by the Russian tsars in the most brutal way. Thus, it is no wonder that later constant attempts were made by the Ukrainians to throw off the Russian yoke, the best known of which was the Battle of Poltava of 1709.

On p. 22 Vagesack stresses that the Russians always and under various pretexts tried to conquer Constantinople because Moscow, Petersburg and Constantinople were to become the three holy capitals of the great Russian empire, which was to extend from the Elbe all the way to China and Vladivostok, from the Neva River all the way to the Egyptian Nile, from the Volga to the Euphrates, from the Ganges to the Danube. This should be the future Russia about which the Russian visionaries and chauvinists were dreaming. The Pan-Slavic

dreams of the Russians which seemed mere illusions of a sick mind less than a hundred years ago are now, under the Bolsheviks, becoming almost a reality.

Nature, itself, points to the fact that Ukraine and Russia are two different countries. Ukraine is full of green vegetation and its "black earth region" is a wonder of nature.

The introduction of collectivisation harmed rather than benefited the Ukrainian agriculture. Ukrainian peasants-individualists paid dearly with their own life for their resistance to collective farms: millions of Ukrainian peasants died in the thirties by the order of the Russian rulers of Ukraine.

The Bolsheviks were unable to demoralize the Ukrainian peasant family, especially the Ukrainian girls. As an example the author cites the fact that Ukrainian girls could not be induced to work in the Poltava entertainment halls during the German occupation. The author concludes: "The fertile Ukrainian soil and the fertile uncorrupted Ukrainian people!", (p. 88).

The author also makes public a memorandum which he sent to the head of the Agriculture Department, East, General Shtapf, on July 17, 1944. It was a rather lengthy document and touched upon various aspects of life in Ukraine and called for drastic changes in the German policy toward Ukraine.

*THE CAPTIVE NATIONS: OUR FIRST LINE OF DEFENSE*, by Bernardine Bailey.

In a succinct, highly readable style, Bernardine Bailey tells the story of the fourteen non-Russian republics (inside the USSR) and the satellite countries — showing how and when they became captives. More important, she describes their unending efforts to free themselves from Communist despotism.

The author shows how Russia has had designs on America since the time of Catherine the Great, 200 years ago, and she points out how the Communists are now coming very close to achieving their goal, while we let down our defenses on every hand. She shows that propaganda, not truth, is all we can expect from the Soviets, and that the USSR is NOT mellowing, all wishful thinking to the contrary notwithstanding. Religious persecution, especially, is becoming increasingly severe, but the captive peoples still cling to their Christian faith, even though they are driven underground to carry on religious services.

The book is well organized and well documented. It is illustrated with

photographs that Mrs. Bailey took on her own extensive travels behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains.

The underlying theme of her book is the idea that Communism would fall of its own weight if the Captive Nations were enabled to win their own wars for liberation. Mrs. Bailey points out specific measures that can be taken by the West to help to bring this about — and thus avoid the possibility of a nuclear war.

This book should be required reading for every adult in the Free World, because it shows that the West need not choose the lesser of two evils: Communism or nuclear war. There is a third possibility, one that can be achieved if the Free World so chooses.

Bernadine Bailey is an experienced writer with an international reputation. Her books and articles have been published in the United States, England, Germany, and Australia. She was recently awarded a decoration by the French Society of Arts, Letters, and Science. Her books of biography, history, and geography are widely



used in schools throughout the country. This book is one which you might well give your children to read, so that they can learn the history of

Eastern Europe. It fills a real need, because the story of the Captive Nations is little known to most Americans.

**LE PETIT LIVRE ROUGE, ARME DE GUERRE** (The Little Red Book, A Weapon of War), by Suzanne Labin, Editions: La Table Ronde, 40 rue du Bac, Paris 7<sup>e</sup>, 258 pages, price: Fr. 16.00.

The well-known French authoress, Madame Suzanne Labin, one of whose principal interests is the struggle against Communist totalitarianism and imperialism, has published recently a new book which deals with the spread of the crazy Maoist ideas among some sections of the youth and

of the pseudo-intellectual circles in the West, in particular in France. In a lucid and fascinating style, she analyses the reasons for the comparative success of this perverted fashion, and reveals the rivalries between the Chinese, Cuban and Soviet terroristic machines.

### SYMONENKO'S DIARY IN 'YALE REVIEW'

New Haven, Conn. — The Summer 1969 issue of *The Yale Review* contains a translation of Vasyl Symonenko's *Diary*, which generated a wave of cultural unrest and protest against Russification in Ukraine in the early 1960's. Vasyl Symonenko was a young Ukrainian poet who died in 1963 of cancer at the age of 29.

Symonenko's *Diary* was circulated in Ukraine for several months in manuscript copies before being smuggled out to the West and published there. Two Ukrainian literary critics,

Ivan Svitlychny and Ivan Dzyuba, were arrested by the KGB in March, 1966, and charged with smuggling out the Symonenko manuscript. They have since been released. The gist of Symonenko's *Diary* is a protest against the official Soviet strangulation of literature, particularly Ukrainian literature, language and history.

The *Diary* was translated for *The Yale Review* by Walter Odajnyk, a young Ukrainian specialist on Marxism.

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