

*The*  
**UKRAINIAN**  
**REVIEW**



I

1982

# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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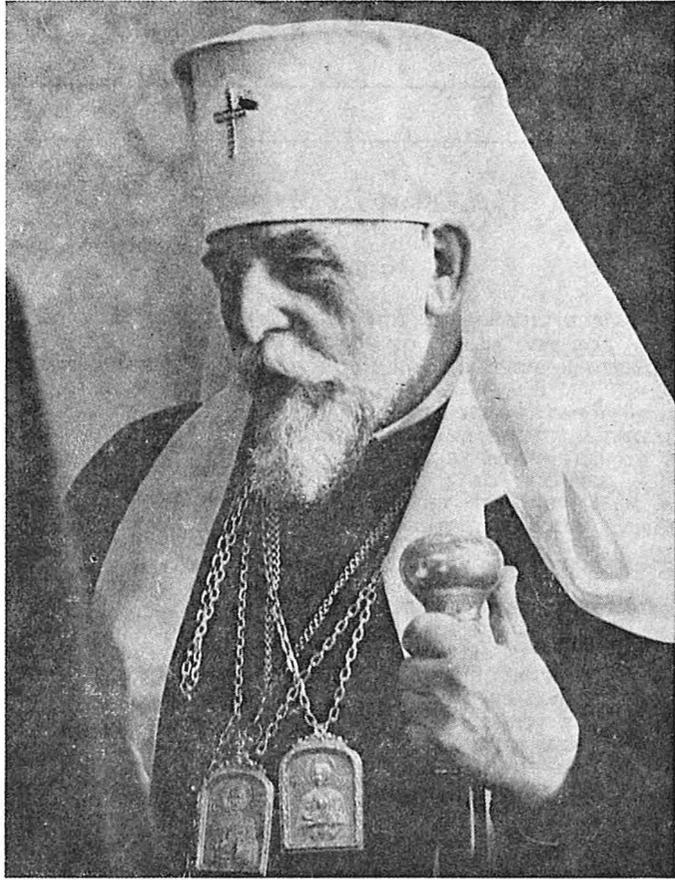
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*HIS BEATITUDE, PATRIARCH JOSYF I  
of the Ukrainian Catholic Church,  
who on February 17th of this year celebrated his 90th birthday*

## THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE OF UKRAINE ON TWO FRONTS

(Address delivered by Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime Minister of Ukrainian Government, 1941, during the celebration of the 40th Anniversary of the re-establishment of Ukrainian Statehood — Montreal, October, 1981)

40 years ago, on June 30, 1941, on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian nation proclaimed the Re-establishment of Ukrainian Statehood in the city of Lviv. June 30, 1941, marks the beginning of a period in our history known as the UKRAINIAN UNDERGROUND STATE, which lasted well into the 1950's, when the military units of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were still leading an armed struggle in defence of Ukrainian Independence and Statehood.

As a result of this proclamation the Ukrainian nation launched a war of liberation, fought on two fronts against both Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia — two of the largest imperialistic, totalitarian and military powers of the 20th century.

The Ukrainian Government, that was created by the Proclamation of Independence, included not only members of the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, but also national democrats, socialists, social revolutionaries and individuals not affiliated with any political party. The Government was recognized and received the full support of both the Ukrainian Catholic and the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Churches. A parliamentary body was formed with Metropolitan Archbishop Andreas Count Sheptytskyj as its honorary President and Dr. Konstantyn Levytskyj, the leader of the national democrats, as its Chairman. The parliament was made up of representatives from various Ukrainian political parties and currents. The new Ukrainian Government enjoyed the full support and loyalty of all strata of the Ukrainian nation. This was the only democratic government and parliament in all of continental Europe at that time.

The ideological and political foundation upon which Ukrainian Statehood was restored in 1941 was contained in a Manifesto issued in 1940 by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. From this Manifesto we read the following:

*“The complete destruction of the Russian empire through a Ukrainian national revolution and armed uprisings of all subjugated nations is the only means for achieving an independent Ukrainian state and the liberation of all nations subjugated by Moscow.”*

The political principles and concepts articulated in this Manifesto were later to serve as the basis of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which was founded in the autumn of 1943 in the forests of Zhytomyr (Western Ukraine) at a Conference of Subjugated Nations.

The newly-founded Ukrainian Government from June 1941 had the support of the Ukrainian Nationalist Military Formation and of numerous insurgent units throughout Ukraine, fighting against the invading Russian Red Army. Having secured the main radio station in Lviv, the revolutionary government informed the nation of the restoration of Ukrainian Statehood. Upon learning of these momentous developments, the Ukrainian population openly and enthusiastically endorsed the new government at mass assemblies in towns and villages throughout the country.

Consequently, the Nazis were forced to divulge their true imperio-colonial aims. Following a period of tempestuous activity of consolidation of the newly-formed state, myself and other members of our government, as well as several leading members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, including its leader, Stepan Bandera, were arrested. Later, the Gestapo murdered three members of the government. Subsequently, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists went underground to continue the struggle for Ukraine's independence.

On behalf of our government I sent my last letter of protest against the Nazi military occupation of Ukraine to the German Reich's Chancellor in October 1941 from the police prison in Berlin. In that letter I warned that Germany's war in the East would be lost within three years, resulting in the Russian communist occupation of vast areas of central Europe. Despite this projection, I openly stated that Ukraine and other freedom-loving subjugated nations would never cease their struggle for liberty and independence.

On three separate occasions I was confronted with an ultimatum from the highest levels of the German Reich to revoke the declaration of state independence, to resign as Prime Minister and to dismiss the government. Each of these demands was adamantly rejected.

A state of war existed between Germany and Ukraine. Many thousands of Ukrainian Nationalists and other patriots were executed upon capture. Hundreds of thousands were put in prisons and concentration camps. A two-front war of liberation against the Russian and German occupants of Ukraine was fought by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the Commander-in-Chief of which was General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka. Operating underground, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) continued the work of the incarcerated government. General Shukhevych-Chuprynka was killed in battle with the Russian police forces of the MVD on March 5, 1950, while Stepan Bandera was murdered on the direct orders of Khrushchev and Shelepin, by a Russian KGB agent, in Munich on October 15, 1959.

By autumn of 1941, thousands of members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists were executed, many more thousands were imprisoned by the Nazis on direct orders from Berlin. The full text of one such document, typical of the Nazi attitude towards the OUN, reads as follows:

From the  
Service Command of the  
Security Police and of  
The Security Service c/5

Headquarters  
November 25, 1941

To the Advanced Posts of  
Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk,  
Rivne, Mykolaiv, Zhytomyr  
and Vinnytsia.

Subject: Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (Bandera Movement)

It has been ascertained that the Bandera Movement is preparing a revolt in the Reichscommissariat which has as its ultimate aim the establishment of an independent Ukraine. All functionaries of the Bandera Movement must be arrested at once and, after thorough interrogation, are to be secretly liquidated as marauders.

Records of such interrogation must be forwarded to the Service Command C/5.

Heads of commands must destroy these instructions on having made a due notice of them.

Signature — illegible  
SS-Obersturmbannfuhrer

The Ukrainian underground state and the mass armed struggle continued from 1941 to 1951. The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, as the natural extension of the Ukrainian government from June 1941, exercised national authority for several years on various parts of Ukrainian territory. The sovereignty of revolutionary authority was preserved through the military underground of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The scope of the struggle was acknowledged by the Russians and Germans alike. For example, Nikita Khrushchev wrote in his memoirs the following: "During the second half of the war he (Stepan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement — Y.S.) fought against both us and the Germans. Later, after the war, we lost thousands of men in a bitter struggle between the Ukrainian nationalists and the forces of Soviet power."

A German general, Ernst Koestring, reached a similar conclusion: "The military organization known as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was also formed here with the aim of establishing an independent Ukraine, controlled neither by Moscow, nor by Germany... When Western Ukraine was recaptured by the Red Army, the OUN and the UPA called upon the Ukrainian masses to fight against the Bolshevists — the Russian enemy. The German officers who fought their way back to us in 1945 reported that the plight of the Red Army was similar to ours: it controlled only

the towns and the main communication routes, while the country itself remained in the hands of the resistance movement”.

To supplement this testimony we may add that among the thousands of Nazis and Russians who died fighting the Ukrainians were General Viktor Lutze, chief of the German Storm Troopers — the S.A., the Red Army marshal, Nikolai Vatutin, and the Vice-Minister of Defence of communist Poland, Walter Sverchevsky.

The contemporary international situation is particularly grave. The expansion of Russian imperialism is well known to us all. Policies of friendship, appeasement, containment, convergence and détente have proven to be useless in stemming the centuries-old brazen Russian imperialism which aims at complete world domination.

While we applaud the current US administration's resolve under the leadership of President Ronald Reagan, to bolster its military readiness, both in the area of nuclear and conventional armaments, and to finally stand up to Russian racism and imperialism, we are nonetheless appalled by the contemptible and immoral defeatist policies of appeasement, pursued by several Western European nations, most notably West Germany. The governments of these countries must remember that in Europe the United States is *primarily* defending *their* interests, over its own, in light of the ever-present and more acute threat of Russian imperialism to Western Europe. Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's token gesture of opposition to the recent 50,000-strong violent and pro-Russian demonstration in Berlin against US Secretary of State, Alexander Haig, of the youth wing of the party of which Chancellor Schmidt is the actual leader, was indeed a heavy-handed slap on the face for Germany's most loyal ally, the United States, upon which depends the future fate of all of Europe. In light of the increasingly anti-American attitude in Western Europe, we would propose that the United States should place greater trust on its natural, albeit neglected until now, allies against the threat of Russian expansionist imperialism — this ally being the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, who threaten to internally tear asunder the Russian prison of nations, thereby forever extricating the world of this imperialist threat.

The West must realize that within the Russian empire there exists a new ideological and political revolutionary superpower — the subjugated nations, which is destroying the empire from within. The processes of the disintegration of the Russian empire are at different stages in the various subjugated nations: Afghanistan, Ukraine, Poland, Lithuania, Turkestan, among others.

Taking this factor into consideration, the following points should be included in Western political and military strategy:

1. The Free World should engage Soviet Russia in the struggle of ideas and ideologies by recognizing the liberation movements of the subjugated nations as the legitimate representatives of these countries at all international forums, including the United Nations;

2. The West should provide the national liberation movements with access to the various forms of mass media to facilitate communication with their countrymen behind the Iron Curtain on a mass scale;
3. Assistance should also be provided in the form of military training as well as other political, material and technological means of support;
4. All of the nations of the Free World should proclaim A GREAT CHARTER OF INDEPENDENCE for all of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism;
- 5a. The United States should *establish a radio broadcasting station* at the disposal of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), through which we can freely propagate our national ideals and concept of liberation, independent of the détente-orientated policy of NATO;
  - b. The content and political aims of the Ukrainian radio broadcasts of Radio Liberty ought to be changed in accordance to the needs and exigencies of the revolutionary national-liberation struggle;
6. The United States, as the champion of freedom and justice, should establish a World Freedom Academy, as a counterpart to the Moscow Lumumba University, which trains imported terrorists for the implementation of Russia's imperio-colonial policies throughout the world;
7. A Department of Insurgent-Liberation Warfare should be established within the Pentagon and/or Headquarters of the NATO alliance.

The liberation struggles of Ukraine, Afghanistan or Poland are proof of the internal weaknesses of the Russian prison of nations — this colossus on clay feet. Millions of soldiers of the Red Army deserted to Germany's side during World War II, not because their sentiments were pro-German, but, rather, because they did not believe that the West could have engendered such a brutal, cruel and inhumanly barbaric system, as National Socialism. The soldiers were destroying the empire from within. Presently, the situation is similar, particularly in that the majority of the Soviet army is non-Russian and is predominantly made up of members of the subjugated nations, who are also in a majority as far as the population of the entire empire is concerned. The might of a subjugated nation in its struggle against a foreign imperialist invader is exemplified by Afghanistan, where soldiers of the Red Army refuse to fight against a freedom-loving people. Poland is proof that a nation, even without arms, can, nevertheless, through various revolutionary means, render impossible a military intervention on the part of a nuclear superpower because the consequences may lead to an expansion of the armed resistance of the subjugated nations throughout the entire empire. The atomic superpower is helpless in suppressing the will to freedom of the smaller Polish nation. An intervention of new Russian forces may lead to a cataclysm throughout all of the empire. Non-intervention, on the other hand, may lead to a systematic burgeoning of the revolutionary liberation processes in Poland and their expansion to all of the subjugated nations in the empire bringing nearer the day of the empire's

collapse. If Moscow will not succeed in undermining Solidarity from within, then military intervention will become an absolute necessity, regardless of all the risks that this may entail.

The Russian empire, which is needlessly feared by America, is being checkmated by the subjugated nations. Yet the West actually helps to subjugate these nations through its policy of détente and economic and military aid to the empire (technology, electronics, grain, etc.). Hence, our first demand is the following: at least cease in helping to subjugate us, if you do not wish to help us liberate ourselves!

Moscow, not being able to mobilize the working classes against their nations, created a centre of international terrorism, as a means of destroying the free societies of the West. President Sadat was murdered by Moscow.

The danger of nuclear holocaust cannot be negotiated away. Soviet Russia has skilfully exploited western fears of nuclear war by blackmailing the West into meekly acquiescing to its ever-increasing conquests. Our strategic alternative is based on the knowledge that the subjugated nations within the Russian empire represent a vast untapped force, which in a common front with the nations of the Free World provides the strategic *raison d'être* for defeating the last remaining empire. A political and military strategy, based on synchronized national liberation revolutions within the Russian colonial empire is the only alternative to thermo-nuclear war.

In conclusion, I would like to quote an unforgettable personal friend of mine and an outstanding British military thinker — Major General J. F. C. Fuller, who once wrote: “Only the unity of the western nations and their agreement with the national liberation movements behind the Iron Curtain can ensure final victory . . . The reason should be obvious. It is that the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel . . .”

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Dr. W. HORBOVYI

### FOR THE ALBUM OF FUTURE GENERATIONS\*

The success of every idea depends on the quality of the supplementary variables, which determine its development. This principle is the basic condition of success of all social phenomena — whether everyday or historic. History is created by people, who excel by their talent, self-responsibility and courage, and for whom healthy and proper common sense is contingent upon the ideals of social aspirations and the interests of their nation.

The present century placed our society on a historic trial. Although the First World War presented us with a propitious opportunity in our Liberation Struggle, we were not able to fully utilize it. On the other hand, World War II found us ready to realize our historic testament, but malign extraneous factors lacerated the wings of our liberation fight.

An admirable result of this was that on about June 16, 1941, the Ukrainian National Committee formulated a Declaration of the rights of the Ukrainian citizen, and later on June 22 the Ukrainian National Congress adopted a Manifesto which proclaimed the establishment of an Independent Ukraine.

On the next day I, as the Head of the Ukrainian National Committee, prepared a diplomatic note addressed to the Chancellor of the German Reich. This note clearly reflected the tone of the afore-mentioned Manifesto: that the masters of the Ukrainian land will be the Ukrainian people within their own independent nation-state.

The address of that note was formulated by a Ukrainian artist, Svyatoslav Hordynskyi, in my presence. I personally handed a copy of this Manifesto to the head of Secret Service of the General-Governorship, Standartenführer Haim, and another copy was forwarded by mail to the Governor himself, Dr. Hans Frank.

At the beginning of July, 1941, this Manifesto was published in the *Lvivski Visti* (The Lviv News).

At that time the Ukrainian National Committee published its *Information Bulletin* No. 1. In this publication the proclamation of our statehood on June 30, 1941, was made public. This state was headed by Yaroslav Stetsko. Our administrative apparatus was then instituted and began working on all the lands accessible to us. These events are of great historical and educational importance. Let all future generations know of the manner in which we acted at this opportune moment.

One other aspect is noteworthy in this regard. Our noble, principled stance infuriated the German leadership into a Teutonic rage. The Secret Service

\* About Dr. W. Horbovyi please see *Ukrainian Review* No 4, 1981, p. 20.

of the General Governorship wanted to liquidate three of our political leaders. Among these three were the names of Yaroslav Stetsko and mine. However, Berlin did not agree to this, stating that it would not be in the interests of Germany for these people to perish at the hands of the Germans.

Although we all had the opportunity to escape, not one of our political leaders went into hiding. On the contrary, they all firmly held their ground and were ready, under the immediate threat of death, to defend the honour, the dignity and the rights of their nation.

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Dr. Bohdan STEBELSKYI

**REFLECTIONS UPON READING 'THE FRONTIERS OF CULTURE'\***

When one begins to leaf through the pages of this book, one will certainly feel the alarm and outcries of Cassandra: you and your nation are threatened by extinction. You will feel the intensity of pain that appears at the moment of mortal danger. One will read this book and learn why its author is alarmed. Long ago the enemy crossed over the walls of the city, conquered the nation, took into possession its territories, plundered its riches, and now is draining the remainder of its lifeblood. The enemy is no longer satisfied with despoiling the land but, like wind and water, enters into all the crevices of thoughts and emotions of the conquered in order to enslave them to live only in the organism of the conqueror. At such a moment, at the very time of the enemy's aggression against the mind and soul of a nation, a decisive battle takes place for the existence of a nation, its very life or death.

Among the great works of literature of Ukrainian resistance, *The Frontiers of Culture* paints the widest and deepest picture of the colossal struggle with which the enemy, after physically subduing our nation in the armed clashes of the 1940's and 50's, is attempting to crush the nation's spiritual strength and its cultural uniqueness, a uniqueness that is fundamental to national consciousness and the desire for national independence.

Every nation is an individual with its particular biological, mental and perceptual characteristics, which are reflected in a people's culture. Every people has its beginnings in some birth, in some formative event; it has its own paths of development, its own life-experience which is translated into its life's ideals and is reproduced in its spiritual creativity, its customs and beliefs, its arts and its world-view. All these elements of the style and content of a people, created by it from the very beginning of its existence, are called a people's culture.

A nation ceases to exist from the moment it loses its own culture and with it its historical memory and its concrete experience of life and the ideals to which bygone generations have contributed and for which they have lived. This is why we dare to say that the most important and decisive battle that our nation is waging with the aggressor is being waged on the cultural front, in the instinctive and conscious feelings of one's separateness and individuality, around an individuality that the occupant is trying to erase from memory and substitute for it his own cultural content.

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\* *Frontiers of Culture*, see *Ukrainian Review* 1980, Nos 1, 2, 3, 4 and 1981 Nos 1, 2.

This struggle takes place formally under the slogan of "national cultures according to the class principle", foisting upon enslaved nations the concepts of a "bourgeois-nationalist" as opposed to a "proletarian-internationalist" culture. This division is created with the intent of destroying individual cultures and of creating the possibility for the real goal of the Russian occupants under their theories of the "merging of cultures", the "friendship of peoples", and the "union of nations" for the eventual creation of one "Soviet people", educated in the spirit of "proletarian culture". The model for proletarian culture is Russian culture which carefully preserves all characteristics of Russian "bourgeois" culture. The Russian language is regarded as the language of the future Soviet people, since, because of its influence on the languages of the enslaved nations, these people, supposedly, will experience "blossoming" and "perfecting" reaching to the very peak already attained by the "most developed" Russian language.

All the conquests of the Czarist, and the later Russian Bolshevik, empire are regarded as "progressive historical phenomena" because they influence the cultural and economical "development" of the conquered people. The "most progressive phenomenon" is the drawing closer and merging of all cultures into one nation of Russian, Ukrainian, and Byelorussian peoples who, in time of Kyivan Rus', presumably made up a Rus' people and who, so it is said, later disintegrated into three separate nations under the pressures of the Tartar and Lithuanian occupation. Soviet history, archaeology, anthropology, ethnography, literature and all the branches of the arts are given the task to show not only the "close connections" of these three nations and the "common roots" of their cultures, but also to show the historical tendencies and desire for "union", the complete cultural merging of these three nations and the eradication of everything that prevents or contradicts this. Thus, in the historical disciplines, the "cultural worker" makes use of the method of falsification and Leninist "dialectics", while in the sphere of the arts the method is changed to the physical destruction of creative styles and the imposition of so-called socialist realism.

Another question: Does there really exist an original parent country of these three nations, i.e. the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, and Russians? In particular, there is the question of whether there exists a common culture of these three nations that are called Slavic? Do they have, other than their language, a common character? Do they have common ancestors so that one could speak of an estrangement and the necessity of restoring the unity of these three Slavic-speaking peoples?

Nations change their languages during the course of history. True, they do not change these as often as they do their names, but under the influence of historical circumstances nations have changed and continue to change their language; for there have always existed conquering and conquered nations. Most often, the conquerors have forced their language on the conquered. The Romans forced their language on the peoples of the Pyrenean peninsula, and Latinized Gaul; in the Balkans they Latinized the Dacians and Slavs, thus creating the basis for the Romanian language

and people. From as far back as the paleolithic age there have been no large tracts devoid of population centres in Europe. Every ethnic group that changed its territory occupied the territory of another, indigenous population. It was not always necessary to destroy the original inhabitants; usually the invader mixed with the natives. This process is explained by the theory of substrates. The eastern Slavs, whose territories are marked out by archeologists and linguists, consolidated their homeland between the Carpathians, the Prut and the Danube in the west, the left-bank tributaries of the Dnieper in the west, the Black Sea in the south, and the Prypyat and Desna in the north. The western Slavs occupied the territory between the Vistula and Oder. The Greeks designated the Slavs as the *Sklaviny* and *Antaes*; the Romans called them *Vanadians*. As has been stated, we are not concerned with the name and the language of our ancestors, whom history does not remember; but they are clearly noted in archaeology, anthropology, and the remains of their material culture. The latter testifies to the social and spiritual culture of our ancestors, which has sustained itself to the present and which had the name of *Antaes* and Rus' in the past and is now called Ukrainian.

We are concerned here with the permanence of the indigenous population of the geographical area on which, from the neolithic age until the time of Kyivan Rus', a unified body of territorial, material, and spiritual culture, a continuity of beliefs, customs and folklore was sustained from one epoch to the next. The thesis of the indigenous character of the culture of the Ukrainian territories was formulated by the father of Ukrainian archaeology, V. Khvoyka; it was upheld by Ya. Pasternak and the majority of Ukrainian archaeologists.

Beginning with the mesolithic age, from the sixth century B.C., the Buho-Dniester culture shows signs of a continuous agricultural community in Ukraine, which is at the same time one of the oldest agricultural societies of Balkan Europe. At the beginning of the fourth century B.C., it transmits its agricultural characteristics to the Trypillian culture, which reaches as far as the Dnieper and lasts until the second century B.C. Afterwards appears the string culture, known in Ukraine as the Middle-Dnieper. In the white-breasted culture, in which elements of the Trypillian reappear and which ends the Bronze Age, and crosses over into the Black Forest Age, we have the beginnings of the Iron Age, which enters into the age of Scythians and Iranians. The majority of professional archaeologists sees in this culture the tie with the Eastern Slavs, who gradually developed the Zarubinsky and, finally, the Chernyakhivsky cultures, and which corresponds to the historical *Antaes*. These create the first forms of a Slavic state on the territory of Ukraine from which later emerges Kyivan Rus'.

As we see, the population of Ukraine continues to occupy its geographical territory for over 8,000 years as a stable population concerned with agriculture, and the development of its material and spiritual culture which includes the construction of living quarters, tools, ceramics, and ornamental symbols. The belief in the purifying force of fire, a belief exhibiting itself

since the Trypillian age in the custom of cremation and continuing in various forms until the Christianization of Rus', shows the continuity of culture of the native population. Having an almost uninterrupted contact with south-western Europe, this population created a complex culture whose development was broken by the migrating pastoral tribes of Asia. These nomadic tribes, looking for grazing lands for their flocks, moved across the steppes and, from time to time, drove the farming tribes into the forests, where they found shelter and from which they re-emerged into the steppes in safer times. The nomadic tribes crowded each other in their continuous migrations from the Caspian, Azovian, and Black Sea steppes into the Danube valleys.

North of the Prypyati stretched the lands of the Baltic tribes, the ancestors of the historical Prussians and the present-day Latvians and Lithuanians. They were settled cattle-raising tribes who gradually, under the influence of their southern neighbours, turned to farming. Linguistically the Balts were related to the Slavs, as they were also, to a great extent, in their material and spiritual culture.

We get a totally different picture north-east of the Desna and the mouth of the Oka to the Volga basin and from the eastern coast of the Baltic to the White Sea and the Urals. In that region lived hunting and fishing tribes of Ugro-Finnish stock from mesolithic times, through the neolithic and Bronze Ages until the colonization of those lands by Slavic conquerors in the first five centuries A.D.

According to contemporary chronicles, the Slavs who colonized the Baltic and Ugro-Finnish lands were unable to drive out the local populations, which outnumbered the colonists, and gradually intermingled with them ethnically. The present-day Byelorussian and Russian territories were colonized by northern and western Slavic tribes. The latter include, according to the chronicles, the Vyatechi and the Slovenes, Radymychi, and some archaeologists also add the Kryvychi. The Slavs, surrounded by a sea of Finnish tribes, were centred in the large city of Novhorod, where a complex culture developed, which was, in all probability, imported from the south. Anthropologists see in the physical features of these Slavs traces of Pontic racial characteristics; their language also retained certain Slavic elements.

The Vyatechi and the north-eastern Kryvychi took over the culture and beliefs of the indigenous local hunting tribes, although they retained their linguistic dominance. Some archaeologists deny their Slavic origin, regarding the Dryhovychi, Kryvychi, Radymychi, Slovenes, and Vyatychi as Slavicized tribes rather than true Slavs.

It is hardly surprising that with the disintegration of the Kyiv empire, which was multinational in its ethnic composition, foreign tribes began to build their own states on the foundations of their age-old traditions and territories. The Ukrainian people retained its agricultural character within boundaries of its ancient Slavic culture; the Byelorussian people formed and separated themselves within the cultural boundaries and territories of the former Baltic tribes north of the Prypyati. And around the Oka and

Volga rivers, on the former territories of the Ugro-Finns, the embryo of the Russian nation began to form, built on the traditions of a hunting and trapping culture. One can only speak of the unity of the Slavic peoples in a linguistic sense, and here only as concerns the Byelorussian and Ukrainian languages with their Balto-Slavic language heritage. One should be careful about the Russian language, which consists mainly of lexical similarities but is different from the Ukrainian language phonetically, syntactically, and morphologically. One can translate almost literally Shevchenko into Byelorussian or Kupala into Ukrainian. But it is impossible to translate Pushkin into Ukrainian or Byelorussian in the same way. The languages differ in character.

As in the north of Eastern Europe, a similar process of Slavicization occurred in the Balkan peninsula where the Antae and Sklaviny were assimilated by the native tribes of Traky, Macedonians and Illyrians as well as by the invading Tyrsky Bulgars. Thus new nations were formed from local cultures and with which were connected the Bulgarians, Macedonians, Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. They were called Slavs, and their culture, similar to that of the Ukrainians, was based on ancestors who spread the Trypillian culture and were neighbours, in the west, of other long-standing agricultural tribes of Europe, the carriers of the so-called *Lentochna* culture, contemporaneous with the Trypillian.

The theory of substrates is important in the study of the formation of nations; according to it we can explain the appearance of, for example, Mexicans, who are not Spaniards although they speak Spanish. We can prove that Peruvians, Bolivians, and the Paraguayans in South America are also not Spaniards. Thus we conclude on the basis of archaeology, anthropology, ethnography, and the history of culture as a whole that the Russian nation arose from different cultural and ethnic origins than the Ukrainian, and that it has its own character which influences its style of life with its own biological, social, and spiritual roots. The character of a Russian is diametrically opposite to that of a Ukrainian.

The Ukrainian, a tiller of the soil with a sense of personal dignity and of private property, is freedom-loving, equable, and hospitable even towards foreigners. Ukrainian society, whether in the times of the Antae, in the Kyivan Rus' era, or in Cossack times, knew of no serfdom or slavery. The system of exploitation and plunder is a characteristic of the subjugators of the Ukrainian people, whether today or in the past.

The Russian phenomenon is a product of a communal social organization that has no basis in private property. It stresses the discipline of the group and subordination to its leader. In its form of Bolshevism and proletarian internationalism it serves as a classic example of the old hunting cultures. In its character, as in that of every hunter, there are traits of hunting and pillaging. Hunters live according to the rule of might, not of justice. Such traits developed over the course of thousands of years of hunting life of the Finnish tribes, the ancestors of present-day Russians. A strong element of Tartar racial characteristics entered into this stream and with it that

of the horde, a faceless mass that acts obediently on the order of the khan's whip.

The Russian has not changed, not with the coming of a system of agriculture, not under the influence of Christianity (imposed by Kyivan Rus'), not with the arrival — from the Kyiv-Mohylansky Academy in Ukraine — of an educated clergy, not with the European reforms of Peter I, and not with the influence of the Polish-Lithuanian, and later the German and Cossack, nobility on the Russian boyars. All this was instinctively rejected by the Russians who, liberated by Lenin, showed once again their hunter's teeth. This Russian character was described by Alexander Blok in his poem "the Scythians":

Millions of you, but hordes and hordes of us.  
Our might is irresistible.  
Yes, we are Scythians! Yes, we are Asiatics!  
With slanted, greedy eyes.

See! The day has come. Misery is flapping its wings.  
The time of destruction is nearing,  
And perhaps there where your temples have stood  
Now only weeds will be growing.

You antique, sagacious world! Before you  
Tumble into the grave from wealth and boredom,  
Stand, like Oedipus, before the Sphinx  
And try to solve its riddle.

Russia is the Sphinx, sombre and bright  
And soaked in dark blood.  
It gazes and gazes into your eyes  
With love and hate.

It loves, as our blood loves.  
For long no one of you has loved so!  
You have forgotten that there is love in the world  
That burns and destroys.

We love flesh, its colour and taste,  
And its tainted, mortal smell.  
Are we to blame when your skeleton cracks  
In our heavy and delicate paws?

Widely, in powerful dress  
We will spread out in the wild spaces  
Before Europe. We will show you  
Our Asiatic faces.

We won't move when the cruel Hun  
 Greedily searches corpses,  
 Burns cities, drives cattle into temples,  
 Roasts flesh of white captives.

Even to the author of the Kyivan chronicles the character of the two cultures of the Kyivan Rus' empire was readily apparent: In the south live "wise and thoughtful men"; in the north men live "like animals".

Mykola Chubaty in his book *Medieval Rus and the Emergence of the Three East-Slav Nations* writes (p. 101): "Two different minds and two different ideologies can clearly be detected in the relations of Kyiv and the Suzdal-Volodymyr state, the forerunner of Moscow, toward the Tartars when the Tartar wave engulfed Eastern Europe. Kyiv, carrying on the traditions of its ancestors, decided to resist the Asian barbarians of the steppes; the forerunners of Moscow decided to capitulate and cooperate." And he writes further: "No-one has so definitely described the mentalities of Rus'-Ukraine and Muscovy as the Russian writer Alexey Tolstoy, author of the well-known historical novel *Prince Serebryany*. According to Tolstoy, two attitudes revealed themselves on the part of two halves of the ancient Rus' lands toward the Tartars: 'One Rus',' he writes, 'has its roots in universal, at least European culture. In this Russia the ideas of goodness, honour, and freedom are understood as in the West. But there is another Rus', the Rus' of dark forests, the Rus' of the taigas, the animal Rus', the fanatic Rus', the Mongol-Tartar Rus'. This last Rus' made despotism and fanaticism its ideal. Certain historical data make it possible for us to see the first ideal in the Rus' of old Kyiv, and to see all the negative features of the opposite tendency, the eastern and despotic, in Moscow, which rose on the spiritual ruins of Kyiv. Kyivan Rus' was a part of Europe; Moscow long remained the negation of Europe'."

A similar opinion was stated by historian Yury Vernadsky about the "something" that separated Kyiv from Moscow: "That 'something' was the spirit of freedom — individual, political, and economic — which prevailed in the Rus' of that day and which the Muscovite principle of the individual's complete obedience to the state was in complete contrast." (Chubaty, *Op. Cit.*, p. 101).

Similar to Tolstoy, Mykola Khvylovy perceived, with great intuition, the contrasts between Ukraine and Muscovy. In his novel *Editor Kark* (*Works*, Vol. 1, p. 37) he describes two opposing forces: "Hryhory Savych Skovoroda — this is how the Russian intelligentsia likes it: Hryhory Savych, Nikolai Romanovych, Vladymyr Ilyich, Taras Hryhorovych. And in this there is something of the northern sweetness and stubbornness, of marshy forests and Ivan Kalyta, of Russian strength — a great strength, fatal, and coming from Varangian guests. And there are no cherry orchards here — in June, stars grow on the cherry trees — and there are no pretty girls' songs, far-off near the villages... Smoke... There has always been smoke over Ukraine, he thought, and all of it has been enveloped in the smoke of

uprisings, in the smoke of suffering . . . And there was fire and also a great, immense strength, a fatal strength, only it did not come from Varangian guests."

It is not important whether Khvylovy was correct in naming Russian strength Varangian; the important thing is the opposition of two great, overwhelming, and fatal forces — that of the northern hunters and that of the southern farmers. The former, in order to live, must kill and plunder; the latter earn their bread in the sweat of their brows, by work. They kill only to defend their lives or their possessions. The "truth of Rus" is a Ukrainian creation, the result of life experience of thousands of years. Moscow did not act according to this truth because it lived by a truth of its own. It did not know the freedom of the individual, his dignity, the right of property, the two-member marriage; it lived by the commune. The "truth of Moscow" takes no consideration of personal freedom or individual privacy; it takes no consideration of the lives of millions of people or of the whole nations. It subjugates nations according to the law of the hunter-plunderer. Thus were subjugated the lands of Ryazan, Tveri; thus was Novhorod destroyed and its population, or what was left of it, was transferred to Muscovy.

In war Russian imperialism lacks the chivalrous ideal of Kyivan prince Svyatoslav's cry "I am setting out against you." In a direct, open struggle Moscow would lose; it always uses cunning, like the hunter. It conceals its real aims by fictions that confuse its victims, fictions like Russian orthodoxy, pan-Slavism, or internationalism. Under the guise of Marxism, Russian imperialism forges communism, first, by the creation of a "Soviet" people in the USSR and then nations of a world proletariat through the "fusion of peoples". Russian imperialism has as its goal the mission of its race — to melt into one all the nations of its empire and, eventually, the whole world in accordance with the Russian character and style of life. At first they desire to instill the language and culture of Lenin into the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, the Baltic peoples, and the Caucasian, Turkic and Central Asian peoples; and when this is done, then the Europeans in the West, the Americans, and the Asians will be next.

Russian imperialism does not use the words *conquer*, *subjugate*, or *occupy*. It has its own terminology for these acts — *unite*, *free*, *aid*, *make friends*, *draw near*, *bring together*, *develop*.

A classic example of the essence of Russian "liberation" and "aid" is Lenin's statement that "only through the united efforts of the Great Russian and Ukrainian proletariat is a free Ukraine possible; without such a united effort all such talk is useless." (*Works*, Vol. XX, p. 14). Any other kind of Ukraine, that is, an independent Ukraine, is impossible! There can be no "talk" of an independent, only about a "free" Ukraine and, constitutionally, a "sovereign" Ukraine, since such a designation is empty when the power is in Russian and imperial hands. When Ukraine is socialist, when it is Soviet, when it is part of a union, when its capital is in Moscow, when a "republic" provides a "state" with everything it produces, when the

whole empire, from the Carpathians to the Kamchatka is an indivisible "fatherland" — only then can one speak of a "free", even of a "thriving" Ukraine.

The Bolshevik system of total dictatorship cannot transform itself into a democracy, just as the system of a collective economy, which originates in the social and racial characteristics of the Russians, cannot transform itself into a system of private ownership or individual initiative. The Bolshevik system gives the Russian nation boundless capacity to control the physical, material, and spiritual life of other peoples, as never before. But this does not mean that the character of this nation differed in earlier times. The Russian historian E. Solovyov in the work *Nicholas, the Gendarmes, and Literature* states, "Everyone was assigned a strictly delimited place, and from everyone it was required that he should talk, think, and feel exactly as he was ordered to do . . . The system destroyed everything that was in its way."

Behind the screen of the social transformation of the nations conquered by Moscow, the main goal of the occupant has been and is to make these nations totally dependent, to create an economic system that would control the life of every person, direct it, and form it into a helpless brick in the construction of the empire. The physical destruction of nations and the terror against their governing classes have laid the foundation for the mass transfer of native populations into other peoples' territories. The centralised rule in Moscow, developing its empire's industry and urbanizing individual republics, makes use of the redirection of the productive sectors of nations by means of "aid" to and "friendship" among nations. Under the pretext of aiding the "labour force", Russians, Byelorussians, Georgians, and even Uzbeks are brought into the industrial centres of Ukraine. Meanwhile, the Ukrainian worker is forced to leave the industrial cities of Ukraine in order to construct trade centres in Siberia such as Tyumen, BAM, and others.

The transfer of populations under the façade of economic productivity takes place at the cost of young people of both sexes, usually single, who marry in an environment of mixed nationalities and become pliable material for assimilation. Assimilation is furthered by the heterogenous national composition of the empire's industrial centres, where the only conversational language of these people is Russian and where the schools and the cultural services available to all nationalities use the Russian language exclusively.

As a result of this policy, created in Moscow, there are fewer and fewer members of the younger generations from the native populations of the "national republics" who start families, the national make-up changes, and the natural increase in the number of the native population becomes smaller. The population growth is the result of immigration from other national republics, most often from the RFSFR. The result of this planned policy the Russian minority grows proportionally larger than the majority of Ukrainians in the republic.

The cosmopolitan character of Ukrainian cities, especially of the industrial

centres, gives the Russian occupant the chance to stress the thesis of the importance of the Russian language as an intra-national means of communication.

The First Secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine V. Shcherbytsky, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the creation of the USSR, said, "The Russian language, consciously and freely chosen by all the peoples of the USSR as an instrument of intra-national communication, plays an extraordinarily large unifying role; it serves the goal of international fraternity of workers, of the exchange of material and cultural achievements, and of the enrichment of national cultures." (See L. Nahorna, *Against the Bourgeois Falsification of the National Policy of the CPRS.*) The author in whose work this quote is found goes on to state: "The working class, as V. I. Lenin emphasized, supports everything that erases national differences and welcomes assimilation... Life has fully proved the Marx-Leninist thesis that socialism is impossible without defeating all inherited... national exclusivity and national bounds. Socialism... has found the road to the drawing closer of all nations, to their grouping into a single multinational community, to the realization of their complete unity, to the future merging of nations". (*Op. Cit.*, p. 149.)

The same author proceeds to write: "From the specific nationality there is excluded all that is outmoded and reactionary in the sphere of customs, tradition, and culture, all that impedes the course of the drawing-near of nations and nationalities. The drawing-together of nations is a natural process... and there is no basis for artificially halting it, especially by preserving those 'unique' national traits that have already grown old with age and over which anticommunists 'lament' so much." (*Op. Cit.*, p. 170.)

One could cite more passages from various authors, Russians and renegades from the enslaved nations. But this would be pointless: they are all the same. Behind them stands the chauvinist, imperialistic Russian axe that destroys the individuality of other peoples and nations, their cultures and traditions, and their rights to be themselves, to live according to their ways, to cultivate their own cultures, and to surround themselves with the borders of their own national states.

All the means available to the state apparatus are used to further the programme of the merging of nations and the creation of a new Soviet people on a Russian pattern. To this end are mobilized all levels of the school system, youth organizations. All these carry out the programme of the Communist Party of the USSR in all spheres of life of the empire's peoples. These agencies have the goal of turning these peoples into Russians. Their goal is to cultivate the "language of the revolution", "the language of the great Lenin", the Russian language, which is the "means of joining the Soviet people to the cultural achievements of all the peoples of the USSR, to the achievements of world culture."

The goal is to "remove everything that is outmoded and reactionary" in the Ukrainian nation. This includes the destruction of Ukrainian churches, the extirpation of the customs and traditions of the thousand-year-old

Ukrainian culture, the extirpation of the styles and works of Ukrainian poets, writers, artists, composers, and even the forcing of Russian folk art into Ukrainian national centres under the pretext of "innovation". Everything native to and original with Ukrainian culture is regarded as outmoded and as "obstructive to the drawing near of nations and nationalities". Thus, for example, the geometrical ornaments of Ukrainian art, which have existed on Ukrainian lands from paleolithic times, are suppressed and in their place is substituted the naturalistic motifs of Russian folk-art, with its animal, plant, and anthropomorphic ornaments. The deformation of Ukrainian culture, its destylization, and its dislocation are conducted by plan in all the territories of Ukraine. It will suffice to compare pre-Soviet publications on 19th century and earlier folk-art with the art of the so-called "Soviet" period in order to see the catastrophic decline of Ukrainian culture, which is produced by Moscow-schooled folk artists in cooperatives and factories.

Moscow keeps a sharp watch out for artists who grow out of the roots of Ukrainian culture and strive to bind the present to the past or those whose talent strays from the programme of destruction of nations and which creates genuine cultural values. Then Moscow destroys with its hunter's hands these talented individuals. Thus, at its hands died the composer Mykola Leontovych, who opened the doors to the treasures of the Ukrainian national folk songs. In this way also perished Volodymyr Ivasyuk, who led Ukrainian youth away from the influence of Russian popular songs. So also had to die Mykola Khvylovy, whose motto was "Away from Moscow!" In exile there perished Les' Kurbas, the creator of the Ukrainian modern theatre; the creators of Ukrainian modern art Mykhaylo Boychuk, Vasyl Sedlyar, and Ivan Padalka. Poets perished, as did the ablest scholars; so did archaeologists, historians, linguists, literary figures, and art critics. Similar to Leontovych and Ivasyuk, Alla Horska was also murdered because in her works she exposed, as did Symonenko, the hell of Russian "heaven".

Today there exist two cultures in Ukraine. The first is the culture that, along with its practitioners, the occupant is destroying but which continues to be preserved and developed; the second is an anti-culture which the occupant is attempting to force on the population. This official anti-culture is cultivated, in each enslaved nation, by those with vested interests — the members of the academies of sciences, the professional art unions, theatre, music, and ballet ensembles, journal and book publishers, radio and television, and all other communication and information media. Everything that the latter "create" is assigned by the communist party, which is directed by Moscow. The first culture, the real one, is erased and extirpated along with its undaunted creators. This true culture has found itself in the underground self-publishing organs and its creators in prisons and concentration camps. The official lackeys have the powers of an occupational force because they have their orders and, out of weakness and greed, have agreed to stupefy and paralyze the consciousness of the nation with

Moscow's propaganda, to kill in the people the awareness of their uniqueness and individuality. Ukrainian official literature has as its goal the "building of communism", the development of "a feeling of one family", — one fatherland with its capital in Moscow. The propaganda of these official lackeys not only inundates Ukraine but is sent abroad by Moscow. It is sent in the name of contact and cultural "exchange". Ukrainians abroad who do not know what anti-culture is or what real Ukrainian culture is become victims of Moscow's lies. They take anti-culture for Ukrainian culture and help Moscow to poison them and their environment.

For a long time we have not had any works that might have thrown a light on the struggle in the area of culture, the struggle for the mind and soul of the nation. The author of this book has in some degree filled the void, giving a picture of this struggle, its methods, sacrifices, and goals. Readers will profit from the experience of an eyewitness and indomitable participant in the struggle for a true Ukrainian culture; they will feel the pain of the author and his warning — Ukraine is in danger.

If the reader feels and understands this, the author will have achieved his goal.

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Marta KOLOMAYETS

### Patriarch Josyf I: A Personal View\*

*Certain events, places and people in a person's life make such an impression that they remain indelibly etched in the mind. In the summer of 1978, I spent eight weeks in Europe, travelling, sightseeing and attending summer courses at the Ukrainian Catholic University in Rome.*

*Throughout my trip I kept a journal and in the fall of the same year I wrote a piece on my meeting with Patriarch Josyf Slipyj in Rome. These memories are very dear to me, and on the occasion of his 90th birthday, I would like to share them.*

From a distance, I see him approaching the flowering garden. He takes slow, even strides and pauses every three, four steps to glance and inspect the grounds. I can almost hear him sigh as he turns his head to get a full view of the land. But he is old and tires easily. He can stand no longer, and he moves toward the old chair that stands in a strategic position, right near the doors of the seminary. He slowly establishes himself in the chair.

Two seconds later, he already has an audience at his feet. The dogs, Maksym and Brovko have waited all day for the Patriarch to sit down, and he, too, has waited for this moment, for I see he fondly pets both of them. He strokes them in the manner he seems to do everything: slowly and deliberately. I can see he is enjoying every minute of this playful adventure. He talks to the dogs, asking them if they had eaten and drunk. They answer with loud barks; Brovko jumps up and goes galloping around the garden, but Maksym just lays at the Patriarch's feet. I have yet to see him move.

Patriarch Josyf continues to talk to the dogs, but his eyes wander around the grounds, his grounds. His gaze seems to linger for a moment on the main structure of the grounds, the church of St. Sophia.

Ah, St. Sophia. How do I convey the feeling of holiness and wisdom that seems to encompass the whole church? I could describe it physically, yet that would not be enough.

\* The following article appeared in the English-language supplement *The Ukrainian Weekly* Feb. 21, 1982, of the Ukrainian daily newspaper *Svoboda* in the United States. The account is an example of the devotion and love shown by the younger generation to his Beatitude Patriarch and Cardinal Josyf Slipyj.

St. Sophia is a very young church built only 10 years ago in the Byzantine style, that is, in the form of an equilateral cross. In the centre there is one large dome; in front there are two smaller ones and these are parallel with the two domes in the back. All the domes are gilded, and against the rays of the sun they seem to reflect the brightness of the spiritual teachings of the Church.

Was it only three months ago that I first set eyes upon the beauty I have found in Rome? Today, it all seems like a different place, a different time, a different world.

I remember that we had been on the plane for over eight hours, and when the pilot announced "Roma", I really did not know what to expect. Two Ukrainian seminary students picked us up at the airport. We climbed into their furgon (the Italian word for van) and sped off toward the Ukrainian Catholic University.

I relaxed a bit, but still was not at ease. My heart started racing along with the motor of the furgon. I tried not to watch as our young driver swerved from lane to lane. I was aghast when I found out that he is also the Patriarch's chauffeur.

As we missed hitting a car that looked to me like a Matchbox toy, I finally realized my summer in Rome had begun. The young students told us we would have to get used to the traffic in Rome if we planned to enjoy ourselves. Being the brave and ambitious type, I was the first to gather enough courage to open my eyes and feast them on the Italian countryside. And, as soon as I saw Italy's beauty, I never again closed my eyes, except to sleep. Although we had been driving only five minutes, I realized I had fallen in love with Italy.

As I peered out of the window at this city of God, in this short span of time I witnessed God's tears falling against the windshield and replenishing the thirsty earth. Suddenly the tears turned into a smile as a rainbow stretched across the sky. As we neared our destination, I felt that the bright colours of the rainbow were an omen of the things to come. I knew that at the end of the rainbow I would find my pot of gold. And, sure enough, as the rainbow became fainter, the golden domes of St. Sophia became visible.

The furgon went around the last bend and stopped at some old steel gates. Between two bars hung a tarnished gold plate with the words "Via Boccea 478" inscribed on it. Behind the gates I saw the grounds where I would be spending the next six weeks going to school and church.

I thought it odd that a church would be hidden behind these 10-foot black bars. They conveyed a false image. Instead of being open, allowing people to enter the church whenever they pleased, the gates were not only closed, but locked. Our driver explained to us that this was only because vandalism is as popular, if not more so, in Rome as it is in the Chicago's inner city.

I thought and thought about this image of the church behind bars. It was so ironic that the patriarch of this church and all Ukrainian churches would have it enclosed by heavy steel gates. He himself had spent time behind this kind of barrier. Eighteen years of his life were spent in the prisons of

Siberia, for 18 years he had been a prisoner of the Communist Russians, simply because he would not deny his faith.

Behind their bars he had witnessed the demise of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. He had seen his fellow bishops arrested. He had wondered whether they were still alive: would he ever see his Vicar Bishop Nykyta Budka of Lviv, Bishop Nykolai Charnetsky, the apostolic visitor for Volyn, Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn of Stanislaviv and his coadjutor, Bishop Ivan Liaty-shevsky? What would happen to the clergy? What would happen to his people? These questions must have become embedded in his mind over the years he spent alone either working in the Soviet hard-labour camps or being a servant in an old people's home in Siberia and Mordovia. He must have pondered these questions for hours, yet he had no way of obtaining the answers.

He was still head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, a position he had received upon the death of his advisor, friend and teacher, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. He had begun his work diligently on November 1, 1944, but actively served only until the time of his arrest on April 11, 1945, when the NKVD had raided Ukrainian Catholic headquarters in Lviv and seized the leaders of the Church on the pretext of "traitorous activities and collaboration with German occupation forces". However, the underlying reason for the imprisonment of these leaders is evident when one examines the activities of the Soviet government of that time.

An "Initiatory Group for the reunion of the Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox" had appeared on the scene. Its mission: to convert all Ukrainian Catholics to Russian Orthodoxy, thus coming one step closer to the Russification of all Ukrainian.

While many Ukrainians did succumb to the frightful hand of the Soviet regime after World War II and during Stalin's regime, the Ukrainian Catholic Church and all of its branches became known as the Church in the Catacombs, and it went on to recognize Josyf Slipyj as its patriarch.

Just as the Patriarch had never lost hope for his Church and his people, the people had believed in him. They believed, and still believe and follow him. As he had sat in his little cell in the dead of the northern Siberian winter and prayed for his people, they sat in their homes in Ukraine, they kept their icons in little corners, and they kept their faith.

For almost 20 years one had not heard any news of the other. One had sat in Siberia, resisting the tortures inflicted upon him to break his will, celebrating the liturgy in secret, using dried bread crusts for hosts and making wine by fermenting grapes and raisins in a glass. The world and his faithful had known little or nothing about his physical condition or his thoughts. Perhaps he had died, like many of the priests with whom he had been imprisoned. But of one thing everyone had been certain: Metropolitan Slipyj had not surrendered.

He is a rock which the Soviets could not and cannot split. His fate has been shared in a real sense by people, the faithful of this Church of Silence.

Although the Patriarch now shares the freedom of Ukrainians in the West, he constantly thinks of the people he left behind.

He does not say anything about the past, yet his eyes tell all. His face is rough, weathered by age and experience, yet his eyes are gentle, placid. They emit a kind of serenity, for as I look into them I am nearly entranced with the thought that one day Ukraine will have a free Church. I look at the face of this great man, the patriarch, Josyf Slipyj, and I believe with all my heart; I believe in miracles.

He, too, believes in miracles. He always has; he always will. It still seems like a miracle that he is alive after all the trials he has undergone. It was on February 9, 1963, that he, the only survivor of the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, the metropolitan of Galicia and archbishop of Lviv, had been released from Soviet confinement after almost 18 years of martyrdom. Khrushchev had released him and sent him to Rome as an act of good will toward Pope John XXIII. The Metropolitan was already 70 years old then, and the Soviet government had hoped he would not live long. He has outlived them all.

Now he is surrounded by the buildings he has built, the institutions he has established. He sits down to rest in front of the building that is located next to St. Sophia Sobor. The architecture of these two buildings is as different as night and day. The university building is nothing out of the ordinary in style. It is three stories high, shaped like a rectangle. It is perfectly symmetrical, having eight windows each on the second and third floors. These are the students' rooms. The ground floor has a lounge, two classrooms, a library and several offices. The aluminium screen doors are always open. On either side are two bronze sphinxes that serve as a constant reminder that there are many riddles that students are not able to answer.

Above these sphinxes is the official title of the university: Ukrainian Catholic University of Pope Clement.

The university building is flanked by the busts of Ivan Kotliarevsky and Markian Shashkevych, but the statue that catches everyone's attention is that of Taras Shevchenko. He stands across the way from the university, majestically dressed in a Roman toga. In his left hand he holds a book, and the right hand is raised in the air, as if gesturing while speaking to his followers, his Ukrainian descendants. He is surrounded by beautifully cultivated flowers and trees, and on the pedestal which he occupies are the words he wrote: "Fight, and you shall win. God will help you." The bard's words are echoed in the Patriarch's thoughts. He, too, has his motto: "Per aspera ad astra" (from hardship to the stars). His faith is so strong it can convince anyone that miracles do happen.

I have been sitting at his feet for the better part of one of the beautiful evenings so characteristic of Rome. He is busy in his own thoughts, but once in a while he interrupts his thinking by either petting the dogs or talking to my friend and me. "You like Rome?" the Patriarch asks us. "Yes, very much" I answer. "What time is it?" he wants to know. My friend

answers that it is 7.20. The Patriarch looks around, strokes Maksym and remarks that it will soon be getting dark.

In the silence that accompanies his last sentence we all hear the phone ring. Curious about the identity of the caller, the Patriarch sits up in his chair and asks one of us to go see who is calling. My friend goes inside to inquire and soon comes out reporting that it was only the grocery man calling to find out when he can deliver his order. I am surprised when the Patriarch expresses interest in when he is coming and what he is delivering.

Nothing is too trivial for him. He sincerely cares. He wants to know whether we think enough groceries have been ordered. What else would we order from the store, he asks.

He keeps turning to Maksym, stroking the overgrown mutt. He has already asked Maksym several times whether he is content. Maksym just turns his head and raises his paw. "Of course he's content", I hear the Patriarch answer his own question. I don't think he is aware that we are still sitting next to him. He starts to remark to himself how good a dog's life is. Dogs have everything to keep them happy. They are well-fed, well taken care of.

Abruptly he turns to us again. He is well aware of our presence. I was wrong in thinking that he has forgotten about us. I should have figured he never forgets anything. Again he asks us whether we like it here in Rome. "Of course we are happy," I answer for both of us. But he repeats himself, asking if we are content, if we have everything we want. He points to Maksym and remarks that the dog has everything he wants. He asks us to look at Maksym as he's sprawled on the ground at the Patriarch's feet.

We all turn around as we hear someone come outside. It is the Patriarch's secretary, Father Ivan. He tells the Patriarch it is time to go in. But the Patriarch reveals his stubborn side as he insists that he will sit as long as he pleases. He does not tolerate others telling him what to do. He tells Father Ivan to sit down and enjoy the fresh air, but the priest insists it is time to go in. The Patriarch ignores him, for he is much more interested in talking to Maksym than in going inside to get his rest.

He asks us if we would like to take a short walk around the grounds with him. We move toward him to help him up, but he stops us. "I can do it, my dear ones," he tells us. We stand on either side of him as we help him down the two stairs of the university. We make our way past the wild flowers, plum trees, orchards and the small plot of land where the nuns of the church grow vegetables. In the back we can hear the shrieking noises of the peacocks, the half dozen chickens and the few pigs as they, too, get ready to rest for the night.

We start heading back up the road, and the first thing that comes into view is the Sobor of St. Sophia and the fontana that faces it. The fountain is a statue of three young angels, who represent the Holy Trinity. They hold water basins from which water flows on hot summer days. Many times I've stared at them for hours. Each feature has been deliberately

carved out in the white stone; their faces show only serenity; their wings seem to suggest they are ready to leave as soon as God beckons to them; their heads are bent in prayer; and they all look in one direction, towards St. Sophia.

The church is our next stop. The Patriarch leads us up the stairs, the five flat slabs of cement that lead to the doors hidden deeper in the arches. From the outside I observe that everything about the church is well-rounded. The domes are in the shape of half-spheres, and even the windows in front of the church on the main dome are rounded. The church design itself is a series of half-spheres and unfinished loops. It reminds me of my kindergarten days when we spent our time drawing different-coloured umbrellas. But these arches are white, like the outside walls, and they are bordered in the same gold colour found on the domes.

While I stand and admire the architecture, I notice that the Patriarch has already made his way to the stairs unassisted. I run so I can at least open the heavy door for him. He enters his home. I cross myself and bow my head in prayer, while he proceeds in his slow, even strides to the front of the church. I watch him as he seems to emit a kind of saintly glow. His face shows that life has not been easy. It is elongated and gentle although it is covered with old age marks and that silvery white beard and moustache that have been characteristic of him as long as I can remember. Again I look at his vivid blue eyes and follow their gaze through the interior of the church.

To even begin describing the magnificence of this church would require a dictionary of celestial terminology. It is covered with mosaics in gold tones that glimmer and glitter enough to light up the entire church. The saints seem to talk to me as I walk around the interior admiring the phenomenal workmanship and care it took to lay each mosaic in place. I turn to the icon of Jesus and his disciples and notice the apostle, St. Andrew.

The icons of St. Volodymyr and St. Olha also stare back at me from the richly decorated walls of St. Sophia. I could sit here for hours and think about the way things were and the way things are. I hear Father Ivan come into the church, walk up to the Patriarch and whisper something to him. The Patriarch immediately turns around and heads out of the church. He does look very tired as he walks out of the church with the help of Father Ivan.

I follow and notice that the Patriarch is again establishing himself in the old chair near the door of the seminary. He must have persuaded Father Ivan to let him sit outside for another 10 minutes. He asks me and my friend to come and sit by him again. He asks us why we are so quiet all evening. Is it because we don't like Rome? No, we love Rome and assure him of this with a smile. He says he is tired and will soon be going in to rest. We wish him a pleasant evening, but he does not get up to leave yet.

He seems deep in thought, as his hands arrange the two religious

medallions and the gold cross that hang around his neck. Against the back of the gold of the pendants glitters and directs my attention to the image of the Virgin Mary and Infant Jesus depicted on one of the medallions. I'd like to know where the Patriarch got this. Does it go back to his days as a young priest in Ukraine? Something stops me from asking him. I have heard from the seminary students here in Rome that the Patriarch rarely talks of the past. He rarely goes into past experiences, for he is a man who lives for the future. This does not stop me from wondering whether this man ever regrets the suffering and cruelty he has encountered during his 86 years on this earth. Would he have traded places with someone on that cold February 17, 1892, if he had known what the future held in store for him?

Now, as he rises from his chair and bids us a good night, he places his hand on our heads and tells us to pray for him and our Church. "May God always watch over you and bless you, for you are the hope of our Church and our nation." We watch him as he takes his even strides into the seminary building.

I now realize that although he is the greatest man I have ever met, at the same time he is like my late grandfather. He is kind, concerned and curious about everything. Nothing is too big or too small to concern him, for he truly cares. I think about everything he said to us, the way he slowly and deliberately chose his words, the way he listened to us answer, as if anything we had to say was as important as the pope's speeches. He asked us if we like Rome. Yes, we like Rome, as a matter of fact, we love Rome and Patriarch Josyf Slipyj. And if the Patriarch asked us why we love it, we would sincerely answer: we love it because you are here.

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**PASTORAL LETTER OF HIS BEATITUDE PATRIARCH JOSEPH  
ON OCCASION OF HIS 90th BIRTHDAY**

TO THE BISHOPS, PRIESTS, MEN AND WOMEN RELIGIOUS, THE  
FAITHFUL CHILDREN AND ALL OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS  
IN UKRAINE, IN DEPORTATION, AND IN THE DIASPORA,  
PEACE IN THE LORD AND OUR PATRIARCHAL BLESSING!

*Christ is among us!*

I address all of you with expressions of my love for you and my pastoral concern — an expression of love for you who are suffering for the cause of Christ. Notwithstanding sufferings and persecution, you stand firm in the Faith of Christ and His Holy Church and in fidelity to your ancestral heritage.

I address you, together, with the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops who in the Name of Jesus Christ, in whom we are enriched “with all speech and all knowledge” (1 Cor. 1:5), not long ago, with the blessing of the Holy Father John Paul II, under my guidance as Father and Head of our Particular Church, met in a Synod at the Vatican. We address you with our heartfelt fraternal greeting filled with pastoral sentiments, that “the testimony of Christ (be) confirmed among you” (1 Cor. 1:6). It is our fervent desire to strengthen in our entire Ukrainian Church, — in you as in ourselves, — the burning and unextinguishable flame of Christian faith, hope, and charity. We want to share with you our joys, our deep concern for you. I, in particular, address you through this pastoral letter on **this** blessed occasion which has been granted me by the merciful Lord. This gift of God is ninety years of life for the Lord, for his Church, and for my Nation. Therefore, I can say in the words of the Gospel. “I shall no longer speak to you in figures” (Jn. 116:25). May these words of mine be for you an expression of my teachings and of my love for you, my spiritual flock, my dear Ukrainian people, whose son I am and whom I tried to serve my whole life.

I

Dear Brothers and Sisters!

Our thoughts are always with you and our hearts embrace all of you. Although we are far from you in earthly distance and human borders separate us, we know your sufferings and humiliation. That is why we suffer together with you!

Our Church has received this great gift — the gift of the Holy Spirit to “confess Christ before all men . . . in following the Way of the Cross”. That is why today she among the many nations of the earth *is* a Church of martyrs and confessors. As such, she heads towards her resurrection and glorification, already, here on earth, and her countless faithful have already now reached the fulness of their glorification and eternal happiness in Heaven!

Writing these words we fulfill the will of the present Pope John Paul II to be near, spiritually, to all who suffer violence for their faith. These recent and moving words which he said in his speech at Otranto (Italy) on October 5, 1980, are: “To be spiritually close to all those who are suffering violence because of their faith is a special duty of all Christians, according to the tradition inherited from the first centuries. I would say more, here is also a question of a solidarity due to persons and communities whose fundamental rights are violated or even completely crushed. We must pray that the Lord will sustain these brothers of ours with his grace in such difficult tests. And we wish to pray also for those who persecute them, repeating Christ’s invocation on the Cross, addressed to his Father: ‘Forgive them, for they know not what they do’. The attempt is very often made to describe martyrs as ‘guilty of political crimes’. Christ, too, was condemned to death apparently for this reason, because he said he was a king (cf. Lk. 23:2). Let us not forget, therefore, the martyrs of our times. Let us not behave as if they did not exist. Let us implore the power of the Holy Spirit for the persecuted who still have to pit themselves against this test. May the Master’s words be fulfilled for them: ‘I will give you a mouth and wisdom, which none of your adversaries will be able to withstand or contradict’ (Lk. 21 : 115). Let us remain in communion with the martyrs . . . The author of the Book of Wisdom proclaims: ‘Like gold in the furnace (God) tried them, and like a sacrificial burnt offering He accepted them’ (Wis. 3:6).” In pronouncing these words the Holy Father surely had also you in mind and in heart, dear Brothers and Sisters, and in his heart perhaps he also felt that a similar wave of persecution and suffering for human and divine rights will afflict his native country and people.

In order that your faith be unswerving, your love unending, your hope sustaining you on the way into the near future, we ask you to remember the Head of our Church, the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey Sheptycky. We are all striving to procure his glorification, his beatification and canonization. This great Saint, the Head of the Ukrainian Church, on his deathbed saw in a spiritual vision and with trembling lips foretold the fall of our Church, her sufferings, but together with this, he foresaw and foretold the rise of the Ukrainian Church and her glory in the entire East. May this glorious vision and the prophetic words of the saintly Head of the Church strengthen you with the gifts of the Holy Spirit — wisdom, fortitude, piety, fear of the Lord — and bring forth rich fruits of the Holy Spirit — charity, joy, peace, perseverance, mercy, and courage.

We are well aware of your courageous resistance to godless coercion and of your heroic deeds. We admire you for this! You have trodden a long way of the Cross. Therefore, we pay homage to all of our bishops, priests, and laity, who did not bow their knee to Baal along this way of the Cross, but fearlessly — to their last breath — with the power of the Holy Spirit finished the course of witnessing to the faith and to martyrdom.

We pay homage to the religious, both men and women, who with exceptional humility preferred deportation to a betrayal of their Church. We pay homage to the countless faithful sons and daughters of our Church who courageously and generously stood in defence of their ancestral faith and the Church of their fathers.

We have been enriched by the sufferings of all our brothers and sisters who have passed to eternity and by your daily trials, which we see in the light of Christ's Passion. Our Particular Ukrainian Catholic Church has been exceptionally enriched by her confessors and martyrs, and together with her, Christ's entire Universal Church has been enriched, having blazed forth once again with the aura of her testimony among the nations of the world.

True, our Church has, seemingly, become silent. Yet she has spoken with a loud, moving voice — the voice of bondage. Already in 1945 Pope Pius XII wrote to you: "Although you are in shackles . . . the shackles themselves proclaim and preach Christ more fully and clearly". These are great words of commendation for you! But let the greatest source of recognition and comfort in your afflictions be the apostolic teaching, and your awareness based upon it, that you in your sufferings complete "what is lacking in Christ's afflictions for the sake of His Body, that is, the Church" (Col. 1:24).

Furthermore, your sufferings and persecutions have aroused even the dormant conscience of the whole world, and this has led it to ponder upon human dignity, rights and their protection. Among these rights, the most important is the universal human right to profess belief in God and the right to freedom of religious convictions. This is truly a great right, not only human but, also, divine. How little has the world dwelt upon its true meaning till now . . .

Let the words of the Second Vatican Council — words inspired by the Holy Spirit — be of moral support in your struggle for human and divine rights: "The Church . . . considers martyrdom as an exceptional gift, and as the fullest proof of love. By martyrdom a disciple is transformed into an image of his Master by freely accepting death for the salvation of the world — as well as his conformity to Christ in the shedding of his blood. Though few are presented such an opportunity, nevertheless, all must be prepared to confess Christ before men. They must be prepared to make this profession of faith even in the midst of persecutions, which will never be lacking to the Church, in following the Way of Cross" (*On the Church*, 42).

## II

For your spiritual fortification, dear Brothers and Sisters, we wish to inform you of the latest events which have recently occurred — events in which we see also the fruit of your sufferings, witnessing of the faith, and martyrdom.

The Successor of the Apostle St. Peter, the Holy Father John Paul II convoked us in March, 1980, for the Extraordinary Synod to discuss and propose a coadjutor with the right of succession for me, the Father and Head of our Church. After our Synodal sessions the Pope appointed as my coadjutor the Archbishop-Metropolitan of Philadelphia — Myroslav Lubachivsky, original from our Metropolitanate of Lviv. In this manner the uninterrupted existence of our Church in the Ukraine was affirmed and recognized before the eyes of the world, contrary to the decisions of the uncanonical so-called “Lviv Synod” of March, 1946. In this way the unity of our Ukrainian Church in her motherland with the countries of her new emigration was manifested — the unity of the Mother Church and her Daughter Churches. In this unity she lives, acts, grows, and suffers together with you awaiting the day of her freedom.

At the same time Pope John Paul II, respecting and preserving the ancient rights of our Church, has renewed the rights of the Father and Head of our Church to convoke in the future Synods of all the Bishops outside the Ukraine for deliberations on important issues for the life of our Church and Nation, among which — the question of filling vacant bishoprics in our Church. In all this, we see the impenetrable design of Divine Providence on the road to the resurgence of the ancient Church of Kyiv, Halych and all Rus’ in the free Ukraine, as the Servant of God Andrey foretold in his vision.

Once again we repeat, that these events are the fruits of your suffering. I have, personally, testified to your sufferings before the whole world after my liberation from imprisonment in 1963. Upon reaching freedom, speaking as a Council Father of Vatican II to the conscience of the world and to the Bishops of the Universal Church gathered in Council, I spoke loudly and openly of your witness. From myself and in your name I proposed and requested that our Church be raised to the Patriarchal dignity. Throughout the following years of my life, until today, I have continued to toil to achieve the recognition of the Patriarchate of our Church. The Patriarchate, the vision of your faithful souls, has already become for you a living reality. Let it remain so in the future! Pray, as you have been doing, for the Patriarch of Kyiv, Halych and all Rus’, and in the future — for the as yet, anonymous and unknown one. There will come the time when the Almighty Lord will send him for our Church and reveal his name. But our Patriarchate exists! Behind it are four hundred years of striving and seven years of reality — it awaits only the recognition of the Holy See of Rome.

All of these fruits—the strengthening of the unity of our Church in Ukraine and beyond its borders, the unity of the hierarchy with one Head, the preservation of the Ukrainian Rite and of the common Church traditions, the preservation of the rights of our Church among the particular Churches of the Universal Church—these are only first steps in the further development on the road of spiritual renewal and growth of our Church in her unity with the Holy See of Peter. May these fruits be blessed. “Gracious is the Lord, and righteous, our God is merciful. The Lord preserves the simple, when I was brought low, he saved me” (Ps. 116, 5-6).

These fruits give us the occasion and a greater impulse to work “in the Lord and in the strength of His might” (Ef. 6:10) for our Church and for the entire Ukrainian Nation. Thus, as we said, we share your sufferings and admire you. We are informed with news about your life, with your struggle amidst oppression and persecution, so that we can tell the world about it. We can awaken its conscience, so that we can shake it and arouse it to stand up in your defence!

But above all, we are always united with you in spirit and in prayer. At every Divine Liturgy and in all our churches we pray of “our suffering brethren”, because prayer is the most successful means, it is the weapon of God. We shall never cease praying and we cannot be at peace as long as our Church is suffering and lives in hiding, because a painful concern for her fate fills our souls with deep sufferings.

In spirit we suffer together with you, because it is not for us to know when these evil times will cease. But we believe that an end will come to the evil times. Our faith in Christ and in His victory permits neither you nor us to doubt this. The trials and temptations of our daily difficult life can steal into our souls to master them, to stifle the spirit and sow fear, to bring human souls to the condition desired by the enemy of our salvation and by his earthly servants. For that reason renew and foster in your consciousness faith, in the conviction that the Cross and the Resurrection are inseparable, and that the foundation of our hope is Christ, and not human beings. For twenty centuries the Church of Christ has been suffering, the boundary marks of which are the Cross and the Resurrection. Everything that was totally human has perished. Only the Church has survived victorious, because Christ is ever present with Her. “They will perish, but thou dost endure; they will all wear out like a garment. Thou changest them like raiment, and they pass away; but thou art the same, and thy years have no end” (Ps. 102:26-27).

Christ is the only Liberator. He is the only Way, the only Truth, the only Life (cf. Jn. 14 : 6). He is the essence of human life. He is the foundation of human dignity. Christ is “the light of the world” (Jn. 8:12), the true light that “shines in the darkness” and “enlightens every man” (Jn. 1:5.9) in times of uncertainty, injustice, and hopelessness. There is no other light! Our only Light is Christ!

## III

Dear Brothers and Sisters!

In the examination of your extremely difficult situation and the condition of the Church in our native land and among the faithful in deportation, we come to our aid with our constant prayers to Christ, our God, the Shepherd of his flock, and to the most Holy Mother of God, the Mother of Christ's Church. I also want to offer a few thoughts for your life and for the further perseverance in your struggles in order to alleviate your religious life under desperate conditions.

We must always remember, even amidst the greatest persecutions and sufferings, the greatest commandment which our Divine Saviour left his followers, namely, the Commandment of Love of God and neighbour, not excluding those who persecute us. Love one another as the first Christians loved each other amidst their persecutions. God is love and He wants us to conquer evil and hatred with love. For love builds up, while hatred destroys human souls and poisons human hearts. Jesus said, "This I command you, to love one another. If the world hates you, know that it has hated me before it hated you" (Jn 15:17-18).

Remember that love of God and neighbour is the most powerful means by which you can acquire and attract the young generations for God and for His Church. The young generations which the atheistic regime tries to educate in falsehood and in hatred will find Christ the Lord and the Divine Truth in the Church of Christ as the example of warmth of your love of neighbour. On the contrary, all misunderstandings, quarrels among you become for young souls, thirsty for love and for a good word, a cause of indifference and even contempt of religion and Christ's Church, which is the image of His love. For this reason I write to you the words of St. Paul: "It is my prayer that your love may abound more and more, with knowledge and all discernment" (Phil. 1:9).

We recommend to you, dear Brothers and Sisters, deep understanding and a Christ-like mercy for those of our brethren who succumbed under threats and violence and fell away from the Catholic Church. Pray for them and do not seek punishment for them. Help them to raise up and to renew their faith. Imitate God who does not disdain the sinner and does not drive him away from himself. "You do not turn away from the sinner but you offer him repentance for salvation" (*Prayer of the Trisagion*) and "when we had fallen, you raised us up again, and you have not ceased doing everything until you brought us to heaven and gave us your future kingdom" (*Prayer "It is worthy"*).

The expression of an active love of God and neighbour is the principle that St. Paul has given us: "All things should be done decently and in order" (1 Cor. 14:40), that is, with respect to one's spiritual leaders. Obey wholeheartedly your pastors and spiritual Fathers because they watch over

your souls, though they are surrounded by so many difficulties and obstacles, in hiding, even, in danger of imprisonment. Pray for them, help them, protect them, conceal them from the evil eye of those who spy on them and accuse them of preposterous things in order to destroy or defame them insidiously. Teach your children and encourage them that there exists a special service of God in the priestly or the religious life. This is the greatest service on earth by means of which God guides, teaches, and enlightens his people, creates of human beings a family of God.

Let us seek, dear Brothers and Sisters, strength in this uneven struggle for the glory of God's name and for the human rights given by God, for the kingdom of God on earth — in prayer. Let us pray, let us pray continuously! Teach your children to pray so that our youth may not grow up without prayer to God and to the Most Holy Mother of God, our Protectress, that our young generations in Ukraine and in deportation through prayer be united to God, enlightened by God's truth, sanctified by God's grace, so that we together, with the prayers of our heavenly intercessors, might obtain better days for our Church and Nation.

#### IV

Your joy, dear Brothers and Sisters in the Ukraine and in deportation, spiritual exultation, and your hopes for a free future for our Church in our native land would be incomplete, if we were to pass over in silence our preparations for the great Jubilee of the Millennium of the Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine, which we shall celebrate together in 1988. Preparations for the celebrations of this extraordinary Jubilee was one of the important issues in our Synodal deliberations.

On the occasion of the Millennium of Ukrainian Christianity, we, in the free world, are preparing various initiatives to achieve a profound renewal of the Christian life of our Church communities in the spirit of Kyivan Christianity, which already from its first beginnings gave great saints to our Church, such as Volodymyr the Great, Olha, Borys, Hlib, Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves, and afterwards numerous martyrs and confessors of the faith for the unity of Christ's Church. We, here, in all countries of our diaspora strive in many ways on the occasion of the celebration of the Millennium to acquaint the whole world with the history of Christianity of Kyiv-Halych, the martyrology of our Church and its present desperate situation, demanding at the same time full freedom for our Church in the Ukraine for her apostolic work among the Ukrainian Nation. The Holy Father Pope John Paul II in his letter to you of March 19, 1979, on the occasion of our preparations for the Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine, called upon the entire Catholic Church to join us in our celebrations.

For you, dear Brothers and Sisters in Ukraine and in exile, it is difficult at this time to think of any kind of exterior preparation for the Millennium of the Baptism of Rus'-Ukraine. However, your sufferings for

the Christian faith of our ancestors, for Christ, for the unity of the great Metropolitanate of Kyiv with the Apostolic See of Rome, as it was at the time of St. Volodymyr the Great and Yaroslav the Wise, is the best witness of our Christianity for this Jubilee.

Finally, beloved Brothers and Sisters in the Ukraine and in deportation, remember this profound truth that Christ our God, the good Shepherd of His flock, remains among us and freely acts among you, enlightening and sanctifying you and strengthening you with the power, the action, the grace of the Holy Spirit. "I am with you always, yes, to the end of time" (Mt. 28 : 20). Together with Christ, the Most Holy Mother of God — Mother of the Church and all powerful Queen — remains and acts among you in the defence of the Christian people. Christ God is our strength. The Most Holy Mother of God is our powerful Protectress, to whom the Christian ruler of Rus' dedicated Kyiv and his entire nation.

Accept from all of us in the diaspora our greeting according to our ancient custom: *Christ is among us!* Accept our greeting, you, our dear and holy Ukrainian land — the land of our fathers, Volodymyr, Olha, Anthony and Theodosius of the Caves! Accept the greeting of your children who live for you, pray for you, and wish you freedom and happiness.

I bless all of you and each one of you separately. We all remain united in the holy bond of love and fellow suffering with you in Christ, our Lord, to whom be glory and praise for all ages. Amen.

Given in Rome at the Patriarchal Sobor of Saint Sophia  
on the Feast of the Presentation of our Lord Jesus Christ,  
February 2/15, 1982.

† JOSYF  
*Patriarch and Cardinal*

## THE GUN AND THE FAITH

**Religion and Church in Ukraine  
under the Communist Russian Rule**

A Brief Survey by

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## A TRIBUTE TO THE PATRIARCH

*Amongst the many tributes which were paid to his Beatitude Patriarch Josyf Slipyi on the occasion of his 90th birthday in February 1982, a notable one came from Fr. Werenfried van Straaten who formerly headed the religious organisation "Aid to the Church in Need". Below is the text of his speech.*

Your Beatitude,

When in February 1963 you came to Rome and I was able to meet you there, you were no stranger to me. I had known the Ukrainian Church's way to Calvary from the beginning of the 1950s and had spoken of you almost daily in countless sermons and conferences. Before we were able to give you material help, we prayed for you.

In August 1961 a sister wrote to me: "I want to do something to help a priest who is in prison". I answered her: "I entrust the Archbishop of Lviv to you, the only one of the eleven Ukrainian bishops who has survived. Ukrainians all over the world are collecting signatures to obtain the release of their last archbishop. I ask you to offer your life as a religious to the Lord for this intention."

The sister replied: "On the 20th of December (1961) I shall receive the veil as a spouse of the Lord. I will pray for "my" bishop to implore liberty for him... on her wedding day a spouse may ask for everything."

And on the 20th February 1963, after your arrival in Rome, the sister wrote: "I have never forgotten 'my bishop' for a single day. How grateful I am that I was able to make a contribution to this happy event. I have received the gift I asked for at my religious profession. That day (the 20th of December 1961) we sang the antiphon: "O key of David, come and free the prisoner who lives in darkness and in the shadow of death!"

At that time, nineteen years ago, I wrote in the Mirror:

"Slipyj, the former prisoner doing forced labour, now lives in the apartment of the late Cardinal Canali. He must be astonished by the grotesque conclusions being drawn all too easily by Catholics who are impatient for coexistence. But his lips are closed, because he, too, no doubt, had to promise to keep quiet about all that he has seen and suffered. He is still a member of the Church of Silence, and his place is still in Ukraine. No true shepherd forsakes his flock of his own free will, and therefore we can be sure that he wants to go back to his faithful. And then, why should he talk about persecution? He bears the stigmata of it on his own body!

It is well known that the former prisoner Slipyj is endowed with a character of iron. His broken body hides an indomitable spirit. He is the

most outstanding theologian of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the staunchest champion of the true Byzantine line. He therefore represents a bridge to Orthodoxy and is the born leader of all eastern Christians who are united with Rome.

He is also a shepherd full of zeal who has left an indelible mark of his work as a priest in many a Soviet labour camp. He has thus become a universally recognized symbol in Russia, not only for Catholics but even more for the Orthodox Church, which is more easily found in Siberian concentration camps than with Patriarch Alexis or Nikodim."

I do not think I was mistaken when I wrote those lines nineteen years ago. Nineteen years of contact and friendship with you, Your Beatitude, have confirmed my first judgement on your extraordinary personality. You are the worthiest representative of the persecuted Church. I am more and more convinced that this persecuted Church, which has preferred to take on unheard-of sacrifices rather than share in short-lived advantages with collaborators and traitors, that this Church of Silence, calumniated and often deliberately forgotten, is the sure pledge of our salvation. That's why your Church deserves to be crowned with a Patriarchal dignity—and this is also the reason that our work honours in your person the Ukrainian persecuted Church!

The task that God has entrusted to our Work is to help the Church wherever she is being persecuted, menaced, undermined or destroyed, and is thus a Church in need. Her need is caused above all by militant atheism, which in communism has found its most dangerous champion. This communist atheism is perhaps the greatest danger that has ever threatened the Church. At Fatima Mary foretold its beginning and its end and showed us with what means to combat it. It calls for reactions and counter-offensive... and I am so glad that God has entrusted to our Pious Association "Aid to the Church in Need" a part of this task.

Our work has six hundred thousand members. But since the 16th of November 1981 we have the possibility of conferring a honorary membership: "Honorary membership of the Pious Association can be conferred on persons who have borne heroic witness for the Faith, and on persons who have distinguished themselves by special services rendered for the Church in Need. It pertains to the President and his Council to confer honorary membership".

It is for me a profound joy and a great honour to name you, on behalf of our new President, Archbishop Henri Lemaitre and his Council the first Honorary Member of our Pious Association Aid to the Church in Need.

But as you are a practical man and know that one cannot live on honours and distinctions, I am happy to tell you on behalf of our finance commission that this year you will receive as a birthday gift from our Work one million dollars for your Ukrainian flock at home and in the diaspora. And we hope and pray that on your hundredth birthday we shall be able to offer you at least twice as much! Ad multos annos!

Ivan MIRTSCUK

## HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE\*

(Part 3: Language)

### THE UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE IN THE FAMILY OF SLAVONIC LANGUAGES

The Ukrainian language which is spoken today by a population of about 45 million people is an independent characteristic unit member of the Slavonic Group of Indo-Germanic languages. The Slavonic languages are usually divided into three groups: southern, western and eastern. From a purely geographic point of view the Ukrainian language together with Byelorussian and Russian forms the Eastern Group. By virtue of its lexical and structural properties and the likely proximity of the Slav ancestral home, it (Ukrainian) is at the centre of the Slavic speaking world. The older Slavists usually called the eastern group the Russian group since they regarded Ukrainian as Little Russian, Byelorussian as White Russian and Russian (Muscovite) as Great Russian. In recent times, however, the old names have had to give way to the "Eastern Group" of Slavonic languages (Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Russian). Indeed, this has been all the more necessary since a political bias has been concealed behind this old scientifically inadequate terminology which attempts to classify all Eastern Slavs under the general category of "Russian", this being neither historically, geographically nor philosophically justifiable. The articulation of the Ukrainian language bears a series of totally original traits not to be found in any other Slavonic usage.

There are two theories about the development of the Ukrainian language. The one traces it back like all Eastern Slavonic languages directly to an original Slav language so that all Eastern Slavonic languages apparently developed in an identical manner. The other assumes the existence after the original period of another ancient or old Russian epoch when a differentiation took place in the three "Russian" languages forming Ukrainian, Byelorussian and (Great) Russian. The second theory is connected with the misconception which played a major role chiefly in 19th century political life. It deprived the Ukrainian language of the right to an independent existence, regarding it merely as a dialect of Russian. Indeed, this conception has been dropped in scholarly circles and life has passed judgement on this error. The differences between the Ukrainian and Russian language are so considerable that the Russian Academy of Sciences in St. Peterburg in an official declaration of 1905 unequivocally confirmed

the independence of the Ukrainian language. The differences apply to characteristics of both languages: accent, word-formation, inflexion and syntax. There are in fact words common to both languages as there are in all Slavonic languages, however, in Ukrainian they often have a different meaning than in Russian. A major part of Ukrainian vocabulary is foreign, unknown and opposite to Russian. As for similarities, Byelorussian is closer to Ukrainian than Russian, particularly in grammatical structure and inflexion. As a result, a Ukrainian can understand a Byelorussian better than a Russian or another Slav. In general, the Slavic languages are more similar than for example the Germanic or Romance languages. Slovak and Czech are without doubt quite closely related although their independence is unjeopardized.

## THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF UKRAINIAN LANGUAGE

The historical development of the Ukrainian language already began in the 9th century at a time when the Slav tribes grouped around the Dnipro river began to form their own state. The written language of these tribes was Old Church Slavonic which was adopted in these regions with the spread of Christianity and church books, though it absorbed various phonetic, morphological and lexical elements of the indigenous spoken language and thus became the communication medium of the leading cultural stratum. The broad strata of the population probably used the old local dialects of which no written evidence remains. The literary language of the leading cultural stratum known as Old Church Slavonic in literature was not a living but canonized ritual language which, however, during the centuries formed the foundation of literature. In the 11th and 12th centuries it was the language in which most important literary works of the time were written: the Chronicles (Nestor's Chronicle and the Galician-Volhynian Chronicle) and the famous *Lay of Ihor*. The latter contained many expressions and stylistic peculiarities taken from popular speech. In the 13th century there followed the period of Tartar invasions which destroyed not only the Kyivan State but without doubt brought in their wake the complete destruction of a great many linguistic monuments. Due to these events the focal point of political and cultural life moved to Galicia, Volhynia, Byelorussia and Lithuania raising Old Church Slavonic permeated by indigenous elements from the Kyiv region and known as "Ruthenian" to the status of official administrative language of the Duchy of Lithuania. As a result of this shift some Polish and Byelorussian elements intruded though without changing the general character. In the 17th century Moscow began its struggle against this language after the Tartars had been expelled and the collapse of the Ukrainian Cossack State when most Ukrainian territory was annexed by the Muscovite (*Russian* — trans.) Empire. In 1721 Peter the Great issued a decree according to which all Church books published in Ukraine had to be submitted to the Synodal

Chancellery in St. Petersburg for correction so that they could be approximated to the Great Russian language. Old Church Slavonic continued to be the language of the Church though at the same time the Ukrainian vernacular slowly began to gain civic currency in the works of Gavatovych, Skovoroda and others. However, this development was only entirely successful by the end of the 18th century when in 1798 Kotliarevskyi's travesty of the Aeneid appeared in the Ukrainian vernacular. Its use was restricted chiefly to the still undenationalized circles of Ukrainian society and writers whose themes were tightly bound up in the life of the people. These not too numerous circles regarded the recognition of spoken Ukrainian as a political matter and for them its perfection was the ultimate aim. The greatest Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko and the most important scholar of the time Panteleimon Kulish made considerable contributions to the development and spreading of literary Ukrainian, so much so that Shevchenko's poems became part of the national treasury of the whole of Ukraine. This language also spread to Galicia which after the partition of Poland was annexed by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. In this way it conquered all Ukrainian regions although there are certain differences between the language of West and East Ukraine based on historical development. Kotliarevskyi's language was rooted primarily in the dialects of Kyiv and Poltava while the Galician dialect was predominant in the literary landmarks of Galicia. This discrepancy is explained not only by distance but also by the fact that traffic to and fro between the two parts of Ukrainian national territory was made unusually difficult in Czarist Russia by entry and exit conditions which could not aid the standardization of the language. One more fact should be born in mind in this connection. In order to demonstrate the uniformity of the population, the Russian government began in the 19th century mainly for political motives to deny the existence of the Ukrainian people and to describe the Ukrainians (officially called Little Russians) merely as a tribe or variety of Russians. This political action was paralleled by the persecution of Ukrainian culture. Official Russian propaganda working very skilfully abroad categorically maintained that no Ukrainian literary language had ever existed, it was only a "Little Russian Dialect" of the great "Russian language". The persecution culminated in the Ukaz of the Czarist Government in 1876 in which the Ukrainian language was forbidden. On the basis of this ban, surely unrivalled anywhere in the world of culture, for 30 years, up to 1906, no book, scientific article or periodical in Ukrainian could be published on Ukrainian territory in the Czarist Empire.

However, even these draconian measures could not halt the development of Ukrainian or destroy its independent existence. In Galicia and Bukovina, the crown lands of the Hapsburg Monarchy, it could continue to develop almost unhindered. It became the vernacular and literary language of Western Ukrainians who succeeded in having it recognized as the second language of the country and admitted as the language of instruction in the Universities of Lviv and Chernivtsi, by the Central Government in Vienna. A great

deal of credit for the perfection of the language is due among numerous writers and philologists, to the second greatest Ukrainian poet and scholar Ivan Franko: the same aim was shared by the Philological Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv (a kind of Academy of Sciences) where a large number of important Ukrainian and foreign philologists gathered: S. Smal-Stockyj, Studynsky, O. and F. Kolessa, the Pole Baudoin de Courtenai, the Germans Berneker and Vasmer, the Russian Shakhmatov, the Swede O. Broch, the Frenchman A. Mazon and others. Thanks to numerous scholarly contributions in the reports of the Philological Section and similar special publications, the professional terminology in the most diverse spheres of knowledge and the problems of philology were worked out, so that after the collapse of Czarist Russian and the re-establishment of the Ukrainian State the Ukrainian language could assume the task and role of a language of State and instruction—even in the Ukrainian SSR Ukrainian was recognized as the language of State. This is true today in theory, although on the other hand it cannot be denied that throughout the Soviet Union and in Ukraine too, Russian plays a dominant rôle. Nevertheless, Ukrainian in spite of its position can still be universally regarded as an independent Slavonic language.

Valuable research in the field of Ukrainian philology was also carried out in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv founded in 1918. As a result, particularly in the initial period, linguistic commissions such as the dialectological and historical dictionary commission came into being in order to fill the existing gaps in the language quickly and enrich the vocabulary of Ukrainian. After 1930, however, under pressure from centralist Bolshevik politics the Ukrainian language was severely restricted. Many nationally conscious Ukrainians were absorbed in philological work hoping in this way to be able to fulfill their obligation to their nation. After the severe restriction of the Arts the treatment of scientific problems less dangerous to the existence of the totalitarian regime, was given priority. In most recent times there has been a marked tendency to hasten a *rapprochement* between Ukrainian and Russian, by any means. So that this aim can be achieved more quickly and the uniformity of Ukrainian speaking territory appear questionable Ukrainians are transferred in groups from their homeland to Siberia or other regions of the Soviet Union while other nationalities are settled on the vacant territory. A language chessboard is thus formed giving less resistance to the unification attempts of the Moscow government. The ultimate aim of the red dictators is the merger of all nations on Bolshevik held territory into a single 'soviet nation' with Russian as the sole language of everyday speech, since a simplification of this kind would certainly be not only ideal for the state but also economically advantageous. The imperialist intentions concealed by this cultural policy are patently obvious.

## UKRAINIAN DIALECTS

Ukrainian dialects are diverse and many of them are extremely important for the history of the Ukrainian language. Ukrainian divides into two main dialect groups: north and south. The southern group divides again into a southern Ukrainian and south-west Ukrainian sub-group. The northern group consists of Pidlassya and Polissya; the south-east dialect region covers the left bank of the Dnipro, Crimea, the Don and Kuban region. The south-west dialects control part of the Kyiv region, Podolia, Volhynia, Kholmshchyna, Galicia, Carpatho-Ukraine, Bukovyna and Bessarabia. Generally speaking the differences between the Ukrainian dialects are much smaller than those between their German counterparts.

## UKRAINIAN PHILOLOGY

Ukrainian philology began as far back as the 16th century; at that time the first text-books for schools appeared compiled according to the Latin and Greek text-book model. The most important publication of this period was the *Old Church Slavonic Grammar* based on Ukrainian by Miletyj Smotrytskyj (1618) which influenced the history of Ukrainian philology for two centuries. The first Ukrainian grammar by A. Pavlovskyj (1818) appeared thanks to the increased interest in the language and creativity of the simple folk which emphasised particularly the considerable differences between Russian and Ukrainian. O. Potebnja (1835-1891) has one of the most privileged positions not only in Ukrainian but also in Slavic philology, his theoretical work (*Thought and Word* 1862) also deserves mention. Ukrainian philology was particularly fostered in the 20th century: most extensively and creditably by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv and the Philological Section of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv and in the following scientific institutions: the University of Lviv, Chernivtsi, Cracow, Warsaw, the Free Ukrainian University in Prague (now based in Munich), the Ukrainian Institutes in Berlin and Warsaw, the Ukrainian Theological Academy in Lviv and, of course, the universities, institutes and independent professional chairs in Soviet Ukraine to the extent that the scholars working there are not hindered excessively by the government or party.

Translated by *W. Slez*

(*To be continued*)

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Dr. James E. MACE

### WHY DID THE FAMINE HAPPEN?\*

*Dr. James E. Mace is the junior collaborator of Dr. Robert Conquest, who is preparing a publication on the man-made famine of 1933 in Ukraine. In his role as collaborator Dr. Mace is conducting research under the auspices of the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute. The famine monograph to be written by Prof. Conquest is a joint project of the HURI and the Ukrainian National Association in the USA.*

The great Ukrainian famine of 1933 is best understood as an integral part of Stalin's solution to the Ukrainian "problem", and its roots go back to 1917. Any attempt to explain it outside the context of the Ukrainian experience from 1917 to 1933 or to view it merely as a particularly harsh application of general policy toward the Soviet peasantry is doomed to failure.

This is so because Stalin himself identified the problem of nationality with that of the peasantry, because of the nature of the Soviet Ukrainian regime up to 1933, and because the policies pursued toward the Ukrainian peasantry during the first five-year plan went hand in hand with a number of other policies designed to destroy the Ukrainian nation as a political, social and cultural organism.

Bolshevik policies in Ukraine during the period of "war communism" were in many ways a dress rehearsal for those of the five-year plan.

When the Bolsheviks first occupied Ukraine, they treated any manifestation of Ukrainian national aspirations with unmitigated hostility, as one Bolshevik spokesman at the time put it, "a smokescreen for the counter-revolution". When Muravyov occupied Kyiv, anyone heard speaking Ukrainian in the street was arrested and shot as a suspected counter-revolutionary. Rakovsky, while head of the Soviet Ukrainian government, called Ukrainian a kulak language.

Secondly, the Bolsheviks initially saw Ukraine primarily as a source of grain. One telegram from Lenin to Ordzhonikidze at the end of 1917 makes the point quite clearly: Lenin ordered his "extraordinary commissar" in Ukraine to send "bread, bread, bread", several trainloads every day, and accounts of the first Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine liken Lenin's followers to a hoard of locusts that seized everything it could for immediate shipment to Russia.

\* The following account appeared in "The Ukrainian Weekly", the English-language supplement to the Ukrainian daily in the USA *Svoboda* on March 14th, 1982.

Third, the Bolsheviks did everything in their power to prevent the parcelling of the landlords' estates to peasant farmers and even tried to force peasants into communes, at least until the spring of 1919 when the order went out to stop this practice.

The Ukrainian countryside responded by taking up arms, and even the defeat of the Ukrainian National Republic failed to halt widespread guerilla warfare. Soviet sources refer to this as "kulak banditry", and official Soviet Ukrainian newspapers continued to report outbreaks of it well into 1924.

Failing to defeat the Ukrainian countryside by force of arms, the Bolsheviks hoped concessions would work. As early as 1919, the Bolsheviks recognized Shevchenko Day and began to tolerate the use of the Ukrainian language. In 1921 the New Economic Policy was proclaimed; the peasantry was freed from forced requisitions and was left in peace for the time being. In 1923 Ukrainization was proclaimed, and the regime tried to appear more and more as a Ukrainian force. Ukrainians were recruited into the Communist Party of Ukraine. Non-Ukrainians in the party and state apparatus were ordered to learn the Ukrainian language and familiarize themselves with the Ukrainian way of life. Ukrainian cultural life was not only tolerated but encouraged. A national cultural revival of unprecedented vigour, the "rozstriliane vidrozhennia", blossomed.

Ukrainian aspirations were legitimized even within the party, and the Communists Oleksander Shumsky, Mykola Khvyliovy, and Mykhailo Volobuyev asserted Ukrainian aspirations to a degree which Moscow found intolerable. Mykola Skrypnyk was ultimately able to build up a strong political base by condemning all expression of hostility toward Moscow and simultaneously asserting Ukrainian prerogatives in virtually every sphere. All this is well-known, but the essential point is that Stalin was confronted with a strong Ukrainian political entity within the Soviet Union, a state and society which was growing steadily more assertive of its national rights.

The fact that Stalin was determined to destroy Soviet Ukraine as a political factor is demonstrated by the way the so-called "cultural revolution" of 1928-32 was carried out. In Russia, the so-called "bourgeois intelligentsia" was always the main target, but in Ukraine it was the Communist Ukrainian intelligentsia which was first attacked. Among historians, for example, the Communist Matvyi Yavorsky was attacked and condemned for treating the history of Ukraine as a distinctive process before Mykhailo Hrushevsky was silenced. Among Ukrainian writers, the most militantly "proletarian" and avant-guard were attacked for not following the lead of Russian "proletarian writers".

The 1930 show-trial of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine was at least partially a provocation against Skrypnyk, since one of the charges was that linguists had engaged in "sabotage" by asserting the distinctiveness of the Ukrainian language, and Skrypnyk had been personally involved in this "sabotage" (although no one said so until 1933). It is also no coincidence that Skrypnyk's final disgrace and suicide coincide with the famine;

Postyshev had been sent to Ukraine to speed up grain deliveries and destroy Skrypnik. The two tasks were inseparable.

Stalin wrote in 1925: "The nationality question is by its basis a peasant question." He understood that the suppression of the Ukrainian nation could not be accomplished unless its social basis, the Ukrainian peasantry, was also suppressed. It had been the regime's inability to suppress the country people which led to the adoption of the New Economic Policy and Ukrainization, and the abandonment of one necessarily implied the abandonment of the other. This, however, raises an essential question: Why was it possible for the regime to suppress the Ukrainian countryside during the five-year plan when it had been unable to do so during the period of war communism?

The answer lies in the gradual penetration of the countryside by the regime during the period of the New Economic Policy. In 1921 the Bolsheviks confronted the countryside as outsiders with only the Committees for Non-Rich Peasants ("komnezamy" — "Komitety Nezamozhnykh Selian"), unreliable gangs which took grain for the state for a share in the booty. In contrast to Russia, where the "kombedy" were abolished, the "komnezamy" were retained in Ukraine and were gradually made into more or less reliable executive institutions.

In addition, village soviets ("silrady") were gradually organized and made into reliable administrative organs of the regime. Perhaps most importantly, the villages were penetrated by a network of secret collaborators with the GPU ("seksoty"). This meant that, in contrast to 1921, the regime was able to rely on people in the villages who would help outsiders carry out their orders, and the regime was also able to identify the elements in the village most hostile to the Communists and most capable of leading villagers in defence of their farms.

It is beyond the scope of this brief note to consider the particulars of Bolshevik policies in the Ukrainian countryside. Suffice it to say that the liquidation of the kulaks, the suppression of the Ukrainian Church and its priesthood, and often the arrest of the village schoolteachers, went hand in hand with the suppression of the Ukrainian intellectual and political figures in the cities as a means of decapitating the nation, that collectivization was carried out more rapidly and that the demands for Ukrainian grain as a proportion of the total Soviet harvest were higher than in Russia. The re-Russification of the cities in the 1930s was designed to push Ukrainian nationhood back to the land where Ukrainian "kolhospnyky" were legally attached to the soil by means of the internal passport system.

All this meant war against the Ukrainian peasantry, a war in which food was the major weapon and mass starvation the sign of Stalin's victory

*Yevhen HRYCYAK*

## SHORT MEMOIRS — THE NORILSK UPRISING

Translated from Ukrainian by:

*Taras Drozd, Natalia Garbera, Zena Matla-Rychtycka*  
(Continuation 2 from Nr. 3 Vol. XXIX)

### VI. THE HOLE

We were released from the zone in groups of one hundred, and by squadrons were led by special convoy guards to the tundra. At the guardhouse, to my great surprise, I was not separated from the other prisoners and proceeded with my squadron all the way near the "Gorstroy", since nearby the entire tundra was already occupied by people.

We were ordered to sit down. But were not allowed to sit for long. Our convoy guards were told to get us on our feet and lead us back. We came out on the road which led from the Gorstroy to our zone. When we were about fifty metres from the guardhouse, we were again ordered to sit. We sat and, attempting to keep away mosquitoes, looked around at what was happening.

The entire tundra was covered with prisoners and guards. Near the guardhouse stood Kuznyetsov with his group. Before him, dachnyky, who were brought here specifically for our chastisement, were showing off. We saw as they kept kicking and trampling people with their feet; we saw no one even attempt to defend himself, because behind the dachnyky, stood guards ready to fire . . .

It started to rain. Next to me sat a Czech, who possessed some kind of waterproof coat. Both of us covered ourselves with this coat and saw nothing further. Suddenly we heard someone neared our squadron and asked: "Hrycyak should be here somewhere?" The Czech poked me with his elbow and whispered: "Be quiet, do not answer!"

Later the rain stopped and we uncovered ourselves. General Semenov approached us and recognized me.

"Well, Hrycyak," he mumbled arrogantly, "get up, get up! Your officiating has ended. Get up!" Then to a sergeant: "Sergeant, allot a guard!" I got up and stepped to the side; two convoy guards approached. "Place him under guard!" self-assuredly ordered Semenov.

The convoy guards stood silently and with open astonishment gazed at me. "Lead him to the tables!" further ordered Semenov. The guards remained mute. "Lead him, I am telling you!" Semenov repeated his order.

The guards continued to stand silent. "All right, good," stormed Semenov, "follow me!"

Behind the tables, which were arranged in the middle of the road, sat seven free women. "Do you need his service book?" he asked the women. "Oh!" cried out the surprised women. "That's Hrycyak, he's Hrycyak!"

"So," Semenov barked unhappily, "seems that you know him?" The service book is the prisoner's published record, something of a dossier. Whenever the prisoner is moved, his service book constantly accompanies him.

"If my service book is unnecessary", I was thinking, "then most likely I will be shot right here in the tundra, before the eyes of all the prisoners."

When my service book was removed from the files and placed aside, Semenov ordered the convoy guards to lead me into the tundra. The convoy guards did not display the slightest inclination to do so. The angered General again had to lead us himself.

"Sit here," he told me. I chose a dry heap and sat on it, constantly attempting to defend my face against the insufferable mosquitoes.

"Guards, do not allow him to defend himself against the mosquitoes, let them gnaw him!" ordered the General and left.

A truck, outfitted for transporting prisoners, stopped on the road. An officer called out to the convoy guards to lead me toward the truck. Alongside the truck, the guards searched me and confiscated a stainless steel spoon. No other dangerous objects were discovered on me.

I sat down on the floor of the truck, leaning with my shoulders on the side. In a short while three more prisoners were brought to the truck, Ivan Strygin, Ivan Khodnewych and Volodymyr Rusinov.

The officer approached the guards and said with undisguised irony:

"Now, take them over to the zone, so they can bid farewell to the people!" By people, he meant the dachnyky, since there was no one in the zone except them.

The truck drove through the back-gate and stopped before the guard-house.

"Here is a present for you!" the guards called to us with undisguised gloating, dragging toward the truck the unconscious Volodymyr Nedorostkov.

I placed Nedorostkov between my knees and gently enfolded him in my arms. He was so severely beaten that he could not sit by himself. . . . Someone cried out: "Give us those also, let them too bid farewell!" But the doors closed and the truck moved forward. "Where are we going?" Strygin whispered to me. I looked over my shoulder, the guard hadn't taken any notice of us. "I see only Schmidtykha", I answered him.

We travelled on. I again looked around, and again — Schmidtykha, only now larger, sterner and closer to us. Then the truck turned once, then again. I looked around — and again Schmidtykha.

Norilsk is situated near three mountains, Vedmezha Mountain or

“Vedmezhka”, Schmidt Mountain or “Schmidtykha”, and the third — Zub Mountain.

Schmidt Mountain became the most infamous because near the foot of the mountain an enormous cemetery is situated, or more accurately, a place where bodies of Norilsk prisoners were buried. The word Schmidtykha became synonymous with death. Therefore, going to Schmidtykha meant dying; I will drive you to Schmidtykha meant I will kill you, etc.

The burial of the bodies near the foot of the Schmidtykha is accomplished in the following manner: When a prisoner dies, he is undressed completely, cut open, and placed in a wooden crate, in which he is taken to the guardhouse. There, a guard examines the body and, to make absolutely certain the prisoner is dead, pierces the brain with a long sharp instrument. Only after such thorough examination, is the body taken directly to the foot of the Schmidtykha.

In 1948, when prisoners of zone 4 were constructing the Norilsk copper-smelting works at a furious pace, they were cynically promised that shock-workers, in event of death, will be buried not naked, as in the case of all others, but in their underwear. It is not known whether there existed even one instance of adherence to such a solemn promise.

It is only known that people died and died without end, and in order for all of them to be buried in the eternal frost, it was necessary to keep near the foot of Schmidtykha a large, completely unproductive, force. That is why, during one summer, twenty large twenty-metre holes were dug with the help of excavators and bulldozers at the foot of the Schmidtykha, so there would be enough room to dump the bodies for many years to come. However, this calculation proved to be inaccurate, holes containing four hundred metres capacity were filled by bodies within two years!

That is Schmidtykha! It is too bad that the *Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia* does not contain any reference to this mountain.

We were being driven nearer and nearer to this threatening mountain and finally arrived at the courtyard of a prison, which, in Norilsk is called the hole. For the time being, we sat on the ground and looked around at our future residence. This was a smallish, very gloomy, barrack-type prison. Its reputation, from way back was quite infamous. Thousands of people ended their lifespan inside its walls. Now, it was to become the place of retribution for the participants of the uprising. It was not by chance that First Lieutenant Shiryaev was assigned as its warden and Officer Beyner as his assistant! We were told that both of them were in this prison and, true to say, they were both here and only waiting for us!

“Well, one of you enter!” a guard called from afar.

The first one to go was Volodymyr Rusinov. We listened. Silence. Then suddenly — tump, tump! Shouts from the guards and Rusinov’s moans. Finally everything quieted down.

“Go, another one!”

Ivan Khodnewych entered. He was kept there for a long time and struck not even once. Seemed suspicious!

“Next one!”

Strygin and I carried Nedorostkov in and returned to our places. Nedorostkov also was not beaten, since in his condition, there was nothing left to beat up.

The fourth to enter was I.

In the reception area, which was a large rectangular room with many doors and one table, behind which sat the prison duty officer, furious guards fell upon me.

“Undress and stand in the corner! Quick!”

I took off my clothes and stood in a corner between two walls. On either side — a guard. The third steps close to me and asks:

“Date of birth?”

“Twenty-six.”

“Oh, you, scoundrel! Young, but already bald! Did you, skunk, lose your hair from politics, ha?” he asked and with all his might struck me in the face with his fist.

“Open your mouth!”

In prison during searches the mouth was always examined, but now my guard was completely uninterested in what was in my mouth; he only raised his fist to strike my weakened jaw. In this manner, it was very easy to break one's teeth and bend the jaw out of shape. I was familiar with this favourite method of the prison guards and, therefore, immediately realizing his intention, tightly pressed my teeth together. The guard's blow did not cause the desired effect.

“Wait, let me draw up the documents,” the prison duty officer stopped the guards.

The guard who was jumping at me withdrew somewhat. The officer sat behind the table and filled out some forms. Unexpectedly, the guard who was standing on my left, silently, but with all his strength, struck me with the edge of his hand on my throat; the walls on either side of me did not allow me to fall.

Having completed the form, the officer told me to come to the table and sign. But before I had a chance to comply, five guards jumped upon me. A hail of fists and kicks followed, which ended in the guards trying to push me down on the floor. I grabbed the side of the table and pulled it after me. The telephone fell noisily from the table to the floor.

“Stop!” called out the officer. “You will upset everything! Let me finish filling out all his forms!”

The guards withdrew, and the officer ordered me to gather my clothes off the floor. I bent for my clothes and heard one guard, upon opening the door to the *molotoboyka* cell or, as it was also called here, *vykonavska* cell, call out to the officer that he should deliver me there.

“That can wait!” said the officer, calmly motioning with his hand, and quickly opening the door to the corridor, led me to the cell assigned to me.

In the cell I found only Volodymyr Nedorostkov, still unconscious, lying

on his back on the lower berth. Finally Ivan Strygin was led in. He got off worse than I did, appearing in the cell with a deep cut on his hand.

And so, Strygin and I inspected the cell. Why was it so wet? Where did the water come from?

The water was everywhere. It gathered in large globules on the ceiling and, being unable to hold its own weight, fell upon the berths, upon the concrete floor, and upon our heads. It flowed in thin streams on the walls all the way to the floor and filled all the uneven spaces in the concrete. I touched the upper berth support—and a stream of water flowed from my hand all the way to my elbow. All berths were wet. A large and thick blob of mildew hung from the bottom of the upper berth.

The construction of the cell was strong and secure. Most of the space was taken up by wide, solid, enforced with thick iron strips, berths. Across from the door, a narrow passage led to the opposite wall where, high underneath the ceiling, there was a small window, with double bars and a tightly fitting muzzle covered by dense steel mesh. The opening of the window looked out upon the overhanging bottom of a tiled roof, so neither daylight nor air was able to penetrate inside the cell. There were double doors; the outer ones constructed from heavy planks, covered on both sides with zinc-plating; the inner ones consisting of heavy steel bars. The floor was solid, uneven concrete.

We took off our shoes, placed them underneath our heads, and laid down to sleep. We haven't had any sleep for many days and nights! But, regardless of our extreme exhaustion, sleep would not come. I got up and walked around on the wet concrete. Strygin remained on his berth. Finally, Nedorostikov showed the first signs of life. He moved his arms, which were crossed on his chest not unlike a corpse, and started to mumble something unintelligible.

"What do you want to say, Volodya?"

"Please put on some tea for me," he said somewhat more clearly, in a tone of voice as if he were talking to one of his family

"What are you saying, Volodya? Do you know where you are?"

"I know."

"Where?"

"Home," he answered and fell silent.

Suddenly, the barred judas-window in the door opened and there appeared a young, gentle and surprisingly friendly female face.

"Do you need medical help?" the face asked kindly.

"No," we answered. "To tell the truth, one of us is unconscious, but how can you help him? He has been severely beaten."

The face looked perplexed.

"A minute ago, he asked for tea," we added.

The face looked around and whispered:

"Today, I won't be able to help you with anything. But tomorrow I will bring some sugar from home, boil some water here, and bring it to your

cell. I won't be able to make real tea, or I'll be discovered through its aroma."

The judas-window closed.

"Who is it?" we wondered. "A prison doctor or an angel from heaven? How did she wind up here? Surely, it was some kind of misunderstanding!"

"Y-e-s," said Strygin, "she will not last here long."

The next day, we gave Nedorostkov some sweet boiled water. He began to talk coherently . . .

About a week and a half later our wonderful doctor disappeared. Her place was taken by a female doctor from zone 4, who, because of her shortness and somewhat square face, was named by the prisoners "Tumbochka".\* This doctor conducted herself correctly and completely justified the administration's trust.

Prisoners here were led out for walks for only fifteen minutes a day and only in handcuffs. At first, Strygin and I did not leave our cell at all, since we could not abandon the sick Nedorostkov alone and, on the other hand, were not very desirous of meeting up with our guards. However we looked at it, we felt much more secure in our cell.

In about a week, we were supplied with mattresses filled with saw-dust, which sucked up the water and in a short time began to smell rotten. A week later, we were visited by the Director of Gulag's Sanitary Section Lieutenant-Colonel of Medical Forces Bezpaloa, and asked what were we complaining about.

"We are well, only the one who is lying down, is very ill and complains of extreme pain in the vicinity of his kidneys; most likely he is suffering from internal bleeding," Strygin and I answered and, raising Nedorostkov, took off his shirt and showed her his contused body.

"Does it hurt—here?" she asked, striking him with all her strength with the edge of her hand on the black-and-blue swelling over his right kidney.

Nedorostkov doubled up with pain and screamed.

We threw Bezpaloa out of the cell, assuring her that we did not need her help.

Having crossed the threshold of the cell, Bezpaloa nodded to Shirayayev and said:

"Now! . . . Now you can take them out of there."

We were transferred to another cell which, contrary to the former one, was completely dry. Nobody looked in on us. We could sleep day and night; no one showed the slightest interest in us.

But during one evening, we heard all the judas-windows in cells doors being opened and the hushed voice of the guard:

"Go to sleep! Go to sleep!"

We laid down, fell silent, but did not sleep—listening—what had they thought of now?

\* Bedside cabinet

Finally, we hear—they come! We listened to their quick steps and rustling of clothes, and judged that five persons were coming, all of them in a very aroused state. Suddenly, they stopped before one of the opposite cells. With clanking and squeaking, the door opened; someone was taken from the cell and led to the exit... Then we heard them outside. We were listening with such fear and tension that all sounds were instantly transformed into visible pictures.

Here, we “saw”, as he was led behind the guardhouse, turned left, and followed the line of the forbidden zone. At the edge of the forbidden zone, they again turned left, another turn on the second level, and then they appeared on our side. Now he is led down a path, used by the guards when they are changing their stations. This path leads over the summit of the embankment, upon which the prison is built. Further—a large hole. Probably, the name of the prison was derived from this hole.

Then the guards stopped, pushed the doomed one down the embankment, and shouted:

“Go, run!”

The prisoner resisted, did not want to run. A dog was set upon him. The prisoner screamed from pain and ran... Three carbine shots were heard from the corner watch-tower... Shortly later on, a truck backed toward the site of the occurrence. A dead body was thrown into it. The truck drove away.

Following this event, we slept only during the day, using the nights for watching and listening; whose turn is it going to be now? This time, the turn was mine!

But in the meantime, we were transferred to yet another cell, in which we found one of the activists of the resistance in zone I, a native of Ryazan, by the name of Izmaylov. He loved Yesenin and simply overwhelmed us with his poetry. I will always remember Yesenin's words, which he addressed to Demyan Byedny:

“You raised your hand at the Heavenly King,  
But, you crawl on your belly before earthly kings.”

Or this,

“...An old man asks and furrows his forehead:  
‘Are you not a communist?’ — ‘No’.  
‘But my sisters became Komsomol members.’  
‘What rot! You can choke on it!’

Yesterday we threw away all the holy pictures from the shelves.”

Sometimes, after finishing reading a poem, Izmaylov noted:

“This was not Yesenin's. It's — mine.”

One day our literary education was interrupted by a shrill female scream. We jumped up.

“What is it? Did they bring women here?”

We saw a lot, lived through a lot, and have got used to almost everything. But it is impossible to get used to female screams and cries. In

prison, the sobbing of a woman breaks your heart unendurably, awakening in your soul sorrow and indignation. Immediately we became electrified and started a row in the cell.

Shiryayev arrived.

“Why are you beating up the women?” we asked. “Did your fists itch? Then lead us out and beat us up as much as you want to, but do not touch the women! We won’t allow it!”

“Nobody is beating them,” answered Shiryayev quietly. “One woman screamed, because she did not want to be undressed.”

“Oh, you filth! Who gave you the right to undress them? Are they going to smuggle an atomic bomb in their clothing, or what? However, if you are that afraid, bring your ugly wives here to search them, but do not touch them with your dirty hands!”

Shiryayev silently closed the judas-window in the cell door and left. There were no more screams. The eight women were quietly housed in two cells.

They were: Maria Nich, who was the “soul” of zone 6 during the strike, Maria Chorna, Stefa Koval, Nusya Mazepa, Lesya Zelinska and Lina Petrashchuk — all of them, our young Ukrainians. With them there was an older Latvian woman, Iryna Dauge and an Estonian called Esta (last name unknown to me).

After crushing the resistance in men’s zones 4 and 5, Kuznyetsov concentrated all his attention on the female zone 6. Since the women did not wish to voluntarily submit, brute strength was used against them. It is lucky they were not shot at, only rushing hot water was poured over them from fire-engine hoses. Even though the women finally gave up, they defended their activist leaders so the administration was unable to arrest them. Only later, the administration managed to somehow get their hands on them and brought them here, to the *hole*.

Then all that remained was one zone, zone 3.

Early morning, August 4th, a truck drove into the prison courtyard. Turmoil, running. *Molotoboyka* started its process. Sounds of mute tramping, screams and moanings carried to the cell.

The convicts have arrived.

Lithuanian Yozas Kozlauskas, whose fourth rib had been broken, was thrown into our cell. We bound his chest with towels, and that constituted the entire medical attention he received.

The *molotoboyka* was working at full capacity for two days and two nights, for two days and two nights the convicts were being “processed” there.

Just before the reception of the next group, a number of prisoners were walking by underneath our window. One of them expressed the following compliment about one of the guards:

“Well, I didn’t realize that this sergeant is such a wonderful butcher!”

Our cell was replenished by five additional prisoners.

They recounted to us that, after zone 6 was defeated, Kuznyetsov began intensive preparation for the takeover of their zone. Suddenly, before the

eyes of all the prisoners, a courier ran up to Kuznyetsov and handed him an envelope. Kuznyetsov, after reading the message, got into his car and drove away . . . He hasn't been seen in Norilsk since.

For a time, the convicts were left in peace. They gathered at their club, where the strike committee, the nucleus of which comprised Stepan Semeniuk, Danylo Shumuk and Roman Zahoruyko, was continually active; they were sending kites with leaflets and were preparing to battle with the soldiers, in the event of an attempt to drive the prisoners out of the zone by force. They believed so strongly in the justice of their demands, that they did not even think about weapons being used against them.

Even when, on the morning of August 4th, some unknown person hung a white flag on a nearby factory smoke-stack, meaning to serve as a signal to them to "surrender", they thought that the flag was hung by someone trying to encourage them.

But suddenly the gates opened and trucks, filled with drunken soldiers armed with automatic weapons, drove into the zone. The prisoners tried to stop them, but were answered by sub-machine gun-fire. The first to die, near the guardhouse, was the prisoner Khudoba. When the trucks drove in further, the soldiers opened fire at the whole mass of people. All of the prisoners fell to the ground; the dead, the wounded and live ones. When, in such manner, the prisoners' resistance was broken, soldiers jumped off the trucks and spread throughout the entire zone, thus preventing anybody from getting up off the ground. Officers then entered the zone, shooting critically wounded prisoners and searching for prisoners whom they wished to execute.

However crushed and paralyzed the people were, one prisoner found the courage to jump at a soldier. He took the soldier's sub-machine gun, removed the ammunition, threw it to one side and the gun to another — in this manner manifesting his contempt for unrestrained violence.

The camp medic, Yozas Kozlauskas, completely ignored the deadly danger. He constantly ran among the wounded prisoners administering first aid. For this action, he paid with his broken ribs.

We do not know and are unable to accurately guess how many were killed and wounded. Approximately, there were one hundred killed and about four hundred wounded. In this battle fell the famous Rumanian captain, who refused his release. All prisoners told stories with awe about this noble Rumanian, but, to everyone's sorrow, nobody could recall his name.

After the administration gained full control of the zone, a *selection* of the resistance activists began. The selected were first thrown into a hole near the guardhouse, where they were jumped upon, kicked and trampled, as cruelly as was possible. Particular savagery was shown by guards and overseers, when blood was noted on a prisoner; the cruelty of their treatment of wounded prisoners was especially brutal. When the wounded asked Bezpalova, who was standing over the hole, watching, how she was reacting, as a doctor, to all that, she answered:

“Firstly, I am a *chekist*,\* and only then a doctor”.

After such processing, the prisoners were loaded into trucks and taken to a prison, where they again had to suffer the prison *molotoboyka*.

Since, already at that time, Kuznyetsov was not at Norilsk, the entire operation was under the leadership of Chief of Norilsk Guard Garrison Lieutenant-Colonel Artiushyn.

But, nobody fell into depression. People told stories of how they were shot at, how they were beaten and trampled, not with sadness, not with sorrow, not even with anger, only with jovial humour. In the cells, accompanied by crunching of broken bones and moaning of the wounded, cheerful spirits prevailed. No one cried and no one grieved.

One time I was called out of the cell and, together with prisoner Kovalenko (from zone 5), driven to the administration building. There, I was interrogated by Lieutenant-Colonel Zavolskyj.

“Who was your bodyguard” he asked.

“All five thousand prisoners.”

“But, specifically?”

“That is specifically.”

“It’s too bad, damn too bad, that no one removed you from this world — then we wouldn’t have had all the trouble in Norilsk.”

Later, in our prison itself, some captain called out Yozas Kozlauskas and began to attack him:

“Oh, you, fascist pig! So, you wanted to overthrow the Soviet government?”

“We are fighting for the liquidation of all prisons and camps, and you — for their conservation. Now, think for yourself, who are the fascists — we or you?”

“Do you know what you are saying?” the captain became angry. “Do you know what it would mean to dissolve all prisons and camps? It would mean the end of Soviet rule!”

It is impossible to express in better terms the meaning of Soviet power!

We were taken out for walks in pairs, handcuffed together. Since there were nine of us (Nedorostkov had already started to walk), the last one was handcuffed alone. Although I was not the last one, the guard must have felt sorry for me and said:

“Hrycyak, you probably would rather prefer to walk alone, instead of paired off? Yes? Come on, I will handcuff you singly.”

As soon as we started to walk in the excursion court, which was separated from the main prison courtyard by a few strands of barbed wire, there appeared on our path prison warden Shirayev and his assistant Beyner. We became tense and stopped walking.

Short in stature, but heavily built, Shirayev came first, followed by the tall, bony and somewhat stooped Beyner. Both of them were very pale

\* Cheka — A composite term that covers all Soviet internal security agencies, from the earliest, the Cheka, to the present day KGB. Chekist — a member of the Cheka.

and, as they walked, kept looking at the ground. Some inexplicable fear emanated from them. We did not take our eyes from them. When they passed us, we noticed that both of them were armed with "TT" pistols. So, that's the way it was! Time for a fresh sacrifice . . . !

"Go back!" shouted the guard, after Shirayev and Beyner entered the prison.

We went back. Everybody in pairs, but I, alone and the last. When everyone walking in front of me proceeded from the reception area to the corridor, Beyner stopped me with a light touch of his hand and quietly whispered:

"You, Hrycyak, remain!"

In that instant, eight perspiring faces turned toward me. In their widely staring eyes — fear and a silent "farewell!". I too was looking at them, wanting to remember all of them. The most distinct in my memory there, as if paralyzed. Finally, Beyner said:

"Okay, enough, go back to your cells!"

One more silent "farewell" and the corridor doors closed.

"Why here?" I was thinking to myself, "and not in the *molotoboyka*, where such things usually take place. Maybe they want to leave traces of their dirty work right here, for everyone to see, as a warning to others? . . ."

Shirayev and Beyner walked toward the table. I did not take my eyes off them. Shirayev pointed with his right-hand index finger at a paper that lay on the table and looked at Beyner questioningly.

"Just don't be afraid!" I tried to encourage myself. "You knew what you were getting into. Face your death like a man, as one of the invariable phases of existence. The main thing now — not to shudder."

Finally Shirayev turned half-heartedly, took a few steps, sat on one of the three stairs that led to his office, placed his elbows on his knees and lowered his head. Beyner sat down heavily in a chair near the table and also lowered his head. Both of them sat silently, tensely.

And I, in the meantime, took a trip into my past and during the few minutes met with my family and friends, reliving the most memorable scenes from my life.

Here I am at thirteen. I walk very slowly, just placing one foot in front of the other, near the home of O.V. For some reason, I have a great desire to see her. She climbed the fence and cheerfully smiled at me. I came alongside her, my face red with embarrassment, and continued walking very quickly. As if it were only a coincidence . . .

Now, the unforgettable April 13, 1944. I was being arrested in the neighbouring village of Pidvysoka by Stetsev militia, accompanied by representatives of Horodenka KGB. They lead me toward the home of Vasyl Nyavchuk, stand me by the wall and, pointing a carbine and a pistol at my chest, demand:

"Where were you? Talk! . . ."

And then, I am a soldier in the Red Army and take part in the most senseless war in the history of mankind, where on both sides millions of

people are killed, not for freedom, but for the strengthening of their own oppression, not for life, but for their own kind of self-destruction, not for democracy, but for their own type of prisons and concentration camps, not for the people, but for their great tyrannical leaders and their bloody dictatorships! . . .

My cycle of remembrances closes with a dream, which I dreamt the day before my second arrest. I am crossing a bridge from the right side of the river to the left. Suddenly I see — Death chasing me. I run, she runs after me. Now I am running by the river bank, I have already crossed the river, and then again I am running on the bridge. Death is still chasing me. However, finding myself on the bridge for the third time, I realize that nothing will come from my trying to escape. I will finally exhaust myself and then Death will catch up and easily overpower me. It is better to fight her when I still have some strength left. In the middle of the bridge, I turn, face her and take up a fighting stand. Death comes close to me and I keep hitting her with my fists. Death turns around and runs away . . .

Finally Beyner moved. He sighed deeply, like a blacksmith's bellows, and raising his head, looked with his cold, steely eyes at Shirayev. Shirayev, also raising his head, sighed deeply, and moving his head somewhat to the side, shrugged his shoulders and spread his arms, as if saying: "I don't know, do whatever you want to."

Beyner rose from his chair and stood erect. His tall, slim posture, with high cheekbones and thin face, reminded me a little of my Death.

Finally, Death-Beyner stepped toward me. I stood quietly, calmly. Prison reception room, Shirayev, Beyner and I — for me, all were only shadows, not live reality. I imagined that all of this happened a long time ago and now I was only remembering it. This whole scene was only a continuation of my previous reminiscences. The world of reality did not exist for me anymore, everything was only an illusion.

Beyner did not lift his pistol from the holster, but took out a key from his pocket and, opening the corridor doors, told me to precede him. I exited and he behind me.

More than once I heard that some executioners of death sentences were unable to perform their assigned deeds when their victims looked them straight in the eye. Were they afraid that those horrible eyes would awaken in them some pangs of conscience, or maybe they were irritated by the hysteria to which some victims were submitted during their last moments — I couldn't say. But I heard a lot of talk that in prisons very frequently executions were carried out by a shot in the back, when a prisoner was walking down a corridor and could not see what was happening behind him. Among the prisoners of Norilsk, the idea prevailed that in this specific corridor, many people ended their lifespans.

However, I had a different fate in store for me. When I came opposite the doors to the 12th cell, Beyner stopped me, opened the doors and took off my handcuffs. Entering the cell, I stopped near the threshold.

I wanted to lie down as soon as possible and forget about everything,

but did not wish to near the berths upon which people were resting. That's why I went toward the right side of the cell, where the large toilet drum was located, sat down upon its massive cover and, circling my knees with my arms, gave myself up to forgetfulness. I did not want to either see or hear any people. I would rather have buried myself deeply underground, where no noise, no movement, not even daylight could penetrate. I passionately desired complete loneliness, silence and darkness; wishing to forget myself and penetrate the infinity of nothingness . . .

My cellmates probably understood my condition and did not bother me with any questions.

The hesitation of the executioners of my verdict we later explained to ourselves as *indecisiveness* on the part of the hierarchy.

## VII. THE TRANSPORT

September 6th, we were unexpectedly told to prepare for transport and our regrouping began. I was transferred to a large cell, where many of the prisoners designated for transport were housed. Having in this manner collected thirty-four men, the guards led us into the courtyard and checked us off in accordance with their list. At the conclusion of the check-off, the officer announced:

"All of you will ride in the third coach. Hrycyak is appointed as the coach foreman."

Coach foremen were usually assigned those prisoners who were serving minimal sentences and at least in some measure merited the administration's trust. The coach foreman's obligations belittled the prisoner fulfilling them in the eyes of the other prisoners, even though he did not play any practical role in the protection of the prisoners during transport.

I was serving the maximum sentence — twenty-five years. In addition, by my actions in the camp, I, in no way, merited any sort of trust from the administration. But, contrary to all common sense and established procedure, I was appointed coach foreman.

"Most likely, they wish to lower my esteem in the eyes of the other prisoners and evoke their suspicions toward me," I thought and did not give this matter any further consideration.

There were seven groups prepared for transport. Each group was escorted to the coach by a separate guard. We took up places in the coach wherever room could be found and began to guess where we were being taken. In the meantime, the guards were filling up other coaches. We all were most anxious to leave Norilsk as soon as possible.

An older prisoner approached me and said:

"You, foreman, did you count how many of us are in this coach?"

"Why should I do the counting?" I answered him impudently. "I did not apply as an aid to the transport chief. Let them do the counting themselves, if they want."

“Don’t get your rile up,” the elder continued, “but better think, how all this can end for you. The fact is that we were supposed to be thirty-four, and there are only thirty-three of us. I heard that Didukh was checked-off to our coach, then why is he not with us? Where could he have gone to? Let’s use our brains. We all realize that he did not run away or separate himself of his own accord. Simply, he was taken to another coach. But, when the train stops in the tundra and the guards will be verifying the count, then it will reveal that one is missing from among us, and you did not report that fact. Then you will be taken out of the coach and either shot or beaten up so severely, that you won’t even make Dudinka.”

So, that’s the way it was. Norilsk had no desire to release me alive. And, I was so naïve to think that it only wanted to humble me!

I got up and made a thorough check. Indeed one was missing. I asked the guard to summon the transport chief. The chief did not come. I again summoned him—he didn’t come. After the fourth summons, he finally appeared and asked angrily:

“What happened?”

“We are missing one man. Verify for yourself!”

“Okay,” he mumbled casually and walked away.

I continued to persistently call to him and demand a check.

Finally, he returned and, savagely biting his smallish mustache, conducted a check-off. Didukh was not among us. The chief slammed the coach doors and after a short while brought Didukh to us, who was originally taken to another coach by the chief himself.

My danger passed.

At Dudinka, we were kept on the train for another thirty-six hours, trying to figure out what will happen to us. If we would wind up in some broken down, rotten barge, then our chances of staying alive were very slim.

On September 8, 1953, exactly a year after we arrived, we were placed in the hold of the passenger ship “Maria Ulyanova”.

A large stone was lifted from our chests. Well, since we were not shot at Norilsk and will not be drowned in the Yenisei,—then, we will live!

The Volodymyr prison was awaiting us.

*What then?*

The relaxation of the regime, which Moscow was forced to grant, did not spread throughout the entire Gulag, but was only a temporary privilege of the prisoners of Norilsk and Vorkuta (the prisoners of Vorkuta also rebelled). Throughout the other Gulag special camps, the regime remained unchanged. And far from all of our demands were satisfied; no attempts were even made to conduct reviews of our individual sentences, and no promises were even given to cease the practice of closed trials.

After the bloody retribution upon prisoners of Norilsk and Vorkuta, and incarceration of the most dangerous ones at the Volodymyr prison, Moscow lost all apprehension and did not grant any further concessions.

Only after the events which took place the very next year, 1954, when the prisoners of Kingir staged a peaceful resistance, and when prisoners of one Kolyma camp disarmed their guards and, having obtained weapons, took to the hills, did Moscow finally understand that to hold in one place such a vast multitude of dissatisfied political prisoners is very, very dangerous and came to the intelligent decision — to expand the relaxation of regime throughout all Gulag special camps and take up reviews of individual sentences of all political prisoners.

In 1958, a representative of Ivano-Frankivsk KGB, chekist Pyastolov suggested to me:

“Let’s talk about Norilsk.”

In answer to my observation that those are the “deeds of days long past”, Pyastolov said:

“Yes, it was long ago, and we could have shrugged Norilsk off, if only it did not cause the infectiousness of *freedom*.”

Coming into contact with changes in social consciousness of people, which precede inevitable social relations, communists always descend from positions of their historical materialism and perceive in everything only infectiousness, treason, crime.

However, Norilsk did not cause only the infectiousness of *freedom*; it was also the herald of great changes to come in the social consciousness and psychology of peoples everywhere enslaved by communist imperialism!

1978

*Yevhen Hrycyak*

## APPENDIX “A”

Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme  
Soviet of the U.S.S.R  
Mykola Viktorovych Podgorny

Hrycyak, Yevhen Stepanovych  
resident of the village of Ustya  
Snyatyn County  
Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast\*  
Ukrainian SSR

14

## DECLARATION

Please supply me with a permit for my family and myself to emigrate from the USSR. My declaration is elucidated by the following motives:  
In 1949, I was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. I 1956, I was released

\* Oblast — the term “oblast’ or in some cases “province” refers to a large territorial unit of Ukraine and of other countries within the USSR.

by the Commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In 1959, I was arrested on the basis of a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. In 1964, I was released by the Supreme Court of the USSR.

However, I was released from prison only, not from persecution and harrassment. Below is a synopsis of my life in the Soviet Union after two releases:

For some inexplicable reason, in August 1958, in the newspaper *Prykarpatska Pravda* (Trans-Carpathian Truth), the organ of Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Oblast Soviet of Working People's Deputies, appeared an article about the progress of construction of the Palace of Culture in the village of Stetsev. Because I was directing the construction, the article mentioned me also. But, in what manner did it mention me! There I was an engineer and a master, and it was not my first construction. Until now, I have built a lot in the village of Rakhny, Vinnytska Oblast, for which I was being rewarded with an unending stream of letters of appreciation from the toilers...

I was ashamed to read such concocted praise. What sort of engineer am I? I never even attended an institute, I did not even complete secondary education. Nevertheless, the newspaper was proclaiming me an engineer. And, what did I build in the village of Rakhny? Absolutely nothing. There, I worked as a loader, brick-layer and painter. I did not work at the construction, with the exception of having painted one building roof. But, to believe the newspaper, I was building and building there...

I cannot imagine what forced the publishers of such a responsible newspaper to print such an irresponsible article. In addition, I do not know why, after the said article had appeared, I was notified that my "propyska" (local registration certificate) has been annulled, because I was unemployed...

I was forced to leave my hometown. I found work and registered in the city of Karaganda, where, on January 28, 1959, was arrested on the basis of a decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR. The decree stated that the decision of the Commission of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, dated August 7, 1956, based upon which I was released, is being annulled in view of my grave crime.

In this manner, my sentence of December 12, 1949, was re-established — 25 years of imprisonment. During the long years of my repeated imprisonment, I unsuccessfully demanded an explanation of what exactly constituted the gravity of my crime. Instead of an explanation, I consistently received the same answer: Sentenced properly. Everything became clear only on October 6, 1964, when I was released on the basis of the decision of the Military Tribunal of the Supreme Court of the USSR. The minutes of the Tribunal meeting state (I am quoting from memory the words of the Prosecutor): "He (namely I) was accused that, after release, he did not work anywhere, did not cease his anti-Soviet activities, and established in the Vinnytska Oblast the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists... After

careful examination, it came to light that in fact he was working very hard, was not involved in any anti-Soviet activities, did not establish any organization, neither was it found that he spoke out against the Soviet government. The only thing that could be found was the fact that he was unhappy due to having been refused permission to live in his native village."

Any commentaries are obviously superfluous. And what next?

In the beginning, the newspaper *Prykarpatska Pravda* of May 30, 1976, published an article by I. Kolodyazhnyj, entitled "A Rotten Contact", where the author writes against me and my close friend from the time of imprisonment — Avraham Shifrin. In this article, I am no longer an engineer, nor a master, but a son of a peasant capitalist, a deserter and bourgeois nationalist. Quoting from the said article — "He had a chance to make up for his transgression through work. He was allowed to continue his education. There, at the corrective labour colony, he completed his secondary education. How did he reciprocate? By constantly violating the established order, by disseminating slander against the Soviet order."

Although I can see that Kolodyazhnyj is well informed about my dossier, he is, for some reason, unable to separate, according to his own writing, where is Rome, where is Crimea, and where grows the parson's pear tree. In order to clarify things, I will attempt to enumerate some coordinates:

In the characterization, which I was supplied with upon my release, the following lines appear:

"...through 1956 systematically violated the established order, which caused him to be disciplined more than once.

From 1956, Hrycyak changed his behaviour in a positive manner. Worked in different jobs, was conscientious in his work."

Another document is my certificate of completion of my secondary education, received in 1961.

When comparing these documents with Kolodyazhnyj's article, then the following may be derived from it: In 1961 I completed my secondary education, but prior and through 1956 I was reciprocating for the said education by systematically violating the established regime and viciously slandering Soviet order. It seems, the reciprocation preceded the receipt! As a matter of fact, I never violated the regime, only instigated resistance against it; I never disseminated slanderous materials, only protested. To illustrate the latter, I am quoting below a portion of my letter of protest addressed to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR, dated December 1, 1961:

"In connection with the fact that as of July, 1953, I am being continuously persecuted for my participation in the uprising of the Norilsk prisoners, and in connection with the fact that the security organs, until the present, still continue to show the Norilsk occurrence in a false light, classifying it as anti-Soviet activity, — I decided to write a letter of protest against the actions of the KGB to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of USSR.

Below is a concise account of the true causes and character of occurrences taking place in Norilsk in 1953.

Now it is unnecessary to prove that the mass arrests which took place in our country during Stalin's lifetime, were completely unjustified and groundless, that the methods of conducting interrogations were unlawful and inhuman, all that was denoted by plenums and congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. However, this still needs to be mentioned specifically, because these criminal methods of arrests and interrogations were the principal links in the endless chain of transgressions against social law and morality. Next links in this chain of arbitrariness were the military tribunals and the so-called Special Consultation Commission or OSO of the NKVD of the USSR, which "convicted" certain persons in secret, behind closed doors, and even by default, namely without the presence of the defendant.

The people had no knowledge of the persons convicted for their political beliefs, nor did the 'people's representatives' — the Soviets of Working People's Deputies — know anything about this category of individuals. Even the families of such convicted individuals were never informed of the reasons for the arrest of such an individual or about the fate of such an individual. The property of such a family was confiscated and such a family was told that your husband, son or brother was an enemy of the people. If you do not denounce him — you will be dismissed from employment and sent to Siberia.

So, humiliated, offended in his human dignity, deprived of freedom, property, family, friends, enveloped in a feeling of depression and doom, such a convicted individual was sent to the so-called distant regions of the USSR, where, with renewed force, he was crushed by a diabolic machine oppressing his individuality, and where the constant and unchangeable companions of the prisoner were rigid isolation from his people, humiliation of his human dignity, insults, beatings, hunger, cold, unendurable work, executions, etc. It has to be noted that this phenomenon of violation of socialist laws and norms of human relations was not only not prosecuted, but in some instances encouraged. Every attempt at protest was viewed as an anti-Soviet act and provoked new repressions.

In such lawless situations found themselves all prisoners of all special concentration camps, which were situated throughout the enormous territory of the USSR, from Mordovia to Kamchatka.

One such concentration camp was the Gorlag of MVS, in the city of Norilsk located on the Taymyr Peninsula, far beyond the polar ice cap.

The condition of the prisoners in this camp was just as terrible and desperate as in all the other concentration camps of similar category. The only thing that kept up the spirit of the prisoners — was their faith in the victory of truth and justice. The arbitrariness which reigned in our land during Stalin's cult and, which most severely affected the

fate of the prisoners, constituted only a temporary distortion of socialist order and could not continue. The people considered the principal culprit of such a situation to be Stalin. Many people were convicted and imprisoned for expressing themselves against Stalin and for wishing his swift demise.

In March, 1953, Stalin died, but the situation of the prisoners did not improve, to the contrary, it deteriorated.

Here are some examples:

In spring of 1953, in zone\* 5, there was organized, in a most urgent manner, a penal sector, and already in May, prisoners were being transferred there from various zones of the Gorlag.

So, on May 23, a group of prisoners from zone 1 was being transferred to the above mentioned penal sector. Among them was one very religious prisoner who, under no circumstances, wanted to be separated from his friend (also a very deeply religious prisoner), who was to be left behind in zone 1. The friend pleaded with First Lieutenant Shirayev that he also be transferred to the penal sector in order not to be separated from his comrade. The First Lieutenant allowed him to accompany his friend to the penal sector and ordered him to enter the truck. The prisoner rejoiced and started walking toward the truck, at which time, he was shot by First Lieutenant Shirayev.

The next day, a group of thirteen prisoners was being sent from zone 4 to the penal sector. This group was supposed to walk through the tundra. At that time snow was melting and in some places the tundra was covered by water. And, upon leaving the road and turning into the tundra, the convoy guard directed the prisoners straight into the water. Before the water's edge, the prisoners halted and asked the convoy guard for permission to proceed through dry land. The convoy guard, in accordance with his traditional behaviour, abused the prisoners with curses and threats, forcing them to go into the water. The prisoners refused and, in order not to give the convoy guard any excuse to use his weapon, sat down in the snow and declared that they will sit there until an officer appears. The officer came, listened to the complaints of the prisoners, took a carbine from one of the soldiers, and shot in the head prisoner Sarfoniuk, who sat in the front, killing him instantaneously.

At the same time, information was received that in zone 3, in the presence of General Semenov, fifteen prisoners were wounded and six killed.

This sort of willfulness provoked unrest among the prisoners of Gorlag. No one knew when, where and at whom the next shot will be fired. But, the wait was not long. In zone 5, submachine gun fire

\* Zone— Although in his Declaration the author uses the descriptive term "camp section" in lieu of zone, for purposes of consistency, the term "zone" is used throughout. (Translators' note).

was opened upon a group of prisoners, who found themselves near the living barracks. Of them, six men were wounded and one killed . . .”

This was the sort of regime against which the prisoners of Norilsk rebelled. For my humble participation in this uprising, Kolodyazhnyj accuses me of violating the established order.

In this manner, Kolodyazhnyj is allowed to shuffle the facts in my personal dossier. So, what is he going to do when there are no facts? Fabricate them!

For example, he is annoyed by my friendship with Avraham Shifrin, which he portrays thus: “Tell me who is your friend, and I will tell you who you are.” A question asserts itself that, if a Zionist and spy Shifrin maintains contact with Hrycyak, who then is Hrycyak?

I think, additional comments are unnecessary.

This lie is so brazen and irresponsible, that I will not even attempt to deny it. I am not used to such fabricated accusations. In 1959, I was secretly and groundlessly accused of establishing in the Vinnytska Oblast the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and in such way the road to my arrest was paved. Now, although openly, but also groundlessly, I am being accused of spying . . . Tactics have changed, but the ruling hand remains the same. It is not hard to guess why this is being done.

However, harder to guess is the fact why my relationship with Shifrin so annoys Kolodyazhnyj. Why the fact that a prisoner is friends with another prisoner, that a Ukrainian is friends with a Jew, is not to his liking? Would he prefer that we fought like dogs? But this did not and will not happen, his hopes are futile!

When reading Kolodyazhnyj’s article from beginning to end, it may be supposed that the cause for such an article was my entry visa for immigrating to Israel, which I received way back in 1973. If this is the case, then why did Kolodyazhnyj keep silent for so long? What does he know now that he did not know before, which he currently so resents?

I asked for a permit to emigrate to Israel, utilizing my rights as a citizen, in accordance with the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, signed by representatives of all democratic governments of the world, inclusive of the government of the Soviet Union. If any violation existed, then such violation was made by those ruling organs which denied my right to emigrate.

In addition, I am forbidden another one of my rights granted me by the Resolution of the Fifteenth Conference of UNESCO, namely my right to maintain free contact with Avroville. As explanation, attached please find the text of my appeal in this matter to the rulers of the Soviet Union and India.

“Secretary General of the  
Central Committee of the  
Communist Party of USSR  
Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev  
and  
Mrs. Indira Gandhi  
Prime-Minister of India

At the Fifteenth Conference of UNESCO, which was held in October and November, 1968 in Paris, a Resolution, proposed by the government of India, was unanimously adopted; the said Resolution provided for worldwide co-operation in the assistance of the development of the city of Avroville.

At this Conference, O. O. Fomin, chief of the Soviet delegation, stated: ‘The Soviet delegation supports in its entirety the project of the Resolution proposed by India’.

The above mentioned Resolution specifically envisioned that in Avroville ‘peoples of different countries will live in close cooperation and work in the fields of culture, education, etc.’ and that ‘the countries-members, that attach great meaning to true information and free exchange of ideas and knowledge, declare their agreement and resolve to disseminate and strengthen the means of inter-relationships among its peoples’.

From the time of the adoption of said Resolution passed seven years, but the exchange of ideas and knowledge never materialized. For example, the first brief announcement about Avroville came to us through the magazine ‘India’ (No. 2, 1972). Then I wrote to Avroville, requesting detailed information about the construction of this unique city. My letter was kindly answered by secretary Navadzhata. He wrote: ‘... We are sending you a copy of ‘Avroville Newspaper’, which will supply you with some information about the latest achievements, as well as some additional literature about Avroville’.

I have not received the promised information from Navadzhata and wrote to him about it. No answer was received and in this manner our contact ended. To take a private trip to Avroville from the USSR is impossible. Obviously, the unanimously adopted Resolution about cooperation with reference to Avroville to this date remains only a good intention of the governments of different countries, but does not constitute a part of their policy.

Therefore, I am appealing to the leaders of two friendly countries with the request that they direct their attention to the above mentioned UNESCO Resolution and instruct their respective governments to adopt and publish an agreement about facilitation and unrestricted contact for interested citizens of the USSR with Avroville.

By such facilitation and unrestricted contact I understand:

1) unlimited postal service (letters, printed materials, packages, money);

- 2) free and unrestricted private travel of USSR citizens to Avroville and back to the USSR;
- 3) departure of interested citizens to Avroville for permanent residence.

Please do not consider this letter as a reproach or criticism. It is only a reminder about the forgotten UNESCO Resolution and an expression of hope that the governments of your two nations, with concrete resolve and good faith, will strive toward and reach a decisive agreement about the development and achievement of this one absolutely peaceful city on earth — Avroville.

January 3, 1976

(Signature)"

To date, I have not received a reply to my letter.

My situation, as evidenced by my long experience, is such:

1) If I were to work and not maintain contact with anyone, as was the fact in 1958-1959, I will be accused of not working and establishing the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — result — awaiting arrest.

2) If I were to maintain contact with my friends, I will be accused of espionage — result — awaiting arrest.

Having signed the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, the government of the Soviet Union has recognized my right to emigrate. I am appealing to you with reference to only one thing — to provide me with this right.

July 5, 1976

Y. Hryciak

## APPENDIX "B"

The Committee for the Implementation  
of the Helsinki Accords

I, former political prisoner, Yevhen Hryciak, Ukrainian, am hereby appealing for your attention to the following instance of violation of the Helsinki Accords:

At the end of 1973, I received an entry visa for immigration to Israel. In 1974, I petitioned for an exit visa. In 1975, I was denied the said exit visa.

In the middle of May, 1976, in a conversation with Captain Veloboyenko, Chief of Snyatyn County KGB, I reasserted my intention to emigrate from the USSR. Approximately two weeks after my conversation with Veloboyenko, in the newspaper *Prykarpatska Pravda* (Trans-Carpathian Truth), appeared an article which defamed my relationship with Avraham Shifrin,

whom I owe my entry visa for immigration to Israel. Then on January 1, 1977, I was dismissed from work and on February 10, 1977, at a meeting of the Communist Party Committee of the collective farm "Pershe Travnnya" (First of May) of Snyatyn County, a new rumour, compromising Shifrin and me, was spread among the participants.

The Secretary of the Communist Party Committee V. Maleykey stated at said meeting that my friendship with Shifrin is based upon the killing of one convoy guard, who led us to work, whom we jointly were supposed to murder during our imprisonment.

This absurd statement by the Secretary of the Communist Party Committee aroused my suspicion and I see in it an attempt to prepare public opinion, paving the way for my arrest.

February 18, 1977

*Y. Hrycyak*

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## News from Ukraine

### REPRESSED UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

*Following the action taken in the international field by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Liberation Front (OULF), whose aim it is to stand up for and defend national and human rights in Ukraine and those of its subjugated People, UCIS has compiled a detailed reference list of repressed Ukrainians. The first part of this list is printed below and subsequent parts will be printed in future editions of 'The Ukrainian Review'. This is probably the most complete factual collection of names of repressed Ukrainian patriots that has ever appeared in the past.*

THE EDITOR

- 1) ADAMOBYCH Vitaliy Ivanovych, born in 1939, arrested on 4th April in Kyiv, tried under Article 187-I of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted.
- 2) ANISIMOV Anatoliy, born in 1950, lived in the Carpathian region of Ukraine, arrested for political activity in 1970 and interned for an indefinite period of time in a Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital.
- 3) ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH Borys Dmytrovych, born on 5th August 1899 in the Poltava region, a writer, married, the father of 2 daughters and one son. From 1935-1956 he was interned in concentration camps for Ukrainian patriotism. Since his release he has been living in Kyiv under constant surveillance and persecution. His wife has also served a sentence in concentration camps and their son is imprisoned.
- 4) ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH Yevhen Borysovych, born in 1952, student, arrested in 1973 in Kyiv for his nationalist convictions and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment. Released before the end of his sentence, but was then re-arrested and, once in prison, another 5 years was added to his sentence.
- 5) ANTONIUK Zinovij Pavlovych, born in 1933, engineer-economist, his interests lie in philology, married, the father of one son. Arrested on 12th 1972 in Kyiv and sentenced under Article 62-I of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 7 years imprisonment and 3 years exile. At present he is in exile in the Irkuta region.
- 6) ANTONIV Ivan Yakovych, born on 19th August 1919, married, the father of 3 children, presbyter of the Evangelist Baptist Church. Arrested for the 4th time on 29th April 1979 in Kirovohrad for his religious beliefs and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment. His whole family is persecuted as a result of this.
- 7) AVRAMENKO Volodymyr, born in 1930, engineer, arrested in 1972 for political activity and sentenced under Article 62-I of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to forced "treatment" in a psychiatric hospital for an indefinite period of time. He is confined in the Kazanska psychiatric hospital.
- 8) BABIY Oleksa, born in the Lviv area, an active member of the freedom-fighting Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), remained in hiding until 1978 in the village of Shchurovychi in the Lviv region, where he was discovered by the KGB and arrested. His present fate is not known.

- 9) **BABLIV** Ivan, has served a long-term prison sentence, at present lives in the village of Ceniava in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, continuously persecuted: the KGB is pressurizing him to write a statement of renunciation.
- 10) **BABYCH** Serhiy Oleksiovych, born on 13th December 1939, worked as a carpenter in Ternopil where he was arrested in 1960 for political activity. After 16 years of imprisonment, he was released in 1975 and lived in the Zhytomyr region. In the summer of 1976, S. Babych was re-arrested by the KGB and charged with stealing arms. He was sentenced under Article 233-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment. He is at present serving his sentence in concentration camps in the Vynnytsia region.
- 11) **BABYSH** Hryhoriy, born in 1930. In 1950 he was sentenced under Article 56-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment charged with membership of the freedom-fighting Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Since the end of his term of imprisonment he has been continuously persecuted.
- 12) **BAKHTALSKYI** Roman Danylovych, born in 1897, just before the war he was the Father Superior of a monastery in Ivano-Frankivsk for which he was sent to Russian concentration camps. In 1970 he was re-arrested and sentenced to 6 years imprisonment for being a priest of the Underground Ukrainian Catholic Church. Since his release he has been under constant repression.
- 13) **BADZIO** Yuriy Vasylovych, born on 25th April 1936 in the Transcarpathian region of Ukraine, a philologist, married, the father of one son and one daughter. Arrested on 23rd April 1979 in Kyiv and sentenced under Article 62-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 7 years internment in concentration camps and 5 years of internal exile for having written a documentary work about the subjugation and enslavement of Ukraine. He is serving his sentence in the Mordovian camp ZHCH-385/3-5.
- 14) **BALAN** Ivan, born in the Borschiv area, Ternopil region, an artist, arrested in November 1970 for his nationalistic convictions, his present whereabouts are not known.
- 15) **BALASHIV** Mychaylo, member of the Evangelical Baptist Church, arrested in 1972 in Chernihiv for his sermon from the Gospel and sent to prison.
- 16) **BALUSH** Hryhoriy Ivanovych, arrested in 1975 in Lviv and sentenced to long term imprisonment for helping the faithful in villages to re-open closed churches, while himself working as a cashier in the Church of St. Piatnycia in Lviv.
- 17) **BANIAS** Maria, a nun of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, lives in the village of Verkhnie Synovyadne, Rev. Z. Kaleniuk opened a chapel of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church in her house, which was discovered by the KGB and since then (1974) she has been constantly questioned by the KGB and persecuted.
- 18) **BARLADIAN** Vasyl Volodymyrovych, born in 1939, an art historian and art critic, married, has one daughter. Arrested on 2nd March 1977 in Odessa and sentenced under Article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 3 years imprisonment in concentration camps. He was charged with organizing seminars on Ukrainian art. He is serving his sentence in a concentration camp in the Rivne region. On 2nd March 1980 he was supposed to be released but a new court case was brought against him charging him for organizing seminars in the camp.
- 19) **BASARAB** Dmytro Pavlovych, born in 1920 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, arrested on 5th September 1953 and charged with membership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He was sentenced under Article 56-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment in concentration camps. After ending his term of sentence, he returned to the Ivano-Frankivsk region where he has been under constant persecution.
- 20) **BASARAB** Pavlo, a baptist, active in the 1950's, serving a sentence for his religious beliefs in a concentration camp in the Vinnytsia region.

- 21) BELEYOVYCH Ivan, leading member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, arrested while trying to cross the Ukrainian border into Czechoslovakian SSR and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk to long-term imprisonment.
- 22) BENDERSKYI H. M., arrested in 1969 for attempting to escape across the border and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment. Re-arrested in 1971 and confined to a psychiatric hospital without trial. Since then nothing has been heard of him.
- 23) BERDNYK Oles Pavlovych, born on 25th December 1927 in the Kherson region, writer and artist, married, the father of 2 daughters. Oles Berdnyk, a former prisoner of Stalin concentration camps, member and founder of the Ukrainian Public Group Monitoring the Helsinki Accords, arrested on 6th March 1979 and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 6 years imprisonment and 3 years of internal exile.
- 24) BERDYLO Stepan Stepanovych, born on 2nd January 1932 in the Lviv region, economist. Arrested on 26th June 1969 and sentenced in Lviv under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 4 years imprisonment. Accused of distributing underground literature. He is still continuously persecuted.
- 25) BERESLAVSKYI Mykola Oleksandrovych, born in 1924, married, the father of 2 daughters and 1 son, a former soldier in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), for which he served a sentence in concentration camps. After his release he was continuously persecuted. On 10th February 1969 he was sentenced to 2½ years imprisonment for setting himself on fire near Kyiv University in protest against the enslavement of Ukraine. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted.
- 26) BERNIYCHUK Anatoliy, born in 1939, sentenced in 1970 under Article 63 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (charged with "organizing activism...") to 12 years imprisonment. When last heard of, he was in the Permsky camp No. 36.
- 27) BEZHULYI Volodymyr, participant in the liberation struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). For this he was sentenced under Article 56-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment. Last heard of, he was in the Permskyi camp VS 389/35.
- 28) BIBLENKO Ivan Vasylovych, born in 1928, a pastor of the Evangelical Baptist Church in Kryvyi Rih, for which in 1972 he was sentenced to 3 years imprisonment in concentration camps. After his release he was continuously persecuted. On 13th September 1975, during a trip from Kryvyi Rih to Dnipropetrovsk, he was treacherously killed in a so-called automobile 'accident'.
- 29) BILECKYI Oleksa, a former major in the army of Ukrainian National Republic, later he became a priest in Volhynia, after World War II he was arrested and sentenced to long-term imprisonment for training and educating members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Since his release he has been continuously persecuted. Last heard of in December 1978.
- 30) BILENKYI Mykola, sentenced to long term imprisonment for his nationalistic convictions. Spent many years in Mordovian concentration camps.
- 31) BILIAKOV Oleksa, assistant to the Chair in the Department of English at Lviv University, arrested in 1975 and accused of sympathizing with nationalists. After several weeks of questioning he was released but has since been continuously persecuted. He cannot find a job in line with his profession.
- 32) BILOBORODIV Leonid, born in 1952. In 1969 he was sentenced to 2 years imprisonment for attempting to escape across the border. In 1971 court proceedings were once again brought against him, he was sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and interned in a Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. Nothing has been heard of him since 1978.

- 33) BILSKYI Oleksa, born in 1918 in the Lemko region, a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and Ukrainian Insurgent Army for which he was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. He remained imprisoned for 35 years. After his release he was probably allowed to live in Poland.
- 34) BILYNSKYI Vasyl, a priest of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, first sentenced in 1946 to long-term imprisonment for refusing to change his faith to that of the officially-sanctioned Russian Orthodox Church. After his release he lived illegally in the Lviv region, from where he had been banned. In 1974 he was re-arrested and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment charged with illegally celebrating Holy Mass. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted.
- 35) BOHODUKHIV Ivan, participant in the liberation struggle of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, for which he was sentenced to long-term imprisonment in concentration camps. After his release he was forbidden from returning to Ukraine. He is at present living in Karabalty, Kazakhstan SSR.
- 36) BOYCHUK Yuriy Petrovych, born in 1920 in the Ternopil region, married, a father. Arrested in 1970 and sentenced under Articles 56 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 20 years imprisonment. Charged with being a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and many years of underground activity while living under an assumed name in Dnipropetrovsk.
- 37) BOYKO Mykola, born in 1922, married, has several children, arrested on 20th June 1968 in Odessa and sentenced under Articles 209-1 and 138 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years imprisonment and 5 years of internal exile. He was charged with bringing up his children in the Ukrainian faith.
- 38) BONDAR Mykola Vasylovych, born on 21st November 1939, a lecturer in philosophy at Uzhorod University. Arrested on 5th November 1970 in Kyiv for publicly accusing the CPSU for committing crimes. For this he was sentenced to 7 years imprisonment and since his release he has been continuously persecuted.
- 39) BONDARENKO A. I., a baptist, active in the 1950s, does not recognize the official Council, controlled by the Party, for which he was arrested on 16th July 1973 and sentenced under Articles 138 and 209 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years of internal exile. Until his arrest he lived in the Mykolayiv region but at present he is living in exile.
- 40) BONDARENKO Josyf Danylovych, sentenced for his national and religious beliefs to concentration camps where he is found to this day.
- 41) BONDARENKO Victor Ivanovych, born around 1922, arrested for political activity in 1943 and to this day he has been interned in prisons and concentration camps and is an invalid of the 2nd category. He is due to be released in 1991.
- 42) BOROVNYCKYI Yosyp Yulianovych, born in 1932 in Sianok in the Lemko region, a lawyer, worked in a public prosecutor's office in the Lviv area. Arrested and sentenced on 20th May 1961 to 7 years imprisonment for membership of the "Ukrainian Workers and Peasant Union" in Lviv, which demanded the secession of Ukraine from the USSR. Since his release he has been continuously under surveillance and persecution.
- 43) BRUS, arrested for contacts with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and sentenced to long-time imprisonment. After his release he was not permitted to return to Ukraine. He is at present living in Kolyma.
- 44) BUBELA A. L., aged about 60 years, comes from Volhynia, in 1980 he was sentenced to death the sentence being carried out the same year, for membership of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and for nationalistic activity.

*(To be continued)*

## MONKS BEATEN AT POCHAYIV MONASTERY

One monk was beaten to death and another went insane after repeated beatings during a brutal official crackdown at the Pochayiv Monastery in western Ukraine, one of the few functioning monasteries left in the USSR, according to a *samvydav* document recently obtained by Keston News.

Trouble was first reported at the monastery last summer when Keston learned that Hegumen Ambrovsyi, a popular monk, was expelled. The latest document reports that Hegumen Ambrovsyi is now in hiding, and that authorities had ordered helicopter searches for him in remote mountain areas in Soviet Georgia.

The dead monk was identified as Archimandrite Alimpi, in his 40s, who died after being beaten by authorities during an interrogation session in connection with the Ambrovsyi case.

Another monk, identified only as Pitirim, reportedly lost his sanity after being severely beaten on several occasions.

In addition, four other monks have recently been expelled from the monastery on the order of authorities and with the active support of Superior Archimandrite Iakov and Dean Pankrati, both of whom were instrumental in the expulsion of Hegumen Ambrovsyi.

The *samvydav* document goes on to describe continuing repression against the remaining monks in the monastery, including harassment and beatings.

House searches have also been conducted in the homes of priests in Kyiv, the Ukrainian capital, and religious literature has been confiscated.

## SVITLYCHNY SUFFERS SECOND STROKE; AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REQUESTS URGENT ACTION

Amnesty International, which monitors human-rights abuses worldwide, has recently placed exiled Ukrainian dissident Ivan Svitlychny on its urgent action list, and has called for his immediate release after learning that he is desperately ill.

Mr. Svitlychny, 52, reportedly suffered a stroke on December 17, 1981, just four months after undergoing emergency surgery to remove a blood clot on his brain which left his left side partially paralyzed. He is said to be in a critical condition, and AI has learned that his wife has expressed concern that he is not getting the proper medical attention in his place of internal exile in the Gorno-Altaysk region, some 3,640 kilometres east of Moscow.

A leading literary critic and scholar, Mr. Svitlychny was one of a group of young intellectuals who spearheaded the revival in the public and cultural life of Ukraine in the 1960s.

After a long period of harassment by the authorities for his dissenting activities, Mr. Svitlychny was arrested on January 12, 1972, during a major crackdown on Ukrainian dissidents.

Convicted of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", he was sentenced to seven years in a labour camp to be followed by five years internal exile.

While in internal exile, Mr. Svitlychny suffered from kidney ailments and high blood pressure. On August 20, 1981, he suffered his first stroke.

AI has previously campaigned for Mr. Svitlychny's release as a prisoner of conscience, but because of the gravity of his illness, it is urging the Soviet government to release him immediately under Article 100 of the RSFSR Corrective Labour Code. The article states that prisoners suffering from mental illness "or other serious illness preventing the serving of their sentence, can be freed by a court from serving their sentence..."

AI recommends that telegrams or letters be sent urging Mr. Svitlychny's release, to the Soviet minister of internal affairs, the procurator-general of the USSR and the Soviet Embassy. The addresses are:

Minister of internal affairs: USSR (SSSR), 103009 Moskva, U1. Ogarieva 6, , Ministerstvo Vnutrennikh Del SSR, Ministru N. A. Shchelokov;

Procurator-general of the USSR: USSR (SSSR), Moskva, U1. Pushkinskaya 15A, Prokuratura SSSR, Generalnomu Prokuroru A. Rekunkovu.

## SICHKO, STRILTSIV RECEIVE NEW LABOUR-CAMP SENTENCES

Two members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group have recently been given additional sentences, and a former dissident has been rearrested in Lviv.

Vasyl Sichko, 25, was sentenced to a three-year term in January, according to sources in Ukraine. At the time of sentencing, he was about to complete a three-year labour-camp term in the city of Cherkasy. He has been a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group since 1978.

Mr. Sichko was arrested along with his father, Petro, on July 5, 1979, for allegedly "slandering the Soviet state". His younger brother, Volodymyr, is also imprisoned in a Soviet labour camp.

The other Helsinki group member to receive an additional sentence is 53-year-old Vasyl Striltsiv, a former teacher who was sentenced in autumn of 1979 to two years in a labour camp for alleged passport law violations.

On the eve of his scheduled release he was sentenced to a additional six-year term.

The nature of the new charges brought against both men is not known.

A former teacher, Mr. Striltsiv was first arrested when he was 15 years old and spent 10 years in a labour camp before his release in 1954. On February 9, 1977, he was sacked from his teaching post after years of pressure related to his brother Pavlo's arrest in 1972 for ostensibly "slandering the Soviet state". Soon after he was fired Mr. Striltsiv joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

Also reported is the arrest in late 1981 of Mykhailo Horyn, 51, a Lviv journalist and author. Mr. Horyn, who was previously imprisoned from 1965 to 1971, was reportedly charged with "anti-Soviet" activities, but as yet no information about the length of his sentence or the circumstances of his arrest is available from sources in Ukraine.

### PLAKHOTNIUK FRAMED BY KGB

A recent report indicates that Ukrainian dissident Mykola Plakhotniuk, arrested in Kyiv last September on then-unknown charges, was actually charged with "homosexuality", according to information released by the UHVR in New York.

Details about the case of the 46-year-old physician, who was released from a psychiatric hospital in 1980 after being incarcerated eight years for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", strongly indicate that he was framed by the KGB.

The UHVR press service reported that Soviet authorities continued to persecute Dr. Plakhotniuk after his release. He was not allowed to live in Kyiv and was ordered by authorities to move to the Cherkaske region of Ukraine.

In early September 1981, Plakhotniuk, who was taking courses designed to upgrade medical skills and was living in a dormitory on the outskirts of Cherkask, had a chance meeting in the city library with a V. I. Sokolov, whom he knew while imprisoned in a psychiatric hospital in Smila. Sokolov told Dr. Plakhotniuk that he was in Cherkask doing forced labour as punishment for a criminal offence.

It was Sokolov who was to play a key role in the entrapment scheme which ultimately led to Plakhotniuk's new arrest.

Soon after his meeting with Sokolov — who suggested they meet again to continue their conversation — Dr. Plakhotniuk noticed some rather peculiar goings-on in his dormitory.

On September 4, several unknown persons, who called themselves builders, moved into a room directly across the hall from Dr. Plakhotniuk. The next day, Dr. Plakhotniuk went to see his fiancee.

Returning home late on September 6, he was surprised to find Sokolov in his room. Because it was late, Sokolov asked if he could spend the night rather than travel home.

At 11 p.m., one of the builders across the hall called the militia, while two others broke down the door and burst into Dr. Plakhotniuk's quarters.

By this time, Sokolov was lying in bed in a suggestive manner. A half hour later the militia arrived and arrested Plakhotniuk on homosexuality charges.

He was later indicted on an additional charge of corrupting the character of minors by serving them alcohol. The charge was based on testimony

provided by a E. V. Zekynov, who also met Plakhotniuk in a psychiatric hospital.

Plakhotniuk's arrest on trumped-up criminal charges rather than overtly political ones is indicative of a relatively recent pattern in the Soviet government's persecution of dissidents.

In April 1980 Ukrainian Helsinki monitor Vyacheslav Chornovil was arrested on a trumped-up attempted rape charge and subsequently sentenced to five years imprisonment. The same year, Yaroslav Lesiv, also a Helsinki monitor, was sentenced to two years in prison from his place in exile on fabricated charges of drug possession. In 1979, Mykola Horbal, also a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was charged with attempted rape and resisting arrest.

Dr. Plakhotniuk's arrest on charges of homosexuality, which is considered a form of mental deviation in the USSR, indicates that authorities staged the bizarre incident as a pretext to recommit him to a mental institution. Unlike a set prison term, incarceration in a mental hospital can last as long as authorities feel the "patient" needs "treatment".

#### YURIY BADZYO\* CONTINUES PROTESTS

Ukrainian dissident Yuriy Badzyo, who is currently serving the third year of a 12-year labour-camp and exile term for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", went on three separate, three-day hunger strikes during 1981.

Badzyo was arrested in Kyiv in 1979, and sentenced to seven years' imprisonment to be followed by five years' internal exile.

A philologist from the Trans-Carpathian region of Ukraine, Badzyo was active in Ukrainian intellectual and nationalist circles since the 1960s. In 1965, he joined several Ukrainian intellectuals in disrupting a film in Kyiv's "Ukraina" film theatre to protest the destruction of Ukrainian culture by the Soviet regime.

His book, "The Right to Live," a socio-historical analysis of the right of Ukrainian nationhood, led to his arrest and subsequent imprisonment.

The first statement from the Mordovian labour camp where he is serving his sentence is dated February 22, 1981, and in it Badzyo announces a three-day fast to protest "the dictatorship of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), violations of human rights in the USSR and the right to national sovereignty" for non-Russian nations.

The hunger strike was called, Badzyo said, to coincide with the 26th Congress of the CPSU.

In his statement, Badzyo accuses the Soviet regime of "falsifying Ukrainian history", disputing Ukraine's nationhood as something distinctly independent of Russia, and other wilful misinterpretations.

\* For more background information on Yuriy Badzyo see "Ukrainian Review" No. 4, 1981, p. 12-14.

He goes on to score the government's campaign to "russify" Ukrainian culture, including attempts to destroy the Ukrainian language.

The second statement, dated April 15, 1981, was addressed to French Communist Party leader Georges Marchais on the eve of the French federal election. In it, Badzyo accused the Soviet government of contravening the Marxist ideology it purports to espouse, democratic principles such as political freedom, public participation in government, freedom of the press, expression, and the right to form opposition parties.

In Badzyo's view, the Soviet system is nothing more than a monopoly dominated by the CPSU, which represses civil, national and political rights. The purpose of his statement, he told Marchais, was to alert French Communists, the working class and the entire French nation to the lack of political freedom in the USSR, Soviet violations of human and national rights, and the brutal persecution of citizens opposed to the regime and its policies.

In the third statement Badzyo assails the Soviet government's interpretation of Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR — "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". The catch-all statute is very frequently used to arrest and prosecute dissidents.

In the last statement, Badzyo argues that Article 62 addresses agitation and propaganda against the basis of Soviet power which, he contends, is defined in Article 2 of the Soviet Constitution as belonging to the people. Therefore, he goes on, since all his writings support Article 2 and the supposition that Soviet power lies in the hands of the people, then, in this context, he cannot be guilty of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda."

Badzyo concludes his statement by declaring a three-day hunger strike to mark the second anniversary of his arrest, and to protest the chauvinism of the CPSU, as well as Soviet violations of human and national rights.

### LESIV IMPRISONED FIVE MORE YEARS

Yaroslav Lesiv, 37, member of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, was sentenced to five years imprisonment.

Lesiv was first sentenced in 1967 to six years in camp and five years of internal exile for membership in the Ukrainian National Front.

In September 1979, he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, and November of that year he was arrested reportedly on fabricated charge of narcotics possession, which carries a penalty of up to 10 years' deprivation of freedom.

He was to be freed on November 15, 1981. However, another investigation was ordered and, instead of being released on that day, Lesiv was sentenced to a five-year term.

This is not the first case in which human rights activists have had their terms prolonged. This has recently happened to the Podrabinek brothers in Moscow, to Vasyl Barladianu and Vasyl Ovsienko.

No one in the West knows what charges have been brought against Lesiv, a physical education teacher and gymnast from Ivano-Frankivs'ke. His only

"crime" seems to be that he is a defender of national and human rights and personal dignity.

Lesiv is in poor health; he has heart trouble, diabetes and severe myopia, which has caused partial blindness.

### SOVIETS SNUBBED IN NOTTINGHAM

Soviet trade unionists were given a hostile reception at a public meeting in Nottingham recently by representatives of East European countries who claimed the visitors, were against human rights and freedom.

Ivan Lachenko and Tania Gorbatenka are touring the country discussing their trade unions but the meeting in the Albert Hall, organized by the British Soviet Friendship Society and Nottingham Trades Council, came to a premature end when the public felt their questions were not being answered.

A resolution was passed stating that those at the meeting were indignant and angry at the cordial welcome extended to the Soviet delegates because "they represent an organization hostile to any free trade movement and and the national and human rights of people in Eastern European countries."

They also appealed to British trade unions, Nottingham City Council and the public not to welcome or grant any facilities to the Russians.

Following is the full text of the resolution:

We, citizens of Nottingham and participants of the public meeting sponsored by the Nottingham Trades Council, held on Monday, 22nd February, 1982, at the Albert Hall Institute, declare our indignation and anger at the cordial welcome extended to the two delegates from the Soviet Union, and wish to draw attention to the following:

1. After hearing the speeches made by the two Soviet delegates and the discussions, we came to the conclusion that they do not represent a free Trade Union as they would have us believe. They represent an organization which is hostile to any Free Trade Union movement. It is also hostile to the national and human rights of the subjugated nations such as Byelorussia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine and other Comecon countries.

2. It is quite clear that the aim of the Soviet delegation is to spread misleading propaganda amongst the British people and use it as a smoke-screen in order to further Soviet-Russian imperialistic ambitions.

3. We appeal to the British Trade Unions, the Nottingham City Council and the People of Nottingham not to welcome or grant any facilities to the Soviet delegation until Soviet-Russia fulfils her obligation to the United Nations declaration on National and Human Rights and grants freedom and independence to all the Nations she occupies.

This resolution was passed by the majority of those attending the above meeting.

## CAMPAIGN AGAINST UKRAINIAN EASTERN RITE CHURCHES DURING EASTER 1981\*

*The Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church* occasionally includes a section of "The Church in the Soviet republics". Very occasionally the section carries the news from Ukrainian Eastern Rite Catholics (Uniates), but it is obvious from the overall survey of Catholic life in the USSR in *Chronicle* No. 28 that Lithuanians are in touch with them and admire them, particularly for their resilience and resourcefulness — qualities which they have in common. In *Chronicle* No. 28 they commend the way the Uniates have gone "underground" so successfully — Lithuanians themselves are experts when it comes to running "underground" religious activities — and state that local security officials in Lviv believe that every neighbourhood has its own priest.

"It is said that the security men regret having driven them underground, since they have no way of controlling their activities."

*Chronicle* No. 49 contains an article called "Ukraine" which describes a campaign against Ukrainian Eastern Rite churches in the Lviv region during Easter 1981. Following are summaries of the events which took place as published in that *Chronicle*.

Since their forcible incorporation into the Russian Orthodox Church in 1946 Eastern Rite Catholics have often retained keys to their churches and still use these churches for communal prayer during greater feasts, although their (secretly ordained) priests deliberately celebrate the actual services for which priests are indispensable in private houses so as to avoid furnishing any pretext for the authorities to close the churches. Over the years, innumerable petitions for the registration of Eastern Rite Catholic parishes have been turned down.

Conditions for Uniates have deteriorated since spring 1981 when, over Easter, there was a widespread campaign to close down many of the remaining churches. A number of incidents were reported.

In March delegates representing the 200-300 people who signed petitions for the registration of their church at Zavadiv in Stryi district were warmly assured by Tarasov at the Moscow Office for the Council for Religious Affairs that their church would be re-opened. Upon returning, the delegates (who had previously obtained permission to be absent from work) found themselves the target of official discussions and were transferred to less qualified jobs. The liturgical vessels were removed from their church and

\* The following report on the situation of the Ukrainian Churches in Ukraine appeared recently in *Keston News Service* from Keston College. (Transcriptions of Ukrainian names have been restored to their Ukrainian forms). EDITOR

the door barred with tables. A notice on the door announced that the church was to be turned into a museum.

The same fate befell the church of Verkhniy Hai in Drohobych district. Two young priests, Fr Roman Esip and Fr Vasyl Kavachev, who secretly served believers in Lviv, were arrested. At Easter many churches which had not actually been closed were subjected to attacks, forcible closure and intimidation and dispersal of their congregations.

At Pidhaichyky the authorities managed to enter and then close the church during an interval between services. A young man who had just completed military service was among those who tried to recover church valuables which had been thrown out. He was sentenced to 15 days imprisonment.

At Susolovy the congregation remained in the church and when the authorities returned for a second time, they did not dare molest the congregation.

At Dovholuky believers barricaded themselves inside their church for the Easter vigil. The militia broke in with the aid of 10 lorries and closed the church.

The congregation of Tutsapy, which fills the church on feast days, often has had their more active members followed, called into government offices and fined. This happened to an invalid war veteran, Dorosh, who could not pay a fifty rouble fine out of his meagre pension. Thirty militia men attacked and closed the church.

Since the key to Mshana church had been seized, the people gathered in the church cemetery for the Easter vigil. The militia surrounded it, fired rockets in the air and manhandled fifteen of them, including an old man.

The church in Drozdovychi was attacked in the morning when people were at work: all its interior furnishings were broken and tables put across the door.

At Kaminobrid, in Yavoriv district, the militia threatened the congregation in a packed church and later searched the house of an active member. They were not able to locate her but injured her adopted daughter.

In Muzlovychi, in the same district, the militia brought along an Orthodox priest and threatened to close the church if the congregation didn't accept him. They refused, and, since the church was full, the militia left.

At Vovkiv in Peremyshliany district on Easter Eve the congregation shut themselves inside their church to venerate the burial of Christ. The militia forced their way in through the sacristy, threatened them and went off in search of their priest, who is not licensed as a priest.

At Mereshchiv, in the same district, the militia threatened the congregation, among whom they found the collective farm brigade leader. He was later sacked.

On Easter Eve the militia were also stationed outside the Orthodox churches but only so as to prevent young people from entering. They were usually dealt with by other young people. Meanwhile, priests known to be

working in secret were called into security offices and threatened with arrest if they dared celebrate Easter. In Lviv, the house of Fr Cehelskyi was searched and religious objects and his savings were taken. At Rohatychi, Horodok district, Fr Hrynyak was attacked and injured while taking the sacrament to the sick. He was then interrogated in Lviv, where he works in a factory. At Drohobych there was a house search at the home of Fr Hrynyshyn in which even his children's toys were confiscated (the Eastern Rite Catholic Churches permit married priests — Ed.).

It will be interesting to see if more reports of an attempted crackdown against Eastern Rite Catholics in Ukraine appear in the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*. It is obvious that the Church is thriving and poses the authorities with an insuperable problem.

JANICE BROWN

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## Documents and Reports

### **THE DECLARATION OF THE VI SUPREME ASSEMBLY OF THE OUN TO THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS**

Nations subjugated by Bolshevism! Fighters for common ideals!

We live in a period of the fall of empires and the founding on their ruins of independent nation-states of the heretofore subjugated nations. However, this process has been momentarily halted on the borders of the Russian-communist empire, which has spread its sphere of influence and domination on many nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The Free World shrinks from properly identifying and exposing the USSR for what it really is — a multinational empire, and not a nationally monolithic state. The Russian imperialists are careful to mask this fact, propagating the existence of a so-called Soviet people, as some kind of a new historic entity, which in practice amounts to nothing more than a Russian super-nation. This is a manifestation of their typical racism.

The deterministic ideology of marxism-leninism in a symbiosis with the historical Russian imperialism and Russian messianism is manifested by the continuous aggression of the USSR — the Russian empire, i.e., the world of totalitarianism against the world of freedom.

The aspirations of the individual to perfection can freely manifest themselves in the multifaceted Free World and can carry humanity along the path of trial and error to a better life, as we can see in the fall of the imperialism and colonialism of western multi-national states.

Moscow, with its lackey-servants, is cognizant of the role of the national idea and of aspirations to social justice, and abuses these aspirations of nations and individuals, propagating on this side of the Iron Curtain the idea of national independence and sovereignty, the liquidation of the feudal-capitalist order for the benefit of a wider distribution of private property, even masking its true intention behind slogans of nationalism and democracy. Only the naive and the uncritical allow themselves to be deceived, because a communist society, in practice, is hell. The USA lost the war in Vietnam because it did not include in its calculations the inherent characteristics of the Vietnamese nation and did not propagate or strive for the idea of unity of Vietnam. On the contrary, the USA encumbered the national Vietnamese from doing this. The existence of so-called sanctuaries in the countries neighbouring South Vietnam was partially responsible for the communist victory. Instead of creating sanctuaries for Vietnamese refugees in Thailand, instead of forming insurrectionary units and helping them with arms, food, medical supplies and propaganda, — the Free World capitulated. Even if someone were to come to the aid of the Vietnamese in

this manner, he would be labelled a war-monger in the Free World. Moscow greatly benefited from all this. There are many cross-currents of interests in the free world. That is why Moscow can easily exercise the principle of "divide et impera". The Free World must come to understand that the Russian empire is the principal threat to everyone. It must relegate all local misunderstandings to a secondary plane, otherwise the Bolshevik threat will spread to the rest of free humanity.

Therefore, to effectively stem the aggression of the world of totalitarianism, the Free World must decide to defend itself, even with arms, if necessary. Otherwise, the world will become the continuous prisoner of Russian terror and this will lead to its capitulation. Only after adopting such a firm stand can the Free World counter the diabolical intentions of Moscow. It can then support the national-liberation movements within the Russian empire, that are capable of effectuating the downfall of the empire and the Bolshevik system — without an atomic war.

#### *For an Anti-Bolshevik Front*

Without a common front of the Free World and the subjugated nations — there can be no victory. All the political concepts, implemented by the West with regard to the USSR, have proven to be bankrupt. The policy of détente and balance of power has led the West to a catastrophe, because in the shadow of détente the USSR has overtaken NATO with regard to armaments and has conquered a number of new countries. It is absurd to pursue a concept of balance of power without the existence of common aims between partners, i.e., when one partner aspires to conquer the world and the other to maintain a *status quo*. The only salvation for the Free World from a thermo-nuclear war is a policy of liberation of the subjugated nations. There is no other alternative to atomic war, other than the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations, which are internally tearing asunder the empire and the Bolshevik system. When nations and individuals begin fighting for noble aims, for the realization of God-given human rights, for liberty, justice, for truth and faith in God, when they fight against all tyrants, against the hangmen of nations, colonial usurpers and militant atheists — they can never be destroyed in the plan of God's Providence. The fate of all humankind, its thermo-nuclear extinction, can not be placed in the hands of the criminals in the Kremlin. Only Providence can decide on the existence of humankind. The responsibility of the subjugated nations and individuals is to fight with a faith in God's justice, even at the risk of death — so that God's truth may triumph on this earth, for the victory of freedom for nations and freedom for the individuals in their national independent democratic states, each within its ethnographic boundaries with equal rights for all peoples, regardless of differences of race, religion or wealth.

The Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which now stands on the threshold of the 40th anniversary of its founding during the two-front war

of liberation of Ukraine, organized by the OUN-UPA against Bolshevism and national-socialism, on November 21-22, 1943 in the forests of Ukraine, — is the coordinating centre of the national-liberation movements of the nations subjugated in the USSR and the “satellite” countries. The ABN is the ideological, strategic and political vanguard, to which all the subjugated nations look to for guidance in their liberation struggle against Russian imperialism and communism. Without a common front of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the “satellite” countries — there can be no dissolution of the empire and the liberation of nations!

The OUN supports the liberation struggle of the Polish nation for its liberty and independence within its ethnographic boundaries and condemns the occupation of Poland by the agents of Moscow. The OUN believes, that the Polish people and the Polish Catholic Church will respect and defend the national, political, religious and cultural rights of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, and other national groups. The OUN expresses its solidarity with the courageous armed struggle of the Afghan nation, condemns the Russian invasion of Afghanistan. We call upon the Afghan fighters for freedom to also lead a psychological-political war, designed to demobilize the Soviet army, which is a multi-national army, and to treat those prisoners of war, who refuse to fight against the Afghan nation, as friends and comrades-in-arms, and not as the enemies of Afghanistan! The OUN believes that only in a common front of subjugated nations can victory be achieved. A separate, isolated revolutionary-liberation struggle will not lead to our goal.

With the development of military technology the significance of an insurgent-guerrilla strategy, implemented by an armed nation, becomes all the more evident. It is the only salvation from atomic destruction for all of humankind.

### *The Bankruptcy of Communism in the Subjugated Nations*

The communist system and the communist way of life behind the Iron Curtain are clearly in a bankrupt state. This has already been proven in Novocherkask, Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzherzhynsk, Donbas, Berlin, Budapest, Prague, Bratislava, Minsk, and most recently in Poland, where Moscow is leading a terrorist war against 10 million workers, against the entire Polish nation, with the aid of the Polish military junta, the communist militia and Russian soldiers in the ranks of the Polish army. This bankruptcy is already an irreversible fact in all of the subjugated nations. For this reason Russian imperialism has been openly dealing from a racist position of a Russian super-nation under the guise of a so-called Soviet nation. Russification clearly is the method of the old formula of denationalization of nations, now veiled in bankrupt communism.

Communism-marxism has lost the battle of ideas in the empire. Liberation nationalism and a democratic system based upon a sovereignty of the people, which is inherent in every nation, have emerged victorious. Religion is also achieving victories in its battle with militant atheism.

When the Russian empire is arming itself at all costs, so as to conquer the world,—the subjugated nations, who are internally dismantling the empire, hold the key to the resolution of the current global political crisis. They are the new ideo-political superpower, that is also armed with modern weaponry, because the sons of the subjugated nations are in the armies of the empire. The time is imminent, when these soldiers will turn their weapons against the occupant of their Fatherland. Revolutionary armies will be born, so as to bring about the full fruition of the armed liberation struggle. The soldiers of the Soviet army and the armies of the “satellites” will either come over to the side of the insurgents, or they will directly destroy the Russian occupation, by turning their weapons against their oppressors-officers.

### *The Neglected Power*

Unfortunately, the politics of the Free World, in particular the USA and NATO, have yet to take into account the factor of the nations subjugated in the Russian empire. Instead, they strive to maintain a *status quo*, guaranteeing, in fact, in the Helsinki Accords, the indivisibility of the Russian empire and the inviolability of Russian imperio-colonial conquests, viz., the present boundaries of Russian spheres of domination in Europe and Asia. Our goal is to change this state of affairs, bring down the empire and destroy the communist system. Processes of destabilization are propitious to our liberation movements. Our task is to strengthen these processes with regard to the Russian prison of nations.

The national-liberation processes in Poland and the liberation war in Afghanistan are continuously pointing to the weaknesses of both superpowers with their thermo-nuclear weapons and rockets. This weaponry is of little consequence in a situation, where an entire nation takes up arms in a struggle for its liberation.

So as to avoid being crushed by a Bolshevik onslaught, the West must build up its conventional armaments, and simultaneously decrease the military potential of the enemy by creating a situation where the front would be on the territories of the enemy. To accomplish this, the soldiers of the Soviet army, in particular those from the subjugated nations, must be persuaded to change sides. This would be possible only when the political concept of the West vis-à-vis the USSR is fundamentally altered: from a policy of détente and balance of power the West must adopt a policy of liberation, concurrently recognizing the need for the dissolution of the Russian empire.

The central issue confronting the subjugated nations is the necessity of preparing well-planned, systematic, coordinated revolutionary-liberation actions, that in the final outcome will create a revolutionary situation in the enslaved countries. Only then can our strategy of simultaneous revolutionary uprisings be fully implemented. The widest emigré circles of the subjugated nations and their political representations must exhibit a high degree of

activity — from mass demonstrations to academic conferences, so as to mobilize public opinion, the mass media, and the academic community. The primary purpose of such activity would be to expose the USSR for what it really is — a Russian colonial empire camouflaged by its communist system. Also, this activity must bolster support for the revolutionary-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, which is decisively constricting the military potential of the enemy and is preventing atomic destruction. The mission of the emigré community, as an integral component of the subjugated nations, is to be the spokesman of the aspirations of these nations of the Free World!

The Churches of the subjugated nations must do all they can in defence of the Catacombic Churches, against militant atheism and the 'Caesareo-papistic' churches that only serve the communist atheistic regime. The ecumenical dialogue with the Russian orthodox pseudo-church of Zagorsk must be terminated! The trade unions of the Free World must come to the defence of the working classes of the subjugated nations and of the collectivized disappropriated agricultural class, who themselves are the object of unheard of exploitation at the hands of the totalitarian system of Russian state capitalism.

The intellectual community of the Free World must be mobilized by actions for the return of free creativity to the cultural activists of the subjugated nations. This can be achieved only with the dissolution of the Russian empire, which is a prison of nations and individuals.

### *Ukraine — in a Common Liberation Struggle*

Ukraine is the Achilles heel of the Russian empire and the communist system; this is due to the indestructible revolutionary human potential of Ukraine, its highly developed population of 50 million, its geopolitical position, its economic resources, its world of ideas and liberation-revolutionary concept. With the reestablishment of Ukraine's independence the Russian empire must fall, thereby paving the way for the reestablishment of independent states of all the subjugated nations. The political configuration of the globe will then be fundamentally altered, since the global in scope colonial prison of nations, which encompasses not only Europe and Asia, but Africa and Latin America as well, will cease to exist. The system of ideas and values of Ukraine — the national against the imperialist idea, a cult of a heroic morality and a heroic Christianity of Catacomb Churches, the idea of democracy inherent in every nation, the idea of native self-rule, the principle of a just settlement of border disputes on the basis of an ethnographic principle with the elimination of imperialism — is bringing new elements into the world order.

In the struggle against the Russian occupant, many Christian, Islamic and Buddhist nations are uniting with Ukraine in a united front of close cooperation. The anti-Russian front, the anti-Bolshevik front is growing.

The biological growth of the Russian population has dropped, while the

populations of the Islamic nations (Turkestan, Azerbaidjan, and others) is burgeoning very quickly. All the subjugated nations are combating Russification, so that it (Russification) can no longer defeat them, since the Russians are already a minority in the USSR. Terror, concentration camps, prisons, psychiatric asylums that break one's will, exile, — all these means can no longer break the spirit of nations. Mass genocide, as during Stalinist times, is no longer possible. Nations have forgotten their fear. The empire sits on a volcano! It is being challenged by noble fighters! Not only are the underground national-liberation organizations openly and honourably manifesting their ideals, but separate activists are also demanding freedom and national independence! The empire must fall!

The methods of the liberation struggle, now being implemented in Poland, were previously utilized in Ukraine (strikes, the call for free trade unions).

The ABN continues to be the moral and political guiding force, conscious of the fact that freedom *ex gratia* is not freedom! The ABN will not wait for a deliverance from slavery by foreign bayonets, but is realizing the idea of a common front of the subjugated nations against the Bolshevik empire and tyranny!

The Supreme Assembly of the OUN calls upon all the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries to continue along our revolutionary path in striving towards our common goal through our cooperative efforts: the dissolution of the Russian empire, the USSR with its colonial "satellites" and the armed reestablishment of independent national democratic states within the ethnographic boundaries of the presently subjugated nations!

Freedom-loving nations and peoples of the world — unite in the struggle for national independence and freedom against Russian imperialism and communism!

**FREEDOM FOR NATIONS! FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL!**  
Autumn 1981

*The Presidium of the  
VI Supreme Assembly of the Organization  
of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)*

Read

Read

## ABN Correspondence

**BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS**

Munich 8, Zeppelinstr. 67, Germany

*Annual subscription: £6.00 in Great Britain, 12 Dollars in U.S.A., and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries.*

## MEMORANDUM ON THE SITUATION IN POLAND

The determining factors of Russian imperio-colonialism are not simply military occupation and economic exploitation, but also the imposition by brutal force of a Russian way of life and of a Russian "Weltanschauung" (world view), of a communist socio-economic and political order, of an atheistic doctrine and of "socialist realism" in the realm of culture. No less significant methods of subjugation, other than the Russian occupying forces, are a police system of mass terror and one-party rule.

That liberation struggle of the Polish nation is confronting the Russian system of occupation with its own order, based on the idea of freedom and the spiritual and social values inherent to the Polish nation. The role of the Church and the organization of all spheres of life along the principles of the socio-political movement "Solidarity" has led to the creation of a new, organized, non-communist force in Poland. The problem of authority was and always will be central in the development of the nation's liberation struggle. The previously bankrupt communist system and Party in Poland has been even further rendered impotent, degenerate and totally corrupt, as the foundation of the Russian regime of occupation. For this reason a military dictatorship was established in Poland with the aid of the army, which was infiltrated by the KGB and into which Moscow incorporated soldiers from the Soviet army, dressed in Polish uniforms.

Martial law is meant to stunt that, which cannot be stunned, but at most only momentarily stemmed: the anti-Russian liberation struggle undertaken in all spheres of life.

After the last military intervention in Europe (in Czechia and Slovakia) and having had a bitter experience with Afghanistan, Moscow concealed its military intervention, its dictates and its active participation in Poland with its Polish-speaking lackeys, who primarily serve Russian imperialist interests.

The Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) fully supports the Polish nation in its liberation struggle for national independence and freedom. In a common front, the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries can achieve their common goal: the dissolution of the Russian prison of nations and the reestablishment on its ruins of national, democratic, independent states within the ethnographic boundaries of the till now subjugated nations.

The ABN appeals to the Polish people and the Polish Catholic Church to defend the national, religious and cultural rights of the Ukrainian, Byelorussian, Lithuanian, and other national groups in Poland.

The ABN strongly condemns the Russian intervention in Poland and the suppression of the liberation aspirations of the Polish nation. We call upon the nations of the Free World to immediately terminate all economic, political and cultural relations with the USSR and its "satellites", including the Warsaw communist military junta.

The ABN appeals to the West to proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE and the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire into national, independent, democratic states of all the subjugated nations.

The ABN appeals to the nations of the Free World to initiate a policy of liberation of the subjugated nations, by supporting the national-liberation movements of these nations. The West should render aid to the subjugated nations — and not to their subjugators!

The ABN appeals to the Free World to immediately terminate all forms of economic aid to the USSR and its "satellites", in particular all forms of electronic and technological aid, thereby discontinuing their arming of the Russian empire.

The ABN takes the position that the furtherance of the policy of détente and cooperation with the Russian imperialists and their puppet governments in Russia's colonies creates the preconditions for new Russian imperio-colonial conquests and the subjugation of new peoples, since the goal of Russian imperialism is the conquest of the entire world.

The Central Committee of the  
Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)

**NEW PUBLICATION**

**ANNEXATION OR REUNIFICATION**

by Mykhaylo I. Braichevskyi.

- Critical Notes on the Treaty of Pereyaslav, 1654, between Ukraine and Russia.
- Published by Ukrainisches Institut für Bildungspolitik, Munich, 1974.
- Hard cover. 139 pp.
- Price: £3.00 (\$8.00).

*Available from:*

**UKRAINIAN PUBLISHERS LTD.,**  
200 Liverpool Rd., London, N1 1LF.

or

**UBP, 49, Linden Gardens**  
London W2 4HG.

## UKRAINIANS IN DIASPORA

In Los Angeles, California, USA, on 6th January, 1982, passed away a noted bandurist-virtuoso Wasyl Jemets. The deceased was born on 2nd August 1890 in the locality of Sharivka, Ukraine. He was educated at Kharkiv University and continued his studies in music at conservatoires in Berlin and Prague. In 1913 he organised the very first bandurist chorus in Katerynoslav in the Kuban region and in 1918, before entering military service, led a large bandurist chorus in Kyiv. After the First World War he appeared as a soloist and bandurist in many cities of western Europe and continued his career after the end of World War Two.

\*

In Ottawa on 28th October, 1981, a new Ukrainian Catholic Seminary was opened — the Seminary of the Holy Spirit. The Rector of the newly-founded Seminary is to be Fr. Josyp Andryyishyn and other appointed lecturers are: Fr. Dr. J. Gierych — who is to lecture on the history of the Universal and Ukrainian Churches; Fr. Rosh — music and singing; Fr. M. Gnesko — canon law at the University of St. Paul. Theological students will be able to study Church Slavonic at the University of St. Paul. At the moment there are 9 students at the Seminary: 3 from Alberta, and 2 from Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Ontario respectively.

\*

In New Jersey, USA, on 13th January passed away at the age of 76 a noted Ukrainian author and journalist, Daria Emilia Stoliarchuk-Yaroslawska. She was born on 25th April 1905 in Stanyslaviv (now Ivano-Frankivske) in the family of a parish priest. She marked her literary debut with the novel 'Polyn pid nohamy' (Absinthe under the feet), for which in 1939 she was awarded a prize in a literary competition. She went on to write such further novels: "Na krutiy Dorozi" (On the winding path), "Ostriw Di-Pi" (D.P. Island), "V Obiymakh Melpomeny" (In the embrace of Melpomena), "Pid Chuzhi Zori" (Under foreign stars) and "Paporot ne tsvite" (The fern does not flower). Posthumously appeared a collection of her short stories "Prapor" (The flag).

\*

In Toronto, Canada, on 7-8th November 1981 a Conference was held which was organised by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). This was the second occasion that such a Conference was organised in Canada, the previous occasion being in 1953. 250 registered delegates were present, 540 guests at the official reception. The Conference which was divided into four sessions looked into such topics as activities of ABN in the Free World, the current situation in countries enslaved by Soviet Russia and communism, the politics of Western nations regarding the Liberation Struggle in the captive nations. Apart from the main body of lectures and speeches, a concert, a film and an exhibition of documents was also

organised. 15 nationalities were represented at the Conference: Ukrainians, Vietnamese, Slovenians, Slovaks, Romanians, Poles, Lithuanians, Latvians, Hungarians, Estonians, Croats, Byelorussians, Bulgarians, Albanians and Afghans.

Prominent speakers and guests at the Conference included: Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko — the Chairman of the Central Committee of ABN; Mrs. Slava Stetsko who deals with external affairs concerning ABN; Charles Andreanski — American Friends of ABN; Mr Wasyl Bezkhlibnyk — General Secretary of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians; Ron Gostik — WACL in Canada; Fr. Semen Izyk — Chairman of ABN in Winnipeg; Mr. Mirek Matushevski — Canadian Anti-Soviet Action Committee; Mrs. Maria Shkambara — Chairman of the Women's Section of the League for the Liberation of Ukraine; Dr. Edward O'Connor — USA; Mr. John Wilkinson M.P. — the U.K.; Members of the Canadian Parliament — Messrs. Michael Wilson, Jessy Fliss and Yuriy Shymko were also present. Also there was an address from the Mayor of Etobiko, Mr. Denis Flynn, a representative from the Islamic countries — Mr. Said Zafir and Dr. Truong Kuang Si — formerly a professor at Saigon University in Vietnam. The organizer of the Conference was Dr. Oleh Romanyshyn.

On Thursday 10th December a demonstration was organized by various national groups represented in ABN in defence of the national independence of their respective countries and in defence of political prisoners held in countries occupied by Moscow. A similar demonstration was held on 15th November in Ottawa.

\*

In Riverhead, Long Island, New York State in the US on 29th December 1981 passed away one of the most prominent Ukrainian painters in the West — Mr. Petro Andrusiv. The deceased was born on 2nd July 1906 in Kamino-brid near Lviv in Western Ukraine. He studied at the Art Academy in Warsaw and later after obtaining a teacher's diploma taught in a technical college. He was a founder of an artistic circle named "Spokiy" (The Calm) along with many other eminent Ukrainian artists. In the United States he was also active in artistic life, he was a noted illustrator of many books and author of many theoretical articles on art. A central theme of his paintings were historical battle scenes from the Kyivan and Cossack periods of Ukrainian history. His last work was a scene depicting the official christening of Ukraine by St. Volodymyr in 988.

\*

A contract was recently signed between the representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic Metropolitanate in the United States and Pears Communications Inc. of Louisiana USA enabling religious programmes to be broadcast on short wave frequency to Ukraine. The transmissions are taking place every Saturday at 11.30 p.m. Kyiv time. The programmes commenced on 2nd January 1982. Each week the programmes will be prepared by Bishop Robert Moskal and Mr. Mstyslav Dolnytsky, the editor of the Ukrainian Catholic

daily "America" in Philadelphia. Listeners can hear these programmes in western Europe at the following times: 8.30 pm Greenwich Mean Time (UK, Ireland and Portugal), 9.30 pm in Poland, Yugoslavia, Germany and Albania, 10.30 pm. in Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Finland and Greece. In eastern states of the USA at 3.30 pm.

\*

In Bradford, West Yorks, on 13th February to 6th March an Exhibition of Ukrainian art was held in the Central Library which was organised by the Association of Ukrainians in Gt. Britain and the Libraries and Museums Dept. of Bradford Metropolitan Council. On show were the works of such Ukrainian painters as Volodymyr Borovykovskiyi, Oleksa Novakivskiyi, Ivan Trush, Oleksa Hryshenko, Olena Kultchyt'skiyi, Hryhoriy Kruk, Mykhailo Dmytrenko, Mykhailo Moroz and many others. There was also a chance to see some examples of Ukrainian icons, old prints, enamel works and works based on bronze. The local press, "The Telegraph and Argus", "The Bradford Star" and "The Yorkshire Post" gave many positive reports noting the dynamic character of the compositions and the wide use of colour.

\*

At the London Branch of the Ukrainian Catholic University on 16-17th January an exhibition was held of the paintings of Dr. Hala Mazurenko, on the occasion of her 80th birthday. Dr. Hala Mazurenko began her artistic career in Prague over 50 years ago and since then has won acclaim from art critics for her numerous water-paintings and works based on enamel. Her favourite themes include landscapes, and studies of nature — animals and flowers; much of her work is pervaded by a mysticism which is characteristic of her outlook. Dr. Hala Mazurenko has also achieved distinction as a poet and still continues to write and publish her work. The Exhibition was organised by the Association of Ukrainians in Gt. Britain and the London Branch of the Association of Ukrainian Women.

\*

On the 31st January 1982 Hryhoriy Kytastyi a noted Ukrainian composer and conductor celebrated his 75th birthday. He is well known amongst Ukrainians in the West as the leader of the Bandurist Chorus based in Detroit, USA. By origin from Poltava, he has composed many musical scores for the Ukrainian national instrument, the bandura. Recently a new L.P. has appeared, one of many, containing more songs and music performed by the Bandurist Chorus.

\*

The Ukrainian Catholic Exarch in Australia, the Rt. Rev. Ivan Prashko was one of the notables distinguished for "services to religion and the Ukrainian community" in the Australian New Years' Honour List this year. He was awarded the M.B.E.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

Nicholas L. Fr. Chirovsky, *AN INTRODUCTION TO UKRAINIAN HISTORY*, Volume 1: Ancient and Kievan-Galician Ukraine-Rus'; Philosophical Library, New York, N.Y., U.S.A., Library Congress Catalog Card No. 79-84848, 348 pages, hard cover. This work covers politics, cultural, spiritual, constitutional-legal, social, economic and government administrative affairs in Ukrainian history. Contains 4 maps and 15 illustrations. Published in 1981.

Nikolai Tolstoy, *STALIN'S SECRET WAR*. Printed in Great Britain by The Anchor Press Ltd. Hard cover with jacket designed by Bill Botten: 464 pages with a map indicating concentration camps in the USSR. Published in 1981, price in U.K. £9.50.

Chapman Pincher. *THEIR TRADE IS TREACHERY*, Sidgwick & Jackson, London. with illustrations, index etc., 240 pages, hard cover and jacket, price £7.95 in the United Kingdom, published in 1981.

W. J. Stankiewich, *THE TRADITION OF POLISH IDEALS*. Essays in history and literature. Orbis Books (London); 288 p., soft cover, printed in U.K. for the publishers in 1981 by Multilingual Printing Service (UPL). Contains essays by nine contributors.

Jan Novak, *KURIER Z WARSZAWY*. (in Polish), published by Odnowa. London, 1978, 468 pages, soft cover.

Peter J. Potichnyj (Editor), *POLAND AND UKRAINE PAST AND PRESENT*, The Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Edmonton-Toronto 1980, cover (soft) designed by Myroslav Levytsky. Distributed by the University of Toronto Press, 366 pages, index.

Jurij Borys, *THE SOVIETIZATION OF UKRAINE 1917-1923* — The Communist doctrine and practice of national self-determination. The Ukrainian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, Edmonton, 1980. Printing Services. University of Alberta; distributed by the University of Toronto Press, 488 pages, index, soft cover. This is a revised edition.

Michael Chichester and John Wilkinson, *THE UNCERTAIN ALLY* — British Defence Policy 1960-1990. Foreword by the Marshal of the Royal Air Force Sir Neil Cameron. Published by Gower Publishing Company. in 1982. 246 pages, index, hard cover with jacket.

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### Correction

We would like to point out to our readers that the author of the article "Don Juan Through Ukrainian Eyes" in *Ukrainian Review* No. 3, 1981, pp. 81-88 is not Volodymyr T. Zyla as indicated but Prof. Wendell Aycock. We apologize to both contributors for any embarrassment caused by this unfortunate mistake. *The Editors.*

*The*  
**UKRAINIAN**  
**REVIEW**



**II**

*1982*

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A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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# 2000

РОКІВ КИЄВА  
KIEV - 2000 YEARS OLD

РІЧЧЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ДЕРЖАВНОСТІ  
TH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN STATEHOOD

# 1600

# 40

TH ANNIVERSARY OF UPA

РІЧЧЯ УКРАЇНСЬКОЇ ПОВСТАНСЬКОЇ АРМІЇ



*A poster commemorating the 2000th anniversary of the foundation of Kyiv, 1600 years of Ukrainian Statehood and the 40th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.*

*Oleh MARTOVYCH*

**THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY**  
**(On the 40th Anniversary since its Formation in 1942)**

**Introduction to the Ukrainian Problem**

The Ukrainian problem, one of the most complicated in the whole of modern Europe, is superbly simple if the idea is once accepted that the Ukrainians are a separate people, distinct from the Russians.

Nationally, the USSR is not a homogeneous entity, as many "specialists" on East European affairs would lead the world to believe but a diverse multiplicity of races and peoples subjugated by Moscow. Thus, Ukraine is nationally and culturally a distinct and a separate nation, the most easterly stronghold of western civilization in Eastern Europe. Modern research in the anthropology and archaeology of Eastern Europe makes it plain that these two distinct national ethnic types, the Russian and Ukrainian, existed long before the Tartar invasions of Eastern Europe in the 13th century. The Ukrainian language, which is quite different from the Russian, Ukrainian manners and customs, national art, and historical traditions, all these are external characteristics which distinctly set the Ukrainian people apart from the Russians. But the deepest cleavage between the two peoples is found in Ukrainian mentality and idealism, which are completely at variance with the mentality of the Russians. A Ukrainian is an individualist and a Russian exactly the opposite. By nature, the Ukrainians are true democrats and opponents of all forms of dictatorship and tyranny. The contrary is true of the Russians, who have a natural inclination to accept an absolute government imposed by force and remain subservient to it. As William C. Bullitt writes in his "The Great Globe Itself": "From the time of the Mongols until today, the Russians have been inured to living in a totalitarian state under the tyranny of an absolute dictator" (p. 28). And Soviet dictatorship is typical of the same barbaric despotism as the autocracies of Ivan the Terrible, Peter I, Catherine II, and the like.

Here the Ukrainians, in contrast to the Russians, are decidedly western in outlook. They always regarded themselves as independent and free citizens and they place the highest value on freedom, to which they are devoted whole-heartedly. Ukraine was territory which was impregnated with all the cultural movements of Western Europe. The crusaders, the Magdeburg Law, humanism, the Reformation, baroque, penetrated to Ukraine and were analogous to the trends in the West. The culture of the French Enlightenment became the source of the national regeneration of Ukraine in the 19th century. Likewise, contemporary Ukrainian seeks inspiration in the creative culture of Western Europe, whereas Russia has evolved its own way of life, its own world, hostile to the West.

In the spring of 1945, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic was formally accepted at the Conference in San Francisco as a member of the United Nations Organisation. This could not satisfy the aspirations of the forty million Ukrainians suffering under the Communist yoke, but it did bring prominently before the public opinion of the world the fact that Ukraine is not the creation of propagandists, not a "German intrigue" but a nation with its own geographical areas, its own population and its own history.

### **The Struggle for the Liberation of Ukraine**

The history of Ukraine throughout the ages is a tragic story of a great people who have been doomed to suffer for six hundred years every form of oppression that the mind of man can create. With it all, the Ukrainians have clung to their own land, language and traditions. Every time there has been an upheaval in Europe, the Ukrainians have responded to it and have sought to secure the right to determine their own national destiny.

The present struggle of the UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) is a continuation of that centuries-old struggle which the Ukrainian people have been waging to win their national freedom. The independence of Ukraine and the union of all Ukrainian lands into ONE NATIONAL STATE has been the ideal of the Ukrainian people for centuries. This ideal has its origin in the national memory of the independence and feeling of fraternal unity, enjoyed during the periods of the great and progressive Ukrainian Kyivan State of Volodymyr the Great (981-1015) and Yaroslav the Wise (1018-1054). This ideal was the acme in the careers of the Ukrainian 'Cromwell', Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648-1657) and the great patriot Ivan Mazepa (1686-1709) and it almost saw its realization at time of World War I (1914-1918).

In the period between the First and Second World Wars, the struggle of the Ukrainians for liberation did not cease, — it merely went through different phases depending upon existing circumstances. World War II created favourable circumstances for the strengthening of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation. Manifesting its aspirations for freedom under the German occupation, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement created its armed resistance groups in 1942 and by 1943 those were united into a big and powerful Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under one supreme command. Through its strategical and political activities the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) supported by the entire Ukrainian people, greatly contributed to the destruction of the German armed forces in Ukraine.

When the Soviet forces re-occupied Ukraine the Ukrainian Resistance Movement with its Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) met them fully prepared for the political and military struggle. For this struggle it mobilized not only hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians but also other peoples whose

countries were subjugated by the Bolsheviks. It proudly offered stern opposition to the powerful Soviet Union, whose excellently trained detachments of the MGB (GPU — NKVD — NKGB — MGB = Soviet political police) are not quite capable of coping with it. This struggle spreading from Ukraine to other countries received great publicity throughout the world.

### The Standard Technique of Bolshevizing a Nation

At the close of World War I, and especially after the fall of the Tsarist Russian prison of peoples, the Ukrainians proclaimed the Ukrainian Independent State on January 22, 1918. This proclamation was the expression of the will of the whole Ukrainian people. The reborn Ukrainian state had a democratic-socialist government and its first President was the famous Ukrainian historian and archaeologist, Prof. Michael Hrushevsky. For a while it seemed as if a final solution of the future of Ukraine had been reached.

But then for the first time, the standard technique of bolshevizing a nation was adopted in Ukraine. The same technique was later used in many other countries, e.g. 1920 in Armenia and Azerbaijan, 1921 in Georgia, 1923 in the Far East Republic and in Outer Mongolia, 1939-1940 in Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, 1944-1946 in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Albania, Romania, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, East Germany, North Korea etc. The action against Ukraine was then directed by the Russian Commissar of Nationalities, Joseph Stalin. He induced the Executive Committee of the local Kyiv Soviet Council of Peasants, Workers, and Soldiers to call an All-Ukrainian Convention of Soviets. This was to precede the election for the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly in order to produce a *coup d'état*, to overthrow the Ukrainian democratic government and to proclaim the government of the Soviets in Ukraine. But this meeting proved clearly that Bolshevism in Ukraine was a foreign intrigue of the Russian government against the independence of Ukraine. Of the 2,000 only 150 delegates (and the majority of them were non-Ukrainians) took a stand against the Ukrainian government. The overwhelming majority proclaimed their full loyalty to the Ukrainian government and the meeting became an enthusiastic demonstration for the independence of Ukraine.

This small minority of the Ukrainian Soviets Conference, some 150 delegates, only about 7,5% of the total number attending it, led by the Russian Sergiev (Artem) left Kyiv and moved to Kharkiv, closer to the border of Red Russia, and there opened their own conference of Soviets and proclaimed Ukraine a 'Soviet Republic'. They named themselves the 'Soviet Government of Ukraine' and applied to the Soviet Russian Government for aid.

In order to sovietize Ukraine the Red Army marched in, and the Ukrainian War of Independence (1918-1921) began. The defensive war of Ukraine lasted *four* years and the Ukrainian Army was compelled to con-

duct an unequal struggle against the Red and White Russians, Poles and Romanians. Because the enemy forces were numerically superior, the Ukrainian Independent State fell, after years of desperate fighting. Ukraine was conquered by the Bolsheviks and become the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. Western Ukraine was divided among Poland (Galicia and Volhynia), Romania (northern Bukovina and Bessarabia) and Czecho-Slovakia (Carpatho-Ukraine).

For the Ukrainians there is little consolation in the fact that they saved Europe by their prolonged resistance against the Bolsheviks in this war, because they themselves fell victims to the most ruthless oppression under the Soviet regime. Unfortunately, the Ukrainian fight for freedom had found no sympathetic understanding in the democratic world. Attempts to obtain consideration for the claims of Ukrainian independence abroad were not successful. There was little knowledge of the historical side of the Ukrainian question among the representatives of the leading powers. France was committed to the idea of a "strong Poland", the United States was comparatively uninterested in eastern Europe and Great Britain wavered between the aggressively anti-Bolshevik policy of Winston Churchill, then Secretary of War, who aided the Russian White leaders (Kolchak and Denikin) with arms, munitions and supplies, and the inclination of Prime Minister Lloyd George to seek a basis of agreement with the Soviet regime. Instead of aiding the Ukrainians in their fight against the Bolsheviks, the Allies had decided to back Denikin, the enemy of Ukraine, who simultaneously fought the Ukrainians, using British war materials. This devious policy meant that any attempt to establish a stable government in Ukraine was doomed to failure and would lead to anarchy. In the end the Ukrainian Army was demoralized by a terrible blockade. Even food and medical supplies were not allowed to enter the territory occupied by the Ukrainian Army. Moreover, typhus broke out, which took the lives of thousands of Ukrainian soldiers and civilians because of the lack of medicines and injections.

The Ukrainians are fully conscious of the fact that if they had received the support the Russian White leaders had from Great Britain and France, they would never have succumbed and Bolshevism would not have overrun Ukraine and Europe. World War II would never have taken place, as the Ribbentrop-Molotov agreement, which was the starting signal for this war, would not have been concluded because of lack of partners. Thus, the devious policy followed by the Allies caused the subjugation of Ukraine by Moscow and then the sovietization of the nation.

The standard technique of bolshevizing a nation was well illustrated in Europe after the Soviet "victory" of 1945. Ukraine was the first country in the world to experience it. Here, in order to sovietize a population, it was necessary to deport thousands of nationally conscious Ukrainians to vast concentration camps in Russia, chiefly in Siberia. All of the educated classes, the teachers, clergymen, professionals and businessmen, well-to-do farmers and democratic leaders were removed by force. Millions of the

population perished in famines artificially created to break their spirit. Those of the cultural leaders who remained loyal to their beliefs and their traditions were executed or died by their own hand (Mykola Khvylovy) to escape a worse fate. Everything was done to eat out the heart of the Ukrainian spirit and to give it a Russian Communist aspect. But the Bolsheviks did not succeed in breaking the Ukrainian national spirit. This fact is well known among the well-informed. Stalin, a realist, was well acquainted with the dynamic qualities of the centuries-old Ukrainian national movement. Back in 1934, at the XVIIth Congress of the Communist Party, he warned against it and called Ukrainian nationalism a "grave danger" for the Soviet Union. Today, his successors Brezhnev and others repeatedly give similar statements and call for constant vigilance against "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism". Ukrainian nationalism is a very concrete factor in eastern European affairs — and on more than one occasion stirred up trouble for the Kremlin.

### **The Ukrainian Resistance Movement between the two Wars (1921-1941)**

The national spirit of the Ukrainians did not die. Military defeat of the Ukrainian armies in the War of Independence did not weaken the struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation. The Ukrainian War of Independence has an immense importance for the formation of the Ukrainian national ideal. The independence of Ukraine as well as the unity of all Ukrainian lands proclaimed during that war became the BASIC DOGMA OF POLITICAL FAITH OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE. During the period from that time to the present, millions of Ukrainians have sacrificed their lives for the realization of this ideal and have manifested to the whole world that the Ukrainians have a supreme desire to be A FREE AND UNITED NATION in Europe.

Several years after the War of Independence, many Ukrainian armed groups of partisans were active against the Soviet regime and eventually were transformed into an underground political organization resisting the Soviets. There were also attempts to oppose the Soviet regime by such means as opposition within the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Soviet government. Two representatives of this tendency in the twenties were O. Shumsky, who was for a time Commissar for Education, and M. Volobuyev, a famous journalist and economist. Shumsky defended the Ukrainian national position in the Communist Party and tried to take advantage of the cultural Ukrainization ordered by the Communist Party to strengthen the Ukrainian national spirit (1926). Volobuyev exposed in his articles the "colonization tendencies of Soviet economic policy in Ukraine" (1928).

Another rebel among the Ukrainian Communists was the popular writer Mykola Khvylovy. He vindicated the right of Ukraine to maintain cultural contacts with the West — as an indirect form of resisting domination from Moscow. The Russian Communists regarded Khvylovy and his friends

as Ukrainian nationalists. Moscow became truly alarmed when Khvylovy issued his "Literary Manifesto" in which he called upon the Ukrainian writers not to imitate Russian literary trends and not to seek inspiration in Russian culture because, as he said, "it lacked healthy elements". Instead, he recommended "to turn away from Moscow and face Western Europe". As early as 1929 Stalin himself made the following reference to Khvylovy: "If we had nothing else but these discussions about Khvylovy, which have become so wide and heated in Ukraine, there would be sufficient cause for profound alarm." Khvylovy committed suicide in May, 1933, probably because he foresaw his arrest and execution as a 'nationalist'.

The attack of the Communist Party and its agencies on Ukrainian culture began in the early thirties and grew to tremendous dimensions. Between 1933 and 1934, and between 1936 and 1938 widespread purges took place which were especially felt by Ukrainian intellectuals, men of science and culture who opposed the Soviet attempt to destroy Ukrainian national culture and to supplant it with a Russianized communist culture alien to the spirit and soul of the Ukrainian people. In these years the Bolsheviks annihilated scholars, writers, artists, military men, political leaders and thousands and tens of thousands of thinking people who formed its highest stratum. Among all these tortured leaders of Ukrainian art, literature and science, there were many great names and men of undoubted talents, known and honoured not only in Ukraine, but throughout the world (e.g. Prof. Michael Hrushevsky, a famous historian and archaeologist, or Prof. Stepan Rudnytsky, a famous geographer, etc.). Among seventy-nine authors and scientists executed, by Soviet firing squads in December, 1934, were such talented Ukrainians as Hryhory Kosynka, Kost Buroviy, Oleksa Vlyzko, Dmytro Falkivsky and others. Many others were exiled: Mykola Kulish, the great Ukrainian dramatist, Valerian Pidmohylny, Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, Volodymyr Gzhytsky — the well-known novelists, Mykola Zerov — the poet and professor of Ukrainian literature at the University of Kyiv, Pavlo Filipovych, Mykhailo Dray-Khmara, Evhen Pluzhnyk — the poets, Ostap Vyshnya — a very popular satirist. Also perished many scientists and professors, such as Yefremiv, Doroshkevych, Slabchenko. Hantsov, the artists Padalka, Boychuk, Les Kurbas, army officers Tyutyunnyk, Dubovy.

The Ukrainian peasantry strongly opposed the economic policy of the Soviet government, as exemplified by its forced collectivization of Ukrainian agriculture. The peasants had been as turbulent in Ukraine as anywhere else in rebelling against the forced Stalinist collectivization. Crushed by the famine created artificially for political purposes in 1932/33 they gave up the struggle for individual landholdings and entered the collective farms. It seems clear that at least ten per cent of the population of Ukraine starved to death during this famine. There has probably been in history no disaster of comparable magnitude that received so little international attention.

After the period of mass anti-Bolshevik risings in Ukraine (1921-1924)

the Ukrainian Resistance Movement assumed the form of secret political organizations. In 1930 an organization called "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" was discovered in Ukraine and a group of alleged members were brought to trial. Forty-five Ukrainian intellectuals were tried in Kharkiv (1930, and all were condemned to slave labour, including Serhiy Yefremiv, Vice-President of the Academy of Sciences, Volodymyr Chekhivsky, head of the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church, Andrew Nikovsky, former Minister of the Ukrainian National Republic, and others. The same year witnessed the discovery of SUM (Union of the Ukrainian Youth) and some 20,000 alleged members of this organization were executed in Ukraine. In 1931 the discovery of a Ukrainian organization known as the "Nationalist Centre" was announced, and in connection with this a number of political leaders who had formerly been associated with the Ukrainian democratic government, including Holubovich, Shershel and Mazurenko were executed. In 1933 the ever-active GPU announced the discovery of a Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and among the prominent individuals who were shot in connection with this was Yuri Kotsiubinsky, the former Vice-President of the Council of People's Commissars. The same year, 1933, witnessed the suicide of the veteran Ukrainian Communist, Lenin's friend, Mykola Skrypnyk, who was Vice-President of the Council of People's Commissars and acting Commissar for Education. In 1934, another "nationalist organization" was discovered and in connection with the assassination of Kirov many prominent Ukrainians were shot in retaliation.

During the next few years the purges continued. For reasons which can never be fully clarified, the men who showed the greatest energy in stamping out Ukrainian nationalism often fell victims to the purge themselves. This was the case with Postishev, Stalin's principal lieutenant in Ukraine in the thirties, with Kosior, who at the same time occupied the post of Secretary of the Communist Party in Ukraine. In 1937, Moscow sent to Ukraine Lazar Kaganovich with the purpose of liquidating the Ukrainian opposition. Under his pressure another prominent Ukrainian Communist, Panas Lubchenko, President of the Council of the People's Commissars of Ukraine, after boasting once that Ukrainian nationalism had been eliminated by the firm policy of the Communist Party, was apparently suspected of nationalism himself and committed suicide rather than face a trial in which the result was a foregone conclusion. Still another Prime Minister, Bondarenko, vanished mysteriously from the political scene and was presumed dead or in exile. Thus all Prime Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR from Rakovsky to Bondarenko were liquidated by the Soviets.

Still another important current in the Ukrainian nationalist movement was represented by the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists). It emerged from the UVO (Ukrainian Military Organization) and accepted a regular plan of action based on firm ideological foundations aiming at the political, spiritual and social liberation of the Ukrainian people from

foreign misrule. The OUN was a strongly disciplined revolutionary anti-Soviet and anti-Polish force which created a number of illegal groups armed as far as this was possible. The leading figure in the OUN and perhaps the most militant figure in the Ukrainian nationalist movement after the murder of Gen. Simon Petlura in Paris (1926) was Col. Evhen Konovalts. He met his death when a Soviet agent in a cafe in Rotterdam handed him a bomb which exploded (1938).

The Ukrainian reaction to Polish rule in Western Ukraine took other forms. Historically the relation between the Pole and the Ukrainian had never been cordial. The proclamation of the Republic of Western Ukraine on November 1, 1918, and the resulting Polish-Ukrainian war in Eastern Galicia only increased the bitterness which had been developed by history. From the first days of the existence of the Republic of Western Ukraine the Ukrainians had to defend themselves against Poland and Romania. The Soviet aggression against Eastern Ukraine was really leaving Western Ukraine to itself and by the summer of 1919 Polish military control had been extended over the whole of Western Ukraine. The 100,000 men strong Ukrainian Galician Army passed into Eastern Ukraine and joined the Ukrainian forces under Gen. Simon Petlura's command which fought against the Bolshevik invaders. The brilliant offensive of the combined Ukrainian forces against the Bolsheviks caused the total defeat of the Bolshevik forces in Ukraine and led to the seizure of the Ukrainian capital—Kyiv on Aug. 31, 1919, where the Ukrainian armies were insidiously attacked by the advancing White-Russian army of Gen. Denikin.

The Allied Supreme Council on June 25, 1919, authorized the Poles to occupy Eastern Galicia up to the line of the river Zbruch, the old frontier between Austria-Hungary and Russia. Finally the Treaty of Riga, 1921, secured from the Soviet-Union the recognition of the Polish control over Western Ukraine. For a time the Allied powers refused to recognize the Polish occupation of Western Ukraine, but there was no desire to challenge it by armed force. The situation was complicated and the Polish Parliament passed a law in the autumn of 1922, establishing autonomy for Eastern Galicia. This paved the way for the recognition of Poland's possession of Eastern Galicia by the Conference of Ambassadors on March 14, 1923, over the articulate protests of the Ukrainian people. Unfortunately steps were never taken to fulfil the unilateral promises contained in the autonomy law of September, 1922, and Eastern Galicia was always governed from Warsaw.

From year to year the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in Poland changed its form as various measures were put into effect by the Polish government to break the Ukrainians. The legal opposition represented by the legal political parties (the Ukrainian National-Democratic Union, the Ukrainian Radical-Socialist Party, and the Ukrainian Socialist-Democratic Party) advocated a policy of trying to obtain maximum rights for Ukrainians within the Polish state, and at the same time stressed the right of all Ukrainians

to unite in a sovereign and democratic Ukraine within Ukrainian ethnographic boundaries. The clandestine opposition represented by the UVO (Ukrainian Military Organisation) and by the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), organized surprise attacks on individual Polish officials who were held responsible for oppressive acts of the Government. Such an attack was the assassination of the Polish Minister of Interior Pieracki in Warsaw, 1934. He was responsible for the "pacification" of the Ukrainians in the autumn of 1930. This "pacification", as it was officially and euphemistically termed, was quite widely reported in the American press at that time. After the statement of Minister Pieracki that "the Ukrainians must be burned out with white-hot steel, and for every act of Ukrainian revolutionary organizations Poland must continue to punish the entire population according to the principle of collective responsibility", brutal reprisals were inflicted relatively indiscriminately on the Ukrainian population by Polish troops and police. Libraries and co-operatives were destroyed, Boy-Scout organizations were dissolved, Ukrainian high schools and institutions of every kind were closed, and concentration camps were established. Several thousand Ukrainians were held in prisons or in camps, and the majority of arrested Ukrainians remained in jail for a long time without any charge being preferred against them, while the police hunted for evidence.

The cultural and economic methods of suppression were demonstrated in the Polish campaign to abolish Ukrainian schools, churches, co-operatives and cultural and sports organizations. For example, the Ukrainian Encyclopedia estimated that there were only 134 Ukrainian schools left in Western Ukraine in 1930. In 1924 there were 2,417 and under Austria-Hungary there were 3,414 primary schools. In the summer of 1938 alone, the Polish government destroyed at least 112 Orthodox churches belonging to Ukrainians, on the pretext that they had once been Uniate (i.e. united with Rome, Catholic of Eastern Rite). Such an act, which drew the protest of the Greek-Catholic Metropolitan of Lviv Count A. Sheptytsky, only succeeded in antagonizing both the Uniates (Greek-Catholics) and the Orthodox against the Poles and in bringing the two religious groups closer together.

The "Service d'Information Ukrainiennes" of Paris estimated that after 1921, 914 political trials of Ukrainians were held, excluding those of communists, and that 65% were against persons accused of activity on behalf of the UVO and OUN. Of a total of 3,777 persons tried 2,510 were found guilty, 17 were sentenced to death, 27 were sentenced to life imprisonment and the others to a total of 5,870 years of imprisonment. In 1939 alone, however, the arrests, convictions and years of imprisonment meted out surpassed the totals of all those from 1921-1939. For example, in August alone, the month before the Nazi invasion 111 Ukrainians were tried on political charges and 75 were found guilty. These were given sentences totalling 132½ years imprisonment. Most were charged with membership of the OUN.

It must not be thought that the Ukrainians have done nothing but revolt. Even during the years of oppression, the Ukrainians continued to consolidate their position in the state. They tried to build up a life of their own and created organizations for assisting education, spreading Ukrainian culture, meliorating agriculture, etc. Their co-operative organizations increased in numbers, in capital and in membership. Thus the number of co-operatives belonging to the Ukrainian Auditing Association in Lviv was only 1029 at the start of 1925 and grew to 3337 by 1934. By 1939 the Ukrainians of the West were in a much better position than they had been before and they constituted a variety of a "state within a state".

The Soviet government always regarded the Ukrainian nationalist movement in Western Ukraine as a dangerous enemy. One of the reasons Stalin was insistent on annexing Poland's former eastern provinces stem from his desire to bring all the Ukrainians under his rule and to stamp out all traces of non-communist Ukrainian nationalism. It is significant that in spite of the constant struggle of the Ukrainians against Polish oppression, the Western Ukrainians remained bitterly and steadfastly anti-communist and considered themselves champions of Ukrainian independence and unification of all Ukrainian lands into one Ukrainian sovereign state. There was hardly another country in Europe where anti-communist feelings were stronger than in the semi-proletarian Western Ukraine. The signing of the Ribbentrop-Molotov non-aggression pact on August 23, 1939, rendered possible the realization of Stalin's plans of annexing Western Ukraine. On September 17, 1939, the Soviet Army invaded Western Ukraine despite various treaties with Poland, on the grounds that the Polish Republic had ceased to exist as an organized state and occupied the whole of Western Ukraine giving as their aim "liberation" and "protection" of their Ukrainian "brethren". Again Western Ukraine first fell the victim of Bolshevik imperialism. On June 28, 1940, the Russian Bolsheviks "liberated" other parts of Western Ukraine which in 1918-1919 had been seized by Romania, e.i. northern Bukovina with its capital Chernivtsi and parts of Bessarabia. These were incorporated into the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

We are more than certain that the fate of Eastern Europe could have been much different had the restored Poland and Romania acted more wisely and with a sense of historical responsibility in regard to Ukraine. Instead of being guided by political reason, they had apparently fallen under the spell of chauvinistic blindness and under the mania of political greatness. Especially, newly created Poland, largely supported by the Allies, committed an unpardonable crime by attacking the Ukrainians, who, like Poland herself, after the fall of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, had sought freedom and independence. This attack was timed with the onslaughts of the Russian Bolsheviks who invaded the Ukrainian National Republic from the north and east. It is already a matter of history how

the Poles deceived the Allies by claiming that all help provided was being used against the Russian Bolsheviks, whereas the true fact is, that whatever aid the Poles obtained in 1919 was directed against the Ukrainians, or by promising autonomy for the Ukrainians and never carrying it out into effect. The fact is that Poland helped the Russian Bolsheviks to establish their control over Ukraine, securing for itself control over a part of the Ukrainian lands. In consequence when the time of Hitler-Stalin Axis came in being Poland could not oppose the fourth partition of Poland. Poland has lost the Ukrainian lands once and for all, and, what is more, has lost her own independence and has sunk to the role of a Russian satellite. The Russian Bolsheviks have helped the Ukrainians and Poles to settle their neighbourly accounts and the Kremlin has made up the bill. Such is the sad finale of the age-old Polish-Ukrainian relations and of the Polish blundering policy towards the Ukrainians.

It is interesting to note that the very first opposition to Hitler's plans was offered by the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in Carpatho-Ukraine, a small mountainous country which was a part of Czechoslovakia since 1919. When in the autumn of 1938 Czechoslovakia was rebuilt along federal lines, Carpatho-Ukraine gained autonomy. In March 1939, at the time when Mr. Hacha, President of Czechoslovakia surrendered the freedom of his State, and the Czech army did not fire a single shot in defence of its lands, the freedom-loving Ukrainians, not in the habit of bowing to aggressors, organized a bitter armed resistance against the Hungarians and Hitler when Hitler let his puppet Hungarian army march against Carpatho-Ukraine. It was the first shot fired against the so-called Nazi 'New Order' in Europe and this shot was fired by the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. The small country of Carpatho-Ukraine won then the sympathy and admiration of the world.

Today Carpatho-Ukraine is also a part of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. The first President of Carpatho-Ukraine, Mgr. Augustine Woloshyn was arrested by the Soviets and died in a Soviet prison. Thus, Stalin succeeded in uniting all the Ukrainian lands under his rule.

### **The Ukrainian Resistance Movement versus German Nazism (1941-1944)**

Poland was partitioned between the Soviet-Union and Nazi Germany according to the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact in the autumn of 1939. Eastern Galicia and Volhynia with their large Ukrainian populations were incorporated into Soviet Ukraine. Elections were held in Western Ukraine after the Soviet occupation. In keeping with the usual Communist practice, a "Provisional Popular Assembly" made up of Communists and of individuals who were regarded as politically reliable voted on October 27, 1939, for union with the Soviet Ukraine. By a decree of August 2, 1940, Northern Bukovina and the parts of Bessarabia were also absorbed into Soviet Ukraine.

Active Ukrainian opponents of Soviet-Russian rule remained in the

country and worked out plans for the development of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in the whole of this enlarged Soviet Ukraine. They succeeded in organizing cells of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in Donbas (Donets coal basin) and in all large cities of Ukraine (Dnipropetrovsk, Kharkiv, Odessa). It was possible as many members of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement were transferred there, having volunteered to work in factories and mines of the Ukrainian industrial regions.

When the Germans attacked the Soviet Union, on June 22, 1941, Ukrainian resistance forces took advantage of the confusion and demoralization in the Soviet occupied regions and seized control of many places (Buchach, Tovmach, etc.).

Three days (from 24 to 26 of June) street fighting took place in Lviv, the largest city of Western Ukraine. Soviet troops were overcome by a tremendous panic. Soviet tanks bombarded the churches of this city naïvely believing them to be the centres of the revolt. On June 27, 1941, Soviet front troops succeeded in restoring order. On this day the NKVD troops massacred Ukrainians in the prisons of Lviv which were literally filled with the corpses of the murdered Ukrainians. The same scenes were repeated in the cities and towns of Western and Eastern Ukraine, namely in Sambir, Stryi, Stanyslaviv, Zolochiv, Ternopil, Bubno, Lutsk, Rivno, Berdychiv, Zhytomir, Vinnytsia, Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv, Poltava, Kharkiv, and many others. In some prisons (Sambir, etc.) the prisoners revolted and succeeded in escaping their fate.

However, on the night of June 30, 1941, Ukrainian underground forces took possession of the radio-station in Lviv and proclaimed from there the re-establishment of the Ukrainian Independent State (June 30, 1941). This proclamation was a clear challenge to the German government to declare its policy, all the more since the Germans in their first appeals promised Ukraine heaven and earth trying to win their favour.

Had the Germans been willing to co-operate with the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in its fight for Ukrainian independence and not to interfere with internal problems of the Ukrainian Independent State, a good deal of Ukrainian-German co-operation might have been expected. The Germans might have won the war in Eastern Europe if they had fully exploited the power of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and of other subjugated nations. Ukraine would have been able to raise an army of 3-4 million men and immense resources for this fight.

However, the Germans came not as liberators but as conquerors. They made no effort to consult the wishes of the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union and establish national independent states in Eastern Europe. The Nazi leadership, overcome with power and success, chose to follow a policy of unilateral conquest, domination and enslavement. The Germans did not want allies in Eastern Europe, but slaves. They sought only for "quislings" who would consent as German collaborators to push the people into a definitely subordinate position as a subject race. Long before they

lost their war strategically, the Germans lost their war politically. They played their trumpcards into Stalin's hands chiefly by their backward policy in Eastern Europe. Today there is no doubt that the chief reason for Hitler's debacle in the East stemmed from his blundering policy, especially in Ukraine.

The reaction of Gestapo to the Ukrainian proclamation of June 30, 1941, came very swiftly. The Ukrainian government was liquidated and prominent Ukrainian patriots were shot or imprisoned. During the opening weeks of the campaign in the East, Ukrainians deserted from the Soviet armies by hundreds of thousands. They expected to take part in the liberation of their country, but Hitler sent them to the camps to die of hunger and misery. He flatly rejected all plans to draw the Ukrainian people and the peoples of the Soviet territories into the struggle against the Bolsheviks. He ordered to seize several million Ukrainians, both men and women, and had them sent to Germany as slave-labourers, in order to prevent a Ukrainian mass movement. And he ordered a systematic pillaging of the countryside for the benefit of his Germany which chronically lacked foodstuffs.

Thus from the first days of the German occupation of Ukraine a relentless struggle began between Nazi Germany and the Ukrainian people. An extremely complicated struggle for freedom began. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement fought simultaneously against the Germans resisting food requisitions and deportations for slave labour in Germany, and against Soviet armed units. Separate guerilla units, formed by the OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists), in 1941, everywhere in Ukraine, and particularly in the northern forest regions of Western and Central Ukraine, were all united as early as December, 1942, under one supreme command. Thus, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA — Ukrain's'ka Povstancha Armia) came into being.

It should be kept in mind that this guerilla warfare against the Germans was launched at the time when German power was at its peak and when Nazi Germany was celebrating her greatest military victories. Guerilla warfare flared up at a time when in other nations receiving aid from their governments-in-exile and the support of Western Allies, the formation of a guerilla army was merely an idea awaiting concrete measures. Thus, the Ukrainian people started their fight against the Nazi invaders at a time when corresponding movements in Western Europe had not yet been born (1942). The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was, along with the Polish Home Army, one of the first underground armies which operated on a large scale against Nazi Germany. This struggle cost Ukraine hundreds of thousands of casualties and brought it unbelievable destruction. What was once a land of proud beauty became one of the most desolate places in whole Eastern Europe.

It must be emphasized that the Ukrainian people took an active part in the war against Nazi Germany. The Ukrainians definitely helped to

destroy the German menace and the history of their fight against Nazi Germany repeatedly attests to the will of the Ukrainian people to be governed by themselves, with their own consent and not to endure brutal rule against their consent. The Ukrainians also fought Nazi Germans in the ranks of the Soviet Army (1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Ukrainian armies), in the ranks of the French resistance (Ukrainian battallions under Ukrainian command) and in the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). It gave no rest to the German legions. The Ukrainian population, including old men, women and children who helped to organize guerilla warfare, effectively disrupted German communications, wrecked their supplies, lines and depots and otherwise demonstrated their full support of the UPA. Owing to this action and favourable terrain the UPA was able to accomplish a feat impossible for the underground forces in Western Europe, i.e. the clearing of the enemy out of large regions which then became administered by the government of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In the second half of 1943 and in the first half of 1944 the situation in Eastern Europe was such that the Germans could only hold on to main roads and larger urban centres and they were unable to occupy the broad expanses of the country. The rest of the territory was controlled by the UPA and administered by it. The UPA was the only underground army in Eastern Europe, having under arms about 200,000 people including men and women, the old and young, workers and farmers, intellectuals and clergymen. It was equipped with arms seized from the Germans and the Russians. It had numerous supply centres at its disposal as well as training camps and field hospitals, which were well camouflaged and guarded in the mountains, forests and marshlands. The soldiers of the UPA were well-fed and clothed, the wounded nursed. Consequently, Ukrainian and Jewish doctors, pharmacists, nurses, specialists and social workers were recruited into the UPA which, thus became an armed organization of the whole Ukrainian people. Such guerilla warfare was only possible because it had the whole-hearted approval of the Ukrainian people.

The Nazi Germans fought the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and its Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) by launching offensives against it and by conducting a campaign of terror, unheard-of in recent history, against the Ukrainian population and, especially, against Ukrainian intellectuals. Three times during the German occupation (April-May, 1943, July-October, 1943, and February-March, 1944) Nazi-Germans launched their offensives against the UPA. The entire campaign was fierce and bitter. The Germans used aircraft, artillery and tanks, followed closely by infantry and police units. Several attacks against UPA were repulsed with heavy losses for the enemy. At long last the Nazi offensives were broken and the Germans were defeated. They then limited themselves to the bombardment of the Ukrainian villages and towns and to the murder of the political prisoners and the non-combatant population in the vicinity of the larger towns. On July 24, 1943, three Ukrainian villages Tolychiv, Lityn and Radovych were

destroyed by the German police and several hundred defenceless people were murdered. On July 14, 1943, a terrible slaughter of the Ukrainian and Czech population took place in the village Melyn, province of Dubno, Volhynia. The people were driven by force into the wooden village church and burned alive. Those who could find no room in the church were driven into the former town hall and burned, too. Similar incidents took place in the village of Hubkiv in the province of Kostopil, on July 2, 1943, and in many other villages of Ukraine. Besides, the Germans organized mass shootings of political prisoners (Rivne, Kremyanets, Kyiv, Chortkiv, Lviv, etc.) and of prominent Ukrainian intellectuals taken as hostages (Drohobych, Kovel, Kremyanets, Kryvyi Rih, Kremyanchuk etc.).

The troops of the UPA did not restrict themselves to defence. They attacked and disarmed detachments of the German army and police, captured war materials and food from German convoys, set free workers being transported to forced labour in Germany. The UPA detachments organized ambushes on principal roads and some prominent Nazis fell into their arms. In May 1943, Victor Lutze, Commander-in-Chief of the Nazi SA was killed on the highway Kovel-Brest Litovsk in an ambush along this road. In August, 1943, another detachment of UPA surrounded the concentration camp in Dubyne, near Skole in the Carpathian mountains and set free all political prisoners and killed the camp guards. Still another detachment of UPA seized the prison in Dubno, Volhynia and set free all the political prisoner inmates.

After several months of hard battles, the Germans were forced to retire to large towns, protected by strong garrisons. The rest of the country was exclusively dominated by the UPA and administered by Ukrainian authorities. Meanwhile agriculture and industry was developing normally, agrarian commissions appointed by the Supreme Command of UPA were dividing up large estates among poor peasants. Schools and cultural institutions operated normally. The civilian and military police of UPA kept order. The Ukrainian youth enlisted in UPA and was trained in its training camps and officer schools, operating in Volhynia and in the Carpathian mountains. Some Dutch officers, delivered from German captivity passed several weeks in one of UPA's training camps in the Carpathian mountains. With the help of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement they succeeded in escaping to Budapest from where they returned safely to Holland. French and Serbian prisoners of war, German and Italian deserters served with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

In the manner described above UPA became the third military and political power in Eastern Europe and soon became the champion of all revolutionary forces representing not only the resistance movement of Ukraine, but of all the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe, the Caucasus and Central Asia. As a result of the well planned and directed propaganda of the Supreme UPA Command German military units composed of former German war prisoners taken on the Eastern Front began to disintegrate

and filter into the ranks of UPA. A constantly increasing number of them of Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, Uzbeks, Tartars, Azerbaidjanians and Cossacks led to the organization of separate national legions of those peoples within the UPA. The net result of this process was the convening on November 21 and 22, 1943, in the territories then under the control of UPA, of a conference of representatives of Soviet enslaved peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia, attended by 39 delegates. The conference drew up a platform of common aims of the enslaved nationalities and adopted a common slogan: "Freedom to the peoples, freedom for the individual!". Thus the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) came into being.

The propaganda of the UPA succeeded in estranging the allies of the Germans. One day all the so-called Ukrainian police of Volhynia passed with their arms to the UPA. The Hungarian, Romanian, Slovak, French, Belgian etc. troops stationed in Ukraine were used in the expeditions against Ukrainians. Gradually, however, the commands of these troops agreed with the Supreme Command of UPA in observing their neutrality during the Ukraino-German hostilities. A special agreement was concluded with the representatives of the Hungarian High Command in the Carpathian mountains and friendly neutrality between Hungarian troops operating in the Carpathian mountains and the UPA was observed during the operations of the Hungarian army in Eastern Galicia. This agreement was possible after heavy blows dealt to the Hungarians who initially strove to fight the Ukrainian guerillas. This agreement became the basis of collaboration between the Ukrainian and Hungarian resistance movements.

The Germans violently fought against the UPA with their propaganda. They stated in their leaflets that the UPA was led by "Bolshevik emissaries". They tried to demonstrate to the Ukrainians that their resistance and their fight was of no consequence and hoped by propaganda to weaken, to corrupt and to break the fighting morale of the Ukrainian people. "Everybody who knows the gangsters", wrote the Nazi Commissioner-General of Volhynia and Podolia to the 'working and peaceful Ukrainian population' in July, 1943. "and does not denounce them to the German authorities, will be severely punished. To save yourselves, your children, your country and your countrymen from disaster, report any gangster, or any Bandera partisan to the German authorities. The German police will protect you against their vengeance..."

But the German police could not protect their hirelings against the vengeance of the Ukrainian people and their armed forces — UPA. On Sept. 11, 1943, the chief agent of the German Gestapo and, at the same time, an agent-provocateur of the NKVD Michael Tarnavskij was captured and court-martialed by UPA. He was tried and condemned to death. There were many examples of Nazi-Soviet collaboration in combatting the UPA during that time.

The terror and propaganda of German occupation authorities in Ukraine could not break the spirit of the fighting Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian

people, which has survived so many hard blows in the past, rose again against the ruthless Nazi invaders. In the beginning the Ukrainian civilian population was suffering heavy losses, because it was quite defenceless. Later the major part of the townspeople fled to the regions under the UPA's control and in these regions a system of signalmen protected the population against German motorized expeditions. As before in the ancient times of Tartar incursions in Ukraine, the Ukrainian population signalled to one another by means of bonfires the approach of the enemy. So the UPA detachments were ready and met the enemy which incurred heavy losses. On October 8, 1943, on the road between Refalivsk and Volodymyrets detachments of the UPA encircled and annihilated a German punitive expedition, killed 300 men and captured 1 tank. On January 9, 1944, near the village Lysohirky in the province of Kamyanets Podilsky, in the battle against another expedition a detachment of the UPA captured 3 motor-cars, 7 machine-guns, 2 mortars, 30,000 rounds of ammunition and other war material. The attack against the "Black Forest" near Stanyslaviv in the Carpathian Mountains was repulsed with very high losses for the Germans.

The Germans lost their fight against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). During the last months of 1943 and in the first months of 1944, when the Soviet counter-offensive began to roll nearer to Western Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) consisted of four large groups: (1) UPA-North operating in Polissia and Northern Volhynia, (2) UPA-West in Eastern Galicia and in the province of Kholm, (3) UPA-South in Northern Bukovina and in the provinces of Kamyanets Podilsky and Vinnytsia, and (4) UPA-East in the wooded sector north of Kyiv and Zhytomir, in the area of Bazar—the battle-field of a famous Ukrainian anti-Bolshevik uprising in 1921. These 4 groups comprised more than 200,000 armed Ukrainian guerillas which were united under one command—the Supreme Command of the UPA. Besides, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement organized the underground combat groups in the Donets Basin, Dnipropetrovsk, Dniprodzerzhynsk, Kryvyi Rih, Odessa, Kremenchuk, Kyiv, Uman and other towns of Ukraine and the peninsula of Crimea. The chief of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement at those times was MAXYM RUBAN, in the place of STEPAN BANDERA who was then held in the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen. The Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was Col. Roman Kliashkivsky (Klym Savur), his chief of staff was Gen. Anathol Stupnytzky (Honcharenko). Both officers fell in the fight against the Bolsheviks. General Stupnytzky, former colonel of the Ukrainian Army, 1918-1921 and the hero of an anti-Bolshevist uprising in 1921 was chiefly responsible for the development of the military strength of the UPA. He and his colleagues-in-arms indefatigably worked to build the organization of the UPA, its training and supplies and lead its operations.

The growth of the UPA went hand-in-hand with the growth of the OUN,

the sole important political organization in Ukraine during the German occupation and at present. But the second occupation of Ukraine by the Soviets raised the apprehension that this occupation would turn out to be of long duration. The general strategy of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement had, therefore, to be broadened and laid out accordingly. First of all however, full national unity had to be secured. It became evident that the Supreme Command of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation could not rest in the hands of only one party. This conclusion was reached as a result of the developments in Ukraine during the times of German occupation. In a very short time the UPA lost the appearance of a guerilla organization of one political party and became truly national in its character. The ranks of the UPA were swollen with Ukrainian peasants, workers and intellectuals who were not members of the OUN. Thus, the UPA became an armed organization of the whole Ukrainian people, common to all, in which the whole people participated and took pride. Even the most indifferent obeyed the orders of the UPA, regarding it as the true Ukrainian authority. Thus, the general consolidation of the Ukrainian people into one military camp was brought about.

Granted this situation, the necessity arose to give an outward expression of this internal consolidation by the formation of a supreme directing body. It was necessary that a supreme political and state organ should crown the national struggle, in which all forces and elements taking part would be represented. In July, 1944, a Ukrainian National Congress was summoned in the territory occupied by the UPA. This Congress gave birth to the SUPREME LIBERATION COUNCIL (Ukr. UHVR), as the supreme state organ of the Ukrainian nation for the duration of its struggle for freedom and sovereignty. This Council was built on democratic principles. Its executive is the General Secretariat. At the head of each department there is a General Secretary. The aim and purposes of the Council are expressed in its Constitution and in its Proclamation to the Ukrainian people. Some extracts of this Proclamation are quoted below:

*Ukrainian People!*

*... It is not in the cause of your freedom that the imperialistic aggrandizers are waging this bloody and cruel war. For you they bring only ruin, enslavement and death. You did not allow yourselves to become enslaved but demonstrated an unyielding determination to live in independent statehood on your native land. On guard over your freedom, you have set up — from the Carpathian peaks beyond the Don to the Caucasus — armed cadres of your sons — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.*

*... In order to unite all national-liberation elements of the Ukrainian people, in order to direct their struggle for freedom from one common centre, in order to represent their political will before the world... the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council has been brought into being...*

*... The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council swears before you, the Ukrainian people, that:*

*It will fight to make you the sole master of your land,  
For a just social order without oppression and exploitation,  
For the destruction of serfdom,  
For free enterprise of the peasant on his own land,  
For free enterprise for the worker,  
For wide initiative of the working people in all branches of the economic order,*

*For the widest possible development of the Ukrainian national culture.*

*...The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council greets the struggle of enslaved peoples for their liberation. The Ukrainian people desire to live with them, particularly with their neighbours, in neighbourly friendship and to collaborate with them in the struggle against common enemies...*

*...Our liberation struggle demands heroism and bloody sacrifices, and above all an unshakable faith in our own truth...*

*...The heroic struggle of your ancestors and the memory of their knightly death in the cause of Ukrainian statehood—is a dictate to you.*

*We therefore call upon you: Rise and fight for your freedom and for your nation. Unite yourself in your struggle, and strengthen your spirit.*

#### **SUPREME UKRAINIAN LIBERATION COUNCIL**

*Headquarters, June, 1944.*

(Note: The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council met in the Carpathian mountains on July 7-14, 1944, on territory under control of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. From 36 elected members, 20 Ukrainian political leaders appeared and participated in this meeting. They represented all Ukrainian lands, faiths, and parties which stood on the principle of the underground revolutionary fight against both invaders of Ukraine. For the reasons of conspiracy all documents of the First Meeting of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council are dated June, 1944).

In addition to the quoted declaration and its constitution the Council worked out a political programme for the entire Ukrainian Resistance Movement. The programme envisages a democratic process of installing a government in a free Ukraine, and reserves for the Ukrainian people the right to choose their own form of government, the form of social-economical order and the form of local government in a Constituent Assembly which is to be convoked after the overthrow of Russian Bolshevism and its rule in Ukraine. "The present communist system", states the programme. "alien to Ukrainian tradition and repugnant to the spirit of the people is to be replaced by a system of co-operatives, which have proved themselves very popular in Ukraine".

The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council chose the members of the General Secretariat and delegated to the President of the General Secretariat, Gen. Taras CHUPRYNKA, the responsibility for all operations of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He was appointed Supreme Commander of the UPA and is holding this post up to now. In addition the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council made provision for its administrative organs and the method of their election. According to its constitution the centre of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (SUCL — Ukr. UHVR) always must be in Ukraine and only its delegations are sent abroad. At

the present time the Foreign Representation of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council consists of 12 members.

Soviet propaganda pretended that the Ukrainian revolutionaries (UHVR — UPA — OUN) were tools of the Nazis. They have never explained why these Nazi tools fought long after the Germans had gone and long before the Germans came. The lie that the Ukrainians were working with the Nazis is disproved by the reports in the captured German archives, showing the trouble they had with the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and its Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). It is proved by the order of the day issued by Gen. Taras Chuprynka — Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) on VE Day. The original text of General Chuprynka's Order appeared in an UPA underground magazine, *Povstanets* (The Insurgent), No. 5-6 for April-May, 1945. In speaking to his men, he spoke for practically the entire Ukrainian nation and for the world: *Fighting Men and Commanders of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army!*

*Hitler's Germany has found its final and irrevocable destruction.*

*The Ukrainian people will no longer fear death in gas chambers or liquidation of their entire villages by the Gestapo. No more will the German smite the freedom-loving Ukrainian peasant in the face, nor take his land in order to turn him into a slave for the German master. No longer will the Germans be able to drive thousands and tens of thousands of peasants and workers into modern slavery in Germany. Nor will the Ukrainian intellectual worker have to wait his turn to be liquidated because he always and ever has been a menace to the invader. The barbarian from the West no longer will dominate over the Ukrainian land.*

*A great contribution toward the victory over Germany was made by you, Ukrainian Insurgents. You prevented the German from freely exploiting the Ukrainian soil and using its fruits for his aggressive designs. You prohibited his pillaging of Ukrainian villages, you fought the forced deportations to Germany. Your retributive hand repaid the German for mass executions and burning of villages. In the struggle against Germany our Ukrainian Insurgent Army was first organized and received its fighting training.*

*But with the defeat and collapse of Germany an even worse invader has come back to Ukraine — Russia. For centuries enslaving Ukraine, Russia whether ruled by the Tsars or by the "most democratic regime in the world", — that Russia has always had sinister and imperialistic designs upon our country. This so-called "socialistic republic", finally decided to put an end to the aspirations of the Ukrainian people for liberty and independence. Having enchained all its people in a new social system of state capitalism, the ruling clique has created such unbearable economic conditions that under it the freedom-loving man has become a perpetually hungry beast with no problem on his mind but food. Having introduced a new culture, "national in form, but socialist in content", the Soviet government, with the help of such terrorized Ukrainian slaves as Pavlo*

*Tychyna, Mykola Bazhan, Ostap Vyshnia and Mykhailo Vozniak — forcibly injects Russian culture into Ukraine. To mislead still further the Ukrainian people, the Soviet government has even created the Commissariat of Defence and that of Foreign Affairs, which have no other tasks or duties but to glorify Stalin. By the most inhuman terror mankind, has ever known and by insidious provocations, it attempts to 'cook' the Ukrainian people in a Russian 'pot', so that the Ukrainians would forget that they were once free and independent, and that they would accept without protest the status of permanent slaves of the "elder brother" — of the new and powerful Russia. For those who reject this Russian culture, "the most democratic republic", is rewarded with the Siberian Taigas, the Solovetski Islands, mass executions, the burning of villages, state-instigated famine and other "modern methods of education".*

*But the Ukrainian people have not and will not ever capitulate before the enemy. In 1943 they gave you, Ukrainian Insurgents, weapons into your hands with the explicit command to defend to the last the ideal of Ukrainian freedom and independence. With superb determination and heroism, with unheard of faith and devotion, you have been fighting for this ideal for more than two years. Neither hunger nor privation, nor terror applied to your families has shaken your intrepidity and your belief in the final victory. At all the deceitful approaches and addresses of the "Government of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic", you have strengthened your effort. You remember only too well that by such methods Russia tried to demoralize and weaken the brave soldiers of Mazepa; the same insidious propaganda was used in the years 1920-1943 by the Soviets in order to entice those from among us who were naïve enough to believe them. All those who trusted the Russians were "rewarded" by being sent to slave-labour camps or executed as soon as their usefulness to Russia came to an end. When you embarked upon the struggle with the Stalinist régime, you knew that we could not capitulate because the enemy that menaces the very existence of the nation, must be fought until victory or death comes. I am certain that the weapons given to you by your people will not be covered with dishonour, and you will leave your names covered with immortal glory for posterity.*

*Ukrainian Insurgents!*

*The world has no peace as yet. The revolutionary movements of the oppressed peoples as well as the antagonism between the western democracies and the USSR will increase. People the world over will become increasingly aware what the "dictatorship of the proletariat", formulated in and propagated by the Kremlin, means to humanity. In the struggle against the Kremlin you are by no means alone. The brave Serbs and Croats continue to fight Tito who is nothing but a tool of Moscow; the Bulgarians also are rebelling against the bloody terror brought to the country by the "allied" USSR. The mountains of Transylvania are overcrowded with those Russians who have refused to submit to Russia. Even little*

*Slovakia conducts regular guerilla warfare against the invader. The Polish patriots by constant sabotage and armed struggle fight all the attempts of Stalin to enslave them. The ranks of fighters against the Oriental satrap are increasing daily. All this, of course, creates favourable conditions for continuing our struggle and brings nearer the moment of downfall for the USSR.*

*To be able to survive to that moment with the weapons in your hands and to give leadership to all those fighting Stalin — this is your sacred duty. I have a firm belief that you will fulfil it with honour and determination as you have fulfilled all your previous tasks and duties. By using the new methods of struggle, adaptable to the new conditions, you will give a resolute answer to the challenging enemy.*

*Onward with unshakeable faith!*

*Long live the Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State!*

*Glory be to those who fall fighting the invader!*

*Glory to Ukraine!*

*Taras CHUPRYNKA, General  
Commander-in-Chief of the  
Ukrainian Insurgent Army*

*Headquarters, May 1945*

Such was the Ukrainian Resistance Movement at the time of the German occupation of Ukraine and such was the Ukrainian underground government which came into being on the eve of Soviet re-occupation of Ukraine. For the greater part of the Ukrainian people it is now a true Ukrainian government opposed to the “quisling” Soviet-Ukrainian government of Khrushchev, Manuilsky, etc. As such it is recognized by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and by the broad masses of the Ukrainian population. The best proof that this statement is no exaggeration is the fact that the Ukrainian people united in the revolutionary Army (UPA) and under the leadership of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council have proudly offered stern opposition to the powerful Soviet Union for four years since the end of military operations in Europe. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement spread all over Ukraine and beyond the borders of Ukraine, appearing from time to time in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Byelorussia. Its aim was to coordinate the underground action of the other peoples enslaved by the Soviets and it succeeded in doing so, because in their fight of long duration the Ukrainian Resistance Movement was sole to develop the best methods and to create the most convincing ideology of the struggle against Bolshevik totalitarianism. This fact places the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in a *prominent position* among the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe and Central Asia as well as the “Satellite” nations.

The rulers of the Kremlin are fully aware of the danger on the part of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. At the 16th Ukrainian Communist Party Congress in Kyiv (January 1949) Mr. David Manuilsky, Foreign Minister of the Ukrainian SSR called the delegates for constant vigilance

against "nationalist distortions" on the Ukrainian home front. He spoke in the course of a general discussion following the main report delivered the previous day by Ukrainian Communist Party Secretary General Nikita Khrushchev. Mr. Khrushchev had called the delegates to intensify the struggle against the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism" which has not ceased to exist after 31 years of Soviet rule in Ukraine. Bearing in mind that usually the Soviet leaders are very scarce with their words in such statements, the free world must realize that this "Ukrainian nationalism" is a very concrete factor in Eastern European affairs and that it will become once more "a grave danger" for the seemingly powerful Soviet Union.

### **The Ukrainian Resistance Movement versus the Kremlin (1944-1949)**

By Spring, 1944, after the collapse of the German front in Ukraine, the German commanders in Ukraine hastened to make contact with the troops of the UPA and proposed an anti-Bolshevik alliance with them. But any negotiations with the Germans were interdicted by the Supreme UPA command. By autumn, 1944, when nearly all of the territory of Ukraine was occupied by the Soviet army, the German policy entirely changed; the German press was full of praises of the UPA for their anti-Bolshevik successes and the UPA fighters were now called "Ukrainian fighters for freedom", although some months before the same press had called them "Ukrainian national brigands". The leader of the German sponsored Russian "Vlassov Army" in his interview given to the international pressmen, which was printed in *Völkischer Beobachter* on December 7, 1944, confirmed the importance and the strength of the UPA and stressed the efforts of this army in its fight against the Bolsheviks. But it was already too late.

When the Soviet armies began launching their offensives against the Germans, and the latter began rolling back from Ukraine, the UPA utilized the German retreat to gather as many weapons as possible for its own use. The troops of the UPA attacked and disarmed the retreating detachments of the German and Hungarian army and police, capturing weapons, fighting vehicles, clothing, footwear, and other war material and seizing ordnance stores of arms and ammunition. When the Soviet war machine began to roll over the territory occupied by the UPA, the latter could meet the new enemy fully prepared for the struggle and well-armed.

It must be emphasized that, at this time, the UPA detachments did not fight against the Red Army which, in this area consisted chiefly of Ukrainians (i.e. the armies of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Ukrainian front). They only defended themselves, preferring to circulate and distribute leaflets among the Red soldiers, prepared by the hundreds of thousands which called the soldiers of the Red Army to turn their arms against Hitler and Stalin. The activity of the UPA also was directed against the restoration of Soviet military and civilian authorities. The UPA systematically opposed the mobilization of Ukrainians into the Red Army. It routed the NKVD units by sudden raids on administration centres which caused heavy per-

sonnel losses for the new occupants. This action was levelled against the local Red spies and collaborators, as well as agents of the NKVD among the local population. Simultaneously, the UPA opposed the restoration of the collective farms and the exportation of Ukrainian wheat and other foodstuffs, as well as the deportation of the Ukrainian population into semi-slave labour camps in Donbas (Donets Basin) or farther North and East.

At the time, when the Soviet war machine was engaged in the fight against the Nazis, the Soviets could not organize a serious military action against the UPA. Several times the Soviet government presented an ultimatum to the UPA ordering the Ukrainian insurgents to surrender and promised an amnesty. Soon the Soviets realized that the only thing which could crush the UPA would be if the Soviet government were to exile the whole of the Western Ukrainian population to Siberia and to replace them with Russians. By spring and summer, the Soviets began their famous deportations of the Ukrainian population to Siberia and Kazakhstan. The UPA was forced to resort to arms. At this time, its activities reached the scale of a fully fought-out war. To counter the activity of the UPA, the Soviets organized and launched their first great offensive against the UPA which was personally led by Premier Khrushchev and "Ukrainian" Minister of the NKVD, Gen. Lt. Ryassny. This offensive, called the 'Khrushchev-Ryassny' offensive, lasted from spring to autumn of 1945. The fighting was very hard going for the insurgents. The Soviets used aeroplanes, artillery, tanks, blocked villages, roads, and forests. They tried to encircle the groups of the Ukrainian insurgents and to annihilate them. The latter defended themselves by mining roads, railway tracks, natural cross-roads and even stream-beds. Several battles took place involving the Ukrainian insurgents in the forests of the Subcarpathian region and in the Carpathian mountains.

The great offensive led by Khrushchev and Ryassny could not break the resistance of the UPA. The battalions and companies of the UPA withdrew to the Carpathian mountains and from there continued their fight against the Communist oppressors. Small groups of fighters remained in the country. Having hid in the underground bunkers and shelters, they made sudden raids on the administrative centres and NKVD posts or ambushed military transportation facilities, columns, or convoys. Railway trains were destroyed by exploding the roadbed or removing trackage. Before an attack all telephone communications were usually destroyed.

*(To be continued)*

*Yaroslav STETSKO*

## **FREEDOM EX GRATIA IS NOT FREEDOM**

**Address at the ABN Banquet — Toronto, Nov. 7, 1981**

It would seem that the political and military strategy of the West are founded upon the expectation that a miracle will come of and by itself and solve the world political crises.

But the real miracle will be the revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated nations, the power still neglected by the Free World. The heroic Hungarian uprising is only one example. This year Ukraine is commemorating the 40th anniversary of the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state, proclaimed on June 30, 1941. This historical act laid the foundation for the ensuing war of liberation on two fronts. In 1941 Lithuania also proclaimed its independence and led a guerilla war on two fronts. Byelorussia also had its insurgents. Similarities can be drawn from other nations. At that time the Allied Forces refused to believe in this miracle, but once it became a reality — they neglected to even consider it. This was a war on two fronts i.e. against Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. If supported by Western Allies, it would have been a decisive factor and would have saved the world from both Nazism and its original prototype-Bolshevism.

Presently the heroic Afghan nation has taken up arms against the onslaught of Russian imperialism. And at this crucial juncture in history the West's reaction was limited to a disconcerted boycott of the Moscow Olympics or to the institution of a number of economic sanctions which are paralyzed by several loopholes. Instead, the West ought to have immediately liberated Cuba from under the communist yoke, buttressed by the Russian agent — Fidel Castro.

The United States can either become the vanguard force of the Free World in supporting the national liberation, anti-colonial, anti-imperialist revolutions of the subjugated nations against the most tyrannical and brutal empire the world has ever known — the USSR, the Russian prison of nations — which would be in accordance with their own revolutionary traditions of 1776, or in contradiction to these noble traditions, the United States can become a global anti-revolutionary, reactionary power — if it continues to defend the existence and stability of the Russian empire.

We fear that if the United States agrees to continue its discussions with the USSR without establishing definite pre-conditions, this would be tantamount to its acquiescing to the military occupation of Afghanistan in exchange for a temporary concession on the part of Moscow not to intercede militarily in Poland. Afghanistan is on the road to sources of oil and, in the long run, to the mineral wealth of Africa.

It has been estimated that in the not so distant future Russia will have exhausted its oil reserves and, therefore, will attempt to tap the oil of the Middle East. In this way Russia would gain the key to the satellization of the rest of Europe and at the same time the means to acquire anything it needs in exchange for that oil — electronics, technology, bread, etc. Therefore, it is plain madness to even think of giving up Afghanistan. It is also a tragi-comic situation that the Western capitalists on the one hand arm the USSR, and on the other, their own governments beg the Russians for “arms parity at the lowest level”. Hence our suggestion: stop all technological, electronic, commercial and economic aid and trade with the USSR and its satellites.

It is true that in a sense the empire sits on top of a volcano. Any attempt on its part to somehow resolve the crisis in Poland threatens the further existence of this empire. An occupation of Poland by additional military forces would bring about a Russo-Polish war, which will subsequently have its repercussions in the international sphere and in the USSR itself, further complicating the already tenuous internal situation within the empire — regardless of the probable brevity of a military campaign in Poland. If the revolutionary processes in Poland are further tolerated and allowed to develop, without being countered by force or subversion, then the power and authority of the communist party, i.e. the Russian imperialist, will be irrefutably broken, with all the evident repercussions in the subjugated nations. We must remember that the liberation processes are power, and power means authority. Can the imperialist-colonial regime share authority with those that it has enslaved and colonized?

We think not.

As we know the world opinion is excited and surprised by the events in Poland, but does not want to admit that all this has already happened before.

We may recall that 40 years ago the restoration of Ukrainian statehood was proclaimed in Lviv, capital of Western Ukraine by a Ukrainian National Assembly, at the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

June 30, 1941, marks the beginning of a period in our history, known as the *Ukrainian Underground State*, which lasted well into the 1950's, when the military units of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) were still waging an armed struggle in defence of Ukrainian independence and statehood.

As a result of this proclamation, the Ukrainian nation waged a war of liberation, fought on two fronts against both Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia — two of the biggest imperialistic totalitarian and military powers of the 20th century.

It is worthwhile to underline that Ukraine entered the war against Nazi Germany almost half a year earlier than the United States itself: Ukraine on June 30, 1941, and the United States of America on December 11, 1941. A similar situation existed in Lithuania in 1941. It is my view that the act

of June 30, 1941, was of deep historical significance, not only for Ukraine and for the subjugated nations, but possibly for all of Europe and the Free World. Had the Western Allies established a common front with Ukraine, and its 53 million people — the largest subjugated nation on earth — World War II would have ended with a total victory for the world of freedom and justice not only over Nazi Germany but over the Russian communist prison of nations as well. As a result, the world today would not have to contend with the threat of an atomic holocaust. Following a period of animated activity of consolidation of the newly-formed state, I and other members of our government, as well as Stepan Bandera, were arrested and sent to Nazi concentration camps for many years. The Gestapo murdered three members of the government.

On three separate occasions I was confronted with an ultimatum from the highest levels of the German Reich to revoke the declaration of national independence, to resign as Prime Minister and to dismiss the government. Each of these demands was adamantly rejected and I remained incarcerated in a German concentration camp almost to the end of the war.

A state of war between Germany and Ukraine lasted four years. Many thousands of Ukrainian nationalists and other patriots were executed upon capture. Hundreds of thousands were put in prisons and concentration camps. The OUN and UPA fought a two-front war of liberation against German and Russian occupiers. The Ukrainian underground state and mass armed struggle lasted from 1941 until 1952. Among prominent enemy personalities who were in action against the Ukrainians were Victor Lutze, general and chief of the German storm troops (the S.A.), the Russian marshal, Nikolai Vatutin, and the vice-minister of defence of Communist Poland, Walter Sverchevski.

The Russian empire, which is needlessly feared by America, is being checkmated by the subjugated nations. Yet the West actually helps to subjugate these nations through its policies of détente and economic, technological and military aid to the empire. Therefore, our first demand is the following: if you do not wish to help us liberate ourselves, then at least stop assisting Moscow in subjugating our countries.

Moscow, being unable to mobilize the working classes against their nations, created a centre of international terrorism, as a means of destroying the free societies of the West. Only Moscow can benefit from the death of such leaders as President Sadat, President Reagan and Pope John Paul II. So President Sadat was murdered, while assassination attempts were carried out against President Reagan and Pope John Paul.

Moscow conducts several types of modern warfare: 1. political, 2. guerilla, 3. peripheral, 4. terrorist, 5. provides military support to and provokes the so-called "national liberation wars" in Africa, Asia and Latin America, 6. foments social revolts and disorganization within Western societies, 7. propagates through its fifth columns artificial anti-Americanism — particularly in Germany, all of Western Europe, the Middle East and Latin America.

In the constitution of the USSR it is noted that the USSR will provide aid to the so-called national liberation movements and social revolts outside the empire.

And NATO? Fundamentally it is a defensive pact with outdated military strategies, which do not correspond to the demands of the era of modern warfare. NATO mistakenly ignores the subjugated nations, considering the Russian empire as a homogeneous state, while in the USSR the subjugated nations constitute the vast majority of the population — excluding the so-called satellite states. Instead of bringing the liberation war to the territory of the enemy, namely by providing support to the national liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations inside the Russian empire, NATO makes preparations for a nuclear confrontation, thus surrendering itself to complete failure. Truly such a strategy is entirely anachronistic. In this context we should like to warn America that before contemplating a nuclear attack upon targets in Ukraine, it should consider that Moscow deliberately deployed its missiles on Ukrainian soil, so that in case of war, Ukraine and other nations subjugated by Russia, would bear the brunt of an American attack with the surviving population turning against the Western Allies. This will result, just as in Hitler's case, in a defeat for the USA and her allies. Many West Europeans do not want a proper Western defence policy in Europe. They want destruction limited only to the superpowers. They want Western Europe defended without any risk to European lives.

Under the new isolationist strategy, a Soviet Russian attack on Europe should be followed immediately by a nuclear attack on the Soviet Union by the USA. If US troops in Europe cannot be backed up with nuclear tactical weapons, including the neutron bomb, to offset an overwhelming Warsaw Pact conventional superiority, and especially if they are faced with a build-up of Soviet SS 20 nuclear missiles, the US forces would become nothing more than hostages of their own strategy. They would only be there to die or surrender rather than fight. Their ill-equipped presence is not even a deterrent. We stress again that the guarantee for victory lies not in feeble-hearted Western Europe, but in the subjugated nations — the neglected superpower.

What is necessary at the present time?

1. A centre of psychological warfare must be created, which should be founded on the political and ideological concepts of ABN, and be under ABN direction with branches established in:
  - a. Western Europe, and targeted at the subjugated nations within the USSR and the "satellite" countries.
  - b. the Middle East, and targeted particularly at Afghanistan and the African Nations.
  - c. Latin America, and targeted at Cuba.
  - d. South-East Asia, and targeted at Vietnam.
  - e. the Far East, and targeted at Siberia.

The major objective of this centre would be the promotion of the idea:

of national liberation on all levels of society in the subjugated nations (particularly the Soviet army) on the basis of political co-operation with the national liberation centres or organizations of the subjugated nations.

2. Military training in guerilla warfare must be offered to the Afghan revolutionaries, as well as to the emigré members of the nations subjugated in the USSR and the satellite countries.

We demand that the West immediately provide military aid to the Afghan fighters — the Mujahideen — in the form of arms, anti-helicopter and anti-tank weapons, surface-to-air-missiles, mine detectors, communication equipment, etc.

3. On the forum of the United Nations and elsewhere in the international arena, the West must recognize the legitimate representatives of the subjugated nations, i.e. the representatives of the national liberation movements.

4. The representatives of the national liberation movements of the subjugated nations must have at their disposal the necessary modern technical means for promoting effectively their struggle, e.g. access to mass media and communications facilities.

The West must actively support the Cuban freedom fighters, so that they may overthrow Castro's regime in Cuba, which will immediately resolve the problem of Bolshevik subversion in Latin America and Africa.

On the forum of the United Nations, the West must resolutely pursue the issue of condemning Russian imperialism and colonialism and question the right of Moscow and its lackeys to speak on behalf of the subjugated nations. Also, as a concurrent measure, the West must give the national liberation organizations of these nations political status, as was granted to other revolutionary representatives. At the same time the West must demand the effective expulsion of the USSR and the satellite representatives from the United Nations.

NATO should establish a radio broadcasting station for the use of the ABN and OUN, and the content and political aims of the Ukrainian broadcasts of Radio Liberty ought to be changed in accordance with the needs and demands of the revolutionary national liberation struggle.

5. The nations of the Free World should proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF INDEPENDENCE for all of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

6. The United States, as the champion of freedom and justice, should establish a Washington-Shevchenko world freedom academy, as a counterpart to the Moscow Lumumba University, which trains imported terrorists for the implementation of Russia's imperio-colonial policies throughout the world.

7. A department of liberation warfare and insurgency should be established within the Pentagon and/or the headquarters of the NATO alliance.

8. We are also convinced that the Chinese, with their culture of many

millenia, will return to their Confucian traditions and the national political concepts of Sun Yat-sen, and with their own intrinsic forces will overcome the Bolshevik way of life, which was forced upon their nation.

9. We recognize and support the legitimate Chinese claim to the Kuri islands and Sakhalin, presently occupied by Moscow. We fully support the idea of unification of Korea and of Germany. We call on all the nations of the world to actively support the Vietnamese insurgents, and all the patriotic anti-communist fighters for freedom and independence of the nations of Africa, who are defending their native countries from Russian imperialist aggression.

Our demands are not simply the demands of our respective emigré communities, but rather they reflect the demands of those who are in the front lines of the struggle.

During the uprisings in the concentration camps of Siberia in the 1950's (during the Stalin era), the political prisoners demanded that the West support their revolutionary aims — as was outlined by Joseph Sholmer in his book "Vorkuta".

These political prisoners demanded from the West arms, medical supplies, radio broadcasting sets, food, and the like. But, more important, the prisoners were demanding that the West proclaim its support for national independence of the subjugated nations in the USSR!

The fact that Khrushchev deemed it necessary to reorganize the concentration camps and even free many prisoners was no coincidence. The downfall of the empire could have easily begun in the concentration camps. The initial phase of this action was to be a general strike. The organizers were Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Turkestani, and other nationalists and freedom fighters.

We must remember that these demands were born from the reality of the struggle.

General J. F. C. Fuller, in his essay — "Russia is not Invincible" states the following:

"Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against Russia, so in the ABN, however lacking in organization, in 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 one without the other can achieve what should be the western aim — not the containment of communism and Russian imperialism but the complete elimination of Bolshevism — without which there can be no peace in the world."

Let me conclude my address with the known ABN slogan: "He who liberates himself, will be free; he who poses as a liberator of others will lead them into slavery".

Freedom ex gratia is not freedom!

## THE MANIFESTO OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN)

The Sixth Supreme Assembly of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — the highest revolutionary and political guiding body of the national-liberation struggle of Ukraine — turns to You, our great Ukrainian nation, in this decisive moment in world history, in this period of global revolutionary upheavals, at this time when the revolutionary situation in the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and its “satellite” countries — is becoming increasingly acute.

**UKRAINIAN PEOPLE, OUR NATION OF HEROES,  
AND INDOMITABLE FIGHTERS!**

Forty years ago, on June 30, 1941, by Your will and on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, an All-National Assembly, presided over by Yaroslav Stetsko, proclaimed in the city of Lviv the renewal of Ukrainian Statehood. This momentous deed was carried out against the will and without the knowledge and/or approval of Nazi Germany. This Act of Independence heralded the beginning of a new epoch of Ukrainian Statehood and signaled the start of a two-front war of liberation against the two largest and most monstrous military, totalitarian, colonial tyrannies in the world — Bolshevik Russia and National-Socialist Germany — the mortal enemies of Ukraine and other subjugated nations.

Ukraine’s two-front war of liberation lasted for over a decade. It was organized and led by the armed underground of the OUN and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the command of General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, who was also the Deputy-Minister of Defence in the sovereign Ukrainian Government (UDP) led by Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko. Following the seizure and imprisonment of Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko, the members of the Ukrainian Government (three of whom were executed by the Gestapo), tens of thousands of OUN nationalists-revolutionaries and countless Ukrainian patriots were also incarcerated in Nazi death camps. Nonetheless, the UDP never succumbed to Hitler’s ultimatums to dissolve, and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), under General Roman Shukhevych’s guidance, carried on with the functions and duties of the Ukrainian Government, thus maintaining the continuity of national authority in Ukraine.

It took the Russians, together with the Allied Forces, four full years to defeat Germany in the East. Ukraine on the other hand, was able to continue her armed struggle for liberation for over ten years, maintaining sovereign authority over vast areas of Ukrainian territory. It is significant to note that Ukraine declared war on Germany on June 30, 1941, over half a year before the United States was manoeuvred into the war on December 11, 1941.

Moreover, the Russian imperialists collaborated with Nazi Germany for two full years, from 1939 to 1941, supplying the German war effort with invaluable technical assistance and material support, such as oil and grain. The two principal co-conspirators and instigators of World War II were Bolshevik Russia and Nazi Germany — the Central Committee of the CPSU and the NSDAP.

Subsequent to Germany's defeat, the Ukrainian Insurgent-Underground State (1941-1951) of the UDP-OUN-UPA-UHVR, founded by the Act of Independence on June 30, 1941, led a war against the armies of the Tripartite Pact concluded in 1947 between the USSR, communist Poland and the CSR, whose sole purpose was to defeat Ukraine's revolutionary armed forces and thus re-impose Russian colonial domination over all of Ukraine. The heroism of our patriots from Lemkivshchyna and Kholmshchyna saved millions of Ukrainians living in the western and central regions of Ukraine from mass genocide and forced deportations to Siberia.

### UKRAINIAN BROTHERS AND SISTERS!

With our dynamic, indestructible, revolutionary potential; with our system of values and ideals of renewal; with our huge population and the creativity and inventiveness of our talented people; with our economic potential and crucial geopolitical position — Ukraine is the pivotal revolutionary factor for resolving the world political crisis. Through the revolutionary re-establishment of Ukrainian Statehood, the Russian empire will cease to exist as will its enslaving communist system. As a result, the political map of the world will be fundamentally changed. With the dawning of a new age of freedom and justice and a world order founded on the national principle of mutual respect for each nation's right to freedom and independence, a return to the imperialist past will no longer be possible.

We turn to You, our People, as Your loyal sons and daughters, seeking only to guarantee Your well-being and to fulfill Your will, manifested through Your authority as the heart and soul of our Nation's quest for an Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State. We are fighting for Your rights, that every free and sovereign nation enjoys when master of its land.

We do not seek personal power. We do not want special privileges or advantages for ourselves. As You know, ours is a fate of prison cells, torture, starvation and draconian persecutions that we, Your sons and daughters, warriors of the OUN and UPA, insurgents-revolutionaries, have borne in the past and are prepared to bear in the future. Happiness can never be ours, because we burn with the shame and disgrace of Russian bondage, which has shackled our heroic, valiant and highly civilized Nation. We aspire to erase this shame, this dishonour from our great Nation, which is fighting for the most noble of ideals of all humanity. Where is the grave of the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA? Where are the graves of the thousands upon thousands of martyrs, who have fallen on the field of glory for Your freedom? Not even their mothers, wives, or children can

tell us. Having tortured our comrades to death, the satanic Russian sadists are desecrating their graves.

On our land one never sees a monument to the Unknown Soldier of Ukraine. However, we know that all warriors for truth, liberty, honour, national independence and justice are all known to God. Continue our revolutionary tradition of building earthen monuments of our sacred native soil to the heroes of Ukraine, emblazoned with the words — “*To the Heroes of Ukraine — known only to God*”.

Today there are states, who have yet to complete the process of nation-building, but who, nonetheless, already enjoy the rights of national independence and statehood. *And You, our noble Nation*, victimized by the Russian enemy, continue to languish in captivity. But You — a Nation of Titans — *cannot be denied*. The hand of Providence is guiding You in Your great mission.

Humankind is being thrust forward by the irresistible force of the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, which is tearing assunder the empires of the world and replacing the artificial, imperialist constructs with organically constituted national, sovereign and independent states. The banner of this irresistible progressive process is being carried by Ukraine — a vanguard force in advancing the idea of opposing all forms of imperialism with that of national independence and statehood.

Ours is a life-and-death struggle. Kyiv has risen against Moscow. The light of Saint Sophia and Saint Yuriy are advancing on the darkness and tyranny of the Kremlin and Zagorsk.\* Zagorsk is the symbol of the “Caesaropapistic” Church of the Russian empire! The Kremlin symbolizes the militant atheism of the Russian communist system of subjugation — the torture chamber of nations and individuals! The irreversible process of disintegration of empires had been temporarily inhibited during World War II because of the senseless policies of the Western Allies on the borders of the Russian empire: instead of leading a crusade against both tyrannical, imperialist systems, namely Nazism and Bolshevism, the Western Allies demolished the former at the expense of assisting the latter in the establishment and consolidation of its hegemonistic domination over the world.

God’s Providence has imparted and entrusted You, *our Ukrainian Nation*, with a great mission: the ethical, moral, political, and spiritual rebirth of all humankind within the context of a heroic conception of life, the ideals of liberation nationalism, and a heroic Christianity, which posits the purpose of human beings, created in God’s image, in their service and dedication to higher and nobler pursuits, rather than in base inclinations to materialism, hedonism, and service to the “golden calf” of material values.

\* Saint Sophia and Saint Yuriy are both ancient Ukrainian Cathedrals in Kyiv and Lviv respectively; Zagorsk is a monastery in Russia, centre of the Russian Orthodox Church, which serves the interests of Russian communism and imperialism.

We have dedicated ourselves to the more noble spiritual values in life. In aspiring to serve our nation, we respect the right of every nation to independence and sovereignty and the basic, inalienable rights and liberties of every individual, regardless of race, religion, or national origin.

A new global revolution is imminent—a revolution of the spirit, of morality, of an ethos of free and unfettered labour, of a cult of heroism, of respect for ascetism, and for liberty, as the foundation upon which the higher values in life can be realized. These values include the idea of justice for all in a world without serfs and masters, without slaves and tyrants, without exploiters and the exploited, so that there may be **HUMANS** on this earth—as creations of the All-Mighty God, so that nations may be free and independent in their own sovereign states, as a conception of God, as the cornerstone of God's order on this earth. This impending revolution will bring forth the victory of a heroic humanism, a heroic humanity over the kingdom of hatred and despotism! Once the absurd notion of a slave without rights is expunged from the consciousness of the individual, all colonialism also perishes as an unnatural, un-Godly, criminal system of subjugation.

#### **DEAR NATION OF OURS!**

Forty years ago the course of history reached a crucial juncture. The fate of many nations was being decided on the balance scales of history, as the objects of the imperialist ambitions of two totalitarian, imperialist powers: Nazism and its prototype — Bolshevism. At that time, the OUN, in its Manifesto from December, 1940, proclaimed the principles for the creation of a new and just international order, founded upon the right of every nation to independence and sovereignty. This Manifesto was a direct challenge to the imperialist, neo-colonial ambitions of Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. In the name of these principles the OUN rose up in arms, entering the battle of ideas and concepts.

The two-front war of liberation of Ukraine, undertaken under the banner of Freedom for Nations and Freedom for the Individual, exhorted and inspired the subjugated nations of the East and West to rise in a common front against both of these inhuman systems of tyranny and imperio-colonialism, to destroy both satanic, racist, anti-human empires, and to erect on their ruins a system of national independent states, each within its ethnographic boundaries. Then we envisioned a world without colonies and empires, a world without slaves and their masters-despots! This was a far-sighted step taken by Your sons and daughters from the OUN and UPA, whose Testament of Truth was the Act of Independence of June 30, 1941, and the founding principles of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), established on our initiative on November 21-22, 1943.

The Ukrainian Insurgent-Underground State of the UDP-OUN-UPA-UHVR survived for over a decade despite seemingly indomitable odds. The insurgent-revolutionary strategy that we formulated ourselves and in-

stituted in the two-front war of liberation became and continues to be the guiding semaphore of our liberation struggle. This strategy could have led to the destruction of both despotisms with a minimum loss of life. But the West failed to comprehend the vital importance of this modern strategy of waging a liberation struggle. In light of the present thermo-nuclear and electronic age, this strategy acquires all the more significance. Any and all nuclear weapons are rendered useless in an all-national revolution, when an entire nation takes to the barricades. By its insurgent-revolutionary strategy, the OUN and UPA saved our nation from mass genocide at the hands of the German and Russian oppressors. Yet, our warning, our revolutionary semaphore was not understood by the Western Allies.

We were left alone against all the hegemonic powers of this world. Yet in the end, we emerged victorious! Ours was a moral and political victory! And once the atom bombs began to fall, once the threat of a thermo-nuclear war became more acute, the irrefutable driving logic of our Ukrainian alternative became all the more evident.

#### OUR UKRAINIAN NATION!

In this frightful age of thermo-nuclear armaments, Ukraine is the beacon of hope and salvation for all humankind. Ukraine's potency in this regard stems from our deep understanding of spirituality, idealism, liberty and national independence, all of which, taken together, are much stronger than thermo-nuclear bombs! The Achilles heel of the Russian prison of nations — the USSR and the "satellite" countries — is the subjugated nations, which constitute two-thirds of the population of the empire. The world's path of salvation from a thermo-nuclear Armageddon lies in the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations, that are internally tearing the Russian empire assunder. In a common front with the other subjugated nations, Ukraine is again presenting all freedom-loving humanity with a way out of this grave crisis, just as she did forty years ago.

On behalf of the Ukrainian nation and all the other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism, we are sending the following message to all the freedom-loving peoples of the world: after having fought and defeated Germany and its National-Socialism and after having maintained a state of war against Russia and its communist system for over sixty years, we will continue to lead a war of liberation together with the other subjugated nations employing our modern revolutionary means of struggle *as the new ideological-political and spiritual superpower of the world!*

Our revolutionary forces are also armed with modern technological means of warfare. Our sons, who are forced to serve in the Soviet army, are equipped with modern weapons. The enemy has no other choice but to arm our young men. In cognizance of this fact and with a full sense of responsibility for the salvation of all humankind from an atomic catastrophe, we extend our hand to the West not in search of unilateral

assistance, but in the hope that a mutually beneficial common front between the subjugated nations and the Free World can and must be forged. Our only precondition is that our political concept, aims, strategy and typology of struggle be respected and recognized: the dissolution of the Russian empire and the dismantling of the Bolshevik system of slavery from within through simultaneous and synchronized national revolutionary uprisings and the revolutionary re-establishment of national independent and sovereign states of the subjugated nations within their ethnographic boundaries.

We call upon all the nations of the world — whether free or enslaved whether recently or long-since subjugated — to join our Front of Revolution! History has proven that a subjugated nation, waging a national-liberation revolution, never had to pay nearly as great a price in terms of lives lost, as in an imperio-colonial war. A subjugated nation, when forced by her subjugators to fight in an imperialist war, will always suffer heavy losses in human life, since the imperialists minimize their losses at the expense of the subjugated. In World War II, essentially an imperialist war, the Ukrainian nation suffered many million fatalities in the interests of foreign powers. Yet in our two-front war of liberation, in which we employed and fully utilized various revolutionary, insurgent-guerilla methods no more than fifty thousand of our warriors lost their lives in defence of their nation, in defence of their national, insurgent-underground state against the communist Russian and Nazi German invaders.

### PEOPLES OF THE FREE WORLD!

We seek to rid the world of the enemy of all freedom-loving mankind. We aim to achieve this end *without an atomic war*, but through the internal disintegration of the Russian empire through the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations. In advancing our alternative, we concurrently caution the free nations of the world not to ignore our potential and actual strength and not to attempt to use any type of thermo-nuclear weapons on our lands, simply because of the West's lack of conventional military armaments and preparedness, which in itself is a result of its hedonistic, comfortable and self-complacent lifestyle.

Tyranny and terror are no longer capable of evoking fear in the subjugated. This fear has already been broken! A new era is dawning — the era of revolutions and national wars of liberation! The West can either take the side of revolution or the side of reaction, namely, the preservation of the stability and perpetuity of the Russian empire and its communist, bolshevik system. There are no thermo-nuclear weapons that can oppose the force of liberation nationalism, since these weapons are also in the hands of the freedom-fighters. *Nations have risen, and nothing can stop them!*

The West ignored our alternative during the Second World War. Now the free nations of the world can no longer afford to ignore this alternative,

since otherwise they will perish in a global thermo-nuclear conflagration.

On the balance scales of history there now lie two diametrically opposed forces: the "Soviets", i.e., Russian, racist "supernation", — and the multifaceted mosaic of national cultures, nations, as a conception of God, individual human beings, created in God's image. Nations against empires! Freedom and national independence — against slavery and national subjugation! Ours is a worldview of humanity, that posits an organic, free and just world community of nations, each of which contributes its share to God's treasure-house of spiritual creativity in opposition to imperialism, colonialism, and racism of all kinds! Ukrainian nationalism posits a concept of social justice and of a just distribution of wealth in opposition to the accumulation of this wealth in the hands of a totalitarian "super-state" or a system of financial capitalism, with the negation of private ownership on a mass basis, also with regard to the means of production!

The time has long since passed when the great and powerful Ukrainian nation, with its national and cultural traditions of many millenia, was only a footnote of history. Ukraine will never be a new Hiroshima or Nagasaki! Our land will not be the thermo-nuclear experimental laboratory of the superpowers! No forces of this world will be able to dishonour our Nation, our heroes and warriors, who simultaneously fought against both of the criminal, genocidal, colonial systems of Bolshevism and Nazism, bearing incalculable sacrifices in this struggle. It would be a heinous crime against God and all of humankind to attempt to discredit the bearers of great ideals of renewal in the spirit of heroism and liberation nationalism, since they are the heralds of the only path of salvation for all humankind from global Bolshevik destruction.

*A liberation Revolution is the only alternative to a thermo-nuclear holocaust!*

For this reason one OUN radio-broadcasting station would be many times more powerful in the war against Bolshevism than an atom bomb. One insurgent detachment would be by far more significant than several nuclear missiles, whose reverberating ricochet of death would leave its indelible mark not only on Kyiv but on Washington as well. *National revolutions liberate nations; atomic wars destroy them!*

The revolutionary-insurgent forces of the OUN-UPA fought on two fronts. The Ukrainian soldiers in the Red Army also assaulted Berlin, which, like Moscow, attempted to vanquish the idea of an Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State and to enslave the Ukrainian people. Our soldiers expected to turn their weapons against their Russian oppressors at an opportune moment after defeating Germany in a final struggle for Ukrainian Statehood. Let this fact serve as a reminder for NATO.

UKRAINIAN NATION, You are the only indigenous inhabitant of Your land, on which You have lived and prospered for many long centuries. You have carried within Yourself the millenium-old relics of the Ukrainian Indi-

vidual, dating as far back as the Paleolithic age. Your historic roots are to be found in the highly-developed culture of Trypilia, which at that time represented the zenith of agricultural civilization in Eastern Europe. Regardless of the formal name under which national-state activity began or Your land, You, and no one else, created the great Antae state. You were the architect, the founder of the powerful Kyivan Rus'-Ukrainian Kingdom which raised the banner of Christ's faith and the "Truth of Rus'" that were to become the mission of Your life. You then continued this mission in the Halych-Volyn' Kingdom, after Your golden-domed Kyiv fell under the onslaught of the Tartar intruders. And when You and all of Europe were being threatened by a new wave of Turko-Tartar invasion, You proudly and intrepidly took up the first line of defence, the impregnable bastion of which became the Zaporizhian Sich, which also gallantly protected you from the Polish and Russian invaders.

In this century, after languishing in captivity for many long years, You again rose up in arms and renewed Your statehood in 1918 in the form of the Ukrainian National Republic, or, for a short period, the Independent Ukrainian Hetman State, thereby guaranteeing the future continuity of the struggle for Ukrainian statehood, independence, and sovereignty, despite the colonial quadri-partition of Your land by its occupants. Furthermore, in spite of the Russian siege of Your land by starvation and mass terror, You continued to manifest Your right to national statehood at every opportunity and on every enclave of Ukrainian land, an attestation of which was the creation of the Carpatho-Ukrainian State in 1939, subsequently crushed by a new colonial invader.

In Your two-front war of liberation, You engendered the most recent period of Ukrainian Statehood — *the Ukrainian Underground-Insurgent State of the UDP-OUN-UPA-UHVR (1941-1951)*. In defence of this state You gave birth to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which, together with the armed revolutionary OUN underground, fought for over a decade to secure Your Statehood on the vast expanses of Your land. All of the above historical periods were epochs of our Ukrainian Statehood, not only as separate administrative forms but as spiritual-qualitative categories, as His Holiness, Patriarch Josyf I, teaches us in his Epistle on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the re-establishment of Ukrainian Statehood by the Act of Independence of June 30, 1941.

In 1979 we commemorated the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), our all-national organization, which stands above the interests of separate social groups or political parties. The OUN places the good of the nation above all particular vested interests. It cultivates an ideal of heroism, as an example for our youth, which must aspire towards eternal, rather than transient, merely material values. The OUN cultivates an ethos of free and unfettered labour, so that the individual can find happiness in life through his creative work and pursuits, rather than treat labour as a punishment from God.

In 1981 we commemorated the fortieth anniversary of the re-establishment of our Statehood. In 1982 we will commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the heroic Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Soon we will be marking the Millennium of the official adoption of Christianity in Ukraine — the Christianity of Kyiv, not Moscow. Moscow did not yet exist when Kyiv was already a centre of culture and science. Kyiv was the torch, the Athens of Eastern Europe. Any Ukrainian State that came into being on our land, whether in pre-Christian or Christian times, was our native State.

The Ukrainian Patriarchate is an integral component of our spiritual state. Its roots reach far back in antiquity, to the time when St. Andrew came to Ukraine, preaching Christ's word on the hills of Kyiv. *The Ukrainian Patriarchate is a direct challenge to Russia*, which has no right to claim patriarchal supremacy over Ukraine. Furthermore, the Moscow patriarchate was bought with soiled money and forced on Byzantium. The battle for the Ukrainian Patriarchate is also a battle for acknowledging the Primogeniture of Kyiv over Moscow. The Ukrainian Nation aspires to be united in one Patriarchal Church, founded by the will of the Nation, by the will of the hierarchy of our Churches — a vision that can only be achieved by way of voluntary agreement. The battle, initiated by the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — His Holiness Josyf I — is an all-Ukrainian battle. Its aim is to overcome once and for all the terror and injustices of Zagorsk, which has no right to speak on behalf of Christian Ukraine, or, for that matter, on behalf of any of the non-Russian Orthodox Churches of the East. Earlier, the great Metropolitan and Martyr of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Vasyl Lypkiwskyi, began this battle by severing his Church from the Moscow patriarchate and returning to the Catacombic Church of the first age of Christianity. Both our Archbishops aspired towards the same goal, as great Sons of Ukraine, Martyrs of their Nation and for her Church. The Ukrainian patriotic community desires a unification of our Orthodox Arch-Episcopates into one Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, as an antipode to the Moscow patriarchate. Our community is promoting the consolidation of our Orthodox Church in a Patriarchate.

## UKRAINIAN NATION!

Your goal remains the same as always — to acquire and re-establish Your sovereign authority on Ukrainian land, on all our ethnographic territories. Without such national authority, You will neither have freedom, nor land, nor will You be able to freely utilize the products of Your labour. In order to establish Your own national authority, You must have power. Power — is an idea, an organization, and armaments, through which authority is established. You must acquire such power, because the colonialist will never voluntarily leave our land, abundant with milk and honey. Might can only be fought with might and not with tears. You have the weapons. Your sons are in the ranks of the Soviet army.

Once You have inculcated them with a fervent national consciousness, they will turn their weapons against the Russian invader-transgressor of our land. You have the weapons. You are not powerless!

NATION OF OURS! We will no longer be the cannon-fodder, the sacrificial lambs for every colonial occupant! Take Your fate into Your own hands! Do not wait on foreign powers for Your deliverance from slavery. Freedom *ex gratia* is not freedom! This maxim is all the more true when these foreign powers would oppose our liberation, opting instead to preserve the inviolability of the empire. A possible military conflict may present an opportunity for liberation. However, this is a remote eventuality, never a certainty. No subjugated nation can afford to wait in its liberation struggle for such eventualities, that may never come.

We have no reason for being in Afghanistan — a country of fighters who seek freedom as we do. Similarly, Ukrainian soldiers are by no means defending Ukrainian interests when forced to fight in Angola, Vietnam, Kampuchea, Cuba, Poland, Nicaragua, East Germany, Ethiopia, Lebanon, Bulgaria, Korea, Mongolia, Georgia, Turkestan, or in any other country of the world. We want to help other nations liberate themselves from under the Russian imperio-colonial yoke, and not to help the Russians subjugate these nations. *Our mission is freedom, national independence and statehood; the goal of the Russian is subjugation and slavery.*

Ukrainians for Ukraine! We must all serve our country, not its hangmen. The Ukrainian Nation must become the master, the sovereign of its own ancestral land. We will consider all non-Ukrainian inhabitants of Ukraine our brothers and sisters on the precondition that they will assist us in razing to the ground the Russian prison of nations and its concomitant Bolshevik system and in driving the Russian invader from our land. Our friend is someone who proclaims his or her allegiance to our ideals. But above all, our friends are those who take up arms and fight alongside our warriors against the Russian occupants of our land in a battle of life and death. A Russian, born in Ukraine, will only then be considered a worthy friend of Ukraine when he acts accordingly.

## UKRAINIAN NATION!

The OUN is the bearer of a new political, socio-economic order, the cornerstone of which will be the good of the nation, our Ukrainian Nation, the good and well-being of the family and the individual. We do not seek to build capitalism on the ruins of communism. We envision an order of the rule and sovereignty of the nation, of a Ukrainian democracy, founded upon the spiritual values and social ideals of the Ukrainian Nation. This will be a new, free and just order, one that was envisioned by our great national poet and prophet, Taras Shevchenko, an order without slaves and

their master-despots: "All enemies, foes will vanish, and there will be a son,, and there will be a mother, and there will be human beings on this earth".

National-socialism and fascism were *not* nationalist movements, and they never referred to themselves as such.

Nationalism, in particular Ukrainian nationalism, is anti-racist, anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, anti-totalitarian, anti-communist, and anti-capitalist. Is it not true that imperialism was also inherent to the democratic-liberal, capitalist order? Great Britain was a democratic country, and yet she ruled over the largest empire in the world at that time. President De Gaulle respected the wishes of the Algerian nation and disavowed any French claims to domination over Algeria, in spite of stiff opposition from the French socialists and a number of liberal groups.

Nationalism is an ideal, a system that has yet to be fully effectuated in a number of aspects. It posits the citizens of a nation as the sons and daughters of one organic entity. This is precisely what Shevchenko meant when he wrote of "the living, the dead, and those yet to be born".

*We, the OUN, proclaimed our opposition to Nazism and Bolshevism in our Manifesto of December, 1940.* The OUN is the bearer of a system of genuine Rule of the People and national self-authority and sovereignty of the Ukrainian Nation. We do not need to be taught the principle of the rule of the people. Our Zaporizhian Sich, our Cossack epoch, as well as our medieval period of history attest to the fact, that the notion of slavery is foreign to our Nation. The right to a free, direct, secret, nationwide vote will determine the content of our national authority, founded upon an intrinsically Ukrainian philosophy of right, and on the spiritual and social ideals of our Nation. This authority will guarantee the right to private property, the right to ownership, not only of the products but also, in a determinate capacity, of the means of production as well, the right of every tiller of land to ownership of that land, because an individual is truly free only when he or she is also independent from an overseer imposed from above. Our national state will painstakingly care for the good of the whole nation, for the good and well-being of every family and individual, guaranteeing all their inalienable rights and liberties. The exploitation of one class by another will cease. No longer will there be a class of communist exploiters, or a class of capitalists, or large landowners. Our state will foster ideals of heroism in life and devotion to one's fellow human beings for the good of the other, rather than mere egoism or devotion to a class, a clique, or vested interests. The nation itself, through its elected legislative body, will determine the forms of ownership of means of production in a manner that will safeguard freedom and justice in society.

The OUN Programme, adopted by the Fourth Supreme Assembly of the OUN and by the subsequent Assemblies, presents the political and social position of the OUN from the perspective of the interests of the whole nation, the family, and the individual.

## UKRAINIAN NATION!

The instigators of war are the Bolsheviks, the Russian imperialist chauvinists and colonialists, who seek to conquer the world. They are fomenting a new world war.

Our OUN motto is — away with world war! Away with imperialist wars! Away with colonial usurpation of foreign lands! Away with thermo-nuclear weapons! Russian armies — get out of Afghanistan! Get out of Poland, Turkestan, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Hungary, Czechia, Slovakia and other subjugated nations! Moscow — out of Ukraine! *The OUN is for a liberation revolution of nations that will internally tear assunder the Russian prison of nations — the USSR — and will destroy Bolshevism, tyranny, slavery, the “kolkhoz” system, integral etatism, the forced domination by a Russian imperio-colonial occupational system and its communist system of domination over nations and individuals. A liberation revolution will destroy all the forms of Russification, namely, the forced importation of a Russian way of life and Russian norms into Ukraine and into other subjugated nations. Authority will be appropriated by the Ukrainian Nation as a sovereign in its ancestral land!*

*Subjugated nations in the Russian empire, let us begin transforming Russian colonial wars into national-liberation revolutions, into national-liberation wars against Russian imperialism, that will ultimately lead to the dissolution of the empire and the destruction of the communist system of slavery! Only a liberation revolution of nations, not an imperialist war, can raze the prison of nations to the ground! We have the necessary weapons; let us turn them against the colonizer. The imperialists cannot drop atom bombs on the revolutionaries, on the insurgents in our cities and mountains, in our forests and villages, because then they will also be destroying themselves, their occupational military and KGB forces and their lackey servants, and all their colonialists that inhabit our lands by the millions. Pilots, remember that you carry in your bombers the instruments of the destruction of your nations. Turn them against your oppressors, against the centre of the empire, where the imperialist chieftains and international terrorists have their headquarters. Our liberation banner is the liberation concept of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations — the ABN!*

The centre of international terrorism is in Moscow, within the walls of the Kremlin. The murder of all, who stand for truth, liberty, justice, for harmonious co-operation between nations and for a just peace, is planned within those very same walls. Moscow murdered Symon Petlura, Yevhen Konovalets, Stepan Bandera, leader of the Ukrainian National-liberation struggles, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, died a hero in a battle with Russian forces in March, 1950.

We must not create false illusions in the meek hope that the West and NATO will begin to deliver us from bondage. Let us begin our liberation

on our own. The world comes to the aid only of the strong and mighty. The world detests beggars. Do not shoot at the Afghan Freedom Fighters — the Mujahideens. Direct your weapons at the Kremlin imperialists, the oppressors of your nations.

We are also sending *our message to the Russian people*. The bearer of Russian imperialism is not only the ruling elite of Russia, but, generally, the Russian nation as well. This is an undeniable truth that need not be ignored. Without the active support of the Russian nation, the empire would long since have fallen. Bolshevism is a by-product of the Russian spirit. This was ascertained even by a number of prominent Russian thinkers. Russian imperialism, with its insatiable messianism — under the cover of Pan-slavism, “defence of Orthodoxy”, world communist revolution, or the so-called liberation of colonial peoples — has but one goal: to conquer the entire world. Do they truly believe that all of freedom-loving humankind will forever tolerate the imperialist aspirations of Moscow? Do the Russian people truly believe that if they continue their imperialist aggression on the entire world, they will avoid being swept away by all of freedom-loving humankind, in particular by the subjugated nations, who constitute two-thirds of the population of the empire? A Ukrainian political prisoner recently stated that “Russia should not expect to be able to forever trample upon the dignity of nations.” In this era, characterized by the irreversible dissolution of empires, we call upon the Russian nation to desist in its colonial enslavement of nations and individuals and to content itself with its own nation-state within its ethnographic boundaries, because otherwise it will meet a fate not unlike that of the Nazi German empire.

We direct our message in particular to those who are the immediate executors of Russia’s imperialist and expansionist policies — to the Russian soldiers. Whom are you fighting for? For the prison of nations and individuals?! For the enslavement of ever greater numbers of peoples?! For a global KGB concentration camp?! For whom are you sacrificing your lives? For the chains and manacles with which you shackle freedom-loving nations and people?! Either lay down your weapons, or direct them at your chieftains. Drop your bombs on the Kremlin, and put an end to this slavery and tyranny. No one wants to destroy your nation-state, as long as it remains within its own indigenous ethnographic boundaries. May you live there in peace, ridding yourself of all imperialist ambitions, as a tranquil, civilized people, who desire freedom and peace for their children and grandchildren. Do something with your tyrants and pillagers, so that you will not meet a more devastating fate than Nazism. Bring an end to your tyranny and empire before it is destroyed in a long and hard struggle with the subjugated nations. We do not seek vengeance. We only desire our freedom and independence. Build your Russian state on your own indigenous ethnographic lands, but get out of the lands of all the subjugated nations! Get out of Ukraine!

Ukrainians, our salvation lies in simultaneous national and social liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations against Russian imperio-colonial slavery and the Bolshevik system.

*Our fate is in our hand; our standard-bearer is the OUN!*

All the nations of the world aspire toward freedom and independence, and all desire to avoid an atomic war. The OUN projects an alternative to such a war. In the words of our great poet, Lesya Ukrainka, we declare that *"he who liberates himself, will be free; he who is liberated by another will be led into slavery"*.

*Freedom-loving nations and people of the world, unite in a common struggle under the banner of the ABN against imperialism and communism, for independence of nations and freedom for the individual!*

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists is a host of warriors, the *corps d'esprit* of Ukraine, of the Truth of Ukraine, which will triumph when its bearers are triumphant and ready to die in its name. "You will forge a Ukrainian State, or die in the struggle for It." This is our testament. Hold high our national blue-and-gold flag of freedom and our golden national symbol, the Trident!

*Freedom for Nations! Freedom for the Individual!*

*Kyiv versus Moscow!*

*Glory to Ukraine! Glory to Her Heroes!*

*The VI Supreme Assembly of the  
Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN)*

Autumn, 1981.

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Wolodymyr T. ZYLA

“SVYNSKA KONSTYTUCIJA”\*

A Notable Satirical Work by Ivan Franko

Satire in Ukraine originated in folklore. There were satirical pictures and images in fairy tales, anecdotes, proverbs, small dramatic works and verses from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries. Satire was also widely present in prose literature of that time. The works of Ivan Vyshens'kyi and of other writer-polemicists are emotionally permeated with contempt and scorn. Those authors exploited the elements of folklore and of vernacular Ukrainian and laid foundations for the development of literary satire. Vyshens'kyi, a religious ascetic and satirist by nature, paid great attention to everything that, in his opinion, was negative in social life and deserved to be ridiculed in order to evoke amusement and contempt. His satire was strongly connected with his attitude towards the social and national oppression of the people and tended to correct human vice and folly. Despite the fact that Vyshens'kyi's works did not indicate how to change the situation, they were very much enjoyed by readers who saw in them unqualified condemnation of the difficult life that they wanted corrected because it was incompatible with decent standards.<sup>1</sup>

The *Aeneid* of Ivan Kotliarevs'kyi, which appeared in 1798, presented numerous satiric portrayals of the social faults of the Russian Empire and showed many pernicious practices. This work of strong artistic and satiric elements brought Kotliarevs'kyi much recognition and placed him among talented Ukrainian writers, those who had strong national sentiments.

Effective features of the satire developed by Vyshens'kyi and Kotliarevs'kyi were inherited by Mykola Hohol' (Nicholai Gogol), who in the *Inspector General* and *Dead Souls* revealed in detail the worthlessness of the upper echelons of Russian society and ridiculed despicable practices, usually showing evil in funny, comical or even in grotesque forms.<sup>2</sup>

From the heights of the national ideal, Taras Shevchenko used satire in his works “Dream” and “Caucasus”, works in which he depicted the monstrosity and putridity of the Russian Empire. His aesthetic principles in these works clearly reflected his philosophical and socio-political views. He disclaimed various negative Russian views that were generally proclaimed good and just. He demonstrated their reactionary character and proved, that such practices were destined to die out. In these poems Shevchenko connected laughter and rage: he concentrated upon making the ugly comic, and thereby he removed the deceiving mask and mocked what was underneath it.

\* A constitution for swines — *Ed.*

During the nineteenth century satirical works were written by a number of Ukrainian authors: Hryhoryi Kvitka-Osnovianenko, Petro Hulak-Artemovs'kyi, Ievhen Hrybinka, Leonid Hlibov, Stefan Rudans'kyi, Ivan Nechui-Levyts'kyi, Ivan Karpenko-Karyi, and Ivan Franko. They refined their satire by directing their sharp pens against anything negative in the social and private life of the people. Of exceptional depth and accusatory strength was the satire of Ivan Franko who was a staunch follower of the merciless satire developed by Hohol' and Shevchenko.

Ivan Franko profoundly understood social life and wrote prolifically about it in satirical and non-satirical works, and in his sociological articles. He characterized the West Ukrainian peasant in the following way: "...he is extraordinarily patient, especially when he suspects that they want to deceive him."<sup>3</sup> The government's attitude was truly unfriendly, especially that of the Polish administration. Franko wrote: "They threw out of the room the peasants that they disliked and intelligent city dwellers who could foster a spirit of opposition or of resistance."<sup>4</sup> These were the fruits of Count Badeni's policies in Galicia; people experienced "...an all-round dissatisfaction, a sharp flavour of national hatred, a weakening of respect for law and absence of legal security, a demoralization and venality among the middle class and press, patronage, nepotism and dominance of the ruling clique."<sup>5</sup> Obviously, such an attitude toward the Ukrainian people had a great impact on Ivan Franko, who had a profound "belief in the people" and wrote about actual events and depicted specific conditions in Galicia.<sup>6</sup>

Ivan Franko's satirical works are extensive and diverse. He wrote six long poems, a score of verses, more than thirty narrations and sketches, three comedies, and he produced a number of translations.<sup>7</sup> As A. M. Khalimonchuk writes, Ivan Franko "demanded a bold, unmerciful satire" and he emphasized that the "humorous and satirical element is very rich among Ukrainians; people's sharp witticism and laughter gleaming with tears served as a basis for the immortal works of Mykola Hohol' and gave birth to the remarkable works of Kvitka..."<sup>8</sup> Thus in his satirical poems Franko unsparingly exposed Galician Ruthenism, and in the work "Duma pro Maledykta Ploskoloba" (1878; A Meditation about Maledykt Ploskolob), he unmasked the Russian adherents, the so-called "Muscophiles". And in the poem "Duma pro Nauma Bezumovycha" (1878; A Meditation about Naum Bezumovych). Franko depicted the venality of a member of the Austrian parliament Ivan Naumovych, a leading member of the Muscophiles; he also gave a good account of the parliament itself during the debates covering the approval of the budget. The poem "Botokudy" (1880) is written with no less irony and sarcasm. This poem is a living symbol of all backward and conservative elements. Here Franko sharply condemned the national narrow-mindedness, the political conciliation and the disloyalty of the Galician establishment. "Botokudy" are the representatives of Muscophiles and of the Populist intelligentsia, which looked upon the labour classes as cattle who had constantly to work in

order to provide for a life that offered better opportunities for the "Boto-kudy". While analyzing society and its development, Franko noticed in it many old-fashioned and comic elements which caused him laughter and indignation.

His prose works are also permeated with satire. In them he mercilessly scoured all of the social system and vividly depicted the human frame of mind and its reaction to everything that was dull and awkward. In the series of narrations entitled "Rutentsi" (Ruthenians) that first appeared in Polish, Franko created a number of types and portraits of Galician conservative intelligentsia. For example, Mister Denys is "a healthy and strongly built man, but his face is deathly pale, unimpressive, and his life completely empty."<sup>9</sup> Franko showed in those portraits the defects and shortcomings of a man that he mocked. In the narrative "Kudy divaiut'sia stari roky" (1884; Where the Old Years Disappear) Franko returned once again to the Muscophiles and sarcastically laughed at them. In the satirical talks "Tak rusyn tovksia po tim sviti" (1887; How a Ruthenian Loafed About in this World) and in "Dobrobyt" (Prosperity), the author recreated an extremely difficult reality, centred the reader's attention on serious facts and produced rich material which revealed the situation and enabled his readers to feel artistic truth because of his portrayal of life and people. Franko wrote about the Dobrobyt and asked "why he has to suffer when he is Dobrobyt himself and by all probability receives money from the devil who sits in the reed."<sup>10</sup> But the harsh reality changed the Dobrobyt and his nature; he was no longer ready either for a fight or for cursing; he was no more proud than he was before, whether he died, or changed. "... There is nothing left in him of the old sinful disposition. There is no trace of it, save sometimes when he is dreaming and he may mumble something quite sadly or he may sing the first verse of the song "Where is the Ruthenian fatherland?"<sup>11</sup> In this tale Franko satirized society's view of Dobrobyt by showing how this view derived from the people and how it was again returned to the people and became their powerful weapon.

In the narrative *Istorija staroho kozhukha* (1892; The Story of an Old Sheepskin) Franko carefully utilized the folkloristic material of an old tale in order to depict overall national feelings and awaken the people's hatred and irreconcilability towards everything that was strange and foreign to the impoverished Ukrainian peasant. Franko was sympathetic to the poor Ivan and his family. Thus the satire became more significant, stronger in its depiction of bare reality: "Dear friend, this sheepskin is our only possession!" shouted the peasant, as though he were splashed with boiling water. "Without it no one of us can get out of the house during the winter and walk in the frost."<sup>12</sup> In the satirical narration "Svynia" (1890; Swine) and "*Opozytsiia*" (1891; The Opposition), and in other works, Franko mocked the representatives of the Austrian government and showed their criminal nature and their willingness to accept bribes.

The pinnacle of the satiric presentation that Franko achieved was the

narrative '*Svyns'ka konstytutsiia*' (1896), which he wrote after hearing a speech during the meeting in Zbarazh by the peasant Antin Hrytsuniak from the village of Chernykhivtsi. This is one of the most popular of Franko's narratives which, within a few months, became widely known in the world. In 1896 this narrative appeared in the Radical publication *Hromada* (Community). In the same year, in Franko's translation, it appeared under the title "Pravo bezrogi" (The Right of an Animal) in the Polish newspaper *Kurjer Lwowski* (L'viv's Messenger). It appeared also in a German translation under the title "Das Recht des Schweines" in the Vienna newspaper *Zeit*, then in the German newspapers *Sachsische Arbeiter Zeitung* (Dreseden) and in the *Münchener Post* (München). It was also printed in the Muscophile newspaper *Russkoe slovo* under the title "Pravo bezrogi", but without the author's name, and in the populist press *Bat'kivschyna* and *Svoboda* under the title "Pravo svyni" (The Right of a Swine).<sup>13</sup> Thus, it can be boldly said, as Franko wrote, "that not a single *rus'kyi* (Ukrainian) work became, in such a short time, so widely known as the narration by Hrytsuniak and not a single work gained so much sympathy for the Ukrainian peasant among the people in the world, and brought about a better understanding of the situation. Not a single meeting's speech, however, strong or clever it might be, caused so much trouble to its adversaries as this simple narration by Hrytsuniak."<sup>14</sup>

As was already said about his narration "*Svyns'ka konstytutsiia*", Franko used the peasant's speech which was given in November of 1896 during the election meeting in Zbarazh. Franko dedicated this work to Antin Hrytsuniak — the peasant who gave the speech. The election meeting, as it is described by Iats'ko Ostapchuk, had attracted Ivan Franko to whom the assembly gave a warm welcome. In his presentation Franko spoke about the constitution and about the role of the people's representatives in the State Council. As Ostapchuk writes, Franko "spoke in a simple, clear, and easy way without any strain. Each word, each thought were easy to understand. Using examples and appropriate anecdotes, Franko made his speech even more lucid. He spoke briefly, but he exhausted everything that could be said at such a meeting where on the agenda, besides elections there were other problems equally important."<sup>15</sup> After Franko, Andrij Shmigel's'kyi spoke. In his presentation, he gave a solid picture of the impoverishment of the Ukrainian people who waited for land and freedom and somehow could not get them. Before the meeting ended, in response to the Chairman's inquiry as to whether anyone had anything else to say, there came to the table "a thin old man with old hair cut short in the front with a forehead covered with deep wrinkles. It was Antin Hrytsuniak. "Humour and irony," continues Ostapchuk, "were in his lustrous eyes. Hrytsuniak brilliantly reported his conversation with one of his acquaintances who, when asked how he lived, answered that he lived well, because there is no more serfdom, we have a constitution and all are equal before the law. In reply to it, Hrytsuniak gave him a number of

examples in order to prove that the peasant's life did not change much after the abolition of serfdom and that equality before the law exists only on the paper.”<sup>16</sup>

The narrative “*Svyns’ka konstytutsiia*” consists of two parts. In the first part the author showed that serfdom was comparatively a lesser bondage for peasants than the “present distress” — a complete dependence of the free peasant on a landlord's estate. In the second part the author portrayed the material and moral humiliation of the peasant that was much more dreadful than the physical punishment during serfdom. And those are the products brought by the Austrian constitution of 1867.

Franko had evaluated this constitution already in 1878, when he wrote that “according to the law present equality seems like somebody will try to convince the hungry that he has the right to be satisfied, but will not give him bread; what difference does it make that on paper we are all equal according to the law, when in the reality all around one can see that this is not true.”<sup>17</sup> Franko wrote about this in 1890 in his narration “*Svynia*”, when he was uncovering the harsh Austrian reality. There he said “All around they say the swine puts its snout. Wherever you glance at the social order you will see the swine's ear put to the forefront.”<sup>18</sup>

Franko lived with this reality, studied it and understood it better and better with each year: reality was becoming for him more tragic and more ponderable, and in 1896 he gave it the most deadly characteristic, calling it the reality of a “*Svyns’ka konstytutsiia*”. Moreover, he contrasted the swinish constitution to the peasant constitution, using Hrytsuniak's narration in the contrast. In this narrative there are curious satiric situations. They are simple, but interesting and spontaneous. The writer uses the speech of an illiterate peasant in order to portray the essence of the constitution and does it not in the form of a debate, but in the form of a narration that takes place on two different planes: (1) An official approaches a [peasant's] sow and with his knife cuts the cordage on her feet, but does this so strongly and so quickly that he mutilates her feet. “‘Go to the police! We have to punish you properly!’ shouted the implacable official and swine protector,”<sup>19</sup> to the poor peasant who carried the swine to the market, and (2) “Two chained men and a gendarme quietly passed through the toll station in front of the [same] angry official. But the angry official [this time] did not act, and asked no questions. He instead stood up and nicely bowed in front of a mere gendarme.”<sup>20</sup> And Hrytsuniak concluded this account as follows: “Here my dear friend, that is the way a peasant constitution looks. The peasant must envy the plight of an ordinary swine.”<sup>21</sup> Even, one might add, with her mutilated feet.

“The comparison,” writes Khalimonchuk, which “the satirist used acquired a special meaning; it became incriminating in its character, it became symbolic: on one side as Franko called it there existed the right of a swine — the Swinish constitution — and on the other side there was a complete and unprecedented want of justice, an absence of elementary laws

for the protection of a man, and all this occurred under the coverage of a constitution designed to protect people. On this comparison rests the narrative."<sup>22</sup>

After the meeting Franko continued to talk with the old Hrytsuniak, "and the old man enjoyed the greatest happiness," writes Ostapchuk, "that he found such a outstanding listener, one who preserved in his congenial memory everything that he heard on this memorable evening and one who passed it on to coming generations."<sup>23</sup> When the "*Svyns'ka konstyutsiia*" appeared in print, Hrytsuniak, continues Ostapchuk, "was puzzled about how Franko could transmit it so accurately. He was suspicious that Franko had recorded the speech in shorthand. No, I said, Franko did not make any notes. I watched him all the time, because I was interested in how he would react to it. He was simply glued to your figure by his ears and eyes, as you spoke. He smiled, was opening his mouth, screwing up his eyes and laughing. But during all this he did not write a word. Then Hrytsuniak gasped: 'Well he has a great memory, when everything can so easily adhere to it!'"<sup>24</sup>

Here it will be quite appropriate to say a few words about the discussion that started among some of the Franko scholars: should we consider the narration "*Svyns'ka konstyutsiia*" as entirely Franko's work? I consider that this narration is Franko's work because in it we notice the expression of his poetic talent related to his experience and his artistic interpretation of fact. He generalized about Hrytsuniak's plot, defined it more accurately, filled it with his own philosophy and provided the narration with his own exclusive creative method. "One has to be a genius in order to rework somebody's work so artistically," says Khalimonchuk. Yet Franko at the very beginning of this narration said that "this is not my spiritual property. I heard this in Zbarazh, in eastern Galicia, from an old peasant by the name of Antin Hrytsuniak, who spoke about this at a public meeting."<sup>25</sup> Thus the author did not consider it a product of his creativity, and he said that he shared the plot with Hrytsuniak, but the writing of the work was exclusively connected with Franko's own psychic and physical forces and thus was a literary work of great socio-political importance. Therefore, it is Franko's literary product because it is an expression of his work which came through the prism of his spirit and his creative talent.

Why is the narration "*Svyns'ka konstyutsiia*" considered the peak of Franko's satiric creativity? At first, its strength lies in its perception of artistic truth and in its portrayal of real phenomena and the characters responsible for its manifestation. Franko truly knew the social order and was able to look at it from all possible perspectives; furthermore, he had the ability to evaluate it and, when necessary, to find the sensitive points so that it might be laughed at and its folly scorned.

Those present at the meeting, even at the beginning of Hrytsuniak's speech, welcomed with applause his statement: "And when I have to speak, then I must have a paper in front of me. Speaking frankly I am

illiterate, but I know my paragraphs and without a paper I cannot speak. Let it be perhaps a tax book."<sup>27</sup> This humorous comment is not given here without a motive; it has its emotional point and creates a necessary reason for a laugh. Those present understood it and reacted not with a good-tempered laugh but with a bitter and cynical one. The tax book is not a simple document; it is a symbol of the collection of money for the state from people who do not have money, but who have to pay. Hrytsuniak knew all this quite well and therefore used the tax book in order to introduce the humorous element and to scoff at the establishment. Some critics saw in it only a manifestation of a warm humour because "Hrytsuniak is an illiterate man, and, in order to influence his listeners, he imitates an orator, who holds in front of him a 'synopsis' of his speech."<sup>28</sup>

With great power, Franko revealed the similarities between the old and new serfdom: "Then each day early in the morning the landlord's ataman walked from house to house, and he knocked with a staff on each door and called 'Hey, you, Ivan, Hryts, Semen, well, come to do your obligation, because otherwise you will be beaten!'" That was the way the old serfdom appeared. "And how is it now for us," spoke Hrytsuniak quietly, "it is true that the ataman does not walk anymore with the staff through the village from house to house. But what does the peasant do? By his own good will, he gets up early in the morning, takes a chicken or 30 eggs and goes himself to this same ataman who is now called 'pan rządcą', and he puts in front of him his present and asks him to be permitted to work the new serfdom on the landlord's fields. And when he comes without a present then 'pan rządcą' will beat him on the back and will leave him in freedom . . . to die from hunger."<sup>29</sup> That is the picture of the new serfdom.

As the above material witnesses, the comparison between the two serfdoms clearly shows the author's determination to throw into relief what they had in common, and to give a strong satirical accentuation that the Austrian constitution did not bring changes for the better, but, on the contrary, it mocked freedom, twisted its aim, maimed its character and by virtue of its laws threw the poor peasant into a desperate abyss. Franko spontaneously drew the background for this comparison from folk sources under a strong social pressure and linguistic impact. After he had changed and adjusted this background to the new situation, he showed its subtle variants that were supposed to contribute to social improvement. The artistry of the narrative resides in its laconic and satiric depiction of society.

No less effective in this work is another comparison of the Austrian constitution with "kerchiefs that lose their colour which then dirties the fingers of man."<sup>30</sup> Here once again one can see the constitution's inaccuracies, its superficiality, by which anything can be covered including crimes, coercion, etc. Here there also prevailed strong irony and mockery that were created by the social phenomena of that reality. Under such conditions it is almost impossible to speak about equality "before the law" because such equality did not exist. And therefore the reader may see the

historical and literary forces of the work as a document of the time that has a strong social vibration: "Then I ask you noble Mister 'Starosta' whether you could not do for me a great favour and change my monetary punishment into a physical one? Thank God I am a strong and healthy man and can survive 50 lashes, but to pay 50 Austrian crowns will be impossible for my poor homestead. So spoke my poor neighbour to Mister 'Starosta,'" said Hrytsuniak, "but 'Starosta' did not honour his will, because we are now all equal before the law, and lashes are not practiced anymore and what is to be paid must be paid even if you have to hatch it from your own knee."<sup>31</sup> Suddenly there occurred a tragic and comic situation which was created by a strengthening of the contrasting notions that "there are no lashes anymore" and "we all are equal before the law," but at the same time there is no freedom in its true meaning and sense, because freedom is enslaved by the constitution, which financially suppresses the poor human being. It is truly a superb way to exploit the social differences for a satiric purpose and to evaluate the Austrian constitution.

The form of free conversation gave Ivan Franko wide possibilities to express his frank opinion. He stressed subjective validation and tried, at the same time, to make certain concepts more concrete: "They say that she (the constitution) is very beautiful and very magnificent. Did you see this real and alive constitution? How can one see it? We all live under it and feel it."<sup>32</sup> Here one can see a bitter humour which reinforces satire. The author deliberately leaves objective concretization and moves into a sphere of abstract notions. The words "beautiful" and "magnificent", although they are of the same descriptive type, do not decrease their meaning, but definitely serve as a factor that provides a better satirical rendering. Herewith the comic situation is obvious and plain; it is strengthened by the fact that life is carefully understood and is guided by the constitution.

Still a much stronger motive that contributed to the satiric effect of the narration is found in the second part, where the author contrasted the "swinish constitution" with the "peasant constitution". "And so, my friend, that is the way the 'swinish constitution' looks and so looks the 'peasant constitution'."<sup>33</sup> The writer here puts his fractional equations concerning the facts to a common denominator and concludes: "The peasant must envy the plight of an ordinary swine."<sup>34</sup> And the thoughtful reader may quietly add: Oh, how painful then was the life of a human being "free" from the serf's obligations who lived in Austria under its constitution. The picture is complete, balanced and without any disproportions. It is clear, stressed by the contrast and strongly motivated by the expressiveness of the presented facts. The narration is dominated by a dualism: two serfdoms, two constitutions which finally become strong artistic weapons of a satire; they enlarge the satire's effectiveness.

In the general plan of the narrative and in its purpose (and to make it humorous and satiric), the author used specifically selected expressions,

characteristic of the speech of the common people, as well as some idioms. Antin Hrytsuniak who appears with a speech before the election meeting is himself illiterate, but very clever and ingenious; he could bring the people easily to laugh and to become enthusiastic and at the same time he could interest them in national, political, and social problems. The narration itself is very much alive, dynamic, free of unnecessary details, and it is a highly pictorial representation of the Galician Ukrainian reality at the end of the nineteenth century.

In conclusion it is necessary to stress that the narrative "Svyns'ka konstytutsiia" is one of the finest of Franko's works in the field of satire<sup>35</sup> It shows his great creative ability and his ability to handle a difficult topic and produce something that can be justifiably called a classic because it has a great appeal and deals with a conflict between a man and the establishment. The author is a genuine human being who cannot stand evil, hatred of a man, his corruption and the conflict within the government, especially when this conflict is tolerated by the supreme law—a constitution. Therefore, the appearance of "Svyns'ka konstytutsiia" signified the birth of a notable satirical work in Ukrainian literature.

## NOTES

1. *Istoria ukrains'koi literatury (History of the Ukrainian Literature)*, ed. O. I. Bilets'kyi, I (Kyiv: Vyd. Akademii Nauk Ukrain's'koi RSR, 1955), p. 74.
2. *Ukrains'kaadians'ka entsyklopediia (Ukrainian Soviet Encyclopedia)*, ed. M. P. Bazhan, 3 (Kyiv: Akademia Nauk Ukrain's'koi RSR, 1960), p. 322.
3. Ivan Franko, *Literaturna spadshyna (Literary Heritage)*, ed. I. I. Bass, 4 (Kyiv: "Naukova dumka", 1967), p. 457. This and all other translations in this article are my own.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 456. 5. *Ibid.*, p. 461.
6. A. M. Khalimonchuk, "Satyra Ivana Franka na feodal'no-burzhuaznyi lad", (*Ivan Franko's Satire Concerning Feudal-Bourgeois System*) in *Slovo pro velykoho kameniara (A Word About a Great Stone-Crusher)*, ed. O. I. Bilets'kyi (Kyiv: Derzhavne vydavnytstvo khudozhn'oi literatury, 1956), I, p. 299.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 299. 8. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
9. Ivan Franko, *Tvory (Works)*, (New York: "Knyhospilka" 1956), III, p. 34.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66. 11. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 88. 13. *Ibid.*, p. 429.
14. *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*, ed. Ie. P. Kyryluk, IV, Book I (Kyiv: "Naukova dumka", 1969), p. 410.
15. Iats'ko Ostapchuk, "Podykh z nedavn'oi buvalschyny: Dumky i spohady z moho zhyttia" (A Breath from the Recent Past: Thoughts and Memoirs from My Life), in *Zbarazhschyna: Zbirnyk spomyniv, stattei i materialiv (Zbarazhschyna: A Collection of Memoirs, Articles and Materials)*, ed. Antin Batiuk (New York: Naukove Tovarystvo im. Shevchenka, n. d.), p. 316.
16. *Ibid.*, p. 317.
17. Ivan Franko, "Katekhizm sotsiializmu" (Catechism of Socialism), in Mykhailo Vozniak, *Narysy pro svitohliad Ivana Franka (An Outline of Ivan Franko's Views)*, (L'viv: Vyd. L'vivs'koho derzhavnogo universytetu, 1955), p. 168.
18. Franko, *Tvory*, p. 344. 19. *Ibid.*, p. 99.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 102. 21. *Ibid.* 22. Khalimonchuk, pp. 335-336.
23. Ostapchuk, p. 319. 24. *Ibid.* 25. Khalimonchuk, p. 334.
26. Franko, *Tvory*, p. 91. 27. *Ibid.*, p. 92.
28. *Istoriia ukrains'koi literatury*, ed. O. I. Bilets'kyi, p. 546.
29. Franko, *Tvory*, p. 95.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 94. 31. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 92. 33. *Ibid.* pp. 100, 102.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 102. 35. Khalimonchuk, p. 338.

*Ivan MIRTCHUK*

## HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

### FOLKLORE

#### Part 4

#### INTRODUCTION

As a result of archaeological findings in the last fifty years, it has been possible to clarify to a certain extent hitherto little researched and not fully systematised historical ethnography. In fact, climatic conditions and scenery which has existed since the Neolithic Age have scarcely changed today. Influenced by the landscape and climate, a type of culture was already under formation in Ukraine during the Stone Age. In its basic forms such as mode of dwelling, agriculture, animal husbandry, handicraft etc., it became the basis, historically speaking, for the development of the material culture of the following epochs. When we speak today of the basic forms of this folk culture, we hardly refer to the present, but rather to events now no longer near in time, whose roots mostly reach back to prehistoric ages. However, once the long vanished past, its influence working for centuries, meets with the slowly disappearing present, a certain continuity and symmetry of form arises which in the course of time does not undergo any major alteration.

When we speak in the following chapters of the present, we mean the period at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century since the gradual inclusion of the entire national territory in the sphere of influence of Soviet power bringing with it the gradual extinction of all folk art.

#### MATERIAL CULTURE — ECONOMY

(hunting, fishing, bee-keeping, animal husbandry, agriculture)

The provision of food necessary for the people was restricted in Ukraine chiefly to agriculture and animal husbandry, and to a smaller extent fishing, hunting and bee-keeping.

Customs and traditions linked with hunting are dying out. They only survive in the Carpathians and the marshes of Polissya where technically still quite primitive forms of hunting with shoddy hunting weapons are used whose manufacture is conditioned by the poverty of the huntsman. Fishing, once very widespread has now become considerably less important as a food source for the population, although it still has a role to play in well-watered areas even today. Bee-keeping is one of the most popular occupations of the population, who follow this pursuit not so much for

profit, more out of a sentiment for tradition. Even bee-keeping requires apparatus. Consequently, various beehives (wall, horizontal and vertical hives) deserve special attention.

In recent centuries animal husbandry has seen major changes. As an independent branch of the economy it still exists—or existed before the 2nd World War among the mountain peoples: the Bojky and Hutsuly in the Carpathians; in agriculture it has lost so much momentum that the cultivation of the soil through the use of artificial fertilizers and due to motorization has become independent of cattle. By “cattle” in Ukraine we mean only oxen and cows, a fact which is important not only to the political economy but has also been of consequence to national customs and traditions. Thus the hearse was drawn not by horses but oxen.

Ukrainians are primarily a farming folk\* and their chief occupation has been agriculture since time immemorial, formerly according to the three-field system. The transition to the multi-field system and rotation of crops has only been recent. During the Bolshevik period for the first time a radical change took place in agriculture: the former farmer sank to the level of a poorly paid farm labourer. As a result, interest in the original methods of work used for centuries died away.

Various cereals and plants were cultivated in Ukraine, wheat, rye, barley, millet and oats in particular; recently there has been a preference for vegetables such as lentils, peas and beans which in due course also became an important component in the food supply. There has been a sharp increase in the cultivation of potatoes, flax and hemp and recently tobacco, wine and hops. In the vegetable garden garlic, onions, beetroot, cabbage and cucumbers thrive and particularly water melon and pumpkins. In the orchard which usually surrounds the Ukrainian peasant cottage there is a profusion of apple, pear, cherry, plum and walnut trees. Ancient practices are also reflected in agricultural implements. For a long time the ancient Slavic “ralo”, the plough-rake was used, which resembles the Roman model (currus). Sickles and scythes were used to cut the corn while flails were used for threshing shaped like the mecklenburg model. All these implements, however, then had to make way for farming machinery and were kept mostly as museum pieces.

The first agricultural work in the new year, ploughing, sowing, and also harvesting and threshing of corn are linked with customs mixed with all kinds of magical ceremonies and heavily superimposed with Christian symbols and elements. The national diet is adapted to the agricultural character of the country and is to a great extent vegetarian. The staple diet is still bread baked from both wheat and rye or barley and oats in the mountain regions. The Ukrainian kitchen has in normal times produced a great variety of dishes, although even here there have been decisive changes. Without going into details, “borshch”, a soup prepared from vegetables and the juice of fermented beet-root and the Christmas dish “kutja” consisting

\* Rather, have been in the past. Ed.

of shelled and cooked wheat, honey and ground nuts should be mentioned as exclusively Ukrainian national dishes.

### TRADES (woodwork, weaving, pottery)

The technique of working raw materials which later lead to the development of handicrafts is also worthy of interest. In olden times each individual sought to master all the crafts so that he could do all the necessary jobs unaided at home and at work. He was able to build a cottage or dwelling himself and construct a cart or sledge. Ukrainians were good woodworkers and fashioners enjoying work as coopers, cartwrights and carpenters, were skilful turners and wheel-wrights and produced wood-carving of high artistic value.

The cultivation of flax and hemp led to highly developed weaving which has been very common since the earliest times. Technically speaking old-fashioned looms are used, however, from the artistic point of view they produce original, valuable patterns. Ceramics are like-wise a common occupation. Those originating from the districts of Pokutya and Poltava have a great wealth of form. The Ukrainian national costume with original forms dating from the Kyiv period and later the Cossack period (16th-118th century). The costumes of the leading classes: the boyars, courtiers and princes from early times and the Cossack rulers, the hetmans and their wives, from the Middle Ages, have been preserved. We do not have any precise details of the clothes worn by the simple folk. In recent times the picture has changed; since tastes in this area have become europeanised, folk costumes are only a topic of interest to us; the very rich embroidery adorns both male and female costumes.

The colourful embroidered shirt is carefully treated everywhere. It is often a true work of art due to its decoration, the sleeves above all. The same rich embroidery is found on the men's woollen overcoats worn only on important feastdays. Geometric patterns are preferred in the decoration. However, in some regions stylised flowers and leaves serve as models.

### ARCHITECTURE (homes, churches, villages)

Ukrainian architecture deserves special attention. Its oldest monuments date from the 11th century. The main type of dwelling in Ukrainian villages, small towns and the suburbs of larger towns everywhere shows remarkable uniformity, broken in various districts only by different building material dependent on the nature of the land: wood in forest regions, clay on the steppes. The typical Ukrainian cottage-house consists of three rooms: a living-room, and a room split by a corridor. The house together with the courtyard form a self-contained farmstead which is carefully fenced in and bordered by the obligatory orchard.

Wooden churches are a major feature of Ukrainian architecture. They were already being built during the Kyiv period and are mentioned in medieval documents as "capellae lignae Ruthenorum". Solid, designed by native architects and of high artistic merit though they were, they had nevertheless to slowly give way to more hardy constructions built from stone and brick. The examples of wooden church architecture still in existence show signs of Byzantine, Gothic and Baroque influences.

The structure of Ukrainian villages which usually do not exceed 1000 inhabitants in the lowlands has various patterns which depend on physiographic and social factors; in the first place the nature of the soil, the morphology and the presence of water, and secondly economic changes and the politics of the ruling powers are decisive factors. Ukrainian villages are predominantly clustered villages; most of the streets are irregular, or the houses stand in a straight line along a road perpendicular to the fields. Besides the former there are, mainly in the mountains, villages consisting of chains of houses, or independent farmsteads. The towns have no characteristic shape and owe their existence very often to the needs of trade, industry and cottage industry.

## SPIRITUAL CULTURE.

(Rituals and customs connected with the Calendar)

The spiritual life of the people is expressed in the various traditions and customs accompanying the whole life of the Ukrainian peasant, in his artistic creation and in folk poetry. "Birth, Baptism, Marriage, Death and Burial are accompanied by ancient, mostly pre-Christian symbolic customs and traditional festive often magical rituals distinguished by exceptional variety and great originality." (Kuziela). Very often ritual formulae and practices are passed on from generation to generation which people today no longer understand. These customs and the creativity of the people reflect its entire history, the cultural influences which have been at play on its territory and also its psychic character. The traditions and customs are mostly connected with the folk calendar and family life. The calendar revolves mainly around the four seasons and the farm work involved in each season including the most important events in family life. The customs group round Christmas and the New Year (Winter Cycle), Easter and Whitsuntide (New Year Cycle), Solstice (Summer Cycle) and the Feast in memory of the dead (Autumn Cycle). They show distinct elements of Greek, Pontic and later Roman Culture superimposed with Christianity. They are linked with ancient ritual cult costumes and round dances with numerous and varied motifs.

There is a great profusion of ethnographic material which springs from the Christmas and New Year's Feast. Christmas Eve, the most important family feast, preserves to the greatest extent, the old traditions and cult ceremonials of a marked agricultural character. The supper consists of

12 prescribed dishes, prepared entirely from the fruits of the fields, the orchard and vegetable garden with a share in a special dish for the dead of the family for whom places are kept free at the table made ready in a corner of the living-room. The Feast of the Blessing of the Water on 19th January — of pagan origin — was later made to coincide with the baptism of Christ after Ukraine became Christian. The Feast is celebrated usually in the open air by the water's edge and attended by a massive congregation. A huge cross made out of ice is erected by the village children. The end of the New Year Cycle is marked by the Feast of the Solstice or St. John's Day on 24th June which even today is imbued with vestiges of the ancient Summer and Spring cults and others, strikingly similar to the wedding customs. The Feast of the Solstice (Ivan Kupalo) marks the high point in Nature's creative powers. On this day Nature wishes to reveal its secrets and treasures. The most powerful medicinal plants grow, the fern, whose flower brings the finder fortune, wealth and knowledge; even the cattle "speak". The supernatural powers are also particularly active and each person should protect himself from evil spirits which again is done by various incantations and magic formulae. Harvest time too is unusually rich in customs the same throughout Ukraine and mainly grouped round three church festivals ("Illya", the Martyrs, and the Transfiguration).

#### FAMILY CUSTOMS (birth, wedding, death)

Of the family events births and weddings deserve special mention. The rituals carried out at birth relate to the three most important moments: delivery, acceptance of the newly born into the community and the child's purification. Each ceremony has a single purpose, the protection of mother and child from evil influences. The wedding ceremony breaks the confines of the family circle, embracing the whole community. They contain numerous prehistoric elements and are a ceremonial mixture in which religio-mystical and historical-social factors intersect, and where more recent economic relations have come into play. They are a reflection of the old wedding and at the same time a synthesis of the primordial tribal cult (rodovj kult) with Christian-Byzantine elements. In the wedding ritual lasting three days (Saturday, Sunday and Monday) accompanied by a whole series of symbolic ceremonies and choral songs we find reminiscences of earlier forms of robber and merchant marriages and the old family way of life. The whole ceremony contains clear traces of the old princely customs also echoed by the old church songs. The Christian element is restricted to the church wedding ceremony which takes place on the Sunday morning before the ritual wedding. Only the latter ceremony gives the newly weds the right to live together legitimately.

The customs and traditions linked with death which display many ancient elements are still preserved in the Carpathians. Death announced by various signs is awaited in the countryside in complete silence. The family con-

concentrate entirely on expelling the soul of the deceased from the home; various steps are taken to do this. The corpse is regarded as something unclean; all house and farm work until the burial is adjusted to this aspect. Not too many tears should be shed over the deceased. Mothers in particular should not complain at the loss of their children. In some regions it is the custom to meet death without mourning. The coffin made of sycamore or spruce contains a tiny window "for the soul". The deceased is supplied with various foods such as bread, salt, a jar of groats, brandy, eggs, apples and money for the journey in the coffin. The belief is widespread that the soul accompanies the corpse to the churchyard and then does not return home once all the ritual and church ceremonies have been completed. The customs linked with death are rich and copious. However, we cannot deal with them in all their detail.

## ELEMENTS IN FOLK POETRY

Ukrainian popular belief rooted in the prehistoric age and only later superimposed by Christian elements is expressed primarily in the animistic interpretation of Nature and its powers and in the clearly defined demonology which everywhere is connected with the cult of the ancestors. The chapter "Ukrainian philosophy of life" contains detailed information on the role of the demonic in Ukrainian popular belief. It can be said here that evil is divested of its demonic nature and does not cause any particularly pronounced feelings of fear among the simple folk. Even sorcery and belief in witchcraft appear in mild forms and are probably of later origin. A major part of old folk beliefs has been preserved in fairy-tales, legends, fables and aphorisms which contain apart from the old life and travel material, a great deal of native, indigenous elements which give an insight into the psychic structure of the people. The most valuable treasure, however, are to be found in Ukrainian folk poetry which on account of its wealth of theme and perfect expression has been admired by foreign researchers (F. Bodenstedt "Poetic Ukraine", 1843). The folk poetry is according to Gogol: "all: poetry, history, and ancestral memorials". It reveals according to one of the first collectors of Ukrainian folk songs, Prince Certelev: "a highly poetic genius in the Ukrainian people, its spirit and the customs of the particular period..."

The environment in which the folk poetry came into being and developed is the village. For this reason it gives us a picture primarily of peasant life. In the Kyivan period even the courtiers fostered folk poetry and contributed to the formation of a knightly epos. The peasants also sang their ritual songs originating from prehistoric times or at least the pre-Kyivan period. Christianity met with a developed and deeply rooted folk poetry whose existence is testified to by the work of old Ukrainian (Rus' — *trans.*) literature of the 11th and 117th century. It contains complaints about the after-effects of paganism and the practice of rituals linked with dancing and devilish

songs. Evidence of the high standing of Ukrainian folk poetry is contained in reports about professional singers and musicians who came from Byzantium or the West to visit Ukrainian cities. They were joined by native "performers" who together with their foreign masters enriched the folk poetry with fresh themes and forms. The first written copy of a Ukrainian folk song originates from the 16th century: the song of Stepan the boyar from Carpatho-Ukraine. In the 17th century the number of written copies increased and the 18th century saw the actual compilation of a whole series of song books of various content in which the folk song was still dominant. The systematic collection and publication of Ukrainian folk poetry in scholarly editions began in the 19th century and continues to the present day. Apart from individual researchers and scientific periodicals, the Ethnographic Commission of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Lviv and the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kyiv deserve credit for work in this field.

THE FOLK SONG (Spring, Harvest songs, Christmas carols;  
Wedding songs and dirge; historical dumy)

Ritual poetry, one of the oldest forms of folk poetry originates from the belief in the magic power of the word, still alive today among broad circles of the population, and expressed in wishes, benedictions and magic formulae. The individual tries with the help of the magic power of the word to influence natural events, everyday occurrences and human relations according to his will, naturally with the proviso that the formal conditions of the magic formulae are observed. The extreme age of the ritual songs is also attested to by the fact that all the wedding songs were sung by two choirs; words, music, dance and dramatic movements blend into the synthetic whole of the choral play as was the case in the ancient Greek Dionysian plays. Christmas carols, *koliady*, spring from the same source. Purely linguistically they resemble the Byzantine "kalandri" and the Roman *Calendae Januariae* which fall during the week after the happy *Saturnalia*: in the second half of December. The Slavic Christmas and New Year customs such as wishes, gifts, costumes and prophecies etc. can be traced back to the same influences which due to indigenous elements are undergoing a change.

The Spring songs are maiden's songs. In them perhaps the ancient character of the choral and dramatic performances are preserved. They contain dramatic elements. There is an appropriate division of roles, various forms of dialogue between the choirs or between a choir and a maiden who attempt to enact the text of the songs by gestures. New Year's songs repeat themes from peasant life though the main emphasis is on erotic elements. They praise the features and beauty of the maiden, ironically drawing parallels between young girls and boys, and emphasising comic moments in married and family life etc. In general they are distinguished by cheerfulness and express the easy-going, optimistic attitude of the village youth.

The traditions and customs linked with the harvest festival are accompanied by songs whose key-note is the glorification of the owner of the farm and his wife. The harvest songs are very similar to the wedding songs. They have preserved the old forms of family life from the age of the Matriarchate. The wedding itself takes the form of a drama whose ceremonies usually last for several days. The role of the bridegroom, bride and partly her parents is passive, more pantomimic. The chief parts are played by the matchmakers (starosty and svakhy), the best-man and bridesmaids and the guests. The choir supports the ceremonies with numerous songs which accompany and illustrate individual moments in the wedding drama. Regardless of regional deviations a general thematic scheme is evident in the songs. They divide into the following groups:

1. Songs, which announce individual acts in the drama, describe and explain them reflecting the moods of the participants (the sadness of the parents about to lose their daughter, the longing of the daughter for her parents' home and her lost freedom, the uncertainty of the future and so forth).
2. Songs, which contain good wishes for the bride and bridegroom calling upon cosmic powers and directing prayers to God and the saints to protect the couple.
3. Songs which praise the bride and bridegroom, their parents, friends and guests.
4. Songs with an erotic, moralising content.
5. Ironic songs directed at the best-man, bridesmaids, matchmakers and guests.

The wedding songs are almost exclusively sung by women, hence their lyrical nature. The same archaic features can be observed in the customs and songs sung at the burials. The beliefs in the domestic power of the dead and their life in the hereafter are the source of the oldest dirge themes, their aim being to part with the deceased peacefully. The pre-Christian themes whose words developed in due course have a metaphoric meaning and become a symbol clothed in poetic form

A special place in folk poetry is taken by historical songs which in a certain sense are a chronicle of the Ukrainian nation in poetic form. These songs known as "dumy" have an elevated recitative style which we have already met in the dirges with certain themes and poetic images. The dumy which take themes from Cossack battles may be regarded as Cossack epos. They did not appear suddenly, but during the 16th and 17th century; they extol the deeds of nameless heroes and contain events and figures characteristic of the Cossack period. Naturally, there are also dumy which centre round historical heroes such as for example B. Khmelnytskyj, his son Yurij and some other hetmans. The creators and first singers of the dumy were probably Cossacks themselves. Later professional musicians organised in guilds took over from them. Since they used the "kobza", a

lute-like instrument, to accompany their recitals, they were given the title "Kobzar".

Such important political or social events as the Emancipation of the Serfs in Austria (1848) and the Russian Empire (1861) and military service in a foreign army also provide themes in folk poetry.

Of the great wealth of folk songs the following deserve special attention: dance songs (hopak, kolomyjka), ballads and love songs, humorous songs, anecdotes, pious songs with a legendary content, biblical odes of a apocryphal nature: about St. Barbara, rich people, death, or the sinful maiden and so forth.

### FOLK PROSE

Prose is far less represented than poetry although here too we find plentiful material showing traces of foreign influences: Western European via Poland, and Byzantine through the mediation of the Southern Slavs. The group consists of fairy-tales, fantastic stories with a strong hint of belief in miracles, fables with animals possessing human characteristics, as the chief figures. In time the fables assumed a moralising character or the form of social satire. We should mention stories based on folklore, anecdotes, proverbs and tales from demonology dealing with the belief in "unclean powers", ghosts and demons, reaching back to prehistoric times.

Finally, mention should be made of aphorisms and proverbs which in a concise form express general truths or thoughts about people and the world. Riddles, often very witty and ingenious, belong to the same category of short, linguistic sayings of the living genius of the people.

Folk poetry has a history stretching back for thousand of years connected with the spiritual development of the people. This historical process has taken place for centuries on various levels. It reflects socio-political changes and a succession of cultural influences. The consideration of the connection between folk poetry with native literature and similar creations of near and distant neighbours is a question that would provide a stock of rich and manifold themes.

Doubtless, Ukrainian folk poetry has already passed its high point and we must count on its decline and perhaps complete deterioration. Conditions throughout Ukrainian territory are at present not favourable for a similar expression of creative power. However, we should not forget that folk poetry as an end-product of spiritual activity over many centuries is an important part of the nation's cultural treasury. Permeated by liberal watchwords and humane ideas, it is of considerable educational value, since it fosters in the souls of the people a sense and feeling for beauty, preserves historical traditions, passing them on from generation to generation and in this way has kept alive national consciousness in times of the most severe oppression.

*(To be continued)*

Translated by *W. Slez*

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## NEWS FROM UKRAINE

### REPRESSED UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

*(continued from U.R. No. 1)*

45) BUDKA A., arrested in 1976 and sentenced in the Donetsk region for distributing leaflets which stated demands for democratic freedom, improvement of conditions for workers and the creation of a multi-party system. After ending his 3 year sentence, he has been constantly persecuted.

46) BUDZYNSKYI Hryhoriy Antonovych, born in 1905 in Western Ukraine, a priest of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, first arrested on 28th May 1945 for refusing to change his faith to that of the officially-sanctioned Russian Orthodox Church and for working with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. For this he was sentenced to long term imprisonment. He was sentenced for the second time on 15th May 1957 in Lviv for holding secret religious services and for refusing to recognize the so-called Lviv Synod of 1946 where Moscow "proclaimed" the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

47) CHAYKA Ivan, born in 1920 in the village of Sarnivka, in the Lutsk district, Volhynia region, arrested in 1972 and sentenced in 1973 in the town of Torchyn, Rozhyschchanskyi district, Volhynia region, to death for taking part in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA and for killing 300 Soviet activists.

48) CHAYKOVSKYI W., born in Kerch (Crimea), sentenced to 7 years imprisonment in concentration camps for political activity.

49) CHAPULA Ivan, born in 1903 in the Ternopil region, married, had 2 sons, participant in the liberation movement of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1951 and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment, served his sentence in Mordovian camps where in October 1976 at the age of 73 and in his 25th year of imprisonment he died.

50) CHERKAVSKYI M., born in 1926, arrested in 1967 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and 5 years of internal exile for political activity.

51) CHERKMAN Oleksa, born in 1928, sentenced in 1955 in Ivano-Frankivsk under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment.

52) CHMIL Ivan P., imprisoned in concentration camps for political activity.

53) CHOPIY Roman I., a priest of the illegal Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church, was sent to prison for 15 days for celebrating Mass, accused of "hooliganism". Rev. Chopiy had been incarcerated in concentration camps under Stalin, after his release, and still is, continuously persecuted.

54) CHORNOMAZ Bohdan D., born in 1949, a student, sentenced under Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 4 years imprisonment.

55) CHORNOVIL Vyacheslav M., born on 1st January 1938 in the village of Yerky in the Cherkas region, graduated from Kyiv University with honours in journalism, married, has one son, a journalist, literary critic and author. First arrested on 3rd August 1967 and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment for publicly standing up in defence of repressed Ukrainian patriots. Arrested for the second time on 12th

January 1972 and sentenced on 12th April 1973 in Lviv to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years internal exile according to Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. He was accused of publicizing writings in defence of rights for Ukraine. Arrested for the 3rd time on 15th April 1980 while still in exile, just 3 months before the end of his term of sentence, and sentenced in Myrnyi, Yakutska ASSR according to Article 117 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to an extra 5 years imprisonment.

56) CHORNYI, born in 1949, sentenced under Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 5 years imprisonment.

57) CHUBENKO Hryhoriy, born in the Kyiv region, arrested in 1965 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment.

58) CHUCHMAN Pavlo Z., born in the Lviv region, participant in the liberation movement of OUN-UPA, for which he was incarcerated in concentration camps since 1947. In 1969 he was once again sentenced for the same reason to 15 years imprisonment.

59) CHUCHMAN Petro, a priest of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, arrested and sentenced in 1973 to 1½ years imprisonment for celebrating Mass for the faithful of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.

60) CHUCHMAN Stepan I., born in Busk in the Lviv region, an active member of the liberation movement OUN-UPA, for which, with the exception of a small break, he has been incarcerated in prisons and concentration camps since 1947 to this day.

61) CHUHAY Oleksander, born in 1926, sentenced in 1949 under Article 58-1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR (treason) to 25 years imprisonment.

62) CHUYKO Bohdan M., born on 1st October 1919 in the village of Tustany, in West Ukraine, an engineer, married with a son and a daughter, participant in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), first arrested on 23rd May 1949 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment, arrested for the second time on 15th August 1972 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment in concentration camps of strict regime and 5 years internal exile. Arrested for the third time on 10th March 1980 in Michurinsk, Tambiv region (his place of exile), accused of forging a document for which, according to Article 196 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, a 2-year prison sentence can be expected. On 12th April 1980 he was sentenced under Article 93 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 6 years imprisonment in concentration camps of extremely severe conditions.

63) CHUPREY Roman W., born on 1st July 1948 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, a student, arrested on 17 March 1973 and sentenced in August of that year to 4 years imprisonment for his patriotic activity, released on 17th March 1977 and is undergoing constant persecution.

64) CHYZHUK Liudmyla, born in Kyiv, a second year student at Kyiv University from which she was expelled and persecuted for having read Symonenko's poems at Shevchenko monument on 22nd May 1971 (the date on which Shevchenko's body was brought from St. Petersburg to Kyiv) and for conversing in Ukrainian.

65) DANKIV Ivan, worked as an engineer in Lviv and at the same time he was preparing for his ordination as a priest of the clandestine Ukrainian Catholic Church. He was arrested in 1974 in Lviv and sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment.

66) DANYLIUK Ivan F., arrested in 1974 and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to an unknown term of imprisonment. He

was re-arrested on 1st August 1979 for his religious beliefs, he is a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church, married, born in 1936 in the Chernivetsky region.

67) DASHKEVYCH Yaroslav, an historian, a researcher of the ancient history of Ukraine he had been imprisoned in Stalin's concentration camps for being a Ukrainian patriot. In 1972 in Lviv he was arrested but released soon afterwards. Since then he has been under constant harrassment and persecution, he was dismissed from work, as a result of which in 1974 he died in suspicious circumstances.

68) DASIW Kuzma Andriyevych, born in 1925 in the Lviv region, an engineer, married, has one daughter. Arrested in November 1973 and sentenced in Lviv under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 7 years imprisonment in concentration camps of extremely severe conditions and 3 years of internal exile.

69) DEMCHUK Andriy, born around 1918, after having served a prison sentence, he was arrested once again in 1970 for participating in the liberation movement OUN-UPA and was sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment.

70) DEMCHUK Hryhoriy, born in 1930 in the Volhynia region, arrested in 1958 for participating in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment of severe conditions. When last heard of, he was in the Permsky concentration camp No. 36.

71) DEMCHYSHYN Andriy, born in 1907, arrested in 1969 for being a member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years of incarceration in concentration camps. He was last heard of in the Permsky concentration camp.

72) DEMIANCHUK Tykhon, born in 1922 in the Volhynia region, a participant in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, a long term member of the underground organization, arrested in 1972 in the Zaporizhia region and sentenced in Volhynia under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment.

73) DEMYDIV Dmytro Illichevych, born in 1925 in the Lviv region, an engineer, married with one child. Arrested in November 1973 and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years incarceration in concentration camps of extremely severe conditions. He was charged with participating in the creation of a youth underground organization called "The Association of Ukrainian Youth in Halychyna".

74) DENYSENKO Henadiy, born in 1938, arrested in 1971 and sentenced under Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 7 years imprisonment in severe conditions.

75) DIAK Mychaylo Dmytrovych, born on 23rd August 1935 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, a lawyer, senior lieutenant in the militia, married with 2 children. Arrested at the beginning of 1967 and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk to 8 years imprisonment of severe conditions and 5 years of exile. He was charged with participating in the leadership of the underground organization "The Ukrainian National Front" which was built on the foundations laid down by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). While in prison he was driven to exhaustion, as a result of which he became seriously ill; after his release on 18th August 1976 he died in the village of Kalka in the Ivano-Frankivsk region.

76) DIAK Volodymyr, born in 1931 in Western Ukraine, a qualified engineer and author. Arrested on 1st June 1971 and sentenced in Lviv according to Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 7 years of harsh imprisonment. He was accused of secretly printing and distributing nationalistic leaflets and brochures.

77) DIDENKO Konstantyn Oleksiyovych, born on 31st May 1947 in the Ternopil region, a sailor, arrested in June 1967 and for his political activity he was sentenced

under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment in concentration camps of extremely severe conditions.

78) DIDUKH Danylo, arrested and sentenced for political activity to long-term imprisonment. He was last heard of in 1978.

79) DMYTRENKO Sofron, a priest of the clandestine Ukrainian Catholic Church, arrested in the autumn of 1973 in Kolomyia, allegedly suspected of being a bishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. He was incarcerated in the Ivano-Frankivsk prison.

80) DOLISHNYI Ivan Vasylovych, born in 1921, a participant in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1950 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment.

81) DOLISHNYI Vasyl Mychaylovych, born in 1930 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, an engineer, arrested in 1947, charged under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for membership of OUN-UPA and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. On 1st February he was re-arrested (1972) and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR in Ivano-Frankivsk to 7 years imprisonment in concentration camps and 3 years of internal exile. He is at present in exile in the Kazakhstan SSR and is suffering from a lung infection. 18

82) DOVHANYCH Zinovy Petrovych, in 1969 he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

83) DRAHA Victor, born in 1951, a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church, arrested on 3rd December 1979 in Kirovohrad and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment.

84) DROP (?), arrested in 1962 and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in concentration camps for participating in the liberation movement of OUN-UPA.

85) DUBCHAK (?), born in the village of Saranchuky in the Ternopil region, a participant in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1948 and sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

86) DUBENKO (?), participant in the liberation movement of OUN-UPA for which he was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment.

87) DUBOVYK Victor Mychaylovych, born in 1937, married, has 4 children, a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church for which he served a sentence in concentration camps. He was re-arrested on 18th April 1973 in the Crimea and sentenced in Simferopol to 4 years imprisonment and 4 years of internal exile according to Articles 138-2, 209-2 and 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSSR.

88) DUBYNA Hryhoriy, arrested in 1949 for being a member of OUN and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment.

89) DUFANETS M. H., a participant of the liberation movement OUN-UPA, a long-term underground activist, arrested and sentenced to death in August 1980 in the Volhynia region.

90) DVYHAL Stepan born in the Ternopil region arrested in 1964 for membership of OUN and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in concentration camps.

91) DYDYK Halyna Tomivna born in 1912 in the Ternopil region a teacher a leading activist and courier of the OUN leadership in Ukraine. On 5th March 1950 near Lviv during an attack of the Russian MVD security forces on the underground headquarters of the Head of the OUN leadership in Ukraine the General Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Chief General Secretary of the UHVR (Ukrainian Revolutionary Government) — Taras Chuprynka — Roman Shukhevych, Halyna Dydyk was also captured while unconscious. After medical treatment she was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment; Halyna was released in a state of ill-health and died on 23rd December 1979.

- 92) DYKYI Ivan, in 1963 accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" sentenced to 5 years imprisonment, his wife also being sentenced to 4 years imprisonment. Only in 1973 were they permitted to return to Ukraine where they settled down in the Lviv region. They were continuously persecuted and driven from one place to another. In 1977 I. Dyki was once again arrested by the KGB.
- 93) DZHURYK Hryhoriy Fadeyovych, born on 11th March 1949, an electrician married, arrested on 12th April 1979 for membership of the Evangelical Baptist Church and sentenced under Article 187-I of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 2 years imprisonment in concentration camps.
- 94) DZIUBA Yuriy Volodymyrovych, born in 1950 in Kharkiv, a university student arrested on 20th August 1973 and sentenced in Kharkiv under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years imprisonment in concentration camps of severe conditions. He had protested against the russification of Ukraine
- 95) DZIUBAN (?), born in the Ternopil region, in W. Ukraine, arrested in 1967 and sentenced to an undetermined term of imprisonment for attempting to revive the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church.
- 96) EVHRAFON Mykola Andriyovych, born in 1930, arrested in 1966 and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 3 years imprisonment in concentration camps. He was arrested for the second time in 1974 for writing a piece of work in which he demonstrates the superiority of Ukrainian nationalism above all other systems. This was the reason for his being sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR on 29th April 1975 in Donetsk to 10 years imprisonment of extremely severe conditions.
- 97) FABRYSHEVSKYI Ivan P., member of the liberation movement OUN-UPA for which he was arrested in 1967 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment in concentration camps.
- 98) FEDIUK, a student of journalism at Lviv University from which he was expelled in 1973 for participating in the publishing of a student underground magazine *Koryto* ("Trough") and for distributing leaflets.
- 99) FEDIUK Vasyl, born in 1925, a member of the liberation movement OUN-UPA, sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment.
- 100) FEDORAK Mychailo A., an orthodox priest from Ivano-Frankivsk, arrested in 1973 and sentenced in 1974 to 4 years imprisonment for the printing and distributing of religious literature.
- 101) FEDORCHUK Kyrylo, born in 1924, arrested and sentenced in accordance with Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to long-term imprisonment.
- 102) FEDORENKO Ivan, born in 1937, a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church, arrested at the end of 1972 in Omsk, his term of sentence is not known.
- 103) FEDORENKO Vasyl P., born on 30th March 1928 in the Chernihiv region, worked as a locksmith in Kherson, he was first sentenced to Volodymyr prison and then to Mordovian camps where he remained from 1967 till 1972. He was arrested for the second time while attempting to escape to the West in 1974 and sentenced by the Uzhhorod regional court under Articles 56 and 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment. His term of sentence expires in 1989.
- 104) FEDORIV Yuriy I., spent many years in Mordovian concentration camps, from 1975 he has been in exile in the Tomsk region.
- 105) FEDORIV Yuriy P., born on 14th June 1943, married, has one daughter, arrested on 15th June 1970 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of

the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment in concentration camps of severe conditions. His term of sentence ends on 15th June 1985.

106) FEDORUK Ivan H. sentenced in 1949 to 25 years imprisonment for being a member of OUN-UPA.

107) FEDOSOV, incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital in 1977 for political reasons.

108) FENIUK, sentenced in 1950 according to Article 58-I of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 25 years imprisonment.

109) FIZAR, sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for membership of OUN.

110) GURGULA Anatoliy, born in 1906, a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, married. Arrested in 1946 for refusing to change his faith to that of the Russian Orthodox faith and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. Since his release he was continuously persecuted. During the night of the 26th and 27th February 1980 in the village of Tomashivtsi in the Ivano-Frankivsk region Rev. Gurgula's house was raided by KGB agents. He was tied up together with his wife, petrol was poured over both of them and the house was then set on fire; thus Rev. Gurgula and his wife perished.

111) HAYDA A., arrested in 1949 for membership of the OUN and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment. Released in 1974, but was not permitted to return to Ukraine, neither was his family who were extradited in 1955. At present Hayda is living in Karaganda.

112) HAYDUK M., born in Bukovyna, arrested for membership of OUN and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment.

113) HAYDUK Roman Vasylovych, born on 2nd November 1937 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, a journalist, married and has one son. Arrested in 1974 and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years imprisonment and 2 years internal exile. In 1979 he was transferred to his place in exile.

114) HALCHUK Bohdan Mykhaylovych, born in the Ternopil region, a 2nd year student of the Kyiv Medical Institute from which he was expelled in 1977 for his nationalistic views and is under constant persecution.

115) HAMULA Mykola, born in 1927, married. Arrested in March 1974 and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSSR to 5 years imprisonment in concentration camps and 2 years of exile. He was accused of distributing underground literature. In 1979 Hamula was transferred to his place of exile.

116) HANDZIUK Volodymyr Ilkovich, born in 1932 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, married and a father. First arrested and sentenced in the 1950's for membership of the Liberation Movement OUN-UPA. After his release in January 1964 he was once again arrested and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment and 3 years exile.

117) HARABAK Mykola, sentenced to long-term imprisonment for membership of UPA. Until recently he was incarcerated in prison camps.

118) HARMATIUK Bohdan, born in 1939, an engineer, arrested in 1959 for membership of an underground group called "United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine" and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 10 years of concentration camps.

119. HASIUK Yaroslav Mykhaylovych, born in 1929 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, sentenced to imprisonment for membership of OUN. In the 1950's in Vorkuta he and some others organized and set up OUN-North. In 1960, while in exile, he was

re-arrested and sentenced in Vorkuta to 12 years imprisonment. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted.

120) HAVDUN Hryhorij I., comes from the Chernivetsky region, he is about 60 years old, a member of OUN and UPA, a long time member of the insurgents. He was found out in 1976, arrested, brought to trial in Chernivtsi and sentenced under Articles 56 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment.

121) HAVRYLENKO Oleksander, born in 1938, lived in the Crimean region, arrested for his political and religious beliefs and incarcerated in the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital where he remained until 1979.

122) HAVRYLIUK Hryhorij Jakovych, a polygraphist from Lviv, arrested in 1977 in Lviv and sentenced to 4 years imprisonment for having secretly printed and distributed prayer books and church calendars with the help of some other people. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted.

123) HAVRYLIUK Volodymyr Anastasyovych, arrested and sentenced in 1965 for participating in the Ukrainian nationalistic underground movement OUN-UPA and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment of severe conditions.

124) HAVRYLIV Stepan, a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the Ivano-Frankivsk region where he was arrested in 1946 for refusing to change his faith to that of the officially sanctioned Russian Orthodox Church. He spent 10 years in prison camps. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted and forced to manual labour.

125) HAYOVYI Hryhorij, arrested in 1961 and sentenced in Donetsk to 6 years of concentration camp imprisonment for being a Ukrainian nationalist. Since his release he has been persecuted to this day.

126) HAYSTRUK Vasyl, born in the Zhytomyr region where between 1941 and 1944 he was a regional leader of OUN. Arrested and sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

127) HEL Ivan Andriyovych, born on 18th July 1937 in the Lviv region, a history student, married, has one daughter, his own father spent 10 years in concentration camps. Hel was first arrested on 27th August 1965 and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment in concentration camps of severe conditions. When he was released, he was under constant persecution. On 12th January 1972 Hel was once again arrested by the KGB and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 10 years imprisonment in concentration camps of special conditions and 5 years of exile. At present he is ill (his left arm is withering). On 5th August 1980 Hel was transferred from the concentration camp to Lviv prison. In fact, Hel's whole family is being persecuted.

128) HERCHAK Hryhorij Andriyovych, born on 10th December 1931 in the Ternopil region, an artist, married. Arrested on 2nd December 1952, charged with membership of the Liberation Movement and sentenced in Lviv under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment in concentration camps of extremely severe conditions. After his release he was not permitted, as a former OUN-member, to return to his native country.

129) HERMANIUK Bohdan, born in 1939, a technician, has a wife and children, arrested on 10th March 1958 and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 10 years imprisonment. He was accused of membership of the nationalistic group called "The United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine".

130) HERMANIUK Stepan Hryhorovych, born in 1934, has a wife and 4 children, a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church for which he was arrested on 14th March 1973 in Voroshylovhrad and sentenced to 4½ years imprisonment and 3 years of exile. He is at present in exile in the Khabarovsk region. 11?

131) HESHKO V., arrested for membership of OUN and sentenced to long term imprisonment and refused permission to return to Ukraine.

132) HEVRYKH Yaroslav Bohdanovych, born on 28th November 1937 in the Ternopil region, has a higher education, arrested in August 1967 and sentenced in Kyiv for anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda to 5 years imprisonment in camps of severe regime.

133) HEYKO-MATUSEVYCH Olha Dmytrivna, born on 9th September 1953 in Kyiv, a philologist, married to Mykola Matushevych who is serving a 12-year prison sentence. Olha Heyko has been a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group since 1979 for which she was arrested on 12th March 1980 in Kyiv and until this day she is subject to questioning and is formally accused under Article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. 9

134) HLADKOVSKY Mykola, a long-term member of OUN, until 1960 he was involved in secret underground work in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, during an attack he was seriously injured, captured, taken to the Russian Security Forces (MVD) hospital where he died.

135) HLADKOVSKYI Yevhen, born in 1930 in the Lviv region, a member of the Liberation movement OUN-UPA, arrested in 1953 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment of severe regime.

136) HLYVA Volodymyr, born in 1929, arrested at the end of 1952 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment for membership of the Liberation Movement OUN-UPA, later another 3 years were added to his sentence.

*(To be continued)*

## NEW PUBLICATION

# CATARACT

by Mykhaylo Osadchyy.

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London W2 4HG.

## A NEW WAVE OF PERSECUTION IN UKRAINE

Persecution was particularly severe in Ukraine in the last year and the beginning of 1982. Suppression of the clandestine *Ukrainian Herald* followed by the imprisonment of its compilers and other Ukrainian patriots has meant that detailed information is even slower in emerging.

According to our latest sources written in autumn 1981, the KGB campaign was waged on various levels. The former head of the Ukrainian KGB, V. Fedorchuk, a member of the Republic's Politburo, stated in April 1981 at a function in the KGB Dzerzhinsky Club that in the past year "40 Ukrainian nationalists were rendered harmless. To avoid unnecessary fuss, most of them were sentenced as common criminals" (*Soviet Analyst*, 11,4; Feb. 24, 1982).

A document provided by the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group states that Ukraine has been transformed into a testing ground, where communism is looking for new forms of its existence in order to "destroy and stamp out everything alive, without destroying itself". For that reason the events which are now taking place in Ukraine are important not only for Ukrainians but for the whole world.

Priests, religious believers, even the monks of Pochayiv Monastery were subjected to persistent persecution. In the autumn of 1980, the militia broke into the Ukrainian Exarchate headquarters, demanding that all present in the building gather in one room. The premises were searched, without a warrant, under the pretence of investigating some criminal offence. Year after year the Pochayiv Monastery's territory is cut off, conditions deteriorate, the monks are persecuted. Ambrosiy, a monk known throughout the Soviet Union because of his lifestyle and his preachings directed at youth, was chased out of the monastery in February 1981. After harassing the rector, the militia also harassed the other monks. "They beat up Pytyrym, chased out Isaiah; they also chased out all the aged residents from the Lavra living quarters — residents who had lived there for years" (*Communist Experiment in Ukraine*, External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, March 1982).

The families of political prisoners have suffered extreme harassment, including beatings, loss of work and expulsion from university. Authorities in Ukraine have made a practice of imprisoning not only husbands and wives, but also persecuting members of families who refuse to denounce the activities of their relatives, and/or become KGB informers. The two young members of the Sichko family are a typical example of this type of persecution.

Ukrainian prisoners under interrogation were beaten and suffered other torture such as being sealed in a box 5 feet by 2 feet, a method not used

before nor reported by other dissidents in the non-Ukrainian republics. Many prominent dissidents were given additional sentences on completion or just prior to completion of their previous term. Any attempt to apply for emigration resulted in persecution and possible imprisonment. Applications by Ukrainians to emigrate were not even accepted for consideration. *Vyzovs* sent by family members from USA and Canada have been confiscated by the postal authorities.

In view of the recess of the Madrid CSCE negotiations, we feel it imperative that all diplomatic means should be used in order to keep these human and national rights violations in the foreground of political negotiations and world opinion.

### RECENT ARREST OF A UKRAINIAN HELSINKI MONITOR

According to information obtained by members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in the West, *Vasyl Ovsiyenko*, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was transferred from camp in Volnyansk, Zhytomyr obl., p/ya 310/55-3-20/YaYa, to the Zhytomyr KGB headquarters. There the KGB has started procedures connected with new charges made against Ovsiyenko. This happened only a short time before the end of his previous term of imprisonment (the exact date of this transfer is not yet known).

Ovsiyenko is now being charged with Art. 62-2 of the Criminal Code of Ukr. SSR, "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", which carries a maximum sentence of 10 years of strict-regime labour camp and 5 years in exile. They are charging him with "verbal agitation and propaganda" on the basis of: (1) his final statement at his trial in 1979 and (2) a letter he wrote to the UN, describing severe conditions in the labour camp.

Vasyl Ovsiyenko was born in 1949. In 1972 he completed his studies in philology at Kyiv University and began to teach Ukrainian language and literature. He was first arrested on March 5, 1973, and sentenced to 4 years of strict-regime labour camp for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". In 1977 he returned to the village of Lenino, where his mother lives. Unable to find work as a teacher, he appealed to the Ministry of Education of Ukr. SSR to provide him with work or else to grant him and his mother material assistance. He was kept under administrative surveillance, which amounts to house arrest. He refrained from dissident activity and in the autumn of 1978 appealed to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr. SSSR for permission to emigrate.

He was again tried in 1979 and sentenced to 3 years of strict-regime labour camp on a trumped-up charge of "resisting the militia" (Art. 188-1). Ovsiyenko joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in March 1977. According to latest information he has refused to take part in these investigative proceedings.

### A LETTER FROM OKSANA MESHKO

Below are excerpts from a letter written by *Oksana Meshko*, 77 years of age and a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, arrested for the third time on October 19, 1980, and sentenced on January 6, 1981 to 6 months of strict-regime labour camp and five years in exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". This was her first communique from the Ayan where she began her exile term, written sometime in August 1981.

... I arrived on July 3, during a rainstorm, and I still feel drenched. You, of course know about the devastation of the Khabarovsk, it did not bypass us either. In Ayan there are torrential rains, the airport was ruined and aviation — this only link of ours with the world — has stopped. At one time even the telegraph was not operating. Over 80 telegraph poles are down and now everything is sent through Okhotsk. In two months only three passenger ships arrived, they are now waiting for the fourth and last one, because these ships will no longer be able to manoeuvre in the Okhotsk sea in September and others are not planned to arrive in Ayan. For the population in this tiny place is no more than 1,700, therefore it is not at all economical. The officials travel in helicopters.

My son (O. Serhienko) is finishing (his exile term) on the fourth of August and we still don't know how he will leave here, but leave he must without fail. His wife is seriously ill after the birth of their second child — I now have in addition to my 10 year old grandson, Ustym, a granddaughter, Olenka, born on March 28 of this year — my daughter-in-law almost does not walk at all.

I will be left alone in isolation. The winters here are very frightening and the people here frighten me so that it seems impossible to live here. We have three basic problems here: wood for fuel, water and food. When there is a snow storm, the houses and roads are so totally covered that to get out is impossible. And although my dwelling is close to the centre, no one will come to give help in these conditions. I asked for a telephone and petitioned the head of the regional authorities — whose denial read: "... there are no available numbers, you must wait your turn," and my turn comes in 2-3 years; and how long have I left to live, no one cares.

My long trek through the Euro-Asiatic expanse began on March 17; I made all the historic stops in Kharkiv, Sverdlovsk, Krasnoyarsk, Irkutsk, Khabarovsk, Nikolayev-on-Amur. I cannot complain, they were treating me in order to prepare me for the long voyage. After 9 months I was left with extreme hypertension. The drug therapy which they tried did not work.

To become used to living in this totally adverse climate at my age and with my ailments is impossible. To spend the winter here alone is equivalent to an untrained sportsman climbing Mt. Everest. But what can one do? Whether you will or not you must.

I'm glad that my son will go home and we are saying goodbye. I hope that kind people will at least write to me — it's a pity that communication has become so difficult here, although even before the flood it was disrupted by bad weather and other things.

A curious thing happened with my pension. According to law, pension is discontinued during imprisonment (mine was for six months) but in exile pension payments are to be renewed. I wrote an appeal to the authorities, the Kyiv authorities answered that I am "not on the list". They sent a second tracer in search of my pension. That is their way of trifling with me.

Food presents a serious problem here: fruits and vegetables are only canned and last year's shipment; in this season they delivered potatoes only once (allowed only 2 kg) and some fresh cabbage. They promised to deliver cabbage for pickling. Milk is available, but will not be during the winter. The only bread available is white bread, buckwheat is also not available. Because of my diabetes, I find it difficult. I salted fish for winter, but again there is only the salted fish, and because of my hypertension I should avoid salt. My son brought wood for burning, cut it up and is now chopping it. The roof of our dwelling leaks, Oleksander has tried to repair it, but the rains have interrupted him. The stove smokes. But we whitewashed the inside and it was a joy to be able to sleep under something other than a cement ceiling. My rheumatism has worsened and torments me constantly . . .

### A FORGOTTEN CASE

*Due to disrupted communications we have only now received information on a man who has been persecuted since 1967. Below we cite a communique which was written in the summer of 1981, translated from Russian with some abbreviation.*

Vasyl Volodymyrovych Spynenko was born on September 19, 1945. He lived in the city of Makivka, Donetsk region. There he completed his primary and secondary education. Subsequently, he enrolled at the Faculty of Philosophy at Donetsk State University. In his second year he came into conflict with the dean of the faculty over his unorthodox views on Marxist-Leninist philosophy. As a result of the conflict, Spynenko was arrested, charged with revisionism, expelled from the university and drafted into the army in 1967.

When he was in his second year at university, Spynenko attempted to organize a group of young intellectuals with the objective of revising the antiquated thesis of the official philosophy. He called his group a "Union of Intellectuals". In time Spynenko came to the conclusion that it was futile to revise Marxism and was essential to create a new philosophy which, according to his exposition, would be a true philosophy. This philosophy

would be unorthodox and capable of providing answers to all of the contemporary questions on a higher intellectual level. Spynenko called it "The New Revolutionary Theory".

While serving in the army, Spynenko decided to enlarge the social circle of his adherents by including servicemen who were dissatisfied with the existing state of affairs. He also decided to transform his narrow group of intellectuals into a political party. During this time Spynenko devoted himself to self-education with determination. Events of the Prague Spring left an indelible impression upon him and gave him the impetus to formulate his theoretical and political views. After he was discharged from the army, Spynenko began laying the groundwork for the formation of an opposition political party.

In September of 1970 Spynenko succeeded in convening an organizational conference. It was held in his Makivka apartment. The conference examined and dealt with the theoretical bases of the party's activity, its programme and character. A resolution was also passed to issue a Manifesto and to disseminate it. The scope of the party's activity encompassed a number of cities. Party organizations were set up or in the process of being set up in the cities of Donetsk, Sverdlovsk, Gorki, Makivka and N-Tahil, under the jurisdiction of a Co-ordinating Committee. A courier liaison was established between the party organizations and the C. (Co-ordinating) C. (Committee).

At the beginning of 1971 organs of the KGB obtained information about the activity of the opposition party members. In all, eight people were arrested. Regarding Spynenko and his theories on the evolution of society as dangerous to society, and taking into account his stand during the investigation, the organs of the KGB decided to subject Spynenko to psychiatric examination. Contrary to KGB expectations, he was pronounced to be mentally sound. Another examination was arranged, but this time the doctors were once again loyal to their Hippocratic oath. It was not until the third attempt that the KGB succeeded in appointing a body of "psychiatrists" who diagnosed him to the satisfaction of the KGB. As a result, V. Spynenko was confined *incommunicado* in the psychiatric hospital of the city of Talahar, Alma-Ata oblast, where he spent a number of years. Later he was transferred to a psychiatric hospital in Makivka.

After his release in the spring of 1978, Spynenko fell into the company of V. Novoseltsev, who was imprisoned for something "nobody knows anything about". V. Novoseltsev's provocation resulted in Spynenko's confinement in a psychiatric hospital where he remains to this day... In spite of numerous appeals on his behalf, he continues to be persecuted.

It is time that people at large became aware of Vasyl Spynenko's plight in the psychiatric asylum. And special attention should be drawn to the barbarian doctors who 'dance to the tune' of the KGB and their attempts to destroy this man. 'Punitive medical treatment' should be condemned for what it is — shameless barbarism!

## RAISA SYMCHYCH APPEALS ON BEHALF OF HER HUSBAND

Raisa Symchych, the wife of Ukrainian political prisoner Myroslav Symchych, has tried to gain the release of her husband by writing appeals and protest letters to both the director of the corrective labour institutions of the Zaporizhzhia oblast and the Attorney General of the USSR.

Myroslav Symchych, born in 1923 in Verkhna Bereza, the Kosivsky region in Ivano-Frankivske oblast, has been imprisoned on and off since 1949. He was convicted of participating in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and sentenced on April 13, 1949, to 25 years of imprisonment. On December 7, 1953, an extra 10 years were added to his sentence for taking part in a camp protest group. However, in 1956 his sentence was reduced and he was released on December 7, 1963. In 1967 Symchych was again persecuted for his war and post-war activities and was sentenced to another 14 years of imprisonment in 1968.

In her letters to Soviet officials, Mrs Symchych describes her husband's declining health. She is protesting the arbitrariness of the camp administration, and she is pleading for help in finding out what has really happened to her husband.

It is important to note that this case is not only characteristic of the particularly severe repression of Ukrainians in the last year or more, but more importantly of the tactics used to degrade human dignity. The Soviet authorities have recently stepped up their attempts to undermine the relationship and trust between husband and wife in order to denigrate and distress psychologically the imprisoned partner. The ultimate aim is to obtain public recantation, to recruit police informers or both.

Below we cite Raisa Symchych's letter of February 27, 1981, translated from Ukrainian:

To the Chief Administrator of the Correctional Labour Institutions for the Zaporizhzhia oblast — Petrun.

My husband Myroslav Vasylovych Symchych, who was born in 1923, has been serving a sentence in the Correctional Labour Institution YAYA-310/88 since February 14, 1980. He was previously confined in a Correctional Labour Institution in the Mordovian ASSR, Perm. oblast. During his entire confinement, beginning with 1968, my husband worked on two shifts. He systematically supported his family and maintained regular contact through correspondence. He was rewarded more than once with additional visit permits and parcels for his conscientious attitude towards work and for exceeding the production quota. But this lasted only while Symchych was younger and in better health.

On February 17, 1980, Symchych was transferred to camp YAYA-310/88 at my request. He is 58 years old and is suffering from hypertonia as well as duodenal and stomach ulcers. He suffers frequently from radiculitis (inflammation of the intradural portion of the spinal nerve root, which is

often aggravated by overtaxing work and can result in paralysis, Ed.). He works as hard as his health permits, loading crates. I talked with the head of the section (they are often replaced) and nobody ever said anything negative about him to me. I was told: "He keeps working and is anxious about his family". This was at the time when Symchych was transferred to a better job. But he was not able to hold his own. His radiculitis became aggravated and he remained ill for half a year. In September his condition became so acute that he arrived on crutches for the scheduled visit (October 20, 1980). He spent a month in a hospital. After his release he worked loading crates.

At this time the camp administrator, Lieut.-Col. Hryhorenko, began persecuting him. When Symchych was a hospital patient his belongings were searched and three religious postcards were confiscated. Yes, Symchych believes in God, but his belief does not intrude either upon his family or the state. He brought these postcards from the Urals and nobody anywhere had ever objected to them. But Hryhorenko detected "an infraction" and vociferated that he will lock up Symchych in a solitary confinement cell. I told him that there were no grounds for locking him up and asked for an investigation. He investigated and said that Symchych "does not want to work" and is not fulfilling the production quota. On December 16, 1980, they locked him in a solitary confinement cell for 15 days. This happened after successful efforts had been made to get Symchych back on his feet and off the crutches.

My husband's humiliation was not over. In response to my indignation, Hryhorenko replied: "I shall drive him even beyond this." At this point I do not know where he has driven my husband. I do not receive any letters from him. His last letter was dated January 10, 1981. I travelled to the camp and learned from the censor that in Symchych's file there was no record of an outgoing letter for February. When I asked the camp administrator why I do not get letters from my husband, he replied smiling: "How should I know why he does not want to write to you?" This is what he said instead of investigating the matter and giving a satisfactory answer as an administrator should. I asked to be granted an unscheduled 5-10 minute visit, saying: "I will ask Symchych in your presence why he does not want to write home. Please let me see him." To this he answered: "This is not a zoo and he is not for exhibit."

For 13 years now I have been travelling for visits to my husband. Everywhere prescribed regulations were followed. There was no indulgence but I was treated with politeness and tact. I protest against the arbitrariness of the camp administration. Comrade Petrun, I am asking you sincerely to help me find out what has happened to my husband and why I am not receiving any letters from him.

*Raisa Andriivna Symchych*  
Apartment 56, 50 Soyuzna Vul.  
Zaporizhzhia

## SITUATION OF POLITICAL PRISONER VASYL LUTSKIV\*

*Vasyl Stepanovych Lutskiv*, born 1935, at the time a club manager in Lviv oblast, was first arrested in January 1961 together with Lev Lukyanyenko, Ivan Kandyba and others in connection with the case of the "Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Alliance" and charged under Arts. 56 and 64 of the Ukr. SSR Criminal Code. During the investigation and at the trial, he was deceived and bullied by the investigation and at the trial he was deceived and bullied by the investigator into giving evidence against the other accused, but was nevertheless sentenced to 10 years in a strict regime labour camp.

In the camp, from 1964, V. Lutskiv began to write statements in which he renounced the evidence he had given, saying it was false, and exposed the mechanism of the pressures brought against him, naming the persons who had taken part in them. In 1966 he was transferred to the psychiatric ward of the Mordovian camps' hospital (the so-called "Wing 12" of the hospital at Barashevo), where he remained apparently until the end of his sentence.

After his release V. Lutskiv went to live in Poltava where not later than 1976 he was arrested a second time for distributing leaflets. He was charged under Art. 62 of the Ukr. Criminal Code. The psychiatric examination in Poltava found him accountable but he was then transferred to Moscow and taken to the Serbsky Institute where he was declared to be 'mentally ill'. V. Lutskiv was sent to the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric prison hospital for forced treatment, being transferred in 1979 to the ordinary PH in Poltava (ul. Meditsinskaya, 61, section 1) where treatment with neuroleptics continued.

In the autumn of 1981 the administration of the PH stated that there was no objection to Lutskiv being discharged, but that it was first indispensable for the formalities of guardianship to be completed. On 20 November 1981 the necessary documents were received from Lutskiv's relatives living in Ternopil oblast in Ukraine. However, instead of being discharged he was moved on 17 December 1981 to the Ternopil PH at the following address: g. Ternopol, ul. Trolleibusnaya 14 (first male section).

## THE ARREST OF MYKHAYLO HORYN\*\*

*Mykhaylo Horyn* was arrested in Lviv on 3 December 1981. He was charged under Art. 62 part 2 of the Ukr. SSR Criminal Code. Before his arrest M. Horyn worked as a stoker. In March 1981, in connection with Ivan Kandyba's case, his home was searched and an attempt made to plant an envelope containing a fake sharply-worded "statement of M. Horyn to

\* Some sources erroneously refer to V. Lutskiv's name as LUCHKIV.

\*\* Mention has already been made of Mykhailo Horyn's, Vasyl Striltsiv's and Vasyl Sichko's arrests in *Ukrainian Review* No. 1, 1982, pp. 78-79. Here we are able to provide more details of the circumstances of their arrests.

the UN". M. Horyn noticed in time what the searchers were doing, and this attempt failed. In November 1981 about 10 searches were carried out in M. Horyn's home in connection with various cases. In a search on 3 December 1981, the day he was arrested, a parcel was confiscated containing a typewritten article entitled "Social Achievements", allegedly written by M. Horyn, and a review of it marked "the article may be published". M. Horyn immediately stated that this parcel had not been in his possession.

After his arrest a food parcel from his wife was not accepted. It is possible that Mykhaylo Horyn has declared a hunger strike.

Mykhaylo Horyn, born in 1930, a scientist and psychologist, was first arrested in 1965 with a group of persons (his brother Bohdan Horyn, Ivan Hel and others) and charged with circulating Ukrainian samvydav. He was sentenced to 6 years of camp imprisonment under Art. 62 and 64 of the Ukr. SSR Criminal Code. He served his sentence in the Mordovian camps, and from 1967 onwards in Vladimir prison. M. Horyn's wife Olha and two children, daughter b. 1964 and son b. 1971, live in Lviv.

#### MORE NEWS OF THE ARREST OF VASYL STRILTSIV

*Vasyl Striltsiv*, after serving a two-year term of imprisonment in a camp in Poltava region, was not released as expected on 23 October 1981, according to sources in Ukraine. Shortly before his term ended he was again arrested and sentenced in camp to 6 more years of imprisonment. The nature of the new charges brought against him is not known.

Vasyl Stepanovych Striltsiv, born 13 January 1929, an English teacher, was first arrested when he was 15 years old and served his first sentence from 1944 to 1954 under Art. 58 of the Russian Criminal Code and was later rehabilitated. He lived and worked in Ivano-Frankivsk region, Ukrainian SSR. On 9 February 1977 he was sacked from his teaching post after years of pressure related to his brother Pavlo's arrest in 1972. In September 1977 V. Striltsiv renounced his Soviet citizenship and in October 1977 he joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. In February 1979 he was sentenced to 3 months' corrective labour without imprisonment for "resisting a representative of the law"; in October 1979 he was arrested on a charge of violating passport regulations and sentenced to 2 years' strict-regime labour camp. He has petitioned the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet several times for permission to emigrate to England.

Because Vasyl Striltsiv is single, his only relative brother Pavlo having been also arrested, there has been virtually no possibility of communicating with him during his imprisonment. All his mail was being confiscated and there was no news of him during this time. Friends tried to visit him but were denied a visit; this in contradiction to the law which allows visiting rights to non-family members as well as family.

## NEW ARREST OF VASYL SICHKO

Ukrainian Helsinki Group member *Vasyl Sichko* was again arrested on 3 December 1981, according to sources in Ukraine. He was in the camp in Cherkassy where he was serving his sentence, and put in an investigations prison. On 10 December he was charged under Art. 229-6 of the Ukrainian SSR Criminal Code (Russian Art. 224, "possession of narcotics". The degree of restraint or custody, was officially announced to him on December 11, 1981. Vasyl Sichko's arrest followed the confiscation of a box of hashish during a search of his personal belongings. V. Sichko stated that the box had not been with his things before and demanded that it be examined for fingerprints, but his requests was turned down.

On 4 January 1982 the Prydniprovsky District People's Court in Cherkassy, presided by Kulchitsky, heard V. Sichko's case. The trial was held in the premises of the investigations prison. V. Sichko's mother Stefaniya Petrash was not allowed to attend the trial; she was prevented by the head of the investigations prison, Major Shedko, although the Procurator did attempt to intervene in the matter. The witnesses at the trial were the representatives of the administration who had confiscated the box of hashish (operations agent V. S. Zinchenko, civilians I. A. Kovalenko and V. D. Tomoz) and criminal prisoners, who testified that they had seen V. Sichko mix tobacco with hashish, smoke it himself and offer it to them (V. Sichko does not smoke at all). Vasyl Sichko was sentenced to 6 years of camp imprisonment.

Vasyl Petrovych Sichko, born on 22 October 1956, was arrested on 5 July 1979 for participating in the work of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and for his speech at the funeral of the Ukrainian composer V. Ivasyuk, and sentenced to 3 years in a labour camp. His father, Petro Sichko was arrested with him. Vasyl's brother Volodymyr Sichko was also arrested on 6 December 1980 and sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment for refusing to denounce his father and to become a KGB informant.

Recently a letter arrived from Ukraine (dated 17 January 1982). In this letter there is a reference to the condition of Vasyl Sichko. We cite those passages which describe his condition:

"Vasyl was doused with acid, his face and neck are badly burned, and his head is completely bald . . . and has a lump on his head. He was kept the whole month of September in a hospital for infectious diseases. He was treated for dysentery . . . was given dreadful injections".

In this same letter it states that Vasyl Sichko was sentenced to 3 more years of imprisonment, not 6 years as we were informed previously. His mother, Stephaniya Sichko was not allowed to visit him for an entire year and has still not seen him, even during his trial.

### YURIY SHUKHEVYCH TOTALLY BLIND

According to latest reports brought by the Ukrainian Central Information Service, *Yuriy Shukhevych*, a noted Ukrainian political prisoner, was taken to a Leningrad hospital in January 1982, where surgery was performed for a detached retina on both eyes and removal of a cataract. Two weeks after the operation he became totally blind. Below are excerpts from a letter written by his mother dated 25th March 1982:

"I visited my son together with my daughter, we waited the entire month of September for a permit and found him in a deplorable state. He began to lose sight in one eye very rapidly, the other was totally blind. He could not even recognize faces. This was in the middle of November and on Christmas day (January 7th by the Eastern rite) they performed surgery. One eye was operated for a detached retina and the other for a cataract as well as a detached retina. Following the operation he regained sight in one eye for two weeks after which time he became totally blind. He is a virtual invalid but was designated only as an invalid of the second category. How much more incapacitated can one be? He is also in a state of complete malnutrition and exhaustion. He should undergo a treatment of resuscitation which would restore his general health, if indeed anything at all can help him. An inhuman fate befell him and us..."

"...difficult to imagine. When my daughter and I came to see him in the hospital (after the operation), they brought him to us. He was feeling his way in order to reach me and I burst into tears. I hugged him, but his chest felt like a ladder—bones covered with skin—it was painful to look at him and even more painful to speak. I had never cried during these past thirty years until now. The system (Soviet regime) completed its task."

Yuriy Romanovych Shukhevych was born on 28th March 1934, he is married to Valentyna Mykolayivna Trotsenko; he has a son Roman and a daughter Iryna. He was arrested in March 1972 in Nalchik, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR and sentenced on 9th September 1972 to 10 years of special-regime prison for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" (Art. 62-2), and 5 years in exile.

Shukhevych was first arrested in 1948, at the age of 14, and sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment in Vladimir prison, for being the son of Roman Shukhevych, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Shortly before the end of his first term in 1958 KGB officials approached Yuriy urging him to publicly renounce his father. He refused and on the day of his release, on evidence of two criminal prisoners, Shukhevych was charged in a closed court with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda"

and given another 10 years sentence. Having served his second term, Shukhevych was barred from living in Ukraine and was sent into internal exile in the Balkar ASSR where he settled in the town of Nalchik, married and worked as an electrical repairman. In March 1972 he was again arrested because he had compiled personal memoirs of his previous 20 years in Soviet prisons and labour camps. He was to have been sent to serve the 5 year term of exile in March 1982. His family does not think that this sentence will be commuted.

Yuriy Shukhevych renounced Soviet citizenship in 1979; he became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in January 1979; he has family in Australia who have repeatedly applied for his release from the USSR.

### **UPA, OUN MEMBERS EXECUTED**

Sources in Ukraine have informed the West that last autumn Soviet Authorities executed five persons accused of being members during World War II of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Three men from the city of Lutske in Volhynia in Western Ukraine were sentenced to death by the Supreme Court. The appeal for commutation of the sentences was rejected. Two men in the city of Horodenko in the Ivano-Frankivske *oblast* in Western Ukraine were similarly sentenced. (About the Ukrainian Insurgent Army see leading article in this issue.)

### **WORKERS' STRIKES IN UKRAINE**

For the last year reports of workers' strikes in Ukraine continue to reach the West. Strikes occurred last year for almost two days at a machine construction plant in Kyiv and at a nearby water main plant. In both cases the workers returned to their jobs after the management satisfied their demands. In August workers at a Kyiv motorcycle plant struck to protest cuts in piecework rates and bonuses (see 'U.R.' No. 4, 1981). After the existing wage rates were restored, the workers returned to their jobs. Disturbances throughout Ukraine have also been reported in connection with food shortages and rationing. One such mass disturbance reportedly occurred in Ivano-Frankivske and in a city near Kyiv at the beginning of last year. In Ivano-Frankivske several thousand people marched in the streets demanding availability of food products. The next day officials promised that more food would be available in the city's shops.

### CHORNOVIL MOVED FOR 'RE-EDUCATION'

Vyacheslav Chornovil, 44, a leading member of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring Group (see *Ukrainian Review* No. 4, 1981) serving a nine year sentence on trumped-up charges of "attempted rape" has been moved from far-eastern Yakutia to Kyiv, ostensibly for "re-education". Such re-education is often employed by the KGB to soften up dissidents in the hope that they re-cant their views in return for "freedom".

The journalist was allowed a meeting with his wife for one and a half hours in April of this year. Prior to his transfer he was confined to an isolation cell in Yakutia.

### UKRAINIAN FLAG FLIES OVER DNIROPETROVSKE

The banned traditional blue-and-yellow flag flew from the Communist Party office in Dnipropetrovske last November. Dissidents had unfurled the flag along with a poster which read: "We are in solidarity with all those who are against you". The poster and banned flag were on display overnight and then removed in the morning by officials. A massive police investigation was subsequently conducted with special KGB squads sent from Kyiv.

### UKRAINIANS IN POLAND CAMPAIGN FOR GREATER RIGHTS

Ukrainian representatives of the only existing Ukrainian cultural organization in Poland (USKT) have been demanding more rights from the Warsaw government. In the framework of the general political crisis in Poland, Ukrainians, who constitute the largest national minority in Poland, have demanded more cultural rights, such as an increase in Ukrainian choral and dance ensembles and increased circulation of Ukrainian publications. In March the Ukrainian-language weekly *Nashe Slovo* resumed publication after a 12-week interruption of activities by the military regime.

*International Herald Tribune,  
Friday, February 5, 1982*

## **NO BREAD FOR PIGS, PRAVDA WARNS**

### **UKRAINIAN URGED TO CONSERVE SCARCE GRAIN SUPPLIES**

By Robert Gillette, *Los Angeles Times Service*

MOSCOW — Faced with shortages of grain in Ukraine, the bread-basket of the Soviet Union, authorities are threatening villagers with stiff fines, confiscation of property and prison terms for feeding bread to their pigs, cows and chickens.

An article in Pravda on Wednesday urged a crackdown on villagers who divert bread and cereals to livestock, and noted that the maximum penalty under the law was three years' "deprivation of freedom".

The article, by a deputy prosecutor and by a jurist from Ukraine, was a warning to the rural population to conserve scarce grain supplies as well as a call for greater vigilance by police.

#### *Forage Shortage*

The severe penalties reflect the apparently serious shortages of forage and feed grains for the livestock that villagers are allowed to keep on small private plots, the source of 30 per cent of the milk and meat produced in the Soviet Union.

The government still has not released figures for last year's grain harvest, an omission from traditional year-end statistics that is viewed as indicating that last summer's drought and scattered floods may have been more damaging than Western experts had estimated.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture estimates that the 1981 Soviet grain harvest—the third consecutive poor one—amounted to no more than 175 million tons, 61 million tons below the official target.

An expected record import of 43 million tons of grain this year will make up only about two-thirds of the shortfall.

#### *Ukrainians Caught*

Western experts said the penalties for diverting bread to livestock also reflect low prices for bread and high prices charged to farm workers for feed grain. The combination of shortages and a distorted pricing system unintentionally encourages rural black markets.

The authorities are trying to stem the diversion of bread to pigs and other livestock by limiting individual purchases to two kilograms (4.4 pounds) or about four loaves, but evidently with only mixed success.

The Pravda article listed several cases in which Ukrainian villagers had been caught feeding bread to their animals. In other instances, sales clerks at rural stores were convicted of selling sacks of cereal grains meant for porridge to villagers who paid them bribes and then fed the grain to livestock.

Villagers caught diverting bread to livestock are "punished as they deserve", said the two authors, S. Skopenko, a deputy Ukrainian prosecutor, and M. Fomchenkov, the jurist. "Some are even deprived of their freedom. That's as it should be."

### *"Got off Easy"*

In the village of Krasny Luch, two local residents were convicted of buying 14 sacks of rye and corn cereal from a store clerk after paying a 50-ruble (\$72) bribe. They all had children, so "they got off easy", the article said, with one year's corrective labour and confiscation of part of their wages. The store clerk was also barred from working in trade organizations for two years.

Most of the grain the Soviet Union imports is used to feed livestock. But despite huge imports, there are signs of serious and persistent shortages.

In the Lviv region on the Polish border, for instance, local agricultural authorities have expressed alarm that cows on some farms are producing as little as two litres of milk a day.

Official Soviet figures show that overall agricultural production fell 2 per cent last year. Persistent shortages of feed have driven Soviet milk production down nearly 7 per cent since 1976. According to Soviet travellers, milk in some areas of Ukraine is being rationed at the rate of about a litre a week to families with a small child.

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## Documents and reports

### ON THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA)

Forty years ago in October, 1942, at the height of World War II, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was created to defend Ukrainian national independence and statehood. This revolutionary military organization, using modern strategies of guerilla-insurgent warfare, was founded following the proclamation of Ukrainian independence on June 30, 1941. The fortieth anniversary of this historic act was commemorated by the U.S. Congress in a ceremony in July 1981. Similar commemorations were held throughout the free world.

The tenets upon which Ukrainian independence was proclaimed in 1941 formed the *raison d'etre* of the UPA. Ukrainian independence and sovereignty were re-established in 1941 on the initiative of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) against the will and the imperialist aims of Hitler. The sovereign Ukrainian Government, headed by Yaroslav Stetsko, categorically rejected Hitler's ultimatum that the proclamation of independence be revoked and that the Government be dissolved. For their unyielding resistance to Hitler's ultimatums, many of the members of the Ukrainian Government, including Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko, were incarcerated in Nazi concentration camps. Several members of the Government were later executed by the Germans. The OUN leader Stepan Bandera was also incarcerated for his firm opposition to the Nazis and their imperialist and racist ideology, which was anathema to Ukrainian nationalist principles. Two of Bandera's brothers were exterminated in Auschwitz, and his brother-in-law was murdered by the Gestapo in Lviv.

In principle the continuity of the sovereign and independent Ukrainian state that was proclaimed in June 1941 has never been abrogated. The OUN and its military defence units led a determined and protracted war to ensure the continuation of Ukrainian independence and statehood. In October 1942, the UPA, under the command of General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, the Vice-Minister of Defence in the Ukrainian Government, became the insurgent-national army of Ukraine.

The UPA-OUN led a two-front war of liberation against the two most brutal totalitarian tyrannies of all time — Hitler's Nazi Germany and Stalin's Bolshevik Russia. The insurgent-guerilla strategy employed by the UPA was highly successful and continues to serve as a model for modern liberation warfare. The fact that UPA-OUN forces were capable of withstanding the awesome military might of Russia well into the fifties is testimony to the strength, vitality and contemporary relevance of the UPA's insurgent liberation strategy.

General Shukhevych-Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, fell

in battle with Russian MVD forces near Lviv on March 5, 1950. Ukraine's enemies, however, sustained heavy losses. Among the thousands of enemy soldiers killed in numerous battles with the UPA were General Lutze, Chief of Staff of the Nazi SA; Red Army Marshal Vatutin; General Walter Sverchewski, commander of the Spanish Red Brigades and deputy minister of defence in communist Poland; and others.

In November 1943, the UPA General Staff sponsored and organized, in UPA liberated areas of Ukraine, a Conference of Subjugated Nations attended by representatives delegated by the insurgent-liberation movements of thirteen subjugated nations. The Conference established the Anti-bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) as the coordinating centre of the national liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. As stated in its founding document, the ABN's primary aim is the liquidation of the communist system and the final dissolution of the Russian prison of nations into national, democratic, independent and sovereign states within their own ethnographic borders. Because of the threat to the existence of the Russian empire posed by the UPA, particularly in light of its role in directing and coordinating liberation activities among the other subjugated nations, the USSR concluded a Tripartite Pact with its "satellites" — communist Poland and the CSR — in 1947. The sole purpose of the Pact was to bring the armies of the three countries into a coordinated, massive assault to destroy the UPA. Despite the all-out efforts of the Pact, the UPA was able to continue its insurgent-guerilla activity for well over a decade. By the mid-fifties, however, such activity was becoming increasingly more difficult and the OUN-UPA forces were transformed into underground detachments.

On the initiative of UPA insurgents, who managed to fight their way to the West, and of Yaroslav Stetsko, head of the sovereign Ukrainian Government of 1941 and present Chairman of the OUN, an international Central Honorary Committee is being formed to commemorate the heroic national-liberation struggle of Ukraine, led on two fronts by OUN and UPA forces, and to honour the heroes of this struggle on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the establishment of the UPA.  
May 1982

*Organization of Ukrainian  
Nationalists (OUN)*

Read

Read

## ABN Correspondence

BULLETIN OF THE ANTIBOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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## CONCERNING AMERICAN RADIO BROADCASTS TO UKRAINE

For several decades the United States has been transmitting radio broadcasts into Ukraine through such institutions as Radio Liberty and the Voice of America. We have analyzed the Seventh and Eighth Annual Reports for International Broadcasting to the President and the Congress and wish to make the following observations:

1. Since Western radio broadcasts exert a powerful influence on listeners behind the Iron Curtain, it would seem imperative that such broadcasts address themselves to the practical realities there. Such a reality is the existence of Ukraine, a nation of nearly 60 million people with a long national and cultural tradition. Ukraine is a colony of Russia, and Russian imperialist policy seeks to forcibly assimilate the Ukrainian people into a Russian monolith. Nevertheless, there is a strong liberation movement in Ukraine, guided by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), presently headed by Yaroslav Stetsko. The aims of this movement are:

*a. the dissolution of the Russian empire (the USSR and its "satellites") through revolutionary national uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, and*

*b. the subsequent re-establishment of national, democratic, independent and sovereign states on the ruins of this empire.*

2. In 1959 the U.S. Congress enacted legislation requiring the President to proclaim the third week of July as Captive Nations Week and committing the United States to support the national independence of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. Since then, every American President has recommitted the United States to this position. Similarly, in 1960 the United Nations adopted its Resolution on Decolonization, which requires all nations of the world to work toward the dissolution of empires and for the achievement of each nation's right to sovereignty and statehood. The USSR has obtained much propaganda mileage from this resolution, yet the United States and the Free World in general have refused, in their turn, to confront the Russian empire by demanding the immediate decolonization of the USSR and its "satellites".

3. In 1976 the United Nations adopted the Resolution on Namibia with the intent of legitimizing the armed liberation struggle of subjugated nations against colonialism and requiring UN member states to render aid to these oppressed nations. Although the resolution was primarily directed against the West, the United States has failed to realize that it can equally be applied to the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations against Russian imperialism and communism.

4. In 1979, the International Red Cross Convention adopted a separate resolution requiring that all prisoners of war, whether from regular or insurgent armies, be treated equally. At present there are several thousand Ukrainian prisoners of war, former soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

(UPA), who have been languishing in Russian concentration camps for over thirty years, long after other POW's were released. On the basis of the Red Cross decision the United States should demand the immediate release of Ukrainian UPA and OUN insurgents from incarceration.

5. In 1976, the United States signed the so-called Helsinki Accords. The Accords are founded on contradictory principles, such as, for example, the inviolability of each state on the one hand and the right to national self-determination on the other. Moscow has exploited these contradictions for its own political and propaganda purposes, whereas the West has limited itself strictly to the human rights provisions in the Accords. The USSR has ignored the Accords completely, while the United States and the rest of the Free World have neglected to exploit the more significant national-liberation principles in the Accords.

6. The American Revolution of 1776 was the first significant anti-colonial revolution of modern times, but the revolutionary traditions of 1776 have been lost sight of in the United States' dealings with the Russian empire. The necessity of the dissolution of the USSR has been ignored in U.S. foreign policy.

In light of the above points, we offer the following criticism and evaluation of the policy guidelines of Radio Liberty, as outlined in *The Mission of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty Broadcasts* (Board of International Broadcasting, 1982) and further expounded upon in *RFE/RL Program Policy Guidelines* of the same year.

1. All mention of the right to national independence for the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism is strictly forbidden. Such a policy stands in direct contradiction to American traditions of freedom, the Captive Nations Law, various UN resolutions on decolonization and national independence, and the principle of national self-determination enunciated in the Helsinki Accords.

2. The above documents recognize the borders of Eastern Europe as ending at the frontier of the USSR, thereby excluding recognition of Ukraine and other European nations. Such a policy strengthens Moscow's imperialist campaign to isolate the subjugated nations from the rest of the world and thus assimilate them into a Russian super-race of so-called "Soviet people".

3. The *Guidelines* grossly misrepresents Ukraine as a political, cultural, and historical adjunct of Russia. For example, the *Guidelines* states that the five nations of Eastern Europe and the three Baltic States "have been and are more exposed than in the USSR to Western information, ideas, economic and cultural influence" and that Western thought and cultural values are "broadly accepted by large elements of the population". The fact that Ukrainians have always considered themselves to be an integral part of European culture, history, and politics is simply ignored.

4. State Department directives forbid Radio Liberty to stimulate "any

antagonism among the peoples of the Soviet Union". Thus, the broadcasts cannot transmit any reports of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people against their Russian oppressors, regardless of how widespread and volatile such events may be.

5. In this regard, a key purpose of policy of the United States Government is the promotion of communication, information and ideas conducive to "an orderly process of evolution in the USSR and Eastern Europe" toward domestic and international policies leading to international understanding. Such a concept :

*a. does not take into account the revolutionary processes in Ukraine and in other nations in the USSR that are working toward the dissolution of the empire, and*

*b. fails to realize that any evolution in the Russian empire toward liberty and democracy is impossible.*

To propagate a peaceful change in the USSR and to dissuade the subjugated nations from armed struggle only strengthens the stability and perpetuity of the empire.

6. In the section on "East European and Soviet Audiences" there is the following directive :

In broadcasting to areas which have suffered greatly from nationalistic excesses, it is essential that RFE avoid any programming that could be construed by East European listeners as reinforcing cultural or national prejudices toward other East European nations, toward the Russian people, or toward other nationalities of the USSR.

Thus, any mention or evaluation of Moscow's russification policies in Ukraine and in other subjugated nations is forbidden. Reports of nationalist tendencies in Ukraine are also forbidden. The Russian nation is, moreover, singled out for privileged treatment in the broadcasts. The underground literature smuggled out of the USSR is censored to avoid any mention of Russian imperialism.

7. The *Guidelines* stipulates that Radio Liberty "neither supports nor encourages any separatist or secessionist movement, and does not raise territorial issues". Such a statement clearly shows the reluctance of the United States to support the just aspiration of the Ukrainian people to national independence and the tendency to treat Ukraine as a part of Russia.

8. In the section "Editorial Policy" it states that all programming must be avoided which could be interpreted as "inflammatory or conducive to irredentism". Such a policy statement misleads the editorial staff of Radio Liberty as to the true aims of the Ukrainian national liberation movement which aspires to establish an independent Ukrainian state within its own ethnographic territories.

9. A subsequent point in the same section calls for the avoidance of any comments which could reasonably be construed as "incitement to revolt or

support for illegal or violent actions". Thus, liberation activity is seen by RL as "illegal" and concurs with the point of view of "Soviet legality". Ukrainian aspirations to independence and statehood are implicitly condemned on the basis of maintenance of an imperialist *status quo*.

10. Although the *Guidelines* explicitly states that the principle criteria for selection of broadcast materials is the "relevance" of the information to the needs and interests of the audience, the editorial staff of Radio Liberty is, in fact, forbidden from obtaining information on the basis of which the true needs and interests of the Ukrainian people can be ascertained. The *Guidelines*, for example, states that Radio Liberty offers its listeners basic "historical and cultural materials" on the heritage of their own areas. Yet all references to the heroic and memorable events in Ukrainian history are consistently deleted. No mention is made of the Ukrainian war of liberation during and after World War II, when the OUN and the UPA fought on two fronts against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. Contemporary events such as the U.S. Congress' commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence are not reported. Such a policy is especially reprehensible in light of the continuous Russian imperialist campaign to falsify Ukrainian history or expunge it from the consciousness of Ukrainians as a major factor in the russification process.

11. The personnel policy with regard to the Ukrainian editorial staff of Radio Liberty is not conducive to the interests and needs of the Ukrainian nation. For example, Mykola Herus, the executive administrator of the Ukrainian section, has always sought to eliminate from policy-making positions and from the staff in general those Ukrainians who have supported the principle of national independence, in accordance with the U.S. Public Law on Captive Nations and UN resolutions on decolonization, which clearly enunciate the U.S. policy on the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

#### *Our Proposals:*

1. The Programme Policy Guidelines concerning Radio Liberty broadcasts to Ukraine and to other subjugated nations must be changed to reflect the values and positions of such major documents as the United States Captive Nations law and the United Nations Resolution on Decolonization.

2. The administration and personnel of the Ukrainian section of Radio Liberty must be staffed by people who represent the aspirations of the Ukrainian people and the interests of the United States. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists should be consulted in all such decisions.

3. The content of Radio Liberty's Ukrainian broadcasts should be guided by the universal idea of national independence for Ukraine and all subjugated nations.

May 1982

*The Ukrainian Liberation  
Movement*

*PRESS STATEMENT***ON THE APPOINTMENT OF VITALI V. FEDORCHUK —  
“THE HANGMAN OF UKRAINE”  
TO THE POST OF KGB CHIEF IN THE USSR**

Vitali V. Fedorchuk, who from 1970 had been the head of the colonial Russian KGB apparatus in Ukraine, has taken over the post vacated by Yuri Andropov, as all-Union Chief of the KGB. Fedorchuk, a 64 year old KGB careerist and a member of this infamous internal security and police organization since 1939, when he was only 20 years old, made a name for himself in Ukraine through his relentless and systematic campaign against all Ukrainians fighting for basic liberties and national independence. In his capacity as a high-ranking KGB officer, Fedorchuk is personally responsible for the long-term incarceration and/or deaths of tens of thousands of Ukrainian freedom-fighters, members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), who led a heroic two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. For his subservience to Moscow and for his ruthlessness in the campaign against the OUN and UPA, Fedorchuk was rewarded and elevated to the position of KGB chief in Ukraine in 1970.

Since taking over the reins of the KGB in Ukraine, Fedorchuk organized a massive campaign, utilizing all the resources available to the KGB apparatus, against the foremost activists and leaders of the Ukrainian liberation movement. This campaign led to a series of mass arrests and long-term imprisonment of thousands of intellectuals, cultural activists, writers, poets, students, workers, and, generally, people from all walks of life. In short, any Ukrainian manifesting even the slightest characteristics of national consciousness would be relentlessly pursued by Fedorchuk's henchmen, arrested and either exterminated or sent to Russian concentration camps in the far reaches of the empire.

The list of Fedorchuk's victims is endless. He is responsible for the murder of Volodymyr Ivasiuk, a popular Ukrainian composer, who was brutally killed by KGB agents in the forests of Western Ukraine in May, 1979, for refusing to cooperate with the Russian colonial authorities. Mass demonstrations were held during Ivasiuk's funeral procession in the streets of Lviv, attended by over 10,000 people, to protest this barbaric Fedorchuk-KGB execution of Ivasiuk. Furthermore, many clergymen of the Ukrainian Catacomb Church were recently murdered by the KGB in Ukraine on the direct orders of Fedorchuk (e.g., Luchkiv, Lutsyk, Gorgula, Kotyk, and others). These murders immediately followed a series of articles by Fedorchuk against "clerical anti-communism" in Ukraine, the intent of which was to discredit Ukrainian clergymen and believers, thereby rationalizing

and establishing "grounds", however false, for their subsequent extermination.

Fedorchuk is also the author of a number of articles against the United States and Ukrainian nationalist leaders outside of Ukraine, in particular against the head of the OUN and the Prime Minister of Independent Ukraine — Yaroslav Stetsko. Recently, Fedorchuk wrote an article in Ukrainian on the "crisis" in Poland, in which he expressed his alarm over the already spreading Polish workers' liberation movement uniting with the Ukrainian liberation movement,\* and expanding to other colonial countries in the USSR. Fitting the typical Russian communist ideological mould, Fedorchuk has become quite a master at the art of disinformation.

For services rendered to the Russian imperialists, Fedorchuk was amply rewarded. For the barbaric brutality he displayed in dealing with Ukrainian nationalists and freedom-fighters, Fedorchuk was promoted to the high rank of colonel-general and was elevated to a position in the Politburo of the Communist Party of Ukraine in 1976.

Fedorchuk's present promotion to the position of KGB chief for all of the USSR should be viewed in light of the serious threat to the further existence of the Russian empire posed by the Ukrainian liberation movement, since no one else has more expertise in combatting Ukrainian nationalism and the widespread aspirations of all Ukrainians to national independence and statehood. And now, the "hangman of Ukraine", from his newly appointed position, has even greater power to employ the awesome state terror apparatus of the KGB against the Ukrainian liberation movement. Moscow can ill afford to have a national uprising break-out in Ukraine — Russia's largest colonial country, particularly on the verge of an ever-acute "succession crisis". It is primarily in this light that the appointment of Fedorchuk must be evaluated.

For further information please contact:

UKRAINIAN INFORMATION SERVICE  
200, Liverpool Road,  
London, N1 1LF  
(Tel. 607-6266/7)

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\* There has been a series of workers' strikes in Ukraine throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. Following one such strike in the Donbas region of Ukraine, the worker Klebanov worked-out a comprehensive programme of free trade unions, that is remarkably similar to the "Solidarity" programme. Most recently, striking Ukrainian workers in Kyiv, Ukraine, in 1981 were able to receive a number of significant concessions from the Russian colonial authorities in Ukraine.

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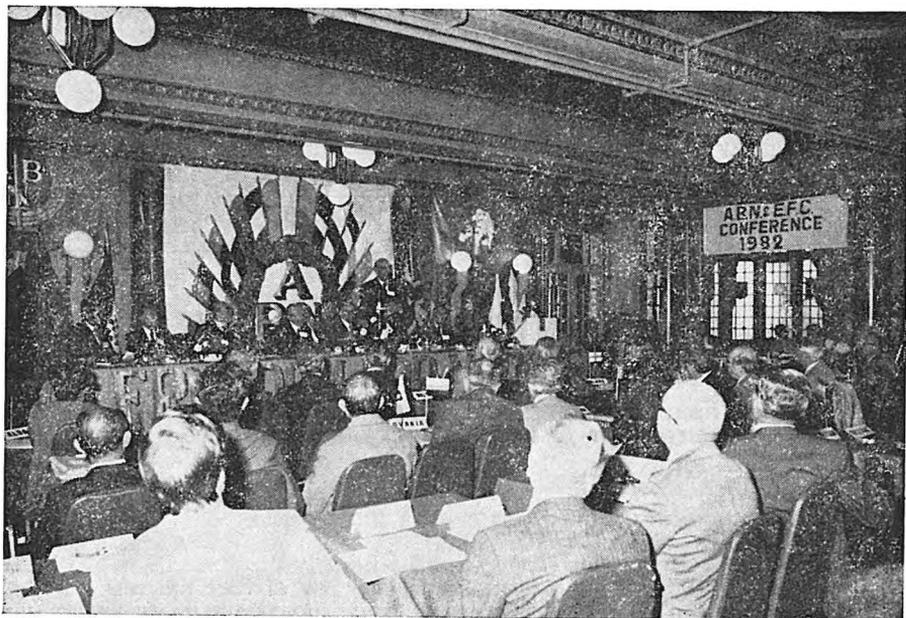
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*Presidium of the ABN-EFC Conference at the Imperial Hotel, London. (From left to right) Mr Truong Quang-Si, Prof. L. Magnino, Hon. D. Derby, Rt. Hon. Y. Stetsko, Mr. K. Glinski, Dr. A. Ilich and Dr. A. Suga.*



*Mass rally at Trafalgar Square following the ABN-EFC Conference.*

*Oleh MARTOVYCH*

**THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY**  
**On the 40th Anniversary since its formation in 1942**

*(Part 2)*

By October 1945, this offensive against UPA ended. The Bolsheviks were taken aback by the strength of the UPA and by the support given it by the Ukrainian population. They were surprised by the slight success of the general amnesty they proclaimed in the country, and at the insignificant success of their big action against the UPA. But mostly they were surprised at the behaviour of the units of the Red Army which were used in this action. And this behaviour was the chief reason for the sudden halting of this action in autumn, 1945.

When the Soviets planned their action against the UPA, they decided to attract to this action the units of the Red Army which were on the move from west to east after Germany's defeat. In connection with that, the Soviets developed a special plan of march through Western Ukraine. The most confidential troops lodged for a long time throughout the country with the task of helping the "interior" police troops (NKVD-MKGB) break the resistance of the Ukrainian population. In executing this plan, however, the Soviets did not succeed at all. The UPA opposed them not only with passionate armed defence, but also developed an uncommonly strong political campaign which began to influence the Red Army's troops garrisoned in Ukraine. The freedom-loving, revolutionary, progressive slogans of the UPA programme, which disclosed all the falseness and evil of the Bolshevik totalitarian dictatorship, found a broad lively response among the Red Army's soldiers, who had just returned from the front. They, themselves, saw in Europe quite another reality from the Soviet one, and now attentively listened to the voice of the UPA. The Red Army's soldiers, and very often a whole Red Army's detachment was not willing to take part in persecution and terroristic actions directed against the UPA and the Ukrainian population. And whenever they were obliged to take part in such actions, they, very often, did it only outwardly, endeavouring to avoid the UPA formations, not to fight them and even very often aided the UPA with information and weapons.

The Soviets dismayed by these facts, were obliged to withdraw the Red Army's troops from any direct actions against the UPA and never used them again. They had to withdraw the demoralized troops of the Red Army from Ukraine and to replace them with more disciplined and trustworthy troops. From all parts of the Soviet Union they brought the fresh divisions of the MVD-MGB security police into Western Ukraine. The best units of the MVD-MGB troops were selected in the Far East region, Siberia, the

Leningrad area and having passed a special course of training, were thrown into the fight against the UPA. At least 15 divisions of the MVD-MGB troops were concentrated in the Subcarpathian area and in Volhynia with the purpose of annihilating the UPA. These units were composed of young Bolsheviks, fanatics who were told that they were going to fight the "remnants" of German "fascists", SS-men, members of the most hated "Vlassov Army" and other elements which were hiding in the Carpathian mountains. They were asked to fight the "people's enemies" without any respect to sex, age, etc. Most barbarous methods were permitted: pillaging the country, murdering the population, and raping the womenfolk.

The "Ukrainian" minister of the Interior Gen. Lt. Ryassny took responsibility for carrying out a new action and Gen. Col. Moskalenko was appointed chief commander of the MVD-MGB troops designed for it. The second big action against the UPA began in the middle of December, 1945, and lasted till the end of June, 1946. It was called the Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive.

Meanwhile, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement made preparations for the "electoral" campaign for the Supreme Soviet of the USSR which was to be held on February 10, 1946. In order to show the Ukrainian people that the Ukrainian Resistance Movement had not been liquidated by the action of Khrushchev-Ryassny in 1945, the battalions of the UPA made a sudden raid on the provincial centre of Stanyslaviv (120,000 inhabitants) in the Subcarpathian area on October 31, 1945, and seized it, having delivered a severe blow to the Soviet occupiers. This attack was conducted by 5 UPA battalions at night and caused a big panic among the Bolsheviks and brought great satisfaction to the Ukrainian population.

Knowing the character of Soviet "elections", the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council decided to boycott the elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and summoned the Ukrainian people not to take part in these elections. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement started an "anti-electoral" campaign with the result that the Ukrainians of the Western Ukraine did not go to vote.

The Soviet "electoral" campaign had nothing in common with a democratic electoral campaign. As there is, in the USSR, only one official party, the Soviet "electoral" campaign is only a planned manoeuvre of the official Communist Party to strengthen and fortify its psychological pressure on the masses of the population and to terrorize them both psychologically and physically. The official electoral propaganda campaign has the task of terrifying, hypnotizing and mobilizing the masses of the population and, in this way, make them flexible, dumb, and obedient instruments in the hands of the official party clique.

As it is forbidden to put forward a non-official candidate, no anti-electoral propaganda is allowed. Such propaganda was possible only in the form of an active, persistent and organized mass struggle, including the armed resistance of the UPA. It had as its purpose to defend the citizens

against the terrorism of the state police and of the special troops which had the task of forcing them to participate in the elections. Thus, the boycott of the Soviet elections, proclaimed by the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council soon was transformed into a wide and very persistent fight of the Ukrainian people against the Soviet occupiers.

This fight began already in the middle of December, 1945, and developed into an ardent struggle. The MVD-MGB troops of Ryassny-Moskalenko were already concentrated in Western Ukraine, and on a given signal they began the fight on December 18, 1945.

For a month before the beginning of this action an "order" of Gen. Lt. Ryassny was distributed in the country. It is reproduced here in full. Of course, there were not many people in Ukraine so naïve to be deluded by this merry song of the NKVD 'siren'.

### ORDER

of People's Commissar of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR

15th November, 1945

A great number of partisans have recently come voluntarily to the organs of NKVD, and have said that they could not arrive before the 20th of July, this year, which has been fixed as the last term by the government of the Ukrainian SSR.

One of the chief reasons that the people could not arrive in on time, they state, was the fact that, although they wanted to break with the partisans and apply to the organs of the Soviet administration, they were not able to do that, because of the conditions of their actual abode they were not allowed to go out.

In addition to the partisans, a great number of Red Army deserters are arriving to join the organs of NKVD.

Upon these statements I order:

All members of partisans bands who have left their partisan activities and who could not arrive only because of the above mentioned conditions as well as those, who have avoided mobilization into the Red Army will not be subject to any reprisals and will be directed immediately to their places of residence.

People's Commissar of Internal Affairs  
of Ukrainian SSR  
(signed) Gen. Lt. V. Ryassny

After the 18th of December, 1945, military detachments of the interior police, troops of MVD-MGB, and special selected troops of the Red Army continued garrisoning in every locality of the Western Ukraine, in every village and even in the smallest hamlets of several huts. The number of

garrisoned military troops ranged from 10 men in the smallest hamlets to 300-500 men in bigger localities. The only job of these police-military troops was to spread violence and terror. In the woods and forests incessant searches for the Ukrainian insurgents took place. The prisons were being filled up with more and more prisoners, often arrested for only suspected anti-official attitudes. And under such conditions, the Ukrainian anti-electoral campaign was carried out successfully by means of: (a) secret talks and small secret meetings, (b) clandestine spreading of proclamations, short written instructions and calls, (c) whispered propaganda, (d) posting in visible places of manifestos and appeals of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council and of the UPA, (e) open mass meetings, speeches and open distribution of manifestos and appeals under the protection of the detachments of the UPA, (f) breaking up of official meetings and changing them into anti-official ones.

During the period of the "electoral campaign" one and a half thousand battles and engagements against Red troops were fought by the UPA. 5000 officers and soldiers of the UPA were killed and wounded in action. The Bolsheviks lost, at least, 15,000 men killed and wounded, but the Ukrainian people did not go to vote!

In the majority of the villages, especially in the western provinces of Ukraine nobody went to the elections at all. Because of this the Bolshevik occupiers retaliated with acts of terrorism. The soldiers of the garrisoned military-police troops used force against the people to compel them to enter electoral halls and throw into urns the electoral slips. They shot at the fleeing people and killed many Ukrainians. They set on fire the houses of the opponents. Finally, they, themselves, put as many electoral slips as they wanted into the urns. We are in possession of many protocols about thousands of cases of maltreatment and of many hundreds of murders perpetrated against the Ukrainian people who were not willing to take part in the "elections".

The Ukrainian people used the day of "elections" as a unanimous demonstration against the Soviet totalitarian dictatorship. They showed that they were not willing to take part in these elections because they were striving for liberty and freedom in their own independent state. The Ukrainians boycotted the elections in order to protest against the suppression of Ukraine and other subjugated peoples, and against the reign of terror and violence. In an anti-election appeal we read: "Communists lie all over the world that the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is a free and independent nation. We shall retort to this common lie with a general boycott of the elections. We are obliged to tell the world that we are against dictatorship and tyranny. Long live true democracy! Long live free elections in a Ukrainian United Independent State!"

The Soviets falsified the election returns, stating that 99% of the voters participated in the elections. In the *rayon* of Woynyliv, province of Stanyslaviv, 10,672 persons were eligible to vote. Of this number only 176 voted

voluntarily, 599 were forced to vote, and 9897 did not vote at all. Nevertheless, the Soviets proclaimed a great "election victory" in this *rayon* and reported a 99,8% vote in this area.

One of the principal actions of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement which took place after the "elections", was the opposition to the forced re-union of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church as announced by Moscow on March 17, 1946. Ukrainian Catholics in Western Ukraine were being deported, imprisoned, subjected to forced labour, or killed, if they refused to join the Orthodox Church. In connection with this persecution a proclamation of the Supreme Liberation Council stated: "Neither the Red divisions which stood against the UPA nor the bloody terror of the Russian-Gestapo-NKVD could break the Ukrainian resistance. We are convinced that Russian Orthodoxy under the leadership of Russian NKVD police will not subjugate the spirit of the Ukrainian resistance. Suppression of religion, and the introduction of Orthodoxy by means of force, will only strengthen the front of our struggle and will widen its perspective . . ." Of course, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council issued orders forbidding the forced apostasy and asking the priests and faithful to oppose the Bolshevik *pogrom* against the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

This *pogrom* began as early as 1945 when the Catholic Church was denounced in the press in Kyiv and Lviv, and other Ukrainian cities. The Pope's Christmas message on "True and False Democracy" was bitterly attacked, and the Pope was labelled an "abetter of fascism". In April, 1945, an article entitled "With the Cross and the Knife" by Volodymyr Rosovych appeared in Soviet-Ukrainian newspapers in Lviv and Kyiv. The article attacked the late Metropolitan Sheptytsky as the "servant of reactionary Rome". He asserted that the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its clergy, in league with the Vatican, were supporting the Ukrainian Resistance Movement against the Soviet system, and therefore could not be tolerated.

Following these verbal sallies actual physical attacks began. We reproduce here eye-witness reports printed in the publication *For an Independent State* (No. 9-10), which appeared clandestinely in Ukraine:

"On April 11, 1945, a special detachment of NKVD troops surrounded the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv. After a thorough search, according to the best methods of NKVD, the following were arrested: Metropolitan Joseph Slipyi, Bishop Nykyta Budka, Bishop Nicholas Charnetsky; the prelates, Rev. O. Kovalsky and Rev. L. Kunytsky; Reverends Gorchynsky, Beley, Sampara, Rector of the Theological Seminary, Rev. Bilyk, Director of a Catholic School, and Rev. Hodunko, who after brutal tortures died a few days after his arrest. The students of the Theological Seminary were rounded up and put in a camp on Pieracki Street. All the professors of the Theological Seminary were herded into a meeting organized by the NKVD, and informed that the Ukrainian Catholic Church had ceased to exist, that its Metropolitan had been arrested, and the Cathedral of St. George would be taken over by the Orthodox bishop appointed by the Soviet authorities.

During the search the NKVD men conducted themselves in a brutal manner and took all gold and silver objects, liturgical wine, etc.”

These raids were carried on throughout Western Ukraine. All Ukrainian Catholic bishops were arrested. In Stanislaviv, the NKVD arrested Bishop Gregory Khomyshyn and his auxiliary Bishop Latishevsky. In Peremyshl, which nominally does not belong to the Ukrainian SSR but rather to Poland, the NKVD arrested Bishop Josaphat Kocvlovsky, together with his auxiliary, Bishop Gregory Lakota. Of these Ukrainian Catholic prelates at least two, namely, Bishop Khomyshyn and Kotsylovsky, were reported dead in Soviet dungeons, while others were forced to work under the strict supervision of the MVD in the Vorkuta coal mines in the Soviet subarctic region. In the autumn of 1947 the last Catholic Bishop of Ukraine, Bishop Romzha of Carpatho-Ukraine met his tragic death in an “accident” involving a Soviet army tank.

After the *pogrom* against the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, the Russians went on to liquidate the lesser clergy. But out of a total of 3600 Ukrainian Catholic priests only 42 submitted to the apostasy by the end of June, 1945. Finally on March 8th, 1946, a “synod” was convened in Lviv. It was headed by those Ukrainian priests who submitted to the apostasy and “officially” proclaimed the “reunion” of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. But the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council stated that this “synod” was illegal and its decisions invalid, because, according to canon law, only bishops had the right to convene such ecclesiastic meetings. Reports stated at the time that among 216 “priests” attending this “synod” the majority were Russian NKVD agents disguised as Catholic priests.

In connection with this *pogrom* of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council submitted to the Holy See a memorandum regarding the persecution of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine requesting the Holy See: (1) To designate an exarch for the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western parts of Ukraine until all Bishops and priests would be released from Soviet prisons, (2) To make every effort for the liberation of Ukrainian bishops and priests from Soviet prisons, (3) To take a canonical stand in regard to the so-called “reunion” of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church, (4) To ask the United Nations to send a mixed commission to investigate the “voluntary” transfer of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to the Russian Orthodox Church and (5) To nominate a Field Bishop for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Here we must point out that the mock trial of Cardinal Mindszenty in which the venerable prelate was condemned to life imprisonment on trumped-up charges by Stalin’s communist puppets in power then in Budapest was an exact replica of the so-called “purge” trials long in operation in Soviet Russia. Only after tortures and the forced administration of drugs, which were commonplace practices under Soviet Russia’s judicial system,

was Cardinal Mindszenty allowed to appear before the court as a morally and physically broken man. The trials against the Ukrainian Catholic bishops were announced by the Soviets, but the bishops themselves did not appear before the court because no tortures nor drugs could break their spirit, and they did not confess to the crimes they had not committed. We can only be surprised at the fact, that the whole world remained calm and silent when the Bolsheviks imprisoned all the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops because they had refused to apostate their faith, and when the Ukrainian clergy and the faithful were persecuted and arrested because they had refused to be separated from their true Mother Church. The *New York Times* of August 5, 1949, printed a letter by Most Rev. Ivan Buchko, D.D. Apostolic Visitor for the Ukrainians in Western Europe, about the large-scale persecution of clergy and laity in Ukraine by the Soviet authorities. The letter, sent from Rome and dated July 20, 1949, read:

“For some time I have been reading editorials of *The New York Times* and other American newspapers that reach me about the persecution of the Catholic Church and her hierarchy by the Soviets and their satellites. I am surprised and deeply regret that nothing has been mentioned of the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Western Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine, which has been persecuted for so long.

“The tragic fate of Cardinal Mindszenty and of Archbishop Stepinac is well known, as well as the recent persecution of Archbishop Joseph Beran of Prague. But hardly anything is known of the fact that the entire Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy has been completely liquidated. Some bishops are dead, others are still suffering in the Soviet camps, where they are assigned to hard labour.

“The cruel hand of the Soviets fell upon them during the night of April 11, 1945. All of them had long been singled out as Church leaders and patriots, firmly believing in the cause of Ukrainian national independence. All were arrested on the same night and within a short time—hundreds of priests and faithful as well. Convenient tools were soon found, who ‘dissolved’ the Ukrainian Catholic Church as such and made it a part of the Russian Orthodox Church under the leadership of the Kremlin-dominated Patriarch of Moscow.

“His Holiness, Pope Pius, in his famous encyclical, ‘*Orientalis Omnes*’, called the attention of the world to the martyrdom of the Ukrainian Catholic Church under the Soviet regime and appealed to all Christians to pray for the Ukrainian Catholics.

“The Ukrainian Catholic Church was the first, but not the last, to fall a victim of the Muscovite war against Rome, Nonetheless, according to reports that still reach us here, the religious spirit of the Ukrainians and their national fervour burn brighter than ever before.”

Under the protection of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement the free Ukrainian Catholic Church continues to exist in the Western Ukraine. The Ukrainian Catholic Church went underground and in this way fulfills the religious needs of the Ukrainian population. Moreover, it has widened the scope of its activities and spread all over Ukraine.

Meanwhile the big Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive spread to the Subcarpathian area with the purpose of totally annihilating the UPA. But even then, it was a hard task to fight it. By spring, 1946, all the forests of the Western Ukraine, such as the Tsumansky forest near Kovel, the Yaniv forest near Lviv, and the Black forest near Stanislaviv, were burnt down in order to deprive the Ukrainian insurgents of their natural bases. In this case the devastation was immense. In order to infect the populations the Soviets sold serums of typhus and other bacteria on the black market where the medicines for the UPA were bought, despite the fact that bacteriological warfare was outlawed by international treaties, and even the Nazis did not use such methods in combatting the UPA.

On May 3, 1946, Gen. Col. Moskalenko, one colonel, and two majors were shot in an armoured car near the railway station of Tisziw, province of Stanyslaviv, by an UPA subdetachment of "Avengers". Secret informers had told the UPA detachment of the exact time of the departure of the commander-in-chief of the anti-UPA movement and his staff officers from Stanyslaviv to Stryj. The armoured car was hit in an ambush at close range by missiles from an insurgent "bazooka". The UPA subdetachment was attacked by the convoy of the NKVD general and was forced to withdraw to the nearest forest. This incident was reported only by the illegal journal of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council, *Samostiyunist* (Independence), in the summer 1946 issue (p. 159).

About the end of June, 1946, the garrisons of the MVD-MGB troops withdrew from the country. As usual the Soviets announced their "great victory" over the "remnants" of "Ukrainian-German" nationalists and proclaimed the "definite liquidation" of the "Ukrainian partisan bands". But the Soviet leader, responsible for this action, Gen. Lt. Ryassny, got neither the Kutuzov nor the Suvorov medal for this "victory". He was relieved of his post as Minister of the Interior of the Ukrainian SSR and replaced by Gen. Kruhlov, former Minister of the Interior of the USSR. This was the best proof that the Ryassny "victory" was no victory at all. The MVD-MGB detachments "succeeded" in killing many Ukrainian civilians, and in devastating the country, but it was a very hypothetical "victory". It caused only an unlimited hatred of the Ukrainian people for the Soviet-Russian methods of combatting the UPA. And these methods were worthy of their masters. All the horrors of the times of Ivan the Terrible or Peter the Great were revived in the Western Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement has survived the terrible offensive of the Ryassny-Moskalenko forces and has shown to Ukraine and to the world that there are limits of terror. It has shown that determined people

are able to withstand the pressure of overwhelming enemy forces who know no pardon. It has shown the world that such people are even able to win their fight as they know what they are fighting for.

The significance of the survival of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement was immense. By its survival the Ukrainian Resistance Movement showed that an underground revolutionary-political fight against the Soviet "colossus" is possible. Its armed groups not only protected the Ukrainian population from the terror of the Soviet secret police, but it also paralyzed all efforts of the oppressors to carry out their occupation policies. Through solidarity, sacrifices and the fanatical heroism of its fighters, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement gained the admiration of the whole Ukrainian people and even of its opponents, and succeeded in calling the whole Ukrainian people to the struggle against the bloody usurpers.

Nevertheless, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement became aware that it had to change its methods of organization from a mass underground to individual conspiracy. It had to replace the breadth of the movement with depth, extensiveness with intensity, quantity with quality. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement had to become a body with 'clockwork' precision. It had to liquidate all second-rate sectors and to replace them with more tightly organized political, economic, and propaganda sectors of the struggle. Then, it had to widen its activities in Eastern Ukraine to win over the people of the eastern provinces of Ukraine to the struggle. It had also to expand beyond the borders of Ukraine and to summon others of the subjugated peoples especially in the "satellite" countries, to the struggle against the Bolshevik occupiers, showing them the Ukrainian experience in this uneven fight. We are able to see that the Ukrainian Resistance Movement has done this work splendidly.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement reorganized its forces according to the principles mentioned above in the second half of 1946. Preparations for this reorganisation were made as early as 1945 soon after the war came to an end, as we can see from a document entitled "Instructions of the Central Directing Body of the OUN Concerning the Conclusion of World War II". The large insurgent units (battalions and companies) were disbanded and their fighters were used to strengthen the units of the territorial network. Instead of disorganized units, small units of armed Ukrainian insurgents were organized, each with its own area of activity to which it was confined except in rare cases as this was necessary. The detachments were divided into "sub-detachments" and all had their numbers and names. The dislocation of the detachments and subdetachments was planned by the Supreme Command in such manner that they could easily be mobilized for special actions in case of emergency. At the same time, the mobilization order to the affiliated "Youth Organization" was issued, and young boys and girls between 16-18 years of age joined the armed detachments to complete them to full strength, and also to get their training, both political-ideological and military. At last the Propaganda and Information Centre had been

organized, and its chief job was to reorganize the material base for the continuation of propaganda activities. All over Western Ukraine, armed groups of Ukrainian insurgents had a difficult task to acquire all kinds of stationery wherever it was possible. Some of them succeeded in capturing valuable material which was brought by underground channels to the Propaganda and Information Centre.

It was clear from this that the Soviets were going to be very surprised at the vitality of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, in the second half of 1946. Having publicly announced their "total" victory over the UPA, they were dismayed that these forces were reactivating. Their disappointment was complete when they learned that there had appeared clandestinely printed journals of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement with articles by well-known underground writers such as Poltava, Hornovy, Kuzhil, Honcharuk and many others.

Having destroyed the chief base of the Ukrainian underground propaganda during the time of the Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive, they could hardly expect such a regeneration in so short a time. As a matter of fact, a clandestine journal of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council had appeared, *The Independence*, the ideological journal of the OUN, *Idea and Action* (No. 10) and many others, as well as thousands of leaflets which found their way all over the Soviet Union.

The first issue of *The Independence* (1946) contained an excellent article entitled "Shame of the Twentieth Century" which described the Bolshevik methods of combatting the Ukrainian Resistance Movement during the time of the Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive. Issue No. 10, 1946, of *Idea and Action* contained many interesting articles, one of which was by Poltava, the leading underground writer, entitled "The Ideological Principles of Ukrainian Nationalism".

In the autumn of 1946, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement began to fight against the forced collectivization of agriculture, as practised in Western Ukraine, and this became its principal activity in Ukraine during the following years.

To this day in the West, there still persists the belief that the collectivization of agriculture, as practised in the Soviet Union, despite the inhuman methods used for its enforcement, is an economical measure calculated to increase production. Actually, however, in the Western Ukraine and other subjugated countries, collectivization is a political act, and is enforced in spite of the fact that it is ruinous economically. Lenin himself said that if the peasants are allowed to keep their land, they will continue endlessly to produce capitalist elements who, from the countryside, will penetrate into the towns, trade, industry and the administration. In short, the existence of a peasant class based on private property, enables capitalism to reproduce itself perpetually, making communism impossible in the long run.

In order to ensure the existence of their regime, the communists instituted

the collectivization of agriculture. Needless to say, they met with a desperate resistance on the part of the peasants, especially in Ukraine and in the Cossack lands. Soviet terrorism triumphed, however, and over 30 million peasants, either perished in the Soviet sponsored famine of 1932-33, or were deported to forced labour in the Arctic regions.

The collectivization of Ukraine's agriculture proved most eloquently and conclusively that the *kolkhozes* had nothing to boast of with regard to productivity of labour, or economy of production. The Bolshevik system needed the *kolkhozes* only in order to ruin the individual farmers as a class. As is well-known, farmers all over the world are the staunchest patriots and the most stubborn fighters for individual freedom and private initiative. Only by means of *kolkhozes* was it possible to reduce the Ukrainian farmers to the level of slave-labourers, and their real income to the level demanded by the exploitation current in the Soviet Union.

Immediately after the re-occupation of Western Ukraine the Soviets were making haste to prepare the ground for collectivization. Their success was almost nil, for the Ukrainian Resistance Movement frustrated all their attempts. The Soviets were, therefore, eager to make Western Ukraine ripe for collectivization. They decided that the best method to achieve this end, was to make the life of the individual farmers as intolerable as possible. These measures were calculated to ruin the farmers and to make them willing to abandon their land. All the farmers who were not partisans of the new order were declared "kulaks" and "enemies of the people" and burdened with exorbitant taxes. They were threatened with deportation and imprisonment if they did not pay them. The individual farmers had to pay an income tax which was 3 to 4 times higher than that which the *kolkhoz* farmers had to pay on their private incomes. Individual farmers owning horses, moreover, had to pay a heavy tax in order to compel them to sell the animals sooner or later. The *kolkhozes*, however, paid no taxes at all in their first years.

The individual farmers are, moreover, burdened with oppressive statutory labour. They must cut lumber, cart fire-wood and timber out of the forests, mend roads and do public transport service. The farmers failing to comply with all these obligations risk a sentence of hard labour coupled with the confiscation of all their property.

The individual farmers must deliver to the state a certain amount of various products every year: grain, hay, milk, meat, wool, potatoes, flax, sugar beet, etc. The state pays ridiculously low prices for these products. But fodder and fertilizers, on the other hand, are reserved exclusively for the *kolkhozes*.

It is evident that under these circumstances to be an individual farmer in the USSR is far from pleasant. Under these conditions the individual farmers have only one choice if they wish to avoid the deportation to Siberia. This choice is to join a *kolkhoz* "of their own will".

As long as the Ukrainian Resistance Movement continues to be strong,

the realization of the Soviet programme will continue to meet the greatest difficulties. The Ukrainian insurgents, although they come from every class of the population, a great proportion were the sons of farmers and enjoyed the complete and unstinted support of the whole of the Ukrainian peasantry in combatting the hated and unpopular *kolkhoz* system.

Owing to the vigorous resistance, the Soviets risked their first attempt to collectivize only as late as the autumn 1946, when they thought the Ukrainian Resistance Movement had already been destroyed by the Ryassny-Moskalenko offensive. They organized some 50 *kolkhozes* in Western Ukraine and provided them with an armed guard from the NKVD troops.

Summoned by the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, the farmers all over the country reacted to the rumours of imminent collectivization with large scale sabotage. They sold their livestock keeping only one cow each. Grain was being hidden in the woods and pigsties were erected in the most unlikely places as was done during the German occupation. The farmers hid their animals or slaughtered them clandestinely.

Counter-propaganda against collectivization brought on riots in various parts of the country. The existing tractors were wrecked on all these occasions for fear of subsequent collectivization. In various places the communists agitating for collectivization among the farmers were either assassinated or harassed.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement did not confine itself to the distribution of countless leaflets among the farmers explaining the consequences of their joining the *kolkhozes*. One night, in November, 1946, armed groups of Ukrainian insurgents suddenly attacked the MTS (agricultural machinery stations) — the backbone of the *kolkhoz* system, and demolished them. Again they attacked the *kolkhoz* estates and burned them down. Both these attacks were made simultaneously in the whole country and the Soviets suffered a hard blow frustrating their attempts to collectivize farming in Western Ukraine.

Of course, the Soviets did not give up their efforts to enforce collectivization. In spring, 1947, they organized new *kolkhozes* and brought more armed guards from the MVD-MGB troops. But the struggle against forced collectivization lasted the whole year and the Soviets could not boast of great success. Even in 1949, the Kyiv radio broadcast the following figures from a report of the Secretary General of the Ukrainian Communist Party, N. S. Khrushchev, on the progress of agricultural collectivization in the West-Ukrainian provinces: Volhynia — 80% collectivized land, Drohobych — 79%, Ternopil — 34%, Lviv — 34% and Stanyslaviv — 17%. By his report Khrushchev had indirectly confirmed the success of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in vigorously opposing collectivization. We must not forget, in this place, that many *kolkhozes* of Khrushchev's report existed only on paper, in-as-much as the Soviets are masters in exaggerating their "successes".

The Soviets soon realized that as long as the Ukrainian Resistance

Movement exists, their drive for enforced collectivization will not succeed. They began, therefore, to study the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in order to find out the best measures for combatting it. A centre aiming at the liquidation of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement was organized under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the State Security (MGB). It is significant that this "internal" Soviet-Ukrainian problem was put under the control of an all-Union authority in Moscow, and this is one proof more that the Ukrainian Resistance Movement had become a "grave danger".

The anti-collectivization struggle of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in 1947, gave it a big chance to spread all over Ukraine. In Eastern Ukraine, climatic conditions were unfavourable to crops both in 1946 and in 1947. The meagre harvest of 1946 combined with the usual requisitions of grain and other foodstuffs, caused widespread starvation among the Ukrainian *kolkhozniks* of Eastern Ukraine. On the contrary, climatic conditions in Western Ukraine were extraordinarily good and the harvest there was above average. In the spring and summer of 1947, Western Ukraine was, therefore, crowded with groups of starved *kolkhozniks* from as far as Kharkiv province and Voronezh province who had been attracted by rumours that Western Ukraine abounded in food and other goods. As the peasant in the USSR lives mainly on the proceeds of his small private garden lot of 0.25-1 hectars, the crowds of the *kolkhozniks* came into Western Ukraine to beg for grain and other foodstuffs. The Soviets persecuted them in all possible ways, but their drive to Western Ukraine was unchecked. It is estimated that more than 1 million *kolkhozniks* visited the Western Ukraine, taking at least 200.000 quintals of grain and other foodstuffs.

This was a big opportunity for the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. It issued a proclamation to the "Brethren of the Eastern Ukraine" asking them, "whether they know why they are starving although they are the owners of the richest soil in the world." The proclamation explained the aims of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and called the Ukrainian *kolkhozniks* to the common struggle against the Bolsheviks. It stressed that the West Ukrainians have plenty of food and other goods because they systematically oppose the *kolkhoz*-system and fight against Bolshevism as the most ruthless exploiter of the Ukrainian people. It asked the *kolkhozniks* of the Eastern Ukraine to follow their example and to fight against the barbarous Bolshevik system, for an independent Ukraine. It is evident that this leaflet-propaganda was not the only measure taken to influence the guests from Eastern Ukraine. The West Ukrainian population was asked to aid the brethren of the Eastern Ukraine and in all possible ways to assist them at every step. The slogan: "A quarter of grain to the starving brethren from the East!" was stuck up everywhere and, besides, the Ukrainian insurgents often held meetings with the *kolkhozniks* to explain to them the hypocrisy of the Bolshevik system and to advise them how to fight it at home. The success of this propaganda can be judged from the press statements from Eastern Ukraine showing how the *kolkhozniks* became passive

resisters against the Bolshevik system, hiding foodstuffs and sabotaging the orders of the Communist party. Of course, the rumours about the Ukrainian armed resistance in Western Ukraine spread throughout the Soviet Union.

In the autumn of 1947, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement started an important school action. In the civilized world the mission of schools is to supply the pupils with a certain amount of objective information and to teach them to observe the phenomena of life impartially and objectively. Not so with the Soviet school. The first and paramount mission of the Soviet school is to produce loyal communists. "The task of the Soviet school is to foster in the pupils a love for our social and political system," wrote A. Voznesenski, the Minister for Education, in *Pravda*, Nov. 17, 1948. "This task cannot be carried out otherwise than in connection with the teaching of all subjects."

It is an open question whether the teachers in the West are fully able to envisage what their colleagues behind the "Iron Curtain" must feel when forced to teach their trusting pupils arrant lies, and an ideology of hate. Directives from Moscow require, for instance, that Russian culture and Russian achievements be regarded as the first and oldest in the world and that Western culture be regarded only as a derivative of the Russian. The origin of the Ukrainian State must be explained "from the point of view of present Soviet historiography", i.e. intentionally falsified. In the same way in all courses in Ukrainian literature and history, it is necessary to emphasize the national peculiarity, originality and greatness of Russian thinkers, writers and scholars and their "great influence" on the Ukrainian people. The pupils must be acquainted with the Soviet system and convinced of its "immeasurable superiority" to the bourgeois ways. All this the Ukrainian teachers are compelled to inculcate in the defenceless children, contrary to their own better knowledge that Ukrainian culture was already highly developed at a time when Russia was still a vast forest, peopled by wandering tribes of nomadic barbarians. However, the tasks of the unhappy teachers are not confined to teaching in the schools. They must be "enlighteners of the people" in the broadest sense. In school and out of school the teacher has to be not only a champion of communism but an active fighter against his own people, Western culture, etc. "The sacred duty of the Soviet teacher is to be the engineer of the growing mind, to combat the efforts of the drugs of capitalism, political neutrality, ideological slackness, bourgeois objectivism, bourgeois Ukrainian nationalism, and religious relics to poison the mind of our youth", wrote a Ukrainian school dignitary. Everything Western is poisonous and degenerate, everything Eastern vigorous and excellent. Every day and every hour the consciousness of the power of the Soviet state must be drummed into minds of the young people. Not for a minute may the words of Lenin be forgotten that "a school outside of life and politics is a lie and hypocrisy".

In order to oppose the danger of such an "education" for young Ukrainian people, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement decided to start its

own school action. It issued directives to the Ukrainian teachers requiring that Ukrainian culture and its achievements be regarded as the principal aim of education. The detailed instructions of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement asked the teachers to teach Ukrainian literature, Ukrainian history, and geography from the point of view of Ukrainian nationalism. They forbade any anti-religious activity in the school, as Ukrainian religious feelings are predominant in everyday life. The pupils had to be acquainted with the achievements of Western culture and the relation of Ukrainian culture with Western culture had to be stressed. Finally, the pupils had to know what is meant by Soviet exploitation, what the situation of the peasant and workers in the USSR is as compared with that of the capitalist countries, and what the essence of Russian imperialism is. Simultaneously with the directives to the Ukrainian teachers, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement issued a proclamation to the young Ukrainian people asking them to facilitate the difficult task of their teachers.

In connection with this it is interesting to note that as early as 1945 almost 6,000 teachers were brought by the Soviets from Eastern into Western Ukraine with the aim of liquidating the nationalistic tendencies in the teaching of history and literature, and of heightening the standard of ideological and political training. The West Ukrainian teachers were said to be under the influence of Ukrainian nationalism. Most of the arriving teachers were young girls, often members of Komsomol (Communist Youth organization) and they were, without doubt, under the strong influence of Bolshevik propaganda which denounced the Ukrainian insurgents as "bandits", "murderers", "fascists" and the like. The fear of the "Ukrainian-German nationalists" was so great that the girls refused to take food and to speak to the people in the villages of Western Ukraine. But the Soviets could not secure satisfactory living conditions for them. The lodgings assigned to them were insufficient and out of repair, food was short and of inferior quality and they had no money to have their clothes and shoes repaired. As they got salaries from 130 to 240 roubles a month, they were not able to buy anything at a time when 1 kg of butter on the black market cost nearly 300 roubles.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement soon made use of the chance their arrival gave them to spread its ideas among the Eastern Ukrainian population, and to make these teachers instrumental in a planned fight for Ukrainian independence all over Ukraine. It ordered its members and sympathizers to observe the girls in their everyday lives and to support with food and clothing those who, without any doubt, were good Ukrainians. Moreover, it ordered its members to inform these girls about the concepts of Ukrainian nationalism. The girls had a chance to see at close hand the Ukrainian insurgents in their fight against the Soviets and observe the fanatic heroism of the Ukrainian boys and girls fighting against the Soviets. Soon they became acquainted with the aims of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and understood the situation as it developed in Western Ukraine. In

many cases they became enthusiastic followers of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and contributed much to the spreading of its ideas in Eastern Ukraine. According to reports from the country, 75% of them followed the directives of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement as regards teaching in the schools. Many were arrested and deported by the Soviets, and other became active fighters for the Ukrainian cause. In November, 1948, one of the girl-teachers, a former Komsomol member from Eastern Ukraine, Tamara Lutschenko, was killed in the streets of a Subcarpathian town while executing an order of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement to assassinate an agent-provocateur. She mortally wounded him, but in his last spasm he succeeded in shooting her down with his submachine-gun.

Simultaneously with its school action, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement opposed the conscription of Ukrainian youth into FZU\* schools which are notorious for ruthless slave labour directed at minors. FZU schools are chiefly located in Russia. The minors are uniformed and are subject to a strong, military discipline. They attend schools which are, in fact, factories producing war materials.

Amongst other things, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement carried out a strong propaganda campaign among the veterans of the war. In many of the towns in Western Ukraine and in the whole of the Soviet Union disabled war veterans can be seen sitting and begging at every street corner. Those who have lost both legs propel themselves in boxes which move not on wheels, but on old discarded ball bearings. These people always wear their orders and medals and abuse the government openly. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement issued a special leaflet directed to them in order to strengthen their anti-Soviet feelings considering them a significant factor in the anti-Bolshevik struggle of the Ukrainian people.

Among the chief activities of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement were the UPA raids in Eastern and Central Europe. The operations of the UPA in the territories of Central Europe have found an echo in the press of Western Europe and that of the United States, because many foreign correspondents in Czechoslovakia or in Poland indirectly reported them.

The first raids of the UPA in Central Europe began as early as 1945. In the summer of 1945, UPA-forces made extensive propaganda raids into the territory of Carpatho-Ukraine, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, Byelorussia, and Lithuania. The success of these operations was great. They had excellent propaganda results for the fight against the Bolsheviks, fostered opposition against them, and consolidated the population for the fight against the common foe. At the same time they showed the true fighting spirit of the military personnel waging war for an Independent Ukrainian State.

UPA raids into Slovakia became especially notorious. In their march through Eastern Slovakia, the Ukrainian insurgents crossed the districts

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\* *Fabrichno-Zavodskoe Utshilishche* — Trade and craft schools (Technical colleges) — *Eds.*

Stropkov, Oiraltovce, Presov, Sabinov, Bardyjov, Snina and Humenne. In all settlements where they passed, they called together the local population and arranged discussion evenings about current topics. They distributed leaflets in the Slovak language and registered a considerable number of volunteers who wished to join the UPA-forces.

On August 28, 1945, in the village of Dispalovce, the commander of the raiding group, First Lt. Andrienko, split the raiding group into three parts after having received instructions from the home base. One part of the raiding group went into Carpatho-Ukraine, the other into south-eastern Poland, and the third group, under Second Lt. Myron, turned south.

When this group approached Preshov, and was on the move near the mountain Simonka (1005 m), the Czech authorities brought in heavy concentrations to surround the woods. All the roads were full of moving troops, heavy equipment and dispatchers. But in spite of all this, the raiders peacefully passed through the villages: Cerbenice, Huviz and Lysecek towards the West. In many villages the Ukrainian insurgents (they were members of the First Insurgent Officer School and mostly students of universities or of high schools) gave vocal concerts. They took leave of the hospitable Slovak territory by giving an evening of dancing which was well attended by the local population in Tspelovce, 8 km from the Slovak Polish boundary.

UPA raids deep into Slovakian territory in the spring of 1946 became world famous. This raid was well prepared. Participating troops were aware of the importance of this operation. The raid was preceded by a sudden attack of the Insurgent battalion of Cpt. Didyk on the railway station and town of Lukiv in south-eastern Poland. The Polish garrison fled in panic into the Slovak territory and was disarmed and interned by the Czechoslovak authorities. The fact became known all over the world and the correspondents of different English-language press organs went to the spot to gather reliable information. In this way the first reports on the UPA appeared in the world press. The UPA was described by these correspondents as a force of 20,000 Ukrainians fighting against Red Army detachments, well-clothed and armed, well-fed and wearing national insignia on their caps. Further information was added by Homer Biggart, a *New York Herald Tribune* reporter, in a dispatch of April 18, 1946. He detailed the UPA activities and stressed the fact that the insurgents behave well towards the civilian population, and leave churches unscathed even when they have to destroy whole villages. He pointed out that because they strive for an independent Ukraine they are both anti-Russian and anti-Polish.

The raid of the UPA in Slovakia, in spring and summer of 1946, was one march of triumph. Everywhere the raiders were met with enthusiasm and the Slovaks were delighted that the pay-off for their local Communist bosses had become a reality. The raiding detachments passed the Ukrainian-Slovak boundary in complete secrecy so as not to alert Polish and Czechoslovak forces. Abundant literature was distributed in this raid which embraced nearly all the districts of Eastern Slovakia.

Another battle of the UPA developed in Slovakia in the spring and summer of 1947. In May 1947, the Czechoslovak government proclaimed a state of emergency in entire Slovakia. As in a time of war people were forbidden to move freely between populated areas. In the evening one was not allowed to leave one's house. The military detachments of the Slovaks which had been sent against the UPA went over to the side of the Ukrainians without offering any battle. Young people began to join the ranks of the UPA. A detachment of the UPA forced out of Slovakia by the Czech armed forces, retreated in separate fragments across Moravia and Czechia. Small groups of Ukrainian insurgents appeared in the Sadzhava woods. The route of some detachments of the UPA led obviously towards Bavaria where they expected to surrender their arms to the Americans. Some of them even crossed the Danube south of lake Balaton in Hungary and reached Yugoslav territory to join "chetniks" and "kursari".

The same story was repeated in spring and summer, 1948. The Czechoslovak ministries of war and of the interior published a joint communiqué which said: "Czech army and police troops are fighting heavily against UPA units who hold position and fortifications of World War II in Slovakia." It goes on to say that after several days fighting, police troops had taken a bunker whose defenders (three UPA soldiers and a Red Cross nurse) had fought to their last breath with knives and bayonets after they exhausted their ammunition.

The battle of the UPA on the territory of Slovakia reverberated several times in the Czech parliament. During the first phase of the UPA raid, in 1947, the Czech Vice-Minister of Military Affairs, Gen. Ferencik, gave the names of the detachments of the UPA and explained to the members of Parliament the political background of the UPA. During the second phase of the raid which took place on the territory of Czechia itself, the Minister of Military Affairs, Gen. Svoboda, addressed Parliament regarding these battles with the UPA detachments. He gave the exact number of casualties on both the Ukrainian and Czech sides, and described the UPA as "an excellently trained and perfectly organized military force. Its armed equipment was good", he said.

*Tworba*, the organ of the Communist Party in Czechoslovakia, wrote in June, 1948, that "small but exceedingly well-equipped and well-disciplined UPA units have again broken into Czechoslovakia", and that it is "most alarming that numerous Czech and Slovak rebels have joined them and begun to liquidate communists and People's Democrats". It sharply reproached the Soviet-Polish-Czech high command in Slovakia for its failure to liquidate the UPA which, "by its activities, is said to have turned the military forces of the above mentioned three powers into a laughing stock. The very existence of the UPA is encouraging the anti-communist elements in all of the East European countries." *Tworba* blamed the united high command for failing to issue constructive slogans to counteract the ideas of the UPA and command the sympathies of the Czechs and Slovaks.

A further development which arose out of the UPA raids in Czechoslovakia was the trial of the members of the UPA which took place in the capital of Slovakia — Bratislava. Beginning on November 19, it ended on November 29, 1948, with the death sentence being imposed on the four Ukrainian defendants. On the first day of the trial the presiding judge, Dr. Karol Berdna began to refer to the defendants as “bandits” and “killers”. To the astonishment of the court, Ivan Klisch, one of the defendants, rose to protest immediately after the reading of the charges. “We are soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army”, the defendant declared, “As such, we swore to obey the orders of the Command of our armed forces; therefore, we strongly protest against the court’s reference to us as “bandits” and “killers”. He went on to demand that they should be referred to as “soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army”, and stated that if their army uniforms and insignia were not returned, they would not answer the questions put by the court. The defiant attitude of the defendants in spite of their long struggle against both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks, and the tortures they suffered in the communist prisons of Czechoslovakia, appeared to nonplus the court. A recess was called and after several hours of deliberation the court ruled that their uniforms be returned. For the remainder of the proceedings, the Ukrainian Underground was referred to as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The trial received much publicity in the Czechoslovak press.

Details of the UPA raid in Eastern Ukraine are known from first-hand reports by participants in these raids. The first raid under the command of Col. Eney of the UPA-North was organized in autumn, 1946. It started in Northern Volhynia, which was the operation base of the UPA-North, and finished near the River Dnieper in the region of Kyiv. The raiding group travelled more than 400 kilometres and had 21 encounters on the way. It was divided into small raiding detachments which worked simultaneously executing the orders of their commander as his staff. While raiding in Eastern Ukraine the raiding units often changed their field of operations in order to carry out a given task, to secure supplies, or to evade discovery and prevent encirclement. Strict discipline on the march was maintained. Marches were generally at night, by routes known only to the local population. Small insurgent units synchronized their moves over a large terrain marching 30–45 miles daily. Everywhere the raiding units found the full support of the eastern Ukrainian population which supplied them with food and gave them shelter.

Another raid under the command of Major Khmara was organized in the spring of 1947. It was organized by UPA-South. The raiding detachments crossed Bukovina, Moldavia, Bessarabia and reached Odessa. The raid covered more than 1,000 kilometres and was made in about 100 days. The raiding detachment made contacts with many local insurgent groups in Moldavia and Bessarabia and got the full support of the villagers who were glad that the raiding detachment demolished the granaries and distributed grain among the population.

As early as 1945, the UPA made several raids in Poland. It made contacts with WIN (Freedom and Independence), a Polish underground army in Central Poland, and with NSZ (National Armed Forces), a Polish underground army in Western Poland. The Ukrainian insurgents went as far as Wroclaw (Breslau) and established liaison with WRN (Liberty, Equality, Independence), another Polish underground organization. The Ukrainian insurgents established not only contacts with the Polish underground, but also concluded an agreement of mutual support and assistance. According to this agreement, which was concluded on May 18, 1946, the combined Polish-Ukrainian underground forces attacked the town of Hrubieszow, on May 27-28, 1946, inflicting heavy casualties on the NKVD troops and the Polish militia.

With the assistance of the Polish underground, Ukrainian insurgents raided the Bialowieza wilderness (1945, the battalion of "Wolves" under the command of Major Chernyk), and Central and Western Poland (1946), and eastern Prussia (1947 — detachment under the command of Cpt. Prirva). The enforced colonization of East Prussia mainly with Ukrainians from the Ukrainian territories west of the Curzon Line provided the UPA with an opportunity to extend its activities to the Baltic Sea and to make contact with the well-organized and strong Lithuanian Liberation Movement. The aim of the last raid was to visit the Ukrainian population in Eastern Prussia, to organize an underground network covering this province and the Danzig area and to establish contacts with the Lithuanian Resistance Movement (BDPS — National Democratic Resistance Movement). The contacts were established and the Ukrainian insurgents could observe the strength and the perfect underground organization of BDPS.

At the same time the UPA group which operated in the westernmost regions of Ukraine was concentrating all its efforts on preventing the Red Polish government from forcibly transferring the Ukrainian population from the territories West of the Curzon Line into the Soviet Union. In accordance with the Soviet-Polish Treaty of August 16, 1945, the Polish-Soviet state boundary was established. The Red Polish authorities announced officially that all Ukrainians had to leave Poland and move to the Soviet Union. It must be emphasized that this transfer action was carried out by the Red Poles with great terror and violence. The Red Polish Security troops (UB) and the Red Polish Army under Soviet command, destroyed whole Ukrainian villages, setting fire to them, plundering, and murdering the inhabitants. On January 24, 1946, at 9.00 a.m. units of Red Polish Army surrounded the village of Zawadka Morochivska. These units were from the first battalion of the 34th regiment stationed in Sianok. The HQ of the regiment under the command of Col. Pluto, was in the village of Mokre. The Red Polish soldiers murdered 56 persons who were in the village and set fire to the buildings. The soldiers committed many atrocities, torturing their victims before killing them. Not even children and infants were spared, nor did the aged escape a fearful fate. Stomachs of the children were cut open,

and their eyes pierced, and women suffered the loss of their breasts and tongues which were cut off by the sadists. Several persons were thrown into the flames. The whole village was completely plundered. The Red Polish troops seized 17 horses, 34 cows, and other livestock. On March 28, 1946, the same village was again seized by the same battalion of the Red Polish Army. The battalion commander addressed the people gathered in the village square near the schoolhouse, and declared that he would have everyone shot who refused to leave for the USSR. Then he chose 11 men and ordered them to be shot before the eyes of the crowd. The third assault on the same village was made on April 13, 1946, and further inhabitants were shot while fleeing to the woods. Finally, on April 30, 1946, the whole population of this village was forcibly evicted and brought to the railway station at Zahiria to be transported to the USSR. Such was the sad story of one Ukrainian village in this area, and such was the story of many other villages west of the Curzon Line.

It is evident that the UPA was forced to stand in defence of murdered and plundered people. Reinforcements came from Ukraine and the fighting became fierce in this area. On March 28, 1947, one of the leading Red Polish generals, Vice-Minister of War, Gen. Walter-Swierczewski fell in the fight with the Ukrainian insurgents. He was inspecting the Red Polish troops in the area of the Soviet-Polish frontier and was killed in an ambush near the town of Baligrod. The assassination of Gen. Swierczewski was an indication that the activities of the UPA had increased to such a degree that they began to be dangerous to the Soviet Union and its satellites.

At this point it is important to note that Gen. Walter-Swierczewski was the fourth prominent enemy leader killed in action with the UPA. The first was the SA commander Lutze, the second was Soviet Marshal Vatutin who was mortally wounded in an UPA-ambush in Northern Volhynia, in 1944, and the third was Gen. Col. Moskalenko who was killed in 1946.

The assassination forced the Soviet-Union, Poland and Czechoslovakia to conclude a tripartite pact on May 12, 1947, aiming by mutual aid to wipe out UPA-West which operated in those regions near the borders of these countries. Special forces were brought into action against the Ukrainian insurgents, but they could not break the resistance of the UPA. The Supreme Command of the UPA elaborated its own plan and accordingly divided the UPA-West into small detachments. The main forces of the UPA-West broke the encirclement and passed into the Ukraine to continue their fight against communist oppression. Other detachments were ordered to raid Czechoslovakia, Hungary and the Balkans with the purpose of mobilizing the forces of the other subjugated peoples in a united fight against Bolshevism. The complete removal of the Ukrainian population either to the Soviet Union, or to Eastern Prussia finally forced the rest of the UPA detachments to abandon South-Eastern Poland and to transfer their action to Poland, or Slovakia where they found a sympathetic element among the populations. On the territory west of the Curzon Line only small detachments were left

for special purposes which stayed the winter and by summer, 1949, forced their way across Poland and Czechoslovakia into the US Zone of Germany.

On the occasion of the 5th Anniversary of the UPA, Gen. Taras Chuprynka, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA issued an order which we give here in full:

### FIGHTERS AND COMMANDERS OF THE UPA! MEMBERS OF THE URM!

Five years have passed since the time when the member of the OUN Ostap began setting up armed groups for the struggle against the occupiers of Ukraine. These small groups fighting simultaneously against the Nazi-Germans and the Red Partisans have founded a new form of struggle—a liberating-revolutionary movement—the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). In a few months this movement spread to the whole of Polissia, Volhynia, Galicia and Pravoberezhzia. The year of 1943 as well as the first half of 1944 are marked by the struggle of the UPA on two fronts. On the anti-Nazi front the UPA stopped the mass deportation of the Ukrainians for slave labour in Germany and made impossible the economic plundering of the people. On the anti-Bolshevik front the UPA prevented infiltration of Red partisan units into Ukrainian territory. It was the UPA that in a series of victorious battles defeated the hordes of the Stalinist Huns that were sweeping in from the North-east to conquer Europe.

By the second half of 1944, all Ukrainian territories had already come under the Bolshevik occupation. The new period of the UPA struggle for the “to be or not to be” of the Ukrainian people, began. The first attempt to annihilate the Ukrainian people by throwing them into the first lines of the imperialistic war, failed. Following the call of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, under the protection of the UPA, the Ukrainian male population was able to avoid extermination. The occupiers failed also to forcibly deport the Ukrainian population to the new slave labour projects in the USSR. Watching the political-military successes of the UPA, and the growing sympathy of the Ukrainian population for it, the occupier has not yet dared to carry out the full economic plunder of the population by forcing the farmers into Stalinist collective farms.

The Ukrainian insurgent has, with arms at the ready, protected the western parts of the Ukrainian territories against the flood of Polish imperialistic gangs in 1944, and later rose in defence of the population of these parts. For two years the UPA waged an unequal struggle against the Bolsheviks and their Polish hirelings on the eastern parts of the Ukrainian territories; and the Ukrainian insurgent remained there even

when the last Ukrainian was taken away by force and the whole zone became an uninhabited desert.

Dauntless commanders and fighters of the UPA have inscribed on their banners a series of feats of arms that will be entered in golden letters in the annals of the Ukrainian army. The punishing hand of the fighter of the UPA has reached prominent representatives of the occupiers such as the Chief of Staff of SA Lutze, the C-i-C of the "1st Ukrainian Front" Marshal Vatutin, or the Deputy-Minister of War, Gen. Swierczewski. Repeatedly the units of the UPA stormed the enemy administration centres, forced their way into provincial centres, and by far-reaching raids ranged through their own and foreign territories. They have harrassed the enemies by ambushes and invasions and prevented them from realizing their plans of exterminating the Ukrainian people. The names of Hrehit-Rizun, Jastrub, Jasen, Storchan, Prut, Konyk, Peremoha, Khrin have spread the glory of the Ukrainian arms beyond the borders of Ukraine.

But in the field of politics, the UPA also has achieved great results. Acting according to the slogan: "Liberty to peoples, freedom to the individual" it organized, as early as 1944, national units of Azerbaidjans, Georgians, Turkestanis and other peoples subjugated by Moscow, for the struggle to overthrow the Kremlin and to establish independent states of all these nations in the East. On its initiative, the Conference of the Enslaved Nations was called, in November, 1943. On the initiative of the UPA all Ukrainian Independent parties united and established the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council that, since 1944, directs the whole of struggle at home and abroad for the Ukrainian Independent United State. The UPA raids in Poland and in Slovakia filled the ranks with the new allies from among the Poles and Slovaks.

The successes achieved by the UPA have surpassed the goals set for it by the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council and the whole Ukrainian nation. These successes have been achieved by the UPA under conditions not experienced by mankind until now.

#### Fighters and Commanders of the UPA!

You who today fight in the armed units against the Bolsheviks and you who have swelled the ranks of the liberation-revolutionary underground! Be aware that the five years of the heroic struggle of the UPA and of the liberation-revolutionary underground is the most heroic period of Ukrainian history. The history of mankind does not know such an heroic epoch. New Ukrainian generations will be taught about the heroism of the UPA and of the liberation-revolutionary underground. The UPA-fighter, the Ukrainian revolutionary will replace the manly Spartan in the history of mankind. Be, therefore, conscious of the great epoch in which you live and do not put to shame the glory of the Ukrainian insurgent as did not they who have already fallen in

the fight.

On today's festive day of the UPA, proudly look upon the past five years and remember with veneration all those who, by sacrificing their lives, have forged the New Epoch. On today's festive day look with pride at the future that will crown the new liberation war with Victory!

Long live the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council!

Eternal Glory to the Heroes who have given their lives to Ukraine!

(Signed) Gen. Taras Chuprynka  
Commander-in-Chief  
Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)

(This order is translated from the Ukrainian original which was reprinted in the pamphlet of the UPA Group "Bug" published in October of 1947. Commander Ostap, mentioned in the order, a leading figure in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was reported killed in November 1948, in a battle with the Soviet MVD troops near Torchyn in the province of Volhynia.)

On September 25, 1947, in order to offset efforts of various Ukrainian political groups abroad claiming a preferred status in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) Taras Chuprynka issued a declaration, published in the bulletin of the Central Propaganda and Information Centre, in which he emphasizes that the UPA is not associated with any political party, although the OUN headed by Stepan Bandera was most active in its formation. Gen. Chuprynka declared that the soldiers of the UPA were soldiers only, and were fighting for the abolition of foreign rule over the Ukrainians. The political arm of the UPA is the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council which has a membership of varied political directions.

The last big action of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement in Ukraine, about which we know from original UPA reports, was the action against large-scale deportations of the Ukrainians which took place in October, 1947, and in March-April, 1949. Deportation is one of the most efficient methods in the practice of genocide by Soviet Russia. It was legally established in February, 1930, when the Council of People's Commissars authorized the local soviets to "take all necessary steps in the fight with the kulaks, including the confiscation of their property and their deportation from the region or district". Millions of Ukrainians were affected by this measure. In his latest book 'The Rape of Poland', S. Mikolajczyk estimates the number of Ukrainians deported to various parts of the Soviet Union at around 10,000,000 people.

In order to understand UPA anti-deportation measures, it is necessary to discuss the characteristics of the deportation and its techniques. First of all the people are entered on the deportation lists. Then the villages are surrounded and the people are arrested and taken to the assembly points and to the railway stations where the cattle trains are waiting for them weeks in advance. The people who in various ways avoided arrest are not

troubled any more and are safe until the next deportation. The whole action takes twenty-four hours. No information is given to the deportees about the destination.

Bearing this in mind, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement with all its affiliations realizes the necessity of intensive intelligence work so that successful anti-deportation measures could be taken. Long before the planned deportation systematic observations by the security service (SS) are made on railway stations: information is disseminated and exchanged by various affiliations of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. Besides, intensive intelligence work preceding the deportation is carried out by UPA scouts and informers within the rank and file of the Soviet administration.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement divides the measures to be adopted against deportation into offensive action and passive defensive measures. The tasks of offensive action are as follows: (a) Demolition of bridges, roads, and railway tracks; (b) Destruction of wire communications; (c) Terrorization of Soviet collaborators and locally recruited Soviet auxiliary personnel; (d) Surprise raids connected with freeing of deportees and ambushing on trains, columns, convoys, assembly and resting places, etc. Passive measures are designed to make the people avoid the deportation by warning the people threatened by deportation and by hiding them in the underground shelters prepared weeks in advance in woods and forests, etc. In June, 1948, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement issued an instruction telling the people how to behave in case of a large-scale deportation.

A report by Hanson W. Baldwin in *The New York Times* (May 15, 1949) disclosed that two divisions of Soviet troops in Ukraine and two in the Caucasus were aiding local police to combat anti-communist guerillas. From Ukrainian sources we know that the mentioned "guerillas" made raids from mountain and forest hideouts to resist the large-scale deportations which took place in the spring of 1949. It is highly significant that the actions of the Ukrainian insurgents still require military counter-measures by the Soviets.

The activities of the UPA, despite the determined efforts of the Soviet Union and her subservient satellites to liquidate them, were formidable and strongly detrimental to communism. The UPA constantly developed new guerilla techniques, its detachments often changed their field of operation in order to carry out a given task, to secure supplies, or to evade discovery and prevent encirclements. Strict discipline on the march is maintained. Marches are generally at night, by routes known only to the local areas and from these bases they make their raids so that before the Soviets can strike back they have already returned to the forest. In these bases they not only have sod and foxholes but their deep bunkers have been painstakingly built, 4-10 metres underground, with store-rooms, first aid stations and shelters. Special troops of NKVD-MGB have made the greatest efforts to drive the UPA out of these nests, but they have not succeeded. The insurgents have a splendid news and communication system. What happens today some-

where in the country is known tomorrow in the distant headquarters in the forest bases around the Carpathians. The collectives go up in flames with all their supplies and machines; the transports of the deportees are frequently attacked and the labour slaves set free. The Russian secret police is not in complete control, even on its own territory.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement upon entering its seventh year still keeps steadfast to the same goal in their fight: *An independent, united Ukraine*. And the fight is not hopeless, for the Ukrainian people have their valuable allies — the other peoples subjugated by the Soviets. The peoples of Central and Eastern Europe and Asia are fighting not only their own battle; they are fighting Soviet Russia in order to realize their ardent aspiration: “liberty to the peoples and freedom to the individual”. They are fighting Soviet Russia — the implacable enemy of the entire Western civilization!

(To be continued)

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Ivan MIRTSCHUK

## HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

### (Part 5: THE CHURCH)

#### The Christianization of the Kyiv State

As Christianity also began to spread in Eastern Europe, on its way to the little known countries it reached people who were at a primitive stage of development, people who could hardly distinguish between religious, intellectual, political or cultural life. Christianity shaped the content and formed the foundation of each spiritual development while acceptance of the new faith was an event of considerable political and cultural importance to each country. Of course, acceptance of Christianity also meant that the country about to be converted became linked with other already Christian countries. The Kyiv State which during the 9th and 10th centuries became a powerful political force in Eastern Europe under the leadership of Norman Vikings, could choose between two types of Christianity: either Western from Rome, or Eastern from Byzantium; in other words, from the two major centres of Christianity which were even then locked in open if not outright conflict. The reason why the rulers of the Kyiv State at that time opted for Byzantium can be explained by the geographical location of Ukraine, the trade relations which existed between Kyiv and Constantinople and other equally important factors.

It can be proven historically that by the beginning of the 10th century a considerable number of Greek Christians lived in Kyiv and had their own church, the Church of St. Elijah. This must have contributed to the christianization of the country. It can therefore be assumed with justification that circumstances such as these prompted other rulers like the Norman Princes to turn to Byzantium.

The first historical document in which the new faith in Ukraine finds mention is the treaty between Prince Ihor and Greece in 944. The document refers to the emissaries of the Kyiv State who sealed their oath by kissing a cross. Prince Ihor's widow<sup>1</sup> adopted the new faith in 957 probably from Constantinople. Nevertheless, two years later she asked the German Emperor Otto I to send priests to Kyiv to christianize her people. Her request was granted and a delegation led by Bishop Adalbert arrived in Kyiv. The mission met with no practical success. By the time the delegation arrived in Kyiv Olga's son Sviatopolk was on the throne and showed no appreciation whatsoever for religious matters. The actual baptism of Ukraine took place in 988 under Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great. He sought a link with the dynasty of the Byzantine Emperor and could only achieve this aim by

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<sup>1</sup> Olga.

being baptised in Byzantium. The new faith was first adopted by the Prince and his entourage. In time, however, the faith was introduced to the masses by the ruling class without meeting any appreciable opposition. There was no heathen spiritual hierarchy to organise any opposition. Thus Christianity spread without hindrance in the newly won regions. It did not, however, extinguish the people's memory of old religious beliefs. One can talk in terms of a twin-faith among the simple people during this period.

The Church in the Kyiv State was organised according to Greek models which were brought to Ukraine either directly from Constantinople or in a roundabout way via Bulgaria. Naturally, the clergy, particularly the higher clergy consisted of foreigners, mainly Greeks, since the facilities did not exist to train a native Ukrainian priesthood. It was Jaroslav the Wise who succeeded Volodymyr to the Kyiv throne, who first appointed a Ukrainian Metropolitan in his capital, the scholar and monk Ilarion. In this way he demonstrated his intention of becoming independent of Byzantium. It should be stressed here that despite the dependence of their Church on Constantinople the Kyiv princes strove to maintain comparatively close links with the West and Rome in particular, there being a mutual exchange of embassies. At the time of Jaroslav the Wise the old Ukrainian Church reached the zenith of its development, before the Mongolian period. Many churches were built such as the famous Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv and the *Pecherska Lavra*\* Monastery which played an important role in the cultural development of the country, later becoming a focal point for scholars. In spite of hostile invasions and severe devastation which Ukraine has had to suffer for almost a thousand years, the *Pecherska Lavra* has retained until very recent times its reputation as being both a centre of religious life and a first class cultural centre.

### The Church under Foreign Domination

In the 13th Century the Tartar hordes invaded Europe. After the destruction of the Kyiv State they continued their triumphant march westwards and were only brought to a halt at the battle of Lignica in 1241. During the period of Mongol domination the Church was in a relatively favourable position since the Tartar Khans granted it a certain amount of freedom and state protection. However, the metropolitans were obliged to present themselves in person before the Tartar Khan to receive their credentials (*Jarlyks*). This of course signified recognition of their dependence on a worldly power. The dignitaries of the Orthodox Church were still named and ordained by the Patriarch of Constantinople but not without first consulting with the khans and receiving their recommendation. As a result of the destruction of the independent statehood of Eastern Rus' political power was transferred west to the Principality of Halych-Volhynia. Thus the Orthodox Church came in

\* Monastery of the caves — *Ed.*

closer contact with Rome which is reflected in the efforts to form a union between the two parts of Christendom which had been separated by the Schism.

After liberation from the Tartar Yoke in the 14th Century Ukrainian territory first came under the rule of the Grand Principality of Lithuania which after the Union with Poland became increasingly more subordinated to the latter. The development of political relations in Eastern Europe in no way served to strengthen the position of the Orthodox Church on Ukrainian territory. The Tartar invasions and the devastation of the land inevitably undermined the material wealth of the people and consequently the Church. Foreign occupation had also loosened the links with Constantinople, the centre of the Eastern Church, a fact which must also have entailed unhealthy consequences. As a result of being incorporated in a foreign state and especially in this case Catholic Poland, the former Orthodox Church of the Kyiv State was merely tolerated which undermined its authority among the people and presently caused disruption. Some Orthodox theologians saw a solution to this predicament in a union with the Catholic Church. It was hoped in this way to enhance the authority of the Church in the Polish State and also to take into account the actual moods and inclinations of the Ukrainian population. There is no doubt that the southern part of Eastern Europe and the acting Orthodox Church were clearly oriented to the West and continually sought a spiritual bond with Western and Central European culture. Similarly, it was the policy of the Kyiv Grand Princes not only to seek to maintain diplomatic links with the West but to consolidate them by dynastic links with the Catholic states. The Tartar occupation interrupted the *rapprochement* with the West. The anti-European politics of the Mongols created an "Iron Curtain" rendering it impossible for the subjugated satellites of the powerful Asiatic Great Khan to openly express their sympathies. This interruption did not last very long. Once the domination of the Tartars in the south had been broken and the region incorporated by the Grand Principality of Lithuania and later the Polish State, the link with Poland brought the Ukrainian population into closer contact with the West and Rome. The idea of a union was revived and the Kyiv Metropolitan Isidor was the chief proponent at the Council of Florence (1439) of a reunion between the hitherto separated churches. Formally, the Orthodox Church in Ukraine was subordinate to the Patriarch of Constantinople until 1685, however, this hierarchical dependence in no way prevented it from turning to the West. Faithful to Orthodoxy in its dogma, the Ukrainian Church remained oriented to the West with the result that in its struggle for equal rights within the Polish State it used the arguments of Catholic and Protestant theology. The Orthodox seminaries responsible for educating generations of clergy were modelled on the Jesuit Colleges; the language of instruction was Latin and the teaching methods were based on the Aristotelian System and later the system of Christian Wolff. Ukrainian youth visited foreign academies. We find Ukrainian students at the Universities of Bologna,

Padua, Leipzig and the Sorbonne. We see now why they were not engulfed by the formalism of the Eastern Church but strove to transplant the main themes of Western European thought onto native Ukrainian soil. The striving for union with Rome so characteristic even for Ukrainian Orthodoxy must have been stimulated considerably as a result.

### The Union with Rome

The Orthodox Church in the south, in Ukraine as we have already mentioned, developed spiritually along quite different lines to its northern counterpart in the Muscovite State. The Ukrainian church was hierarchically subordinated to Byzantium. Incorporated in the Polish Republic, it was forced to wage a difficult struggle for equal rights with unequal weapons. With the fall of Constantinople, however, Moscow or the Third Rome as it was wont to call itself, managed to seize the initiative in church and religious matters leaving a difficult dilemma for the Orthodox Ukrainians in Poland. Should they maintain their link with Byzantium weakened by Turkish domination and in future become dependent on Moscow or, true to their western sympathies, conclude a union with Rome and take an active part in the cultural process of Western Europe? The movement for a union was therefore not the result of purely dogmatic concerns but was dictated primarily by political and cultural motives. In 1596 the seal was finally set on the movement for a union which had re-emerged again and again over the centuries. The event took place in Brest Litovsk in the presence of the Papal Ambassador and the Ukrainian Episcopate. A treaty was signed, hitherto existing dogmatic differences were put to one side and the "primatus iurisdictionis" of the Holy Curia in Rome was recognised by the majority of the Ukrainian population. This brought about a split in the Orthodox Church which was to be a major influence on future developments in Eastern Europe. Since the end of the 16th Century therefore, on Ukrainian territory there have been two church organisations: the Orthodox-Eastern, which initially was able to establish itself mainly on Western Ukrainian territory, and the Uniate Church<sup>2</sup> which in time became the National Church of Ukraine and was later persecuted by both Polish and Russian state organs.

A conflict now broke out between the two churches which was waged at first with spiritual weapons and was clearly a stimulus to learning. The Uniates sharpened their wits at the Catholic universities in the West while the Orthodox drew their arguments from Protestantism and visited the higher academies in Germany. At home the Kyiv Academy became the cultural centre of Orthodoxy. It was founded at the beginning of the 17th Century as a Church Brotherhood School and later remodelled on Western lines by Metropolitan Petro Mohyla. A new political force entered this ecclesiastical-religious conflict, the Cossacks, who under the brilliant leadership of Hetman Bohdan Chmelnyc'kyj sprang to the fore as a powerful force in Eastern

<sup>2</sup> It is known today as the Particular Ukrainian Catholic Church — *trans. note.*

Europe be it only for a short period. The Cossacks opted for Orthodoxy and opposed the Union which they believed was too closely bound up with the interests of Poland. This in actual fact was not the case. Since at the time the Cossacks were engaged in an arduous campaign against Poland in defence of their statehood, the Uniate Church was under such a great threat in the Cossack State that it was almost on the verge of complete extinction. However, even the Orthodox Church did not enjoy its privileged status for long since after the fall of the Cossack State and the establishment of the Moscow Patriarchate it was laid open to Russian influences. This again caused Ukrainian patriots to turn to the Union for they saw less danger to their native land in dependence on Rome than in subordination to Moscow. This strengthened the position of the Uniate Church to a certain extent but not for long, since during the 18th Century pressure from the Russian Government increased more and more both on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and on the Uniate Church in Poland. During the partitions of Poland most of Ukraine came under the rule of the Tsars leaving a smaller region only, Halychyna<sup>3</sup> and Bukovyna, to the Austrian Monarchy. As a result the Uniate Church inside the Russian Empire was slowly liquidated. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church in time lost its specific national character and became under pressure from St. Petersburg and after its hierarchy had been interspersed with Russian national elements, a means of russifying the indigenous population.

### The Uniate Church in Austria-Hungary

Events in Austrian occupied Ukraine took a different turn. The Uniate Church was dominated here and was encouraged in every way by the government. In order to educate future generations of priests Emperor Joseph II founded a Greek Catholic Seminary and a "Studium Ruthenum" at the University of Lviv. The western educated clergy became the driving force of the Ukrainian national renaissance. The Uniate Church mobilised cultural forces and brought education to the entire population. Its importance increased even more when Count Andreas Šeptyc'kyj was elected its Head and Metropolitan in Lviv. He served in office for 43 years (1901-44). All life in the Ukrainian parts of Halychyna at the time was under the influence of this towering personality, a worthy Prince of the Church and a major scholar, an expert in Ukrainian culture and a wise and devoted patriot. A true Christian, he strove all his life to realise his beloved idea, the reunion of the two divided churches. The name Šeptyc'kyj marks an epoch in the history of the Ukrainian Uniate Church. The two Ukrainian churches could be reunited in his opinion by the creation of a patriarchate with a seat in Kyiv, and subordinate to the Pope in Rome (*primatus iurisdictionis*). This idea had been conceived by the leading Metropolitans of Kyiv, Veljamin

<sup>3</sup> Often referred to as *Galicia* — *trans. note.*

Ruts'kyj and Petro Mohyla in the 17th Century. It must be stressed that of the Ukrainian dignitaries of the Uniate Church in Halychyna Šeptyc'kyj was the first to direct his attention to the ecclesiastical-religious questions of the east. To this end he organised in Velehrad, the centrepoint of the former Great Moravian Empire and the seat of St. Methodius, annual conferences of representatives of the Slavic peoples interested in working for the realisation of his idea of union. The same aim was behind his secret trip to Russia where in 1908 he sought to win support for his idea among the prominent personalities in the Ukrainian, Byelorussian and Russian camps. The all-embracing activity of the prince of the church has yet to be properly appreciated. If we were to search for a comparable historical personality then only the Kyiv Metropolitan Mohyla could compete. It is debatable as to who was the greater.

### **The Fate of the Ukrainian Church after the First and Second World Wars**

The results of both world wars were a complete disaster to the Ukrainian churches. The fall of the Tsar in 1917 caused great upheavals both in the Catholic and Orthodox Church. At first the Ukrainian Orthodox Church found a great deal of support in the Ukrainian national governments which had been formed after the disintegration of the Tsarist Empire. The period of independent Ukrainian statehood and the flowering of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church which, free from Russian bonds, began to strive for autocephally, was, however, short-lived. From the outset Bolshevik Russia pursued the same expansionist politics as its predecessor Tsarist Russia, and consequently declared war on the nascent Ukrainian State which ended in unavoidable catastrophe. The Ukrainian Orthodox Church now faced new problems which were in the first instance related to the *weltanschauung* of the communist regime. The Bolsheviks were hostile to any form of religion and campaigned against it as an institution. The measures taken by the red regime to destroy the Orthodox Church throughout the Soviet Union need not be elaborated here since they are common knowledge. Our primary concern is the fate of Ukrainian Orthodoxy, a Ukrainian autocephalic church which gained a short reprieve under the Bolsheviks until 1926 when its Metropolitan V. Lypkivs'kyj fell into disfavour and was arrested. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church existed for a few more years until the Bolsheviks annihilators of any national organisation including the Church, dissolved it in 1930, thus sealing its fate in Ukraine. It continues to exist in exile in spite of difficult circumstances. The Russian Orthodox Church headed by Metropolitan Sergius was only tolerated in the initial period after the time of persecution until the outbreak of the German-Bolshevik conflict. After the Russian Orthodox Church sided with its former persecutor during the Second World War it was officially recognised and granted various rights though at the same time it became the tool of a

wordly power. It now encompasses the entire Soviet Union including Ukrainian national territory in Western Ukraine which had been occupied by Poland, Romania and Czecho-Slovakia and was incorporated in the so-called Soviet Republic of Ukraine in 1945.

The First World War divided the regions of Western Ukraine, Eastern Halychyna, Volhynia, Polissya and Kholmshchyna came under the rule of the newly formed Polish Republic; Carpathian Ukraine became part of the Czecho-Slovakian Republic; and Bukovyna went to the Kingdom of Romania. Numerically Western Ukrainians were the largest group and therefore culturally dominant within the Polish Republic. This is explained by the fact that Eastern Halychyna the largest of the regions ceded to Poland experienced considerable historical developments during the time it was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Ukrainian Uniate Church was dominant in Eastern Halychyna; it enjoyed a certain amount of independence since it could always call upon the protection of the Pope's authority in the face of Polish state organs. Nevertheless, it was always under considerable outside pressure to assume the Latin Rite which would doubtless have been a significant step in polonising Ukrainian territory. When Poland fell in 1939 the Ukrainian Catholic Church experienced its first major baptism of fire during the Russian Bolshevik occupation. For the 22 months of this occupation it was exposed to the attacks of the godless, anti-religious, red regime. Christianity had already been wiped out in Eastern Ukraine. In Western Ukraine for the first time Ukrainian Catholicism stood as a well-organised body suitably steeled by a centuries long struggle for existence. The Bolshevik leaders used various types of weapons to destroy the faith, disorganise the Ukrainian Catholic Church and slowly destroy it. However, at the time they could not yet decide on the most radical means, that is to ban the Uniate Church. The outbreak of the German-Russian war in 1941 brought an end to red rule in Eastern Halychyna and a breather for the Church. However, the breather was only short since after the fall of the German Eastern Front the Red Army reoccupied Western Ukrainian territories which led to the complete liquidation of the Union in Ukraine. After initial persecutions, the arrest and deportation of the Metropolitan, the bishops and the priests, the closing of churches and conscription of young theologians for military service etc., the decisive step was taken. The Ukrainian Uniate Church was annexed by the Russian Orthodox Church. A pseudo-"Council" was summoned on 6-10th March 1946 which had to decide to split with Rome and unite with the 'real mother', the Moscow Patriarchate. This council or Synod sent telegrams of allegiance and loyalty to the Patriarchs of Moscow and Constantinople and a telegram of allegiance to Generalissimo Stalin and the governor of Soviet Ukraine. In the afternoon of 10th March a thanksgiving mass was celebrated in St. George's Cathedral in Lviv on the occasion of the "reunification". The Synodal Decree declared that the Union with Rome in 1596 had taken place under pressure and in the interests of the Polish government which hoped thereby to polonise the Ukrainian population

more easily. Now, however, thanks to the heroism of the Red Army all Ukrainians were united in the Soviet Republic. The continued split of the once single church into Catholic and Orthodox territories would only have led to disunity and hatred between brothers of the same people. On these grounds the Synod declared the Union of Berestya annulled and at the same time subordinated the Church in Halychyna to the jurisdiction of the Moscow Patriarch.

As regards the enforced "reunification" it should be noted that the Union of Berestya came into being for completely different reasons, as we mentioned earlier. It is beyond doubt that the Ukrainian population of Eastern Halychyna was deeply devoted to the Catholic Faith and had not the slightest intention of converting to Orthodoxy. Any change would have been a trenchant incursion on the religious conscience of the broad masses of the population.

In a similar fashion the Uniate Church was liquidated in Carpathian Ukraine, Bukovyna and Volhynia and subordinated to the Russian Orthodox Church.

In November 1924 the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the regions annexed by Poland: Volhynia, Polissya and Kholmshchyna were reformed into an autocephalous church with its Metropolitan in Warsaw. However, its further development was hindered partly by the organs of the Polish State which pretended to the same rights as those once the lot of the Tsarist Russian Government. However, when the Polish State ceased to exist in its previous middle-class form and became a satellite of Moscow, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church was forced into extinction drowning in the sea of Russian Orthodoxy.

The changes caused by both world wars produced a situation over the entire national territory of Ukraine where Russian Orthodoxy, today a tool of the anti-religious, red regime in Moscow, satisfies the religious needs of the people on a completely superficial level. This in the long run can only destroy true faith.

*(To be continued)*

Translated by *W. Slez*

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## NEWS FROM UKRAINE

### REPPRESSED UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

*(Cont. from U.R. No. 2, 1982)*

137) HNOT Volodymyr, born in 1939, graduated from the Lviv Polytechnic. Arrested in 1961 in Lviv and sentenced under Articles 64 and 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR for being a member of an underground group called The Ukrainian National Committee to 15 years imprisonment in camps of strict regime.

138) HOGUS Bohdan, arrested in 1961 in Ternopil and sentenced under Articles 64 and 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 15 years imprisonment. He was charged with spreading "Ukrainian Nationalistic propaganda".

139) HONCHAROV Victor Mychaylovych, arrested in June 1976 and sentenced in Odessa under Article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. In 1979 he was taken to undergo an examination at the Serbsky Institute. He was accused of anti-Soviet propaganda and "the forging of documents".

140) HONUS Bohdan, arrested in 1962 and sentenced under Articles 64 and 70 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment for political activity.

141) HORADCHUK, a priest from Kolomyia, sentenced in 1973 for distributing prayer books among the faithful.

142) HORAK Zinoviy, born in 1950 in the Lviv area, a coalminer, arrested in 1975 and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment for having written the words: "Long live free Ukraine" on the building of the village council, in the village of Ostrive.

143) HORBAL Mykola Andriyovych, born on 6th May 1941 in the village of Volivets in the Zasiania region, a musician-composer, poet, lecturer in aesthetics, has a wife and son. He was first arrested on 24th November 1970 and sentenced in Ternopil under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years imprisonment and 2 years of exile for having written a patriotic poem called 'Duma'. Horbal was arrested for the second time on 23rd October 1979 in Kyiv and sentenced under Articles 117 and 188-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years imprisonment of strict regime. At present he is imprisoned in a camp in the Mykolayiv region.

144) HORBOVYJ Volodymyr Hryhorovych, born on 30th January 1899 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, a lawyer, has a wife and children. In 1947 Dr. Horbovyj was sentenced without trial to 25 years imprisonment in concentration camps, though he is not even a citizen of the USSR. He was charged under Article 58 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR with having had connections with OUN-UPA. After completing his sentence he has been continuously persecuted.

145) HORDIENKO Fedir Vasylovych, born in 1930, married with children, a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church. Arrested on 22nd October 1979 in Donetsk and sentenced under Article 190-1 and 190-3 to 2 years imprisonment.

146) HORNYSTYJ Prokip, born in the Zhytomyr region, a participant in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1945 and sentenced to a long term of imprisonment.

147) HORODECKYJ Petro Dmytrovych, a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, served a sentence in Stalin's concentration camps. He was re-arrested in 1968 and sentenced to 3 years imprisonment for his religious activity. Since his release he

has been continuously persecuted and held by the police and even kept under arrest for several days at a time. He is at present living in Lviv.

148) HOROKHOVSKYJ Levko has a higher education, he was arrested in 1969 in Ternopil and sentenced to 4 years imprisonment in concentration camps for distributing *samvydav* (underground) literature. However the KGB charged him under Article 206 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (criminal hooliganism).

149) HOROVYJ Volodymyr, born in the Poltava region, has a higher education, married, was working in Lviv where on 6th November 1976 he was arrested and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 6 years imprisonment.

150) HORSKA Alla Oleksandrivna, born on 18th September 1929 in Kyiv, an artist, married. In the 1960s she took an active part in various spheres of the Ukrainian National revival. She was continuously persecuted for this. On 28th November 1970 in Vasytkiv near Kyiv she was brutally murdered by a KGB agent.

151) HORYN Bohdan Mykolayovych, born on 10th February 1936 in the Lviv region, a philologist and psychologist, married. Arrested on 26th August 1965 and sentenced in Lviv under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 4 years imprisonment in camps of strict regime. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted.

152) HORYN Mychaylo Mykolayovych, born on 20th June 1930 in the Lviv region, a philologist, married and has children. Arrested on 26th August 1962 and sentenced in Lviv under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 6 years imprisonment.

153) HOSCHUK Volodymyr Illichevych, arrested for political activity and sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

154) HOVDUN Yuriy Ivanovych, arrested and sentenced in December 1976 by the Chernihiv regional Court to 15 years imprisonment. He was charged with anti-Russian activity during World War II.

155) HRANKIVSKYJ Mychaylo, participated in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, captured in 1946 in the Lviv region and sentenced to 12 years imprisonment. Since his release he has been constantly victimized and persecuted, as a result of which in 1972 he died.

156) HREN Mychaylo, a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, a member of the religious Order of St. Basilus Magnus (OSBM) in Lviv, arrested in 1974 and sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment for serving the faithful and for recognizing His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf I as the Head of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

157) HRESHCHUK Ivan Oleksandrovych, born in 1924, a historian, arrested in 1975, accused under Article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR ("slander") and sentenced to the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. His wife lives in Kyiv.

158) HRODECKYJ Jurij, a long-term political prisoner.

159) HROMLAK, born in the Lemko region, in 1972 in Dolyna, Ivano-Frankivsk he was treacherously killed by KGB agents for openly declaring his Ukrainian national consciousness.

160) HRYBOVYCH, arrested in 1974 and sentenced in Lviv to 2 years imprisonment for his religious convictions.

161) HRYCIAK Yevhen Stepanovych, born in 1926 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, married, has a daughter. On 30th September 1949 he was arrested and accused of being a member of the liberation movement OUN-UPA, for which he was sentenced to death. However his sentence was commuted to 25 years imprisonment in concentration camps. Since his release he has been continuously victimised and persecuted, the authorities refuse to give him permission to emigrate to Israel.

- 162) HRYCYNA Bohdan, a young professional worker from Lviv, he was arrested and sentenced on 16-23 December 1961 in Lviv under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to death and shot. He was accused of forming an underground organization — the Ukrainian National Committee whose aim was to liberate Ukraine.
- 163) HRYHORENKO Vasyl, arrested on 14th January 1972 in Kyiv, charged with having connections with the publishing of *samydav* literature.
- 164) HRYHORIV Victor Yevhenovych, born in 1948 in the Novhorod region, Ukrainian. deserted from the army and burnt his Komsomol (Young Communist League) membership card in 1964 for which he was arrested and sentenced under Article 64 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 7 years imprisonment in concentration camps of strict regime.
- 165) HRYN' Mykola Yevdokymovych, born in 1923, arrested in August 1965 and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 3 years imprisonment and 3 years of exile.
- 166) HRYN' Roman, born in 1948 in Lviv, arrested in Uzhorod and sentenced for nationalism to 3 years imprisonment in concentration camps.
- 167) HRYN' Volodymyr, sentenced for political activity in accordance with Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 6 years imprisonment.
- 168) HRYN'KIV, a participant in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1952 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment.
- 169) HRYN'KIV Dmytro Dmytrovych, born on 11th June 1948 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, a poet, married and has 2 daughters. Arrested on 15th March 1973 and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR in Ivano-Frankivsk to 7 years imprisonment in concentration camps and 3 years of exile. He was charged with intending to form an underground youth organization.
- 170) HUBKA Ivan Mykolayevych, born in 1930, an engineer-economist. In the 1950s he spent 8 years in concentration camps. In 1967 in Lviv he was re-arrested and accused of being a member of the underground 'Ukrainian National Front' and was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment in concentration camps of strict regime and to 5 years of exile.
- 171) HUCALO Yuriy, born in 1928, arrested in 1954 in Lviv for membership of OUN and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSSR to 25 years of imprisonment.
- 172) HUCUL Mykola, born in 1925 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, arrested in 1974 and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 7 years imprisonment for distributing underground literature.
- 173) HUDYMA Petro Porfyrovych, born in 1915 in the Vinnytsia region, married with children. Until 1974 he was an underground activist in the small town of Sharhorod where he was discovered and arrested. His term of sentence is not known.
- 174) HUDYMA Slavko, born in the village of Burkaniv, Ternopil region, a member of the youth section of OUN, in the 1960s he was taken for questioning by the KGB and was tortured to death.
- 175) HULIA Ivan, born in 1915 in the Chernihiv region, had a higher education, a member of OUN since 1935, participated in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, a long-term underground activist, arrested in 1976 and sentenced to death in Chernivtsi — the sentence was carried out.

176) HUNZA Oleksij, born in 1940, arrested in 1976 in Lviv for preparing religious material for the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

177) HURNYJ Roman Andriyovych born in 1939 in the Lviv region, sentenced on 23 December 1961 in Lviv under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment for membership of the underground group 'The Ukrainian National Committee'.

178) HUSIAK Daria Yuriyvna, born on 3 February 1924 in the Lviv region, an accountant, arrested on 4th March 1950. Accused of being a member of OUN and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment. She is at present suffering from polyarthritis.

179) HUSYK Hnat, born in 1933, in 1961 in Lviv he was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment for nationalistic activity.

180) HUZEY C., born in 1928 in the Rivne region, a participant of the liberation movement OUN-UPA, in 1974 he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment.

181) ILCHUK Ivan, born in 1925 in the Volhynia region, a member of the liberation movement of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1948 and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. While serving his sentence in a concentration camp, KGB agents tried to poison Ilchuk. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted.

182) ILNYCKYJ Petro, worked as an engineer in a Zaporizhyan Steel Concern, a leader of a group of activists in the 1950s, for which he was sentenced in 1959 to 25 years imprisonment in concentration camps.

183) ISHCENKO P. A., born in Zhytomyr, arrested in 1977 and sentenced to death in Zhytomyr for political activity.

184) IVANCIW Yevhen Markovych, born on 10th May 1910 in the village of Zadvirya, Lviv region. A director of the Academy of Sciences Department in the Lviv library for many years. He was opposed to the exportation of ancient works and relics from Lviv to Leningrad and for this opposition was subjected to constant repression, dismissed from work, threatened with arrest and finally died in a state of poverty in 1973. There are grounds to believe that his death may have been pre-ordained.

185) IVANIV Petro, approximately 60 years old, a member of the liberation movement OUN-UPA, arrested in 1951 in the Lviv region and sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

186) IVANKIV-NIKOLOV Mychaylo V., born in 1921, a ship radio operator, in 1956 he defected to the USA, but later returned to the USSR. He was sentenced under Article 58 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to an unknown term of imprisonment in a psychiatric hospital. In 1979 he was interned in a psychiatric hospital in the Crimea.

187) IVASIUK Mychaylo Fedorovych, born in 1898 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, a railwayman, a *pokutnyk* (former Uniates), married with children. For educating his children in and spreading the faith of the *Pokutnyky*, he was arrested in 1971 and sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment. All the Ivasiuk family is now being continuously persecuted.

188) IVASIUK Voodymyr Mychaylovych, born on 4th April 1949 in the Chernivtsi region, a doctor and a composer, and a Ukrainian patriot. On 22nd April 1979, he was seized by KGB agents in Lviv and taken to the Bryukhovetsky Forest where he was brutally murdered. His body was not found until 18th May 1979.

189) IVKIV Volodymyr, sentenced to long term imprisonment for membership of the Ukrainian Liberation movement.

190) KABYSH Mykola Illich, born in 1926, a presbyter of the Evangelical Baptist Church from Zhovty Vody in the Dnipropetrovsk region, he has already been tried twice in the past and was arrested for the third time on 19th January 1980 for religious activity.

191) KACHUR Mykola, born in 1935, a history teacher, arrested in 1967 and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk for membership of an underground group called 'The Ukrainian National Front' to 6 years imprisonment in concentration camps and 5 years of exile.

192) KALENIUK Zenon Adamovych, born in 1887, a Dean of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Arrested in 1946 and sentenced to long term imprisonment for refusing to change his faith to that of the officially sanctioned Russian Orthodox Church. He was arrested for the second time in 1974 for demanding the re-establishment of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. He was continuously persecuted right until his death in the spring of 1979.

193) KALOSH Hryhorij Vasylovych, born in 1937 in the Rivne region, a teacher, married and has two children. He was arrested in 1970 and sentenced in Rivne to 10 years imprisonment for distributing underground leaflets.

194) KALYNETS Ihor Myronovych, born in 1939 in the Lviv region, a philologist, a talented poet, married and has one daughter. Arrested on 11th August 1972 and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR in Lviv to 6 years imprisonment in concentration camps and 3 years of exile. He is at present in exile by the Lake Baykal. His wife, Iryna Stasiv, was also sentenced to the same term of imprisonment.

195) KALYNIN Vasyl Volodymyrovych, born in 1943, a student, arrested on 8th June 1966 in Stryj. He was accused of distributing literature for an underground group called 'The Ukrainian National Front', which regarded itself as a successor of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists.

196) KALYNYCHENKO Vitalij Vasylovych, born in 1937, an engineer and member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. First arrested in 1967 and, for attempting to escape across the border into Finland, he was sentenced to 10 years imprisonment. Once released, he was placed under constant administrative surveillance. He was arrested for the second time on 25th November 1979 in the Dnipropetrovsk region and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in concentration camps and 5 years of exile. He is at present serving his sentence in the Permsky camp No. 36.

197) KAMPOV Pavlo Fedorovych, born in 1929, Bachelor of Science, a lecturer at Uzhorod University, married. Arrested on 16th June 1970 in Uzhorod and sentenced to 6 years imprisonment and 3 years of exile. Since his release he has been unable to find work and is continuously persecuted. Has recently been sentenced to a 10-year prison sentence for his ties with members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

198) KANDYBA Ivan Oleksijovych, born in 1930 in the Pidlyasha region, a lawyer, arrested towards the end of 1960 and sentenced in Lviv under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment. He and his friends were accused of forming the 'Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union', whose aim was the self-determination of Ukraine and its secession from the USSR. After his release he was kept under administrative surveillance for quite some time and to this day he is continuously persecuted. Kandyba is a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group. On 12th July 1981 he was once again arrested to 10 years imprisonment and 5 years in exile for alleged anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

- 199) KAPITANENKO, arrested in 1962 in Khodoriv in the Lviv region and was sentenced to 8 years imprisonment for 'anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation'.
- 200) KAPITULA F., born around 1920 in the Rivne region, a member of the liberation movement OUN-UPA, exposed and arrested in 1974 and sentenced to death in Volodymyrets under Article 56-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. The sentence was carried out.
- 201) KARPACH Z., born around 1914 in the Rivne region, a member of the liberation movement OUN-UPA, a long-term underground activist, arrested in 1974 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment in concentration camps.
- 202) KASPRIV Stanislav Illyanovych, born in 1928, married and has 5 children. He is a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church. On 11th April 1973 he was sentenced for the 3rd time under Article 209-2 and 138-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 4 years imprisonment and 3 years of exile.
- 203) KASPRYSHYN Antin, arrested in 1961 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment in concentration camps for nationalistic activity.
- 204) KATALA, born in 1942, an engineer, incessantly blackmailed and called out for questioning by the KGB and when, on 28th May 1972 he was being questioned in a prison in Lviv, nothing has been heard of him since. The KGB maintained that he had committed suicide in the prison and was secretly buried in a secluded spot.
- 205) KAZNOVSKYJ Volodymyr Antonovych, born in 1905 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, a member of the liberation movement OUN-UPA, arrested on 12th December 1955 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment. He was released in a serious state of health in March, and in May 1972 he died, having spent only 2 months in freedom.
- 206) KERNYCHNYJ Dmytro, about 70 years of age, sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment for having been an active member of OUN-UPA. He was last heard of in 1977 serving his sentence in Mordovia.
- 207) KHANAS, sentenced in 1962 in Lviv to 12 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".
- 208) KHAYLO Anatoliy V., born on 3rd February 1955 in the Voroshylovhrad region, single, arrested in 1974 for his religious convictions and sentenced to 8 years imprisonment.
- 209) KHMARA Mykola, imprisoned for his religious beliefs and was tortured to death in 1973.
- 210) KHMIL Ivan, interned in prison camps for political activity.
- 211) KHODAKIVSKYJ Dmytro V., born in 1929, married, arrested in 1973 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and 5 years of exile for his religious convictions.
- 212) KHOMAREVYCH Omelian, sentenced on 22nd January 1962 in Lviv to 12 years imprisonment for membership of 'The Ukrainian National Committee'.

*(To be continued)*

## HORYN GETS A 15-YEAR TERM

Ukrainian dissident *Mykhaylo Horyn*\* was sentenced in Lviv on June 14 to a total of 15 years' imprisonment and exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda", according to a recent report.

The sentence, 10 years in a labour camp to be followed by five years' internal exile, was the maximum penalty permitted by Soviet law for the offence. The public was barred for the trial of Mr. Horyn, who was arrested last December.

Mr Horyn, 52, who previously served a labour-camp sentence from 1966 to 1972, was born in the Lviv *oblast*. He studied in the philology faculty at Lviv University, and later taught Ukrainian literature and language, as well as logic and psychology.

He was also director for high schools for the Drohobych region. From 1961 until his first arrest, he worked as an industrial psychologist in the USSR's first experimental psychology/physiology lab at a Lviv truck factory.

Arrested in 1965 during a Soviet crackdown on the Ukrainian intelligentsia, he was sentenced to six years in a labour camp a year after being found guilty of "anti-Soviet" agitprop during a closed trial.

At his trial, he spoke out against Russification, official discrimination against Ukrainians and the fate of Ukrainian collective farm workers.

During his imprisonment in Mordovia, Mr. Horyn wrote several pieces on the colonization of Ukraine which appeared in *samvydav*, underground dissident publications. As a result, prison officials placed him in solitary confinement several times.

After his release, Mr. Horyn was not allowed to work at his profession, and he worked several manual-labour jobs. Shortly before his most recent arrest, he found a job in his field.

## THE ARREST OF WOLODYMYR ANDRUSHKO

(UCIS) Reports from Ukraine, from reliable sources, state that recently in the Ternopil *oblast*, *Mr. Wolodymyr Andrushko* was arrested and sentenced by the courts to ten years imprisonment for alleged "anti-Soviet activities".

Wolodymyr Andrushko was born in the village of Sadzhawka in the Ivan-Franko *oblast*. There he completed his higher education after which he worked as a civil engineer. As a nationally conscious Ukrainian who opposed the policies of Russification carried out by the government of the government of the USSR, he was first arrested in the 1960s for "anti-

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\* Mykhaylo Horyn's arrest was reported in *Ukrainian Review* No 2 1982, pp. 81/82.

Soviet agitation and propaganda”, and sentenced to five years in Soviet concentration camps. He served his sentence as a slave labourer in the Mordovian concentration camps along with other Ukrainian political prisoners such as Lev Lukianenko, who were also arrested in the 1960s.

After his release he worked as a lecturer of Ukrainian language in Budanivsk Pedagogical Institute in the Ternopil *oblast*. During this time he was constantly harrassed and under scrutiny by the KGB, who even went so far as to warn others that any personal contact with him was dangerous and would be viewed negatively by government authorities. As a result of these KGB measures, W. Andrushko lived in very difficult circumstances unable at times to even find lodgings because the local population was afraid to be associated with him.

These measures of personal harassment, however, did not satisfy the Russian KGB and now he has been re-arrested without any basis of evidence and sentenced to ten years of slave labour. Undoubtedly, he will join the thousands of other political prisoners now currently working in Siberia on the East-West gas pipeline.

### DISSIDENT'S LETTER SATIRIZES “EQUALITY” OF SOVIET SYSTEM

**Yevhen Hrytsiak, a former political prisoner, has written an open letter to his “friend and colleague” Leonid Brezhnev, asking why Soviet authorities persecute one author (Hrytsiak) and not another (Brezhnev).**

**Mr. Hrytsiak is the author of “A Brief Record of Recollections”, a book of memoirs published in 1981. Published in U.R. as ‘Short Memoirs — The Norilsk Uprising’ (No. 3, 1981, No. 1, 1982). The title of his letter to Mr. Brezhnev is “Open Letter in Regard to Our Equality”.**

**The text of the letter, translated from Ukrainian, follows.**

\* \* \*

Honoured friend, Leonid Ilich Brezhnev,

“What sort of friend is this that has appeared to me?” You may ask, if you read my appeal to you.

And this is natural, as I would sooner call myself your antipode, rather than your friend: in reality our friendship is formal, not genuine.

It began when you headed the political division of the 4th Ukrainian Front, and I was a member of the 265 penal company of that same front “atoning” for my first “transgression against the homeland”.

As you see, our paths in life did not converge even then. Then, after the war and service in the army, they diverged even more: you took the path of serving your country in the highest and most responsible party-state posts while I, on the path of further “atonement for transgressions against the homeland”, was in a so-called corrective-labour camp. The homeland honoured you with gold medals and the highest powers, while I was “com-

mended" with a camp number and the deprivation of all rights. Your path was wide and promising, mine — narrow and bleak.

Every person, before completing his path in life (no matter what it has been), wants to review and recall its most important stages and, if possible, record them on paper. We both have done this: you penned a trilogy of memoirs famous the world over in which you recollected the most important points in your illustrious path; I wrote a brief, little-known record of my reminiscences, in which I recorded only one but, I believe, the most critical stage of my sullen path.

Although we wrote our memoirs from opposite positions, and on different levels, we are united nonetheless by the fact that we both wrote the naked truth about the same subject, i.e. Soviet reality; in other words, we described two sides of the same coin. And, since we wrote in the same genre, I have found the courage to call you my colleague of the pen.

Thirdly, and in the legal sense most importantly, our friendship is based on our common Soviet citizenship.

It should be noted that I was not born in the Soviet Union but obtained my Soviet citizenship against my wishes. Therefore, and not solely for that reason, I have already twice submitted an official statement to the appropriate Soviet channels requesting permission for me and my family to emigrate from the USSR. But I have received a categorical refusal, and to this day I remain a Soviet citizen.

Despite all this, it pleases me to realize that all citizens of the Soviet Union are equal before the law; and along with this, it is very sad to sense that the Soviet leadership does not always obey the law. And if there exists the possibility of not obeying the law or of circumventing the law, it (the law) does not exist!

Take, for example, me and you. We are both citizens of the Soviet Union, having equal rights and, as I have already mentioned, both have written our memoirs. You wrote about your path in life; I—about mine. We both wrote about that which we saw, experienced ourselves, and which remained most vividly fixed in our memories.

Your memoirs were published in the Soviet Union as they were published abroad; mine — only abroad. But you are not summoned, as I am, by the KGB and asked how your memoirs were received abroad; it is not demanded of you that you renounce your writings; you are not threatened with prosecution; provocative traps are not set for you. On the contrary, you are glorified and they are captivated by you.

Now I would like to ask you, why this happens, that identical actions of two citizens having equal rights are assessed so differently? Why you, my friend Brezhnev, having signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Accords — in which, among other things, it is stated, that citizens of all nations signatory to the accords — have the right to receive and disseminate information regardless of national boundaries, yourself enjoy this right and

circulate your information, while I, by the intercession of the organs of national security, am threatened with prosecution?

An example: somehow an official of the operative branch of the Ivano-Frankivske KGB, Major Petrenko, came to my home and said: "Well, Yevhen Stepanovych, do you think that the organs have been quieted and that this will escape you! No, you are mistaken: this will not pass! We already have all the necessary evidence: we have your book which was published in the U.S.A. — stylistic analysis has determined that it is your style. And refusing to give us a copy of your manuscript was for naught, fearing that it could be used as evidence against you. Your manuscript is already in our hands and you have a typewriter. This is easy to confirm. That's it."

He continued: "Or it's possible, you reckon, that voices will be raised in your defence in the West, and that therefore, we won't, catch you? Here also you are mistaken. Presently we have two major thorns in our side, Afghanistan and Poland, and to trivial matters like you we pay no attention."

I never recanted my memoirs, quite the contrary, I continually stated: "Yes, I wrote them, and I released them myself for publication. They were published with my knowledge and permission."

Therefore, all the evidence enumerated by Major Petrenko I consider superfluous, and it interests me not at all. Something else interests me: Why are they preparing to prosecute me?  
And why is no one persecuting you?

### **REV. V. ROMANIUK APPEALS TO ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY FOR HELP**

A Ukrainian Orthodox priest, Rev. Vasyl Romaniuk, who wishes to emigrate from Ukraine, has appealed to the Archbishop of Canterbury to intercede on his behalf with the Soviet authorities. In a letter dated mid-January, 1982, Romaniuk wrote:

"Your Grace, I do not intend to describe my predicament to you because it is well known to everyone. I am so bold to request your help as I am convinced that the Soviet government will not be able to refuse to you as the leader of England's Christians.

"Help me to leave the USSR, to ignore your intervention would be to snub all the Christians in your country and I am certain the Soviet authorities will not permit this to happen. I therefore place great hope in your intervention on my behalf."

Romaniuk (born in 1925) was arrested for a second time in March 1972 and sentenced to two years' imprisonment, five years' special regime labour camp and five years' internal exile. He was arrested for producing and circulating protests in support of the Ukrainian dissident Valentyn Moroz.

Romaniuk recently completed his sentence of exile in the harsh conditions of Yakutia. His health has been seriously undermined by his term in prison and labour camp.

In 1980 Cardinal Koenig of Vienna appealed to Soviet Party Chief Brezhnev for the release of imprisoned Orthodox priests, among them Romaniuk. A similar appeal was addressed to Brezhnev by Bishop Bertil Gaertner, Bishop Martin Loennebo and 130 priests of the Church of Sweden in July 1980.

### UKRAINIAN NATIONAL FRONT JOURNAL FROM 1966 REACHES THE WEST

A copy of a 1966 journal published by the clandestine Ukrainian National Front has reached the West.

The publication, entitled *Volya i Batkivshchyna*, is dated April 1966, (No. 14) and served as the official publication of the front, a group which advocated the peaceful secession of Ukraine from the USSR in the 1960's.

Aside from the journal, members of the Front published their literary works in an anthology, *Mesnyk* (Avenger). They also submitted a memorandum to the 23rd Communist Party Congress and to then Ukrainian party chief Petro Shelest demanding the independence of Ukraine.

This Ukrainian National Front should not be confused with a newer group by the same name founded in the mid-1970s on the initiative of Mykola Krainyk, a school principal in the Ivano-Frankivske *oblast*. News of the Ukrainian National Front of the 1970s first reached the West in 1980, in the *Chronicle of Repression in Ukraine*, which was published by the External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

The Ukrainian National Front of the 1960s was founded by Zinovi Krasivsky, Dmytro Kvetsko, the late Vasyl Diak and others in 1965. On March 27, 1967, the organization was disbanded by the KGB, and its members were arrested on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and "betrayal of the fatherland", Articles 62 and 56, respectively, of the Ukrainian Criminal Code.

Mr. Krasivsky, 53, has been a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group since October 1979. He was first arrested at age of 17 for escaping from internal exile. He was arrested again in March 1967 and in December 1971, a new criminal charge was initiated against him for his poetry, and he spent time in psychiatric hospitals.

He was once again released in 1978 in very poor health and expressed his desire to emigrate from the USSR. On March 20, 1980, he was arrested on unknown charges related to his activities in the Ukrainian Helsinki Group and sentenced to serve out the remainder of his previous sentence, which was eight months' labour camp and five years' exile.

In all, nine men were arrested and tried for membership in the Front.

Mr. Kvetsko, now 45, was sentenced in 1967 to a total of 15 years' labour camp and exile. The same year, Mr. Diak received a 12-year term.

The others, Ivan Hubka, an economics graduate who had previously served a sentence in the 1940s and 50s; Vasyl Kulynnyn, a labourer, Myron Melen, a folk choir conductor; Hryhoriy Prokopovych, who served a previous eight-year term in the 1940s and 50s; and Mykola Kuchar each got 11-year labour-camp and exile sentences.

The ninth member to be sentenced in 1967 was Yaroslav Lesiv, a teacher and currently a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki group, who also got an 11-year term. In 1980, he was sentenced to two years in a labour camp for drug possession.

According to Ukrainian *samvydav* and various news services, the group, during its existence, released 16 issues of this journal.

The fourteenth one, which has only recently reached the West, includes a statement by the Ukrainian National Front signed by its leadership, and such articles as "Ukraine under the heel of its occupier," "Enough suffering", "Who are you?", "Khvylovy and contemporaneity" (a reprint from the journal *Probozem*, 1942), "Ukrainian nation" as well as Ukrainian news.

The following are a few excerpts from the journal that reflect the atmosphere prevalent in Ukraine in the 1960s and the extent of Soviet repression and exploitation.

- The struggle will be tough, many lives will be sacrificed but the Ukrainian Front will not stop fighting until Ukraine is free of all colonial knaves . . .
- Ukrainians! Since 1918, our lands have been tread upon by the communist occupier. Ukraine is a Russian colony. The inexhaustable riches of our land have become the source of aggressive travail of Soviet imperialism. Our nation has become an object of brutal exploitation . . .
- Economists figure that the Soviet government annually takes 4 million gold roubles from the Ukrainian budget without ever returning it, without any compensation. This is almost half of the annual monies allowed to the Ukrainian SSR. It is also the same amount used this year for every branch of the Soviet economy.
- What nation can boast so many national heroes? None. Burned, quartered, tied to the stake, decapitated, sent to Siberia, left to rot in prisons, murdered, killed in various ways, they gave their lives for their country. They knew how, in the most difficult of times, to find the will and the spirit to be able to rise above their meagre existence and work for their country. Today and in the future, they shine as heroes . . .
- In today's age of technology and social advancement, when even the smallest, most tucked away countries have escaped colonialism, have become independent nations, the Ukrainian nation must also wake up. It must begin its battle for its lawful, sacred and human rights and liberty. The battle for an independent, Ukrainian nation continues; it continues for freedom, for human dignity.

### NEW CAMPAIGN AGAINST NATIONALISTS FORMER OUN MEMBER GETS 15 YEARS;

A wave of arrests and imprisonments of former members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) continues in the Soviet Union.

Most recently, in the early months of 1982, Vasyl Mazurak (Buriy) was arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment on various fabricated charges.

Mr. Mazurak was born in 1927 in Vynohrad, Ivano-Frankivske *oblast*. He received his education at the pedagogical institute and worked as a teacher in his native village.

In 1946 he was arrested and sentenced to eight years in prison for his membership in the OUN. After serving his sentence he returned to teach in his village and went through "rehabilitation".

This most recent arrest of Mr. Mazurak shocked the people of his village who knew him to be an honest, hard-working man who did not involve himself in politics.

During his three-day trial, witnesses testified that they saw him attending church services, talking with the village priest, the Rev. Davydiak, and distributing blue-and-yellow flags and national pins to people. These charges could not be proven, yet Mr. Mazurak was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment.

Mr. Mazurak's arrest comes after five former members of the OUN and the UPA were executed in the autumn of 1981.

### ANONYMOUS AUTHOR IN UKRAINE WRITES APPEAL ON BEHALF OF MYKOLA PLAKHOTNIUK

An appeal written by an anonymous author in Ukraine on behalf of Dr. Mykola Plakhotniuk, a Ukrainian human rights activist recently sentenced to four years of labour camp on trumped-up criminal charges, has been received in the West.

Dr. Plakhotniuk was arrested in September 1981 on two fabricated criminal charges, inducing minors to drink and homosexuality (an offence punishable under Soviet law by five years' imprisonment).

The anonymous appeal on Dr. Plakhotniuk's behalf was released in *Freedom Appeals*, a bi-monthly publication of Freedom House.

Dr. Plakhotniuk, 46, is serving a camp term, which is viewed as less harsh than incarceration in a mental institution, where authorities can keep a prisoner confined as long as they feel "treatment" is necessary.

The text of the appeal follows.

Mykola Plakhotniuk has spent almost 10 years — from 1972 to 1981 — in various psychiatric hospitals of Dnipropetrovske, Kazan and Smela. During this period of time medical commissions recommended on five different occasions that he be released from the hospitals, but in each instance courts declined to accept doctors' recommendations. On August 8, 1978, Plakhotniuk was transferred from a psychiatric hospital to an ordinary hospital, but the court once again rejected all appeals for his release, contrary to all reason, and once again in violation of the law. He remained in the psychiatric hospital for another three years.

In March 1981, [according to Dr. Kronid Lubarsky, editor of USSR News Brief, Dr. Plakhotniuk was released in December 1980], after having been confined in mental hospitals for nine and a half years, Plakhotniuk finally walked out of the hospitals gates. He had aged, turned grey, and acquired the kind of bitter experiences unknown to us.

After his release Plakhotniuk spent one month in search of work and living quarters. One day, three silent men approached him on a dark, empty street, and beat him. Plakhotniuk ended up with broken ribs and injured vertebrae. After leaving the hospital he resumed his search for work, and finally, in July, was able to exclaim: "Today it's been a whole week since I have once again been wearing a white doctor's jacket. After nine and a half years! It's an undescrivable feeling!"

But within two months, on September 6, 1981, Plakhotniuk was arrested on false and grotesque charges and threatened with charges of a criminal offence. There was also the threat of a new psychiatric examination and a new sentence.

Mykola Plakhotniuk was born on May 8, 1936, into a peasant family. At the age of 19 he was stricken with tuberculosis and underwent an operation. After completing medical training, he worked as an orderly in a village. In 1960, Plakhotniuk enrolled in the Kyiv Medical Institute, and after graduation worked in tuberculosis clinics. Prior to his first arrest he was employed as a phthisiologist and otolaryngologist in a children's tubercular sanatorium.

During his school and student years, Mykola was a leader in Komsomol and cultural-educational activities. Whenever he decided to do something, he gave it his all.

He organized student literary meetings and took part in folk ensembles. On three occasions Plakhotniuk sent letters to official government offices. The first time it was to suggest that lectures at the medical institute be conducted in Ukrainian, and the other two times he wrote appeals on behalf of persons who were sentenced to prison for political reasons. One time, during a Shevchenko festival, when a large crowd of young people had gathered around the poet's memorial in Kyiv, and the police arrested four participants, Mykola had led the crowd to the party central committee building. The minister of public order came out to the students and ordered that the four be released, after which the crowd dispersed. Precisely these

kinds of activities were characterized by the court as anti-Soviet. The court also decided that while Plakhotniuk was engaged in such activities he was mentally incompetent.

A human being who is impeccably honest and pure, who has already been illegally deprived of his freedom for 10 years, is again to be put on trial. His fiancée, Valentina, who has waited for him all of these years, and endured derision and countless threats, is once again being told by the investigator that this time she too may be tried.

We appeal to all those in whose hearts the feeling of Christian love abides; please help Mykola and Valentina. For a brief moment, put aside your own everyday concerns and remember that any of us can find himself in their place.

We can offer love, prayer, and charity to counter that evil force which tortures, disables, and kills people with such depraved cruelty.

### PAVLO KAMPOV SENTENCED TO 13 YEARS

The regional court in Lviv sentenced in spring, 1982, a well-known defender of human and national rights in Ukraine *Pavlo Kampov* to 10 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile.

Pavlo Kampov was born on 21st September 1929. Before his first arrest he was a lecturer in mathematics at Uzhorod University. In that year he was sentenced to 6 years' imprisonment and 5 years' exile. During his exile he was classified as an invalid (of the second group, according to Soviet practice and regulations) and, because of this, released earlier in 1978. When he returned to Uzhorod he was re-classified as an invalid of the first group since his eyesight was rapidly failing.

However, he was still subjected to frequent KGB searches in connection with the cases of O. Meshko, I. Kandyba and others. On 13th July, 1981, he was re-arrested. During the proceedings against him he was unlawfully taken off the invalids' list and subsequently tried for apparently receiving a pension illegally as well as help from abroad.

### DMYTRO KVETSKO IN EXILE

*Dmytro Kvetsko* (see p. 48 of this issue) sentenced in 1967 to 15 years in a labour-camp and 5 years exile for alleged membership of the Ukrainian National Front, is now in exile. His address is:

665540 Irkutskaya oblast  
Gorod Chuna,  
Ul. Komarova 2,  
Obshchezytiye N. 2,  
Komn. 313

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## *Our political activities in the West*

### ABN-EFC CONFERENCE HELD IN LONDON

The Conference of the European Freedom Council (EFC) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), convened in London, Great Britain, on September 24-26, 1982, successfully concluded its deliberations, elected the respective leaderships of the two organisations, and adopted a set of future policy guidelines.\*

The ABN is the coordinating centre for the national-liberation movements of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. Its principal aim is to re-establish national, independent, democratic and sovereign states of the presently subjugated nations each within its ethnographic borders through the dissolution of the Russian empire and its concomitant communist system of slavery. The ABN seeks to accomplish this end through coordinated and simultaneous revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations.

The EFC is a West European anti-communist, anti-Bolshevik organisation whose primary aims are: to mobilize support in the Free World for the subjugated nations' liberation struggle; to promote the necessity of waging a Western political-psychological offensive against Russian imperialism and communism; and to combat Russian communist subversion and infiltration of Western free and democratic societies.

The Right Honourable Yaroslav Stetsko was re-elected President of the ABN. In 1941 Mr. Stetsko became Prime Minister of Ukraine immediately following the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence on June 30, 1941. This Proclamation, carried out on the initiative of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, marked the beginning of Ukraine's two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. Mr. Stetsko was arrested by the Nazis and incarcerated in a concentration camp in Sachsenhausen for several years for categorically rejecting Hitler's ultimatums that the sovereign Ukrainian Government be dissolved and that the Proclamation of Independence be revoked. Presently, Mr. Stetsko is the Chairman of the OUN and, as President of the ABN, was instrumental in the establishment in 1967 of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) and is a member of its Executive Board. Because Mr. Stetsko's activities pose a considerable threat to Moscow, he has been the target of several assassination attempts in the past.

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\* Addresses delivered at the Conference by Rt Hon. Y. Stetsko, Gen. J. K. Singlaub, Prof. Leo Magnino and S. Karavansky appear in this issue of *U.R.*

The Honourable John Wilkinson, M.P. (Great Britain) was elected Chairman of the Executive Committee of the EFC. An EFC Honorary Presidium was also elected, composed, among others, of the following distinguished individuals: His Royal Highness Otto von Habsburg, M.E.P., Air Marshal Sir Neil Cameron (Great Britain), Rt. Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, Hon. Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu (former Senator of Turkey), and others.

The 222 delegates and 302 guests that took part in the Conference came from various countries of the world, such as: the U.S.A., Canada, Australia, Turkey, Saudi Arabia, Spain, France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, West Germany, Belgium, and others. Among the subjugated nations represented at the Conference were the following: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hungary, Latvia, Slovakia, Lithuania, Romania, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Georgia, Estonia, Albania, Turkestan, and Poland.

Among the many distinguished guest speakers to address the Conference were the following: General John Singlaub (USA) — former Supreme Commander of United Nations forces in Korea, Hon. John Wilkinson, Hon. Dr. Fethi Tevetoglu, Hon. Douglas Darby (Australia), Councillor Reg Davies (Great Britain), Mr. Sviatoslav Karavansky — a Ukrainian political prisoner of the USSR for 31 years, Dr. Bertil Haggman (Sweden) — Director of the Foundation of Conflict Analysis, and others.

The main theme of the Conference was — “The Alternative to Thermo-Nuclear War”. The Conference voiced its conviction that the only viable and realistic alternative to a nuclear holocaust lies in the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations, who are internally dismantling the Russian prison of nations, thereby eliminating the primary threat to world peace, freedom, justice, and international security. This threat lies unilaterally in the continued existence of the Russian neo-colonial empire and in Moscow’s unabated drive to conquer the world.

The resolutions and statement of the Conference emphasize the fact that the subjugated nations are the Achilles’ heel of the Russian empire. In their liberation struggle, led under the revolutionary slogan of the ABN — “Freedom for Nations! Freedom for the Individual!” — are to be found the rudiments of a future world order, based on freedom and justice, and on a mutual respect of each nation’s right to independence, sovereignty and statehood. The delegates and participants of the Conference wholeheartedly endorsed the words of General Singlaub, that “the subjugated nations are the West’s strongest allies”.

The Conference also called upon the Western Powers to discontinue their “balance of power” and detente policies towards the USSR and to terminate all forms of technological, economic and other forms of aid to the Russian colonial tyrants, including Western grain sales. Such aid only serves to strengthen Moscow’s policies of national subjugation and repression of basic human liberties, and its military industrial complex, which forms the base of its expansionist drive. The Conference, in particular, voiced its urgent appeal to the West European Democracies to terminate the natural gas pipeline deal with the USSR, which to a large extent will be con-

structed by the slave labour of the political and religious prisoners from the subjugated nations. By completing the pipeline the Free World will become an accomplice to Russian genocide. Moreover, in light of the growing dependency of Western Europe on the economic and natural resources of the Russian empire, the pipeline will irrevocably become an instrument of Russian blackmail and will thereby further advance the progressive "neutralization" of Western Europe.

The Conference also appealed to the countries of the Free World to place maximal pressure on the USSR in demanding the liquidation of all Russian concentration and slave labour camps, and all political psychiatric asylums and prisons, and the release of all political and religious prisoners in the USSR and communist dominated countries. The Conference especially underlined the pressing need for securing the release of Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the late Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — General Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka — and a prisoner of Russian prisons and concentration camps for over 30 years. His only "crime" is that he continues to categorically refuse to denounce his father and ideals of national independence for which his father fought and died. Presently, as a result of continuous imprisonment and persecutions since the age of fourteen, Yuriy Shukhevych is completely blind and his life is severely imperilled.

In conjunction with the EFC/ABN Conference, a mass rally was held on Sunday, September 26 in Trafalgar Square, to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Approximately 3,000 people took part in the rally. The UPA, which was established in October, 1942, led Ukraine's war of liberation, fought on two fronts at first against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia, and later continued against the Russian occupational forces in Ukraine and other subjugated nations well into the 1950's. The highpoint of the rally was a reading of excerpts from the pastoral blessings of His Holiness Josyf I — the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, bestowed upon the heroes of the UPA. Mrs. Slava Stetsko, who is the Executive Chairman of the ABN, read a partial list of the members of the international Honorary Committee in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the UPA. Several of the noteworthy members of this Committee include: Rt. Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko, H.R.H. Otto von Habsburg, Senator Barry Goldwater (USA), General Sir Walter Walker (Great Britain), General Bruce K. Holloway (USA), General Daniel O. Graham (USA), General John Singlaub (USA), General Robert C. Richardson III (USA), General Robert Close (Belgium), General Wego W. K. Chiang (Republic of China), General Adriano Magi Braschi (Italy), General Daron J. A. Bentick (Holland), General Alejo S. Santos (the Phillipines), General E. J. C. Hoote gem (Holland), General Abdul Sabur Scharaf (Afghan "Mujahideen"), Commander Nabi Saheli (Afghan "Mujahideen"), and others.

The EFC/ABN Conference was concluded with a concert held in Hamersmith Town Hall with an elaborate cultural programme.

## RESOLUTIONS OF THE EUROPEAN FREEDOM COUNCIL

BE IT RESOLVED that the EFC opposes nuclear war as a means of solving international conflicts, we support a strong NATO Alliance to preserve its capability and willingness to deter the USSR from launching a conventional or nuclear military offensive on the Free World, we oppose any policies of appeasement, detente or coexistence between the Free World and the Communist Russian colonial empire, we oppose any one-sided disarmament by the Western nations which would make the West an easy prey to Russian imperialism and

BE IT RESOLVED that the EFC encourages the Western democracies to cooperate with the anti-communist, anti-imperialist liberation movements of the subjugated nations, recognizing them as the legitimate representatives of their respective enslaved peoples on all international forums, the European Council in Strasbourg, in particular the United Nations and

BE IT RESOLVED that the EFC believes that the representatives of the national-liberation movements should be allowed access to the mass media and the necessary technological means for waging their struggle, and provide them with moral and political support in their struggle and

BE IT RESOLVED that the EFC extends its wholehearted cooperation to the United States Council for World Freedom chaired presently by Major-General John K. Singlaub, which endeavours to bring substantial assistance to the national liberation movements of the subjugated peoples represented in the ABN, and

BE IT RESOLVED to urge the Western nations which send broadcasts to the countries under Russian occupation, that these programmes should be prepared concentrating on how these nations can successfully overthrow their oppressor and regain their national sovereign states. Together with its orientation, the Western media should broadcast programmes featuring the liberation struggle of the nations subjugated by Moscow as a part of a wider political-psychological campaign against Russian imperialism and communism and

BE IT RESOLVED to urge all free labour movements in the world to expose the Marxist-Leninist state as a slave system for workers. The Bolsheviks using the inmates of concentration camps for slave labour in the building of vast construction projects in inhuman physical and working conditions are a disgrace to all freedom-loving mankind. We urge the free labour unions to give their support to the oppressed workers in the nations of the Russian Communist empire and

BE IT RESOLVED to appeal to the governments and organizations of the Free World to give their support for the immediate release of Yuriy Shukhevych and all political prisoners in the USSR and satellite countries in keeping with the International Red Cross Convention of 1972, which requires equal treatment for all prisoners of war, whether from conventional or insurgent-guerilla armies. We are of the opinion that the incarceration of members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and all the insurgents from the other subjugated nations who fought for their nations' independence during and after World War II is illegal according to international law and immoral according to universal human ethics, and

BE IT RESOLVED that the EFC opposes any assistance by the West to the USSR, especially in technology, electronics, grain sales, capital and credits which the Russians are using to bolster their military capabilities, and

BE IT RESOLVED that the EFC strongly opposes the Russian military invasion of Afghanistan in which Moscow is using chemical warfare to subjugate the Afghan nation, we demand the withdrawal of Russian troops from Afghanistan, and

BE IT RESOLVED that the EFC opposes the Moscow-directed imposition of martial law in Poland and supports the national-liberation movements of all the nations subjugated by Bolshevism in the USSR and the "satellite" countries, and

BE IT RESOLVED that the EFC supports all Western attempts to disperse and eliminate all terrorist groups that are acting against Western societies whose primary purposes are to subvert and weaken the West and who are being actively supported by Communist Russia, thereby making the West more vulnerable to Russian conquest.

### ABN RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS, all of freedom-loving humanity is presently faced with the ever-greater threat of Russian imperialism in its historically-uninterrupted drive to conquer the world, and

WHEREAS, to this end, Bolshevik Russia has utilised direct military means as in Afghanistan, or proxy military intervention as in Poland, and

WHEREAS, Moscow is the centre of international terrorism, which has continuously led a psychological-political war with the Free World having the intention to internally subvert and demoralise Western democratic

societies, thereby paving the way for a Moscow-directed communist takeover, and

WHEREAS, the USSR Constitution explicitly obligates the Soviet Russian government to support all so-called national liberation movements and social revolts throughout the Free World in order to camouflage its expansionist aggressions, and

WHEREAS, the Western response to this Russian imperialist drive was primarily dictated by a "balance of power" strategy — an unrealistic strategy when the two powers concerned are striving for diametrically opposed aims, and

WHEREAS, the nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" countries are continuously leading a determined national-liberation struggle which is tearing the Russian prison of nations apart from within, thereby eliminating the potential prime cause of thermo-nuclear holocaust, and

WHEREAS, the West's "balance of power" strategy and policies of "containment", "appeasement" and "détente" neglect the importance of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations — the Achilles' heel of the Russian empire — as the only viable alternative to thermo-nuclear war, and

WHEREAS, the Western Governments, by signing the Helsinki Accords with the USSR, did not deny the "inviolability" and "integrity" of the *status quo* given the Russian communist conquests, and

WHEREAS, the moral and political weakness of the West was demonstrated by NATO which allowed the USSR and its "satellites" to develop a great military advantage in terms of conventional armaments, and

WHEREAS, the policy of détente has created a false sense of security among peoples of the Free World, and

WHEREAS, NATO has primarily targeted its thermo-nuclear missiles on the territories of the subjugated nations, on which Moscow has deployed the overwhelming majority of its thermo-nuclear arsenal, and

WHEREAS, in the national-liberation struggles of Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Georgia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Azerbaidjan, North Caucasus, Poland, Armenia, Czechia, Slovakia, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Albania, Cuba, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Idel-Ural, Angola and the other subjugated nations are to be found the rudiments of a new, just and free world order, founded upon a mutual respect of each nation's right to national independence, statehood and sovereignty, and

WHEREAS, with the dissolution of the Russian empire a considerable number of crises in various geo-political complexes of the world in the

Middle East, Africa, South and South-East Asia and South and Central America, will automatically be resolved, thereby guaranteeing a stable and just international political order,

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Conference of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, convened in London, Great Britain on September 24-26, 1982, call on the nations of the Free World to proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF INDEPENDENCE for the nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" countries by Russian imperialism and communism. This will reflect the Free World's moral and political support for the re-establishment of national, democratic, independent and sovereign states by the subjugated nations, each within its own ethnographic boundaries: for the re-unification in freedom of China, Korea and Germany.

*We propose* to the Western Powers the creation of a centre of psychological-political warfare based on the ideological concepts of the Great Charter of Independence, and with the aim of assisting the subjugated nations in the USSR and its "satellites".

*We suggest* to the countries of the NATO Alliance to establish an ABN radio broadcasting station, through which the representatives of the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations can freely propagate their national ideals and concepts of liberation.

*We suggest* that the United States government-sponsored radio broadcasts of Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, the Voice of America, and the BBC be changed in the spirit of the ideal of national liberation, independence and the necessity of the dissolution of the Russian empire and of the Communist system.

*We suggest* that the NATO Alliance, in developing its strategy, recognise and take into account the potential of the subjugated nations and their national-liberation struggles as the only alternative to a thermo-nuclear holocaust.

*We ask* that the Western Powers declare the Helsinki Accords null and void since they serve to preserve the Russian Empire, and since Moscow has never had any intention of abiding by even the most elementary human rights provisions in the Accords.

*We ask* that the West European countries terminate the natural gas pipeline deal with the USSR, which to a large extent will be constructed by political and religious prisoners from the subjugated nations, currently languishing in Russian concentration camps. With their economic aid, Western European countries are indirectly strengthening Russia's military potential and simultaneously, leaving themselves dependent on the USSR. The pipeline, if completed, will in reality be an infamous monument to Russian terror and tyranny and a mockery of the noble Western traditional values of liberty, justice, freedom, democracy and national independence,

and will stand as a constant reminder of the growing "neutralisation" of Western Europe.

*We appeal* to the Free World to use all possible means to attain the liquidation of all concentration and slave labour camps and psychiatric asylums — disgraces in the twentieth century — and the release of all political and religious prisoners in the USSR and all communist dominated countries.

*We appeal* to the Free World to rise in support of the immediate release of Yuriy Shukhevych, son of the late Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Yuriy Shukhevych, blinded by the KGB, has been a prisoner in Russian concentration camps for over thirty years. His only crime was the refusal to denounce his father and the ideals of national independence for which he fought and died.

*We declare* our wholehearted support for the United States Council for World Freedom presently chaired by General John K. Singlaub in its endeavours to bring substantial assistance to the national liberation movements of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism.

*We support* all Western attempts to disperse and eliminate all terrorist groups actively supported by Communist Russia which are acting against Western societies with the primary aim of subverting and weakening the West, thereby making the West more vulnerable to Russian conquest.

*We urge* all free labour movements in the world to expose the Marxist-Leninist state as a slave system for workers. The Bolsheviks use the inmates of concentration camps for slave labour in the building of vast construction projects in inhuman physical and working conditions — a disgrace to all freedom-loving humankind. We urge the free labour unions to give their support to the oppressed workers in the nations of the Russian Communist empire.

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## ADDRESS DELIVERED BY YAROSLAV STETSKO

### I. The Philosophical and Ideological Foundations of Russian aggression

The ideological grounds for Russian aggression can be found in various artificially formulated historical concepts such as Pan-Slavism, Moscow, as the "Third Rome", defence of Orthodoxy, or world communist revolution. They may even be found in the misuse of the ideas of national liberation, or of the need to reunify divided nations on this side of the Iron Curtain, or in the conjectured defence of social justice. All of these concepts serve as a form of camouflage, as a historical "justification" for Russian messianism-imperialism. This thesis was astutely formulated by F. Dostoyevsky and further expounded upon by N. Berdayev who distinguished Bolshevism as an integrally Russian national by-product.

In the world today there is an ongoing ideological war, a psychological-political war, which is being aggressively fought by Moscow. This offensive is an integral component of modern Russian warfare, which has several variants, such as: Russian sponsored periferal wars; communist-insurgent wars on this side of the Iron Curtain; the social disintegration of Western nations; the undermining of their moral values; the discrediting of patriotism, of national traditions, of a heroic ideal in life; the defamation of great Western historical figures; the disruption of religious life; the disintegration of the family as the basis of the moral and biological strength of a nation; the propagation of atheism—the list is endless. All of these elements, combined with a policy of international terrorism, constitute for Marxism-Leninism the *modus operandi* of the international politics of Moscow.

The constitution of the USSR has a specific clause which obligates the government to conduct and/or support so-called wars of national liberation and social revolts outside of the USSR. Moscow has also forced the official Russian Orthodox Church to act as an accomplice to its aggressions. A great majority of the orthodox faithful are completely dominated by Moscow within the complex of its empire... The "satellite" Catholic Churches, with the exception of the Polish Catholic Church, are being systematically being made subservient to Moscow's will. The Ukrainian Catholic and Autocephalous Orthodox Churches have been forced into the catacombs.

The Bolshevik system of occupation and aggression is more than just the placement of occupational military and MVD-KGB forces on the territories of the subjugated nations. Its essence lies in the forced imposition of a Russian way of life and system of values — a way of life that is foreign to the nation's social ideals; to the nation's political order; to the nation's national ideals; to its religious world-view; to the nation's values in life.

Russian imperialism is unique in that, unlike any other imperialism in history, it endeavours to subjugate the spirit of a nation, its inherent ideals

in life in its attempt to create a new artificial entity called the "Soviet nation". This factor must be taken into account in the Western counter-offensive. The West must stand up in defence of the trampled values and ideals of the nations subjugated by the Bolshevik occupiers. The integral component of Western politics with respect to the Bolshevik system of subjugation must be the defence of the world of ideas of the subjugated nations and their way of life.

The West must initiate a systematic war of ideas and concepts in total opposition to the Bolshevik system of false ideas and concepts.

## **II. What, in our understanding, is the revolutionary path of liberation?**

The Bolshevik system of subjugation is a reactionary system primarily in the national-political, but also in the socio-political and cultural spheres. This is a system of anti-ideas, anti-religion, anti-culture, anti-nation, anti-individual, anti-freedom, anti-justice. This is a system of barbarism; a system of global territorial encroachment; a system that negates all those values and qualities, by which an individual human being is distinguished, as a reflection of God's image, by which a nation is distinguished, as a conception of God. The struggle against this system is the revolution that is taking place in all aspects of everyday life—the struggle for a way of life contrary to the one imposed upon the subjugated nations.

This is a struggle of two diametrically opposed worlds!

Bolshevism is a synthesis of Russian imperialism and Marxism-communism. The path to its downfall is one of planned, systematic opposition in all spheres of life to the content and moral principles of the existing anti-order. In our struggle the "kolkhoz" system is counterposed with the right of every tiller of land to ownership of that land; socialist realism in culture, namely, a slave praising his master-despot in his spiritual creativity, is counterposed with the free creativity inherent in every nation and its spirit; militant atheism is counterposed with religion; the integral, imperio-colonial state etatism is counterposed in the socio-economic sphere with the right of workers of a given nation to ownership of the means of production and by their private initiative; political totalitarianism is counterposed with the democratic order and the natural inclinations to self-rule in every nation; the prescribed cult of traditions of the occupying power is counterposed with a cult of national heroes unique to every nation; and so on . . .

This is a very long, drawn-out process. Its immediate consequences can be seen in the continuous economic and political crises in the Russian colonial empire . . .

The system that is being imposed upon the subjugated nations is one of complete Russification, not only with regard to the language of these nations, but with regard to all aspects of their life in a wholistic sense. By imposing a Bolshevik way of life upon the subjugated nations Moscow aspires to

transform them into one so-called "Soviet nation", meaning a Russian super-nation. This is a system of absolute rascism!

The revolutionary process is multifaceted. It consists of even such simple actions as the raising of the national flag by members of the subjugated nations; the singing of patriotic songs; demands that one's native history be taught in the native language and in the native national spirit; the demand that the "kolkhozes" be destroyed; the reopening of churches; a cult of native national heroes and the building of earthen monuments in their commemoration. A revolutionary act occurs, for example, when a child in school demands that religion be taught.

All this contributes to the ripening of the revolutionary process and the creation of a revolutionary situation, which will become reality when all of the strata of a subjugated nation and when all of the subjugated nations as a whole become imbued with a revolutionary consciousness directly resulting from systematic actions and ideological and political mobilization. Then the final stage of the revolutionary process — simultaneous armed uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations — will be inevitable.

Then the entire world of subjugated nations becomes a revolutionary bridgehead and a revolutionary situation is created...

Radio broadcasts can significantly accelerate such a process since they act as an ideologically and politically mobilizing force and are a means of disseminating information about revolutionary actions. A detailed description of such actions will also serve as a directive for action for other revolutionary centres. Radio broadcasts were, in fact, a very significant factor in Solidarity's revolutionary struggle in Poland.

These reflections are not abstract theories, but are the result of an already activated process. The two-front struggle, the nation-wide war of liberation of Ukraine, led by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1941–1951, the two-front armed struggle of Lithuania, Byelorussia and other subjugated nations have left a legacy of heroism. The struggle continued in 1940–1950 with the uprising of 17 million prisoners in Siberian concentration camps during the Stalin era. These uprisings broke the fear of the subjugated nations. The revolutionary bridgehead became the entire Gulag Archipelago. In this situation, Khrushchev was forced to bring about a "thaw" in order to rescue the empire, since the revolutionary flame was threatening to spread throughout the entire empire, leading to a conflagration that would be impossible to contain.

From out of these two periods of the revolutionary struggle arose the epoch of the cultural-political movement of the sixties and seventies which, with unprecedented strength, brought to life a world diametrically opposed to Bolshevism — a world of ideas and values intrinsic to every nation. This young generation of fighters for freedom attested to the complete bankruptcy of communism as an ideology, as a system, as a philosophy of life! The ideological-political bridgehead grew at an unprecedented rate. From it also grew the various Helsinki Monitoring Groups, established in Ukraine,

Lithuania, Armenia and Georgia, which openly promoted the dissolution of the Russian colonial empire. Their self-sacrifice served as testimony to the fact that there are individuals who have the courage to openly rise against the occupier in the name of national liberties. They expected the West to defend the rights of the subjugated nations, but this did not occur.

An idea, an organisation, a clear path of liberation — these are the elements of a successful revolutionary process. People form an organisation that is indispensable because it represents the alternative authority of the subjugated nations in opposition to the authority of the occupier. The revolutionary uprisings of the Polish trade unions, as the genuine representative of the entire nation, lacked an experienced leadership with foresight.

Solidarity's calculations for a compromise between the power of the occupier and the occupied manifested a basic lack of understanding for the fact that the Russian system of occupation does not acknowledge any power-sharing concept. Solidarity's leadership mistakenly categorised the Polish communist authority as a weak emanation of Polish national authority, and not as the extension of the Russian occupier, which in fact it is. For this reason, Lech Walesa continued to trust Jaruzelski even when the latter was about to institute martial law in Poland in accordance with the plan formulated in the Kremlin. The only realistic strategy for Solidarity is to go underground. A key element in the projection of a successful conclusion to the Polish liberation struggle is the necessity of uniting with the other nations subjugated in the USSR and the "satellite" countries in a common front. The Polish nation cannot liberate itself alone, just as no other nation subjugated by Moscow can achieve its liberation separately.

**Freedom-loving nations and people — unite in the struggle for independence and freedom against Russian imperialism and communism!**

**Freedom ex gratia is not freedom!**

## **THE GUN AND THE FAITH**

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*Prof. Leo MAGNINO*

## **THE FAILURE OF "OSTPOLITIK" AND THE NECESSITY OF PSYCHOLOGICAL WAR AGAINST SOVIET-RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM**

There is no doubt that there is nothing more effective than the propaganda of terror. It is for this reason, in my view, that "Ostpolitik" and the so-called politics of détente have determined the foreign policy of almost all the countries of the West in their relations with the Soviet Union. And now, after more than a decade of such policies of appeasement, one can see clearly that such policies constitute little more than an instrument of Soviet policy towards the West in that it reinforces Soviet imperialism in Eastern Europe and the Near East and it allows for Soviet infiltration into the countries of Western Europe just like it did for countries in Asia and Africa. Even the Catholic Church with its form of "Ostpolitik" has gained nothing for religious freedom in the countries of the East. In fact, what has been achieved is quite the opposite. The most striking example is that of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which has been completely absorbed into the Russian Orthodox Church. The responsibility to be laid at the door of Mr Brandt's German government is great. Just as great a responsibility lies upon those Western governments which encourage him in his actions for they have constituted a great threat to the Atlantic Alliance. What have been the consequences of this "Ostpolitik" for the countries of Eastern Europe? Let me give you a few examples —

For East Germany, such a policy has done little other than reinforce the international legal status of the so-called "German Democratic Republic" on the one hand, and strengthened the position of the Soviet Union in relation to the German Democratic Republic on the other. By this means, the Soviet Union has gained another victory. It has maintained the partition of Germany.

It is worth noting that West Germany has gained nothing from this in return. The Berlin Wall continues to underline the division between East and West Berlin and the agreements entered into by Mr Brandt have sanctioned the many murders committed by the German Democratic Republic along the length of the wall.

The consequences of this "Ostpolitik" for Poland are of fundamental importance, as much for the Soviets as for the Poles. All the liberalising achievements gained by worker pressure and backed up by almost all of the ordinary Poles have been crushed, and the Soviet Union has again emphasized its role as the saviour of Poland.

In Czecho-Slovakia, the "Ostpolitik" has been further reinforced by the armed intervention of Soviet troops. Today, all so-called independent opinion has been silenced — stifled by the despotic communist oppression. Restrictions on personal liberty, restrictions on freedom of expression, restrictions on travel abroad, demonstrate every day that the government of Prague is no more than a puppet, submitting to the will of the Soviet authorities.

In Bulgaria and Hungary, the "Ostpolitik" has had its most notable consequences in the military field. It has seen a reinforcement of Soviet military pressure, directed towards two fronts — Rumania and Yugoslavia. Bulgaria and Hungary are today at the forefront of Soviet imperialism as it is directed towards those countries of Eastern Europe which wish to maintain a certain independence from the Soviet Union. It is not surprising, therefore, that the struggle in Rumania is directed not against communism as such, but against supremacy.

For Yugoslavia, "Ostpolitik" has had three main consequences. Firstly, it has contributed to Yugoslavia's increasing isolation. Secondly, it has increased the threat from the Soviet Union. And thirdly, it has reinforced the Soviet dream of an Adriatic coastline.

Today, in the face of this communist threat and of the enormity of its military might, which can easily lead to the destruction of much of Western Europe, it falls to us to develop psychological warfare based upon a call for truth. This psychological warfare calls for very good propagators and the assistance of the European mass media.

At the time of the Vietnam war, what was called for in the United States was an operation for truth so as to answer the campaign of defamation launched against the American army in Vietnam. In the same way, Europe has to convince itself to launch a similar campaign for truth, because only on that basis can the people of the Free World judge and understand the threat of Soviet subversion throughout the world.

Obviously, in order to be effective, an operation of this sort ought to be accompanied by publicity in the media, including major articles in magazines and on television, and interviews by popular commentators. This technique of psychological warfare, which can on its own counter-act subversive activity, should use every means at its disposal to impart information. It should demonstrate clearly who is behind the subversive operations and expose the tactics used.

The struggle against subversion will not be easy as each day the power of the Soviet Union strengthens and poses a growing threat to all the Free World.

It is our right and our duty to organise what I call "Operation Truth". This will be proper psychological warfare designed to better formulate public opinion and thereby the policies of the free countries of the world in their treatment of the Soviet threat.

## “THE LIBERATION ALTERNATIVE TO NUCLEAR WAR”

An Address given by Major General John K. Singlaub, USA (Ret'd)

Some of you may recall that slightly over two months ago, on 19 July, President Reagan, in an impressive White House Rose Garden ceremony, signed a proclamation designating third week in July as Captive Nations Week. There was some special significance in this ceremony. For one thing this was the first public signing of the proclamation since President Eisenhower signed the first one in 1959. The second significant aspect of this Rose Garden Ceremony was the tone and content of the President's remarks.

The President likened the Soviet Union to Nazi Germany: A revolutionary, totalitarian regime dedicated to the establishment of a new international order which seeks to stifle all that's good about the human spirit. This extension of totalitarianism has not come about through popular movement or free elections. It's been accomplished instead by military force and subversion. Despite the sacrifices made in the name of communism and its promises of a better world with a classless society, it has failed miserably to improve the conditions of the masses. It has, instead, meant forced labour and mass imprisonment, famine and massacre, the police state and the knock on the door in the night.

President Reagan went to say that the advent of Soviet totalitarianism has meant “the growth of the largest military empire in the history of the world. An empire whose territorial ambition has sparked a wasteful arms race and whose ideological obsession remains the single greatest peril to peace among nations. The ominous growth of this danger, the human suffering that it has caused, is clearly the most important news event of our generation. It is the tragedy of our time”.

In his remarks the President acknowledged the inadequacy of our efforts to tell this story in the past. He outlined plans for an improvement in the American means of international communication, an international radio system to carry out a truth campaign to the people living under communist rule so they would know something about the struggle for the world going on today between the forces of totalitarianism and freedom.

It is encouraging to realize that since these remarks were made by President Reagan there have been some increased funding for the modernization of the radio facilities of Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, and Radio Liberty. In addition, and perhaps more important, a new Director of the Voice of America has been appointed, Kenneth Thomlinson is an expert on Soviet Propaganda techniques and comes to VOA from the *Reader's Digest*. He can't but help to be an improvement.

During what I have described as special significance in the White House ceremony to sign the Captive Nations proclamation, President Reagan made

reference to the long term captivity of nations of the Baltic States and of Eastern Europe. When we think about those nations of Eastern Europe which were first subjugated by the Russian communists we cannot help but reflect on the history of Ukraine. As an early victim of Russian expansion during the communist revolution Ukrainians were looking for liberation by 1941 when Adolph Hitler betrayed his ally Joseph Stalin and sent his victorious panzer divisions racing across the plains of Russia towards Moscow. The Ukrainian people, feeling they were about to be liberated from years of Russian oppression declared themselves free and independent. The following year, which, incidentally was forty years ago next month, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was created to defend Ukrainian national independence and statehood.

Had the Germans but realized it when they launched "Operation Barbarossa" into the USSR, they had effectively won the war from the moment they entered Soviet territory. The inmates of this giant concentration camp welcomed the Germans as liberators from unbearable oppression. Moscow's slaves, thirsty for freedom, could not believe that the Berlin rulers would be so stupid as not to secure the assistance of natural allies.

The Ukrainians rejected Hitler's demand that the proclamation of independence be revoked and that the Government be dissolved. As a consequence the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was forced to fight a two front war against the two most powerful armies on the continent at the time. Both the Nazi Wehrmacht and Stalin's Red Army had an earned reputation for brutality. Despite these incredible odds the Ukrainian Insurgent Army inflicted heavy casualties on the Nazi armed forces including several senior general officers. After the collapse of Germany the Insurgent Army continued its resistance against the Russian military and security forces, again inflicting devastating losses including the death of Marshal of the Soviet Army, Vatutin.

In 1947, two years after the end of World War II, the Soviet Union brought in the armed forces of two of its new satellites, Poland and Czechoslovakia and the three armies launched a major effort to destroy the tenacious Ukrainian insurgents. By the mid 1950's, one decade after the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was formed, the combined might of the Red Army and its satellites reduced the effectiveness of the insurgent divisions to such an extent that the valiant freedom fighters were forced to go underground.

Today the guns have been silenced in Ukraine. To some this means that peace has come to that valiant nation. But the peace of surrender has not brought freedom, individual liberty, or independence to the re-enslaved citizens of that blood-stained land. The spirit of Ukrainian resistance, which has served as an inspiration to freedom fighters throughout the world, is still being expressed in the form of dissident writings and actions from all parts of the Soviet Empire and by quiet acts of sabotage and passive resistance inside the 1500 slave labour camps which form the Gulag Archipelago.

Today there are no American or other NATO servicemen fighting and dying in any part of the world. The British Armed Forces have returned home after their expedition to repel the invasion of the Falkland Islands. Because the guns of the NATO allies are silent most citizens of Europe and America believe that the West is enjoying a period of peace. But the facts are that today we are not living in a time of peace. We are in the midst of war. Admittedly it is not a hot war in the conventional sense, but it is a revolutionary, total war. It knows no truce and can only end if one of the antagonists is totally defeated.

In the West as soon as the shooting stops or when diplomacy or military deterrence has prevented the outbreak of a shooting war, we operate under the peacetime rules of civilized nations. This we believe to be peace. Unfortunately, the USSR and Communist China have a completely different set of rules. According to the rules of Marxism-Leninism, the continuing class struggle means that the Socialist camp is at war with the non-communist world on a continuing basis whether at the shooting or the non-shooting part of the conflict spectrum.

The West and especially the United States, looks at war today to be divided into two categories or levels of intensity. The highest level of intensity and the greatest threat to Western security and survival is Strategic Nuclear War. At a lower level of violence, with a lower threat to our security is what is defined as conventional war. This involves battalions of troops using tanks and artillery, and ships and airplanes armed with conventional weapons.

The military forces of the Free World are generally organised, equipped, funded and trained to fight either one or both of these two options. The USSR on the other hand recognizes and employs a third option and considers unconventional or non-shooting, covert war as an essential part of the total spectrum of conflict. They are organized and trained to use their total national resources, in combination with the so called "national liberation movements" in the Third World and the Communist Parties in the capitalist nations, in the total conflict with Western Civilization.

This unconventional warfare part of the conflict includes low intensity actions such as sabotage, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare. It also includes such covert and non-violent activities as subversion, psychological operations, economic warfare, support to dissident groups, disinformation activities, propaganda and political warfare. The Soviet Union today, acting directly or through its allies, proxies or surrogates, is heavily engaged in all of these unconventional warfare operations against the Free World. Because they are covert and generally conceal the involvement of the Soviet Union, there is a tendency in the West to pretend that we are not under attack — that we are, in fact, in a period of peace.

In this period of so-called "peace", the U.S. finds itself, after nearly 20 years of unilateral disarmament, in a position of military inferiority in both the strategic and the conventional areas of armaments *vis-à-vis* the

Soviet Union. It is not surprising, therefore, to find the USSR putting on such a major "Peace Offensive" as a part of its unconventional warfare campaign against the West. The thrust of this Soviet effort is to convince the world that the U.S. plan to modernize its own and the military forces of NATO constitutes an unwarranted initiation of an arms race which disrupts the peace of détente. The Soviet theme goes on to say that since an arms race will undoubtedly lead to a shooting war and a shooting war can escalate into a nuclear war in which all civilization will be destroyed, the U.S. people must reject any increase in defence expenditures, accept a freeze at the present level of nuclear weapons, and even initiate unilateral disarmament to show our good faith. If we are forced to accept these ideas as a consequence of the disinformation activities and psychological operations being conducted by KGB-trained agents of influence and supported by well-meaning but naive Europeans and Americans, we will remain in this false state of peace while the Soviets extract more and more concessions and compromises. We will be forced to meet coercive threats with increasing appeasement and eventual surrender to avoid a possible thermo-nuclear war. The Soviets will have won the conflict in the manner recommended by the ancient Chinese military scholar Sun Tzu who in about 350 B.C. advised that the best general was he who avoided the use of violence and achieved his conquest by the surrender of the enemy.

What can we in the West do to prevent this conquest by surrender? What alternative do we have to the threat of nuclear attack other than the threat of nuclear retaliation? First we must come to terms with the existence of an enduring adversary relationship with the USSR and Communist China. This includes a recognition of the fact that Communist China will never be an ally of the West in the event of a military confrontation with Communist Russia. To think otherwise is to engage in wishful thinking of a very dangerous sort. Second, as a matter of urgency, we must develop a Western Strategy which recognizes the whole spectrum of conflict — from strategic nuclear to conventional to unconventional. This strategy must not only accept the communist challenge to the point of resisting it forcefully, but it must exploit to the maximum those many weaknesses within the Communist Empire with a view toward rolling back communist tyranny and domination everywhere.

The basic global strategy for reversing communist policies and neutralising the Soviet threat of nuclear war, thereby guaranteeing the survival of the Free World, contains two basic elements: —

1. The Free Nations of the world stop the processes of self-surrender and of subsidizing communist governments, and
2. The process of liberation behind the Iron and Bamboo curtains must be encouraged, supported, co-ordinated and sustained as much as possible.

I recognize that there will be those who will have some objection to the second element of this strategy. But just as surely as no football, soccer,

or rugby game was ever won without taking the ball across the opponent's goal line, the West cannot win this conflict without adding an offensive component to its strategy. Only by applying the principle of the counter-attack can the West arrive at a global strategy capable of guaranteeing peace and security for itself and hope to the enslaved millions of the world.

We must recognize that the Free World's most reliable allies are the enslaved peoples within the Russian Communist empire. The real Achilles heel of the whole Soviet Russian system is the unrest and dissatisfaction of the people within the Soviet Russian empire. Can you imagine the terror it would strike into the hearts of the Kremlin leadership if it were faced with a dozen Polands inside the Warsaw Pact and a dozen or more insurgent armies similar to the Ukrainian Army of 40 years ago inside the USSR? Can you imagine the immobilizing panic of the Soviet Russian Armed Forces if it was faced with a few more Afghanistans on and inside its borders? The fact that the Polish Solidarity Movement has grown several times stronger since the imposition of martial law gives some indication of the magnitude of this unrest and the untapped potential for resistance based upon national consciousness. The fact that the Afghan Freedom Fighters are gaining support and effectiveness in the face of increasing Soviet Russian commitment, stands as testimony to the strength of Muslim resistance to Russian Communist imperialism and colonial aggression. We should also not forget that Communist China is subject to the same pressures of unrest and dissatisfaction of its own enslaved peoples and the victims of Chinese colonialism in such territories as Tibet and others.

Since communist tyrants, both Chinese and Russian fear nothing so much as the infiltration of the ideas of freedom and justice into their sphere of influence, a non-violent, non-military truth campaign aimed at the enslaved peoples of the world will have a significant deterrent effect against future communist expansion. In fact, the remaining free nations of the world who now find themselves confronted by an ever-increasing world-wide communist offensive, carried out under the threat of a nuclear attack, can best defend themselves by going on the offensive and striking at Soviet Russian imperialism's most sensitive spot—the internal resistance inside the Captive Nations.

For the Free Nations of the world to implement this new strategy, some important changes have to be made. Within the United States the covert actions and human intelligence collection capabilities of the Central Intelligence Agency must be re-established. The Special Operations forces of the U.S. Army, Navy, and Air Force must be expanded, restructured and consolidated. Legislative restraints which protect communist imperialism and prevent or limit assistance to non-communist or anti-communist governments of the Third World must be removed. The West in a cooperating rather than a competitive manner should determine the limitations on the flow of Western technology, food and credits to the Communist empires. The targeting of NATO retaliatory nuclear strikes should be altered to

recognize the friendly status of the Captive Nations and emphasize the strategic importance of targeting Russian facilities and population centres. Perhaps the most important tactic is the need to expose and counter Soviet Russian and Chinese disinformation activities in the Free World with an expanded, modernized and unapologetic series of multi-national freedom radio stations, such as Voice of America, Voice of Freedom, Radio Free Europe, Radio Free Asia, Radio Marti, and others.

Today in the world-wide political struggle between communism and the West there are literally hundreds of millions of enslaved peoples who are searching for some form of encouragement, which will lead to their eventual liberation. They are one of the potentially most powerful spiritual and political forces in the world. They are in fact, the West's strongest ally and constitute the only realistic alternative to nuclear war.

Thank you.

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## THE USE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS AS SLAVE LABOUR

The work of prisoners, both political and criminal has been utilized to a very great extent throughout the history of the USSR. It is a well known fact that Lenin in 1918, signed a decree establishing "work-rehabilitation camps", for a society that claimed to profess the ideals of social equality and social justice. The concept of "labour camps" gave the Soviet Russians a two-fold advantage. First, it was made possible to utilize the slave labour of prisoners without any form of compensation. Secondly, in the system of camps which were located far from populated areas, it was possible to undertake genocide on those individuals who were deemed to be "undesirable" in a state where citizens were supposedly given equal rights. This massive genocide was achieved by issuing below subsistence food rations, which resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of "ideologically re-educated" individuals. Hitler's concentration camps were a pale comparison to the Soviet Russian ideological re-education camps of death.

One of the "pioneers" of the Soviet Russian genocide camp system were the Solovki camps, built on the Solovki islands on the territory of the infamous Solovki monastery. This camp destroyed for the regime thousands of undesirable "bourgeois elements": participants of uprisings and revolts against the regime in Ukraine, Georgia, Central Asia, large numbers of clergy, former military officers, and rank and file workers and peasants. Purposely established far away from industrial and populated centres, the Solovki camp did not have any meaningful economic effect, but served primarily as a base for genocide. Now the regime, with considerable audacity has established on the islands tourist sites which are visited by tourist excursions. Naturally, not a word is said by anyone that the Solovki camps became grave sites for several hundreds of thousands of political prisoners. This is in keeping with the Soviet Russian tradition of creating on the sites of massive massacres parks and places of entertainment such as they did in Vinnytsia, Ukraine.

With the beginning of industrialization the "government" of the USSR began to utilize the labour of prisoners for the increased implementation of the "five year plans". The "pioneer" of this type of camp was the famous White-Baltic sea canal, which was built on the corpses of slave labour prisoners. Working and attempting to achieve unrealistic production quotas, with decreased food rations, the prisoners, primarily political, died very rapidly. The prisoners that were of a criminal nature had numerous privileges, receiving as a rule administrative positions. These administrators

mockingly encouraged the prisoners to work by using the axiom: "Those who work we will bury as people in clothes, but those who are lazy, we will bury like dogs unclothed."

At this same time, the prisoners' work was utilized for the building of railroads and also new industrial cities. With the help of slave labour the railroad was built from Kotlas to Vorkuta, the Trans-Siberian network from Taishet to Lena, the train line from Komsomolsk on the Amur, the terminal at Vanino, the Volga-Don canal, the Kuybishev hydro-electric station, and also villages and stations along the new railroads. In the mines of Donbas, Vorkuta, Karaganda, in the gold mines of the Magadan province, in the same way, the regime has used and is utilizing today the slave labour of prisoners.

I, personally, during the time of my incarceration in Soviet Russian concentration camps, as a political prisoner, worked on the Pechor-Vorkuta railroad in the northern branch of the Kotlas-Vorkuta railroad line. This railroad line was built primarily on the skeletons of political prisoners. I can personally testify to this fact. The "enemies of the people" were driven to these sites by forced marches, which ended in the middle of the tundra, where we were told that this was to be our barrack. They then told us to take tools and start building our barrack. It is quite obvious that the death rate in these "work-rehabilitation" camps was very high. The prisoners were required to fulfil super-human production quotas, which would have been impossible to fulfil by healthy very strong individuals. Those prisoners who did not fulfil their quotas, did not even get a small scrap of bread, and, as a result of malnutrition, they soon died out like flickering candles. These prisoners were called "those who walked with death", which quite accurately described their condition and their fate. After one or two years of work of a battalion which originally numbered 500-600 prisoners, only a minute number of individuals were still alive, the rest had gone to "eternal sleep" "under the railroad ties".

As a prisoner I worked at building site 501 — the construction of the Kyk-Shore-Labutanh — on the Obi rail line — a strategic railroad line across the Ural mountains. At the building sites there were numerous armed battles between two groups of criminal prisoners called the "bandits" and the "bitches". The death penalty for murder in the USSR did not apply to this category of prisoners, and in the concentration camps there was not a day that a dead body or dead bodies were not found.

The third place of my slave labour was the railroad line Taishet-Lena — the start of today's Baikal-Amur main-line railroad. The building of this line was started by the so-called "enemies of the people" in 1937 to 1945, the work was then continued by Japanese "prisoners of war", then from 1948 by freedom fighters from Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

The fourth place of my slave labour was the Magadan province, where gold is mined in the hills and mountains. This province from 1930 was

settled and populated solely by prisoners. The prisoners are still mining gold there today in subhuman conditions.

I know from my own research, how important was and still is the slave labour of political prisoners to the economy of the USSR. I can state without any doubt, that the news which manages to reach the West about the use of slave labour in the building of the Yamalsk gas pipeline is an absolute truth. And the facts are these: an escaped prisoner from Vietnam, Doan Van Thai gave testimony in the United States Congress that he, as a former government official of the Viet Cong, knew about the utilization of Vietnamese prisoners of war for forced labour in Siberia. Lee Thai Ayn — a Vietnamese writer — sent a letter to the United States Congress from Vietnam, in which he mentions the forced deportation of Vietnamese to Siberia. The Soviet Russian dissident Makarenko testified in Congress about the inhumane treatment of prisoners in building the Baikal-Amur main line railroad. He confirmed the fact that this construction site alone for every eight months accounts for the lives of over 1,000 prisoners.

The news then, about the building of the gas pipeline by the use of slave labour is not surprising to those who are knowledgeable in Soviet Russian reality. The work rehabilitation camps are an integral part of the Communist Russian system. Normally one would expect that this fact would be heard from official Soviet Russian sources, as the French government expects, after having put such questions to Moscow. However, the Communist Russian government is not a government in the Western sense. The purpose of this government is not to provide information but, on the contrary, to suppress it. The value of statements from Communist Russian sources should by now be self-evident to the West. During the Civil War in Spain how much ink was spilled by Soviet Russian diplomats in denying the fact that Soviet Russian troops were taking an active part. This, in fact, was an outright lie. Deliberate falsehoods were also the statements by Soviet Russian officials in the 1930s that there was no famine in the USSR. This statement was made while people were dying by the thousands every week. In the Russian concentration camps no less than 5 million prisoners are incarcerated and are being used as slave labour in many sections of the Soviet Russian economy.

Those individuals who doubt the validity of the news of the use of slave labour in the USSR, and want to receive verification at any price from official Soviet Russian sources, are in fact sanctifying their actions and assisting the USSR in expanding their system throughout the world.

It is worthwhile to remember at this point the words of the American senator, who said: "Let them not say, as they said about the Nazi death camps, that we did not know what was happening until it was too late."

## "Free Yuriy Shukhevych" campaign

### TO THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS

When future historians write the book of Soviet KGB crimes, they will have to add to the long list of horrific facts the blinding of dissidents... Yes... Those who were coolly killing millions of people on the grounds of "scientific" theories can boast about this too! News has come from beyond the barbed wires and iron bars: Yuriy Shukhevych,\* the eternal prisoner of the Soviet jails whose crime was to write down two dozen critical words about the Soviet regime, lost 99 per cent of his sight after the operation performed in a prison hospital. In other words, he was blinded. The blinding of Y. Shukhevych, who became a prisoner at the age of 14 years for the sole reason that he was a son of the Ukrainian guerilla leader — General Roman Shukhevych, is one more link in the long chain of KGB crimes against humanity and against the Ukrainian people.

Yuriy Shukhevych was arrested for the first time in 1948 when he was 14 years old. The legal commutations during the "thaw period", which were expected to release all sentenced juvenile political prisoners, did not apply to Y. Shukhevych. On the contrary, he was once more sentenced in 1958 for a so-called "cell crime". This time, his "crime" was his critical views about Soviet reality expressed in the prison cell. "The liberalization" of the Soviet regime which was so much talked about in the West passed by Yuriy Shukhevych. He had to serve another 10 years until 1968.

When he was released in 1968, Y. Shukhevych was deported to the Caucasus, to serve 5 more years of exile, where he married, becoming the father of two charming children. But the hand of the Soviet Ukrainian-hating *Molokh* reached him even there. In March 1972 he was arrested and sentenced for the third time. He earned the title of a "very dangerous state criminal" and 11 years of the severest penalty — confinement for writing down two dozen words.

Those who know how the confinement of the "very dangerous state criminals" in Vladimir prison is like will not wonder that after 11 years of such an imprisonment the prisoner becomes blind, or paralyzed, or mentally ill. But that very penalty — 11 years confinement in Vladimir — was chosen for Shukhevych who had already served a 20 year sentence. Soviet legislation states that after serving half a sentence the prisoner can be transferred from the jail to the prison camp (that means to a jail with a less strict regime), but even this "humanity" was not applied to Y. Shukhevych.

\* About Yuriy Shukhevych see *Ukrainian Review* No 2, 1982, pp. 84-85.

Being very well informed, KGB-officers knew about his bad health. They knew, but they waited with concealed, malicious joy for the winding up of the tragedy — the complete blinding of their victim. And when it happened, when Y. Shukhevych became blind, they told the relatives to write to the West about this fact. Why? Because it is a small satisfaction for them to blind a person and a greater satisfaction for them to be able inform the well-wishers of both General Roman Shukhevych and his son about KGB “achievements” in its struggle with its “enemies”, to declare the unlimited savage autocracy of the KGB. It is at the same time the answer to the Congress of the USA that, in its concurrent Resolution 111, called the President of the USA to take measures to free Yuriy Shukhevych. Also, the House Concurrent Resolution 205 called for the defence of Y. Shukhevych as a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

We do not know which steps were taken in accordance with these resolutions. But the blinding of Y. Shukhevych requires new measures in this direction. So, we — former Soviet political prisoners — call upon the American Congress to add more efforts so that their human and state duty might be fulfilled: to take all possible measures that are at the disposal of the U.S. Government to free blinded Y. Shukhevych and to guarantee him and his family the right to emigrate from the USSR to the West where there are considerably more medical possibilities to return the sight lost after 30 years of imprisonment to this victim of cruelty and inhumanity.

Former Soviet political prisoners:

S. Karavansky  
N. Strokata

The following texts (slightly abbreviated) are a record of the minutes taken from the *Congressional Record* (September 21, 1981) concerning House Concurrent Resolution 111 and a record of the minutes of the Committee on Foreign Affairs (Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations) of the House of Representatives of the United States Congress. Both texts refer to Yuriy Shukhevych.

#### *SENSE OF CONGRESS OPPOSING SOVIET TREATMENT OF YURIY SHUKHEVYCH*

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I move to suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 111) expressing the sense of the Congress that the Government of the Soviet Union should cease its imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych and permit him and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

The Clerk read the concurrent resolution, as follows:

## H. CON. RES. 111

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych is currently serving his 28th year of imprisonment, having been free from Soviet jails for an aggregate of only 4 years since 1948, the date of his original arrest by the Government of the Soviet Union.

Whereas the sole basis for the imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych is his refusal to denounce the ideals of Ukrainian nationalism and the activities of his late father, Roman Shukhevych, a Ukrainian freedom fighter.

Whereas such imprisonment violates the commitments to freedom of thought, conscience, expression, religion, and emigration made by the Soviet Union through its adoption of, or participation as a signatory to, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych suffers from various severe medical ailments, including chronic ulcer, heart, vision, and dental problems, but has not received necessary medical attention while in prison; and

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych has renounced his Soviet citizenship and has joined the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords; Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that —*

(1) the Government of the Soviet Union should comply with its commitments under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, by providing proper medical care to Yuriy Shukhevych, by releasing Yuriy Shukhevych from prison, and by permitting Yuriy Shukhevych and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union to a country of their choice;

(2) the President of the United States should express to the Government of the Soviet Union the strong and continuing opposition of the United States to the imprisonment and maltreatment of Yuriy Shukhevych; and

(3) the President of the United States should reiterate to the Government of the Soviet Union that the United States, in evaluating its relations with other nations, will consider the extent to which such other nations honor their commitments under international law, particularly any such commitments concerning human rights.

SEC. 2. The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall transmit copies of this resolution to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the United States and to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet...

Mr. Speaker. I rise in support of House Concurrent Resolution 111, expressing the sense of the Congress that the Government of the Soviet

Union should cease its imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych and permit him and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of a Ukrainian freedom fighter, has been jailed 29 of the past 33 years in the Soviet Union. The so-called crime is merely Shukhevych's refusal to denounce the ideals of Ukrainian nationalism and the deeds of his father, who struggled for freedom.

Shukhevych has not received essential medical treatment while in prison, although he suffers a series of ailments.

The resolution calls for the President to voice U.S. opposition to the imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych, to remind the Soviets of their violations of international commitments such as the Helsinki Final Act, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, as well as the Soviet Constitution; and to urge that Shukhevych and his family be permitted to emigrate and find a new homeland.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of House Concurrent Resolution 111.

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, I yield myself such time as I may consume.

(Mr. LEACH of Iowa asked and was given permission to revise and extend his remarks.)

Mr. LEACH of Iowa. Mr. Speaker, as the ranking minority member of the Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations and as a co-sponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 111, I am pleased to speak in favor of this resolution. It was first introduced by our colleague on this side of the aisle, Mr. Pritchard, and has subsequently been endorsed by a bi-partisan group of over 60 Members. The resolution was reported favorably from the subcommittee and later from the full Foreign Affairs Committee.

Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of a Ukrainian freedom fighter who resisted the Russians following the defeat of the Germans in World War II, was first arrested in 1948 at the young age of 14. The cause of his imprisonment appeared to be his refusal to yield to Soviet demands that he renounce his father and Ukrainian nationalism. After a 10-year term, he was released to identify his father's body but re-arrested before the day was out. A finding by the Soviet Supreme Court that the form of the tribunal under which he was originally sentenced was illegal as were the decisions of the tribunal, was not enough to prevent his re-arrest. After serving his second 10-year sentence, Mr. Shukhevych was released for 3½ years until he was re-arrested in 1972 on grounds that his memoirs constituted "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". His third sentence, which he is serving today, includes 5 years in prison, 5 in a harsh labor camp, and 5 in exile. The circumstances of his continued imprisonment have led to severe medical problems.

It is impossible not to admire a man like Yuriy Shukhevych who has had the courage to renounce his Soviet citizenship and, while still in prison, to join the Helsinki monitoring group in Kiev.

Mr. Speaker, this case, like so many others, is a cardinal example of the

failure of the Soviet Union to live up to its commitments, not only under certain provisions of its own Constitution, but under such international agreements as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Helsinki Accords, and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, House Concurrent Resolution 111 expresses the sense of the Congress that the Soviet authorities should provide proper medical treatment to Yuriy Shukhevych, release him from prison, and permit him and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union.

It also calls on the President to express the opposition of the United States to Mr. Shukhevych's continued imprisonment and maltreatment. In views received from the administration, we were told that —

Resolution 111 is consistent with and supportive of our policy of considering the extent to which other nations honor their commitments under international law, particularly concerning human rights, in evaluating our relations with those nations.

Mr. Speaker, the plight of Yuriy Shukhevych is on the conscience of this Nation, and his courage in the face of Soviet repression is an inspiration. I urge my colleagues to support House Concurrent Resolution 111 on behalf of Yuriy Shukhevych and all those like him who languish in Soviet prisons and labor camps. Thank you.

Mr. Speaker, I have no other speakers on this side of the aisle, and would yield back the balance of my time.

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, I yield such time as he may consume to the gentleman from Washington (Mr. BONKER), chairman of the Subcommittee on International Organizations.

Mr. BONKER. Mr. Speaker, the Foreign Affairs Subcommittee on Human Rights and International Organizations long concerned about human rights abuses all over the world continues to take up resolutions pertaining to various dissidents, whose human rights have been violated. We are about to report out to the House floor three such resolutions.

Yuriy Shukhevych is currently serving his 28th year of imprisonment. He has been freed from Soviet jails for a total of 4 years since 1948, having been imprisoned for refusing to denounce the ideals of Ukrainian nationalism and the activities of his late father, who was a Ukrainian freedom fighter.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution was passed favorably by the subcommittee and by the full House committee and has the support and cooperation of the ranking minority member of the subcommittee and the chairman of the full committee. I am pleased to recommend its adoption by the House today.

Mr. CORRADA. Mr. Speaker, I rise in strong support of House Concurrent Resolution 111, a resolution expressing the sense of the Congress regarding the treatment by the Soviet Union of Yuriy Shukhevych.

As signatories to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and the Final Act of the

Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, the Soviet Union has acknowledged the right of its citizens to emigrate.

Yuriy Shukhevych is currently serving his 28th year of imprisonment for refusing to denounce the ideals of Ukrainian nationalism and the activities of his late father, Roman Shukhevych, a Ukrainian freedom fighter. The Soviet Union should cease this imprisonment and allow him and his family to emigrate to the country of their choice.

Yuriy Shukhevych cannot speak for himself; we, in this Congress must continue to speak for him and others like him.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. The question is on the motion offered by the gentleman from Wisconsin (Mr. Zablocki) that the House suspend the rules and agree to the concurrent resolution (H. Con. Res. 111).

The question was taken; and (two thirds having voted in favor thereof) the rules were suspended and the concurrent resolution was agreed to.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

## HUMAN RIGHTS — UKRAINE AND THE SOVIET UNION

Thursday, July 30, 1981

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS  
SUBCOMMITTEE ON HUMAN RIGHTS AND  
INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS,

*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met in open mark-up session at 11:05 a.m., in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Don Bonker (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. BONKER. The subcommittee will take up very briefly some business in the nature of three sense-of-Congress resolutions about individual human rights cases, two in the Ukraine and one in the Soviet Union.

[The resolutions follow:]

[H. Con. Res. 111, 97th Congress, 1st session]

Concurrent resolution expressing the sense of the Congress that the Government of the Soviet Union should cease its imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych and permit him and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych is currently serving his 28th year of imprisonment, having been free from Soviet jails for an aggregate of only 4 years since 1948, the date of his original arrest by the Government of the Soviet Union;

Whereas the sole basis for the imprisonment of Yuriy Shukhevych is his refusal to denounce the ideals of Ukrainian nationalism and the activities of his late father, Roman Shukhevych, a Ukrainian freedom fighter.

Whereas such imprisonment violates the commitments to freedom of thought, conscience, expression, religion, and emigration made by the Soviet Union through its adoption of, or participation as a signatory to, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics;

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych suffers from various severe medical ailments, including chronic ulcer, heart, vision, and dental problems, but has not received necessary medical attention while in prison; and

Whereas Yuriy Shukhevych has renounced his Soviet citizenship and has joined the Ukrainian Public Group To Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki Accords: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring), That it is the sense of the Congress that —*

(1) the Government of the Soviet Union should comply with its commitments under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, by providing proper medical care to Yuriy Shukhevych, by releasing Yuriy Shukhevych from prison, and by permitting Yuriy Shukhevych and his family to emigrate from the Soviet Union to a country of their choice;

(2) the President of the United States should express to the Government of the Soviet Union the strong and continuing opposition of the United States to the imprisonment and maltreatment of Yuriy Shukhevych; and

(3) the President of the United States should reiterate to the Government of the Soviet Union that the United States, in evaluating its relations with other nations, will consider the extent to which such other nations honor their commitments under international law, particularly any such commitments concerning human rights.

SEC. 2. The Clerk of the House of Representatives shall transmit copies of this resolution to the Ambassador of the Soviet Union to the United States and to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Court.

[H. Res. 152, 97th Congress, 1st session]

Resolution to urge the President to continue to express the opposition of the United States to the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky by the Soviet Union

Whereas the Helsinki Accord of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe commits its signatories to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms;

Whereas the Soviet Union is a signatory to the accord;

Whereas Anatoly Shcharansky has been imprisoned in the Soviet Union in violation of the accord;

Whereas as a result of actions of Soviet authorities, Mr. Shcharansky's health has deteriorated to a point where his life is threatened; and

Whereas humanitarian interests and the provisions of the Helsinki Accord require that Soviet authorities end the incarceration and inhumane treatment of Anatoly Shcharansky: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That it is the sense of the House of Representatives that the President at every suitable opportunity and in the strongest terms, should express to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics the opposition of the United States to the imprisonment of Anatoly Shcharansky, and should urge that Mr. Shcharansky be given proper medical treatment and be permitted to emigrate to Israel.

[H. Res. 193, 97th Congress, 1st session]

Resolution concerning the safety and freedom of Soviet citizen Yuri Badzyo

Whereas Yuri Badzyo is currently serving a seven-year prison sentence in the notorious Mordovian labor camps, to be followed by five years in internal exile, for ideas contained in an unpublished manuscript that is, in fact, missing;

Whereas Yuri Badzyo desired greater political, cultural, and artistic freedom for the Ukrainian people;

Whereas, because of these beliefs, Yuri Badzyo was expelled from the Soviet Communist Party and was refused work in his profession, philology; and

Whereas the Soviet Constitution itself guarantees rights for nationalities as well as individual rights: Now, therefore, be it

*Resolved*, That the House of Representatives —

(1) expresses its concern for the well-being, safety, and freedom of the Ukrainian patriot Yuri Badzyo;

(2) asks the President to express to the Soviet Government the interest of the United States in this prisoner of conscience and in the fate of his wife Svitlana Kyrychenko, who has also been dismissed from her profession for her impassioned support of her husband's ideas and work, as well as in the welfare of their two children Bohdana and Serhiy Badzyo; and

(3) requests that the President remind the Soviet Union of its obligations to honor human rights under the terms of the Helsinki Accord.

Mr. BONKER. When the subcommittee reaches a quorum, we will interrupt the proceedings to act on these resolutions, but given the floor activity and conflicting subcommittee schedules this morning, I think we shall proceed under unanimous-consent request so that we can recommend these resolutions to the full committee.

The ranking minority member on this subcommittee is Congressman Leach, who must leave to attend a session elsewhere. I would like at this time to yield to Mr Leach for any comments he might have, and ask whether he would have any objection to the subcommittee moving on these resolutions.

Mr. LEECH. Mr. Chairman, I have no objection whatsoever to moving on these resolutions, I apologize to our witnesses that, by chance, a special hearing that I have requested is underway in another subcommittee, and I will have to leave, but at this time I would move adoption of House Resolution 152, House Resolution 193, and House Concurrent Resolution 111.

Mr. GEJDENSON. Second.

Mr. BONKER. It has been moved by the gentleman from Iowa and seconded by the gentleman from Connecticut that the subcommittee adopt and recommend to the full committee House Resolution 152, sponsored by Mr. Rinaldo; House Resolution 193, sponsored by Mr. Dixon; and House Concurrent Resolution 111, sponsored by Mr. Pritchard

I ask unanimous consent that these resolutions be adopted. Do I hear objection?

If not, it is so ordered.

[Whereupon, at 11:07 a.m. the subcommittee proceeded to other matters.]



*Yuriy Shukhevych with his son*

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## ***Reports and book reviews***

### **THE EDUCATION OF UKRAINIAN CHILDREN\***

If the level of success of Ukrainian children in the British education system is measured in terms of academic performance, then there is no evidence of general underachievement. It is sometimes suggested, in fact, that the proportions of Ukrainian children who gain academic success at the various educational levels are greater than the national averages. This is most likely to be the result of generally strong family life within the Ukrainian community and the particularly keen efforts made by the parents to motivate their children to obtain the education which was not available to many of themselves.

A major concern, however, is that the educational environment is not conducive in some respects to the development of the children's Ukrainian identity. It would be unrealistic to expect major changes to be made in the mainstream education system to promote the Ukrainian community's desire to preserve its identity (this is possible only in a country like Canada, where the Ukrainian community constitutes a considerable part of the population, and where an official policy to develop a multicultural society is in force). However, since a serious attempt is being made, within the scope of the present project, to cater for today's culturally diverse society, we should like to make a number of proposals which are relatively easy to implement, but which could lead to a significant improvement in the educational environment of children from the Ukrainian and other minorities.

Our proposals are presented below, following brief descriptions of the Ukrainian community and the supplementary education it provides for its children. The nature of the points made in this paper make it difficult to write strictly under the headings proposed in the call for evidence.

### **THE UKRAINIAN COMMUNITY**

The bulk of the Ukrainian community is formed by Ukrainians who found themselves in Western Europe at the end of the Second World War, due to a variety of circumstances, and were unwilling to be repatriated to the Soviet Union (a large part of these Ukrainians were from Western Ukraine, which was incorporated into the USSR during the Second World War). Around 35,000 Ukrainians came to Britain at the end of the 1940's, but many subsequently emigrated to North America.

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\* Evidence prepared for the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups; December 1981, by the Educational Affairs Council of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain.

There is now a second generation of Ukrainians, born in this country, the children of both Ukrainian and mixed marriages. In the last few years third generation children have been born. According to one estimate there are now approximately 30,000 Ukrainians in this country, of whom about 15,000 maintain contact with the Ukrainian community. There are no accurate statistics concerning the age distribution, but the number of those born in this country is probably about one-third of the total.

Most of the Ukrainians who settled in Britain had lived in rural areas of Ukraine under unfavourable economic conditions and only a small proportion had been able to obtain more than a minimal education. The second generation has, however, tended to attain a level of academic achievement, at primary, secondary and higher levels, commensurate with the national average.

The Ukrainian community seeks to preserve its identity by passing on to new generations the Ukrainian language, knowledge about Ukraine and its history, and Ukrainian cultural and religious tradition. The objective is to minimise the extent to which people of Ukrainian origin lose their Ukrainian identity through assimilation with the society at large, at the same time encouraging them to be successful members of British society. Assimilation cannot be totally avoided, but it is likely that the community will exist in this country as a distinct entity for the foreseeable future.

### SUPPLEMENTARY EDUCATION

Since the 1950's the Ukrainian community has organised kindergartens and Ukrainian Saturday schools for its children. It also encourages sixth-formers and students to attend courses in Ukrainian studies held in various countries at various times. Many children and young people are members of one of two Ukrainian youth organisations, where they participate in choirs, folk dancing groups, summer camps, etc. The Educational Affairs Council of the Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain maintains a constant review of the supplementary provision and takes steps to improve or extend it as appropriate. All the work of the Council and the local organisers is voluntary and there are no paid officials. The kindergarten and Saturday school teachers usually receive a small remuneration.

In recent years very few kindergartens have been operational because of the small number of children in the appropriate age group. The number of third generation birth is steadily increasing now and renewed effort is being put into planning and organizing playgroups and kindergartens. Children attend for two or three hours per week, usually on Saturdays or Sundays. Emphasis is placed on the usual aspects of children's pre-school development, as well as a gradual acquaintance with Ukrainian culture. The language used by teachers and children is Ukrainian.

The number of Saturday schools has also declined in recent years, primarily due to the gap between the second and third generations. There are currently about 20 schools around the country, with between 5 and 70 pupils per school. Children attend the schools from the age of six or seven. The number of classes in each school depends on the available resources, the maximum number of classes being 10. The subjects taught include the Ukrainian language and literature, geography and history of Ukraine, and the history of Ukrainian culture. The practice of Ukrainian folk traditions is greatly encouraged. In some schools additional classes are held specifically to prepare candidates for the GCE Ordinary level examination in Ukrainian. Many of the present teachers, some of whom are also teachers by profession, are second generation Ukrainians.

It would not be feasible to incorporate much of this supplementary provision into mainstream schooling because of the relatively small number of Ukrainian children attending any one school. Consideration could be given, however, to providing funds to assist the community in maintaining its kindergartens and Saturday schools.

## IMPROVING THE MAINSTREAM EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

It is our view that more effort could be made in the mainstream educational system to reflect the presence of the smaller minorities, as opposed to the much larger groups of West Indian, Asian and other children. We have identified a number of possible steps which would lead to an improvement in the educational environment of Ukrainian children. It is likely that they would also be beneficial from the point of view of other ethnic minorities.

### *a) Expressing interest in children's countries of origin*

It is widely accepted that the school plays an important part in many children's development due to its prestige in their eyes. Consequently, if a teacher expresses a sincere interest in the affairs of a child's country of origin, this serves to strengthen the child's positive identification with the country of its parents or ancestors. Conversely, if no interest is shown, a negative attitude could be fostered, and this may even give rise to the development of an inferiority complex vis-à-vis the child's country of origin. The development of a national identity is an important element of the development of a child's personality, and it is therefore desirable that this should be borne in mind in schools with children from national minorities. As well as showing an interest and initiating discussions about pupils' countries of origin, it is important that teachers should make an effort to become familiar with basic facts about the relevant countries and about the reasons why and circumstances in which people from those countries found themselves in Britain. The most appropriate course of action would be to ensure that teacher training courses make teachers aware of the importance of this matter.

b) *Avoiding confusion between "Ukrainian" and "Russian"*

A particular problem arising in the case of Ukrainians is that teachers often confuse the concept of "Ukrainian" with that of "Russian" (or, to a lesser degree, with "Polish"). This occurs both during lessons in various subjects and outside formal teaching time; for example, Ukraine (or the present Ukrainian SSR) is referred to as part of Russia, instead of as part of the Soviet Union (which also includes the Russian SFSR), Ukrainians are deemed to be Russians. Ukrainian traditional decorated Easter eggs are called Russian eggs, "Catholic of the Eastern Rite" or "Ukrainian Orthodox" are assumed to be the same as "Russian Orthodox", etc. To avoid confusing Ukrainian children in this way teachers ought to be acquainted in some way with the relevant basic facts. This, of course, applies also to facts about all the other ethnic minorities. Perhaps there is room for a teachers' handbook on the ethnic minorities and their backgrounds.

c) *Pronouncing names correctly*

A child's name is clearly an important aspect of his or her personality. The pronunciation of the names of many children from the minorities is difficult to ascertain for teachers who do not speak the relevant languages. In some instances, rather than take the trouble to ascertain the correct pronunciation, teachers consistently use simpler but incorrect pronunciations. As above, it ought to be a relatively straightforward matter to address this problem during teacher training and refresher courses.

d) *Initial teaching of English*

Since many Ukrainian parents wish their children to speak fluent Ukrainian, they would like them to speak Ukrainian as much as possible during their pre-school years. This leads to the children knowing very little English when they start school. The policy of many schools in recent years has been to place such children in special English classes. The education of these children is usually hindered as a result of this, because they fall behind the children in the normal classes. Parents with pre-school children fear this, and are consequently reluctant to teach their children Ukrainian at home.

The experience with Ukrainian children who have started school with very little knowledge of English has been that they typically learn the English language to a satisfactory level within three or four months, and do not suffer any disadvantage compared with their classmates in the remainder of their school careers. Researchers in Canada have, in fact, shown that children who become fluent in two languages at an early age perform better than the average during their school life. It would be desirable, therefore, for guidance in this matter to be given to primary schools, so that children are placed in special English classes only if it is really necessary. Teachers could also encourage children by stressing what a good thing it is to know more than one language really well. This would motivate children to speak and develop their knowledge of those languages.

*MITTEILUNGEN*, No. 18, Arbeits- und Förderungsgemeinschaft der Ukrainischen Wissenschaften e.V., ed. Hryhorij Waškowycz. Munich, 1981, 343 pages.

It is unusual for an annual publication to achieve so much density and intimacy through its specific focussing on a variety of subjects. This one encourages application and testing of its ideas by its readers when its material touches on their speciality, whether history, literature, art, or scholarly life in general. *Mitteilungen's* precise scholarship is of benefit to anyone interested in Ukrainian scholarly achievements in Germany. It also includes reviews and academic reports concerning the Ukrainian Free University, the Ukrainian Technical-Economic Institute, Shevchenko Scientific Society, and the Society for Promoting scholarship in Germany.

*Mitteilungen* appears in three languages — German, English, and French — with the aim of presenting to the Western reader the clarified and fundamental issues of Ukrainian scholarship that hitherto have been obscured or have appeared in a rather narrow concentration in particular books apart from their contexts.

Taken individually, the essays of the publication are full of information and all are, at the very least, worth arguing for or against. The article by G. P. Kulchycky of Youngstown, entitled “Drei Versuche einer Föderation im Osteuropa des 17. Jahrhunderts” (Three attempts of a Federation in Eastern Europe in the Seventeenth Century) offers a serious consideration of Eastern European politics with respect to the Ukraine. It opens many new avenues for future scholarship because the work does not leave loose ends dangling and is very well documented. Therefore, it generates a good scholarly flavour. It is obvious that the fate of Ukraine was precarious while being exposed to the constant power struggles of the three dominant powers of that time. The comparison of the Cossack-Ukraine to Babylon drawn from the writings of the historian Velychko is interesting and appropriate because lack of unity caused the Cossacks to lose their power, which finally disintegrated through internecine warfare.

The critical examination of the Perejaslav Treaty of 1654 by a renowned historian, Alexander Ohloblyn of Ludlow, Mass., is a bold and imaginative work: despite the fact that Ohloblyn is not the first scholar to deal with the subject, he has certainly contributed what is so far the most searching study of that beguiling topic.

The article “Parallelen in der ukrainischen Geschichte” (Parallels in Ukrainian History), by Ivan Kedryn of New York, is a detailed account of analogous historical events concerning Poland and the Ukraine in the seventeenth and twentieth centuries. Perhaps the most striking conclusion to be drawn from this work is that the events mentioned are many and that they

are both persuasive and succinct in calling attention to themselves. However, some of the author's utterances are difficult to understand without a more proper analysis. They are certainly more than simply allusive, and, like an allusion, they tend to function in direct proportion to the reader's sophistication.

Yuriy Badzio's "Offener Brief an russische und ukrainische Historiker" (An Open Letter to Russian and Ukrainian Historians) is an interesting account which is not only informative but profound and very readable. Badzio appears here as a skilful critic of historical events. He is never miserly with examples; as a rule his subtle theoretical constructs are supported by analyses of particular historical events. This work is an important contribution both as "historical science" and as criticism.

The misery of a dissident in the Soviet Union is well portrayed in the "Klageschrift des verfolgten Iwan Kandyba" (Grievance of the Persecuted Ivan Kandyba). From this document the western reader may learn about the complexity of the Soviet judicial system and about its inhumane treatment of people who dare to have their own views, treasure and human dignity, and display love and dedication to their country.

The article "Two Maria Magdalenes" by S. Senyk, OSBM, of Rome, offers interesting notes on the genealogy of the Mazepa family.

The literary part of the publication begins with a very interesting article, "Das Ihorlied als Literaturdenkmal" (Ihor-song as a Literary Monument), by Sviatoslav Hordynsky of New York. A loosely organized but coherent programme binds together this work. Its unity originates not so much from its individual subjects, as from the interrelationship among Hordynsky's various preoccupations. Being a poet, he knows the contextual significance of his present concerns, both as they relate to the poetry of the distant past, and how they could be explained by arguing that the critic has as much right to express himself as the writer does. Of course, there are other modes of historical awareness that must be taken into consideration in order to disclose patterns of change inside the annals of history. Hordynsky's focus is on the development intrinsic to the sequence of the text itself; but since the text is a medium of consciousness receptive to its total experience, its careful reading offers not only the understanding of the poetry but also its appreciation. History, then, and its literary creation enhance each other, fulfilling thereby an essential task of comparative literature, "to study the relation of self-interpretation" (E. R. Curtius). The article is followed by an extensive bibliography and a listing of German translations of *The Song of Ihor's Campaign*.

Karl Siehs, the young Austrian literary scholar, who died prematurely, was an outstanding specialist in the field of classical and contemporary Ukrainian literature. His article "Oswald Burghardt — Jurij Klen" penetrates the literary vision of the poet and offers an equally comprehensive and discriminating account of this question. The work as a whole is rich in facts and in ideas.

"Goethes 'Faust' — Motive bei Jurij Klen (Oswald Burghardt)" by Ihor Kaczurowskyj, of Munich, is a good account of literary scholarship. The author shows his knowledge of *Faust* and of Jurij Klen's creativity. It is clear that Kaczurowskyj, while looking for suggestive parallels and cross-references within a fundamentally great poetical creativity, touches tangible lines of influences between national cultures. The warmth of his aesthetic responses, as well as linguistic and cultural material make the article valuable and timely with reference not only to the circumstantial evidence in support of the thesis of Klen's indebtedness to Goethe's *Faust*, but also as a study in depth handling this problem from the point of literary sources.

Wolodymyr T. Zyla's "Ukrainische Uebersetzungen der Lyrik Goethes" (Ukrainian Translations of Goethe's Lyric) is divided into two parts: the first part sets forth why such translations were needed and how those translations grew artistically; the second part offers several demonstrations of unique translations where the sound-structure and meaning are closely interrelated.

The remarks on an artistic exhibit "Die Poesie der 'Verzauberten Desna' und der kosmogonischen Visionen Liopas" (The Poetry of the 'Enchanted Desna' and of Cosmogonic Visions of Liopa" by Wolodymyr Janiw, Munich, were presented at the opening of the exhibit which took place at the Ukrainian Free University on June 20, 1980. The remarks are illustrated by twenty photographs in colour (ten for "Enchanted Desna" and ten for "Cosmogonic Poetry"). The illustrations are very impressive because of their colour and technique. They tend to transfer the human being into an enchanted world full of fantasy where quietness and static tranquility reign. The cosmogonic poetry in illustrations is something exceptional. It is prescientific but definitely nonphilosophical. Each illustration strongly varies in composition and in complexity to depict the idea that it represents. Without doubt, it is an outgrowth of Ukrainian culture which testifies to that culture's maturity. All ten illustrations are anthropogonic in its nature. Deserving special mention are the illustration "Gesang I" (Song I), "In sechs Welten mit einer Sonnenblume" (In Six Worlds With a Sunflower), and "Dreidimensionales Antlitz in Gesang" (Three-dimensional Face in Song). These illustrations have something mythical in themselves with an emphasis on man's acting as an artistic being torn between good and evil. Each illustration has something very exceptional in its nature and complements the overall creative process.

The reports concerning scientific activity testify to the vitality of the approximately twenty-five thousand Ukrainians in West Germany. Of special mention is the report on the Ukrainian Free University by its Rector, Prof. Wolodymyr Janiw. Here, in great detail, he depicts the activity of the university, including its publications and public lectures.

The utility of *Mitteilungen* is demonstrated convincingly by its individual works as well as by its pertinent and timely observations collectively. The publication as a whole is valuable because it raises questions uncommonly

applicable that may profitably be pursued by other scholars. It offers not only stimulating reading, but a stimulating perspective and some valuable conceptual tools that may be used in further exploration. All in all, a very useful and welcome volume.

*Wolodymyr T. Zyla*

Texas Tech University

### NEW PUBLICATION EXAMINES ETHNIC LITERATURE IN CANADA

In March 1982 the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies (CIUS) published *Identifications: Ethnicity and the Writer in Canada*, edited by Jars Balan. The volume contains selected papers from the conference held at The University of Alberta in 1979 by CIUS and the Departments of English and Comparative Literature. The conference posed the fundamental question: does the ethnic who writes, write ethnic literature?

*Identifications* is one of the first attempts to respond to this question, and as such is a pioneering venture.

What is an ethnic Canadian? In a panel discussion on "Hyphenated Canadians — the Question of Consciousness", Canadian playwright George Ryga and adult educator and author Maara Haas debate the question with Canadian Ukrainian writers, Myrna Kostash and Yar Slavutych.

One of the fascinations of the book is the ambivalence of the contributors toward the subject matter. George Ryga, for example, vehemently denies the significance of ethnicity in his life and writing. In the discussion on "Hyphenated Canadians", he maintains that Canadians should categorize themselves by their geographical location, as Maritimers, Westerners, Quebecois, rather than by their ethnic origin. Yet in a biographical essay on "Ukrainian Influences in George Ryga's Work", Jars Balan, a graduate student in the Department of English at The University of Alberta, is able to discern numerous instances in which Ryga's background influences have pervaded his writing. Similarly, David Arnason, Assistant Professor of English at the University of Manitoba, in his essay on "Icelandic Canadian Literature", notes that the Icelandic Canadian experience is essentially over, since the Icelandic language is virtually obsolete in Canadian literature, but concludes with the warning:

"If Canadians are going to gain a distinctive identity, to learn to speak in a language that will, as Jonsson puts it, measure their breath, they are going to have to confront all aspects of their experience. Ethnic literature is an important aspect of that experience."

Henry Kriesel, author of *The Rich Man* and *The Betrayal*, and University Professor in the Department of Comparative Literature, examines "The

'Ethnic' Writer in Canada", from the perspective of a post-Second World War internee, based in England, who made a conscious decision to dispense with the German language and become an English language writer. Although initially he had reservations whether he could dispense with his native language "as if it were a shirt," he took heart from the examples of Joseph Conrad and A. M. Klein, realizing that like a tree, he could with time grow new roots without discarding the old.

A different approach is taken by Yar Slavutych, poet and Professor in the Department of Slavic and East European Studies. Examining early Ukrainian writing in Canada, the author points out the success of Ukrainian writing in this country. The pioneers, albeit from modest beginnings, were able to reflect their experiences in their native language, in a foreign country, so that today, Ukrainian literature is flourishing in Canada, whereas in Ukraine itself, it has been restricted by Soviet policies of Russification. But Danylo Struk, Professor of Slavic Languages and Literature at the University of Toronto, takes a more pessimistic view in his article "Ukrainian Emigré Literature in Canada". He feels that only a handful of Ukrainian emigrés have been able to *create* literature as emigrés, despite the impressive quantity of writings. Moreover, he maintains that emigré literature will always be a dying literature, "dying with the very people who produce it."

Other groups encompassed include Hungarians and Jews. George Bisztray, Associate Professor and Chair of Hungarian Studies at the University of Toronto, analyses Hungarian literature, and perceives that although still isolated, Canadian Hungarian writers are at last becoming aware of this isolation, and may soon become integrated into mainstream Canadian literature. Vancouver-based translator and teacher Seymour Levitan gives "An Introduction to Canadian Yiddish Writers," describing the background to Yiddish writing in Europe and Canada, and focussing, particular, on the poetry of Rochl Korn, who is preoccupied with the Jewish themes of exile, and the desire to end that exile. Judy Young, Literary Projects Officer of the Multiculturalism Directorate, Secretary of State, Ottawa, looks at Canada's "Unheard Voices," that is, those expressing themselves in a language other than English or French.

Perhaps the most interesting feature of the volume is a panel discussion on "Ethnicity and Identity: The Question of One's Literary Passport". The participants are Pier Giorgio di Cicco, poet and associate editor of *Books in Canada*; Maria Campbell, author of *Halfbreed* and former writer-in-residence at The University of Alberta; Andrew Suknaski, Saskatchewan poet and author of *Wood Mountain Poems*; and Rudy Wiebe, Professor of English at The University of Alberta and author of numerous books, including *The Temptations of Big Bear* and *The Mad Trapper*. The panelists explain their relationship to their "other language," Italian, Cree, Ukrainian, and German respectively, its influence over their writings and whether their awareness of this background language has affected their

writings in English. The discussion is lively, informal and even, at times, irreverent.

Clearly the book is of great import to scholars and students of Canadian literature. But its significance lies beyond this. It poses questions of identity, awareness, of the role of ethnicity in our lives. Not all these questions are answered. Nonetheless, as Jars Balan comments in his introduction: "What we learn may not only change our understanding of Canadian literature, but may also change fundamentally how we see ourselves."

*Identifications* is available at the price of \$7.95 from: University of Toronto Press, Distribution Department, 5201 Dufferin Street, Downsview, Ontario M3H 5T8.

David Marples

Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies

### "MODERN UKRAINIAN"

Assya Humesky. *Modern Ukrainian*. Edmonton-Toronto: Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, 1980. 438 pp.

Among a dozen of the English-language textbooks of Ukrainian published since World War II, some four or five are used at colleges and universities, namely J. B. Rudnycky's *A Modern Ukrainian Grammar* (several editions), Yar Slavutych's *Conversational Ukrainian* (four editions), J. Stechishin's *Ukrainian Grammar* (three editions), Danylo Husar Struk's *Ukrainian for Undergraduates* (1978), and the newest *Modern Ukrainian* (1980) by Assya Humesky.

J. Stechishin's textbook is obsolete and should not be used at all; J. B. Rudnycky's, in spite of a professional presentation of grammar, is heavily penetrated with dialectal expressions which were used only in Western Ukraine; Y. Slavutych's, directed at a standard and idiomatic language, needs more grammatical exercises; and D. H. Struk's swings between literary Ukrainian and West Ukrainian dialectal expressions. It seems that A. Humesky carefully studied the previous textbooks and borrowed many good points from them while trying not to repeat their shortcomings. Regardless of this noble endeavour, her textbook cannot be rated as the best in every respect; but it definitely has some preponderances in comparison with each of those mentioned above.

A. Humesky presents grammar, in its contemporary standard, in a much broader way than the others, the explanatory notes are large and sometimes superfluous as for the beginner, for whom her textbook is written, but they are not detrimental. The abundance of dialogues and, especially, exercises is her strong side, indeed. Several appendixes dealing with sound sequencing and spelling, declensions and verb government, as well as the Ukrainian-English and English-Ukrainian vocabularies, increase the value of this textbook.

Surprisingly enough, *Modern Ukrainian* has many negative points. Some words are explained incorrectly or simply confused; for example, *korystuvatysia*, "to use" (p. 161) should be clearly distinguished from *korystatysia*, "to profit or to take advantage". The Ukrainian patronymics from *Iakiv* are *Iakovych* (m.) and *Iakivna* (f.); *Iakovlevych* and *Iakovlivna* have appeared under the influence of Russian and should not be used in Ukrainian.

Spelling of certain words in the textbook betray that the author probably uses Russian in everyday life quite often; consequently, many incorrect, à la Russian pronunciation, spellings appear: *kashy* (158) — *kashi*, *disertatsiia* (186) — *dysertatsiia*, *universitet* (147) — *universytet*, *budut* (145) — *buduť*, the latter word in each pair is given in accordance with the Ukrainian spelling. These inaccuracies could be discounted as misprints but, unfortunately, they are numerous. Many pages in the textbook, it seems, were not proof-read. Punctuation also is often incorrect.

Other forms which should not be used in Ukrainian: *kil'ka raz*, *kil'ka den'* (276). The corresponding standard equivalents for them are *kil'ka raziv*, *kil'ka dniv*, "several times, several days". In some sentences the subject is too repetitious, and this contributes to the awkwardness in style: *Koly ia buv shche malym, ia vyrishyv, shcho ia budu vchytelem* (159). The last *ia* should be dropped and the sentence be changed as follows: *Koly ia buv shche malym, todi vyrishyv, shcho stanu vchytelem*, "When I was a small boy, I decided to become a teacher".

I would ardently suggest that a qualified instructor, before using A. Humesky's textbook, should correct the mentioned and many other errors and misprints. After this operation is done *Modern Ukrainian* may be successfully used in the first year of university undergraduate courses. The more textbooks that are on the market, the wider the choice is for the instructors!

*Yar Slavutych*  
The University of Alberta

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S. Radion, *Dictionary of Ukrainian Surnames in Australia*. Academia Scientiarum Mohylo-Mazepiana Ukrainiansis — UMMAN. Melbourne 1981. 176 pp.

In appraising the achievement of the study of Australian names in general, it must be admitted objectively, that in this field more attention has been devoted to geographic names than to anthroponomy. The fact that Anglo-Celtic personal names were transplanted onto Australian soil has possibly had bearing on this matter, an aspect which has been subjected to scholarly examination more than once, either in the form of monographs (chiefly etymological-explanatory dictionaries) or as journal articles under the familiar heading: What's in your name?

Be that as it may be, to date less attention has been dedicated to anthroponomy than to toponomy.

In this respect, the *Dictionary of Ukrainian Surnames in Australia* compiled in Melbourne by Stepan Radion (as associate member of The Ukrainian Mohylo-Mazepa Academy of Science and of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia and author of a *Survey of the History of the Shevchenko Scientific Society in Australia* is certainly a new contribution towards Australian onomastics. The idea for a dictionary of this kind emerged in 1975 during the planning stages for a research programme for the Chair — Ukrainian Studies Centre in Australia. After all, it is a known fact that the Ukrainian Studies Centre aims to function not only in an educational capacity in the form of lectures, seminars, conferences, lectureships etc. but also in the field of research and publications. S. Radion's dictionary is, in fact one such manifestation of the latter objective. In its structure and formation Radion's dictionary is modelled on a similar book by F. Bohdan: *Dictionary of Ukrainian Surnames in Canada*. Winnipeg, 1967.

In relation to sources, Radion's dictionary is based on purely Australian documentation of Ukrainian surnames, chiefly in periodical publications and books about Ukrainians in Australia (such as the Shevchenko Scientific Society publication: *Ukrainians in Australia*. Materials relating to the history of Ukrainian settlement in Australia, Melbourne, 1966, 862 pp.)

In addition, the dictionary incorporates surnames which the author collected "in the field", that is surnames which he recorded from his surroundings, either from acquaintances or finally from various manuscripts.

For the most part, Ukrainian surnames in Australia have been preserved in their "old country" form, that is Shevchuk has remained Shevchuk, Karpenko — Karpenko, Tovstopyat — Tovstopyat and Toporovskyi — Toporovskyi etc. Very few surnames have been abbreviated along the lines of Prest from Prestashevskyi or altered at all to an English-type surname. Indeed, there are very few "Australianized" surnames of that type in comparison with the "Americanized" names overseas, in Canada

or USA. The author of the new dictionary takes these modifications into account and in each instance reference is made to the original, unaltered name.

The same applies also to Ukrainian (literary) pseudonyms. In a word, S. Radion's work which contains over six thousand entries, presents all possible forms of Ukrainian, albeit anglicized, surnames in Australia.

A separate issue is that concerning the transliteration (transcription) of our Cyrillic form into the Roman alphabet. In practice, every Ukrainian-Australian spells his surname with the Roman alphabet in any way he pleases. It cannot be denied that each and everyone of us is the owner of his name and commands it independently.

In the dictionary by S. Radion, the basis of each transliteration is the Ukrainian form of the surname. This is rendered into the widely accepted Roman alphabet in accord with the precepts of the Library of Congress in Washington which prints catalogue cards for Ukrainian publications throughout the world. In his Canadian dictionary, F. Bohdan adhered to these principles of transliteration; S. Radion follows suit, in order to preserve, in this way, a formal uniformity of Ukrainian surnames on both continents.

Nevertheless, Radion's dictionary differs in some aspects from Bohdan's work. Radion introduces an innovation, namely, the demarcation of the territorial distribution of names, that is, the localization of names according to the States of Australia. Bohdan does not contain information concerning the geographic distribution of surnames; it is not known, whether a particular surname is used in Manitoba, Quebec or elsewhere. Radion's work clearly indicates the occurrence of surnames in NSW, Victoria, South Australia and elsewhere. This is an advance on the other dictionaries of this nature and the author is to be commended for his endeavour in this direction.

Overall, the dictionary by S. Radion represents a valuable contribution towards Ukrainian and indeed, Australian onomastics (study of names). It supplements an undertaking of this nature initiated by myself in Canada; perhaps other countries of Ukrainian settlement will follow Canada's and Australia's example (South America, Western Europe) and maybe, at long last, a work of this nature will appear even in Ukraine. Unfortunately, apart from the limited compilation by Yu. K. Red'ko entitled 'Dovidnyk ukrainskykh pryzvyshch' to date, there does not exist a dictionary of Ukrainian surnames in Ukraine, even though everything there apparently "blossoms", including scholarship.

Montreal.

*Dr J. B. Rudnyckyj*

*The*  
**UKRAINIAN**  
**REVIEW**



**IV**

**1982**

# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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*A unit of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the Carpathian mountains in 1947.*



*A young girl-soldier in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army goes to fetch water.*

---

**A PASTORAL LETTER FROM HIS BEATITUDE PATRIARCH JOSYF  
ON THE OCCASION OF THE 40-th ANNIVERSARY OF THE  
UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA)**

*(Excerpts)*

To my Brothers and Sisters in Ukraine and in foreign territories.

Peace in God and My Pastoral Blessings!

Dear Brothers and Sisters!

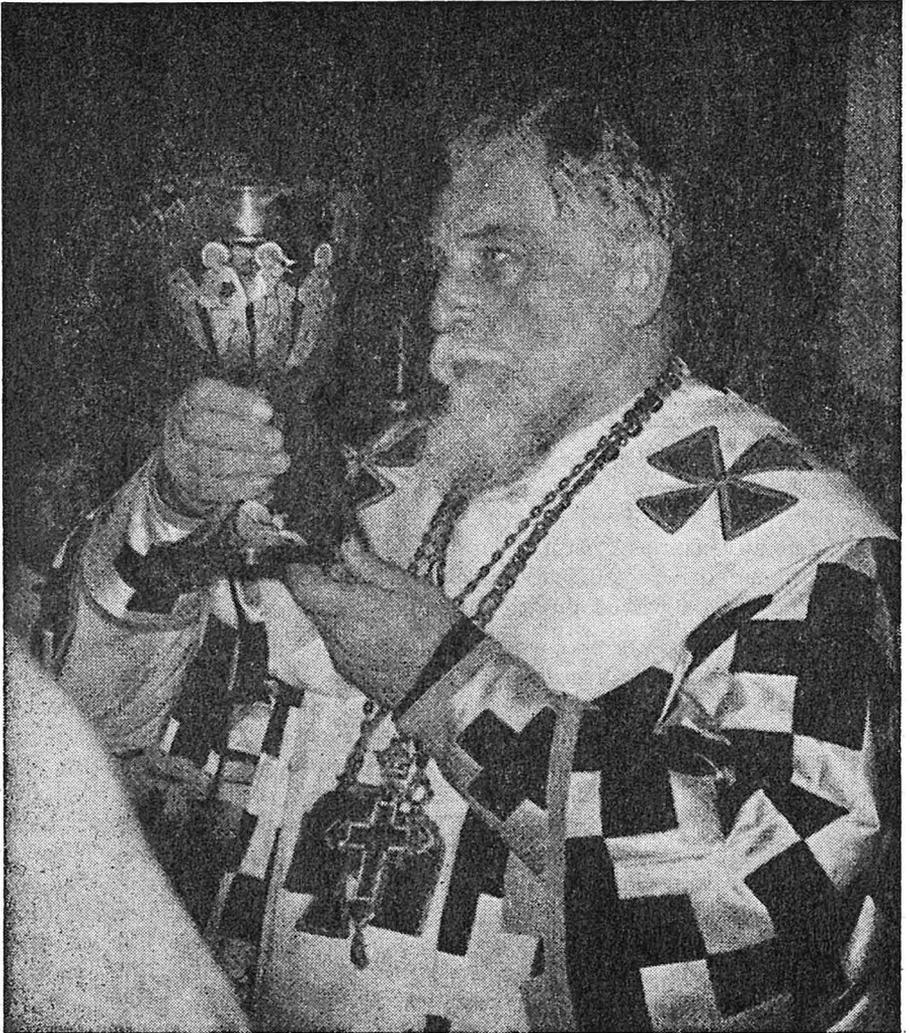
The love of one's country, founded upon a love of God and united in one great love, ought to be active. Love without deeds, just as faith without deeds is *dead*. In the words of the Apostle St. John: "Children! Let us not love with words only, but let us love with our deeds truthfully".

These words encompass all forms of love, including, the love of one's country. Since the fate of one's nation is based on an active love of every individual, and the value of these individual deeds depends upon individual moral values, therefore, the first and most important work for the good of the nation is the necessity to better oneself and rise to a higher moral and spiritual plane. A nation's moral and spiritual profile is always a reflection of that of its children. A good patriot is first and foremost a truthful, noble, sacrificing individual, without any self-serving aspirations. All efforts to elevate one's spirit onto this noble plane should be pursued with love for one's Nation, manifested by the fulfillment of duty to that nation. To love one's country one must feel the beauty of its native tongue and its history. This love must be selfless. From such a love towards Ukraine the Ukrainian Insurgent Army was born. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) became the personification of the Ukrainian nation, its symbol and fiery banner to be passed on to future generations.

It was born 40 years ago, when the Ukrainian land was heaving under the trampling of foreign armies. It was born from the national consciousness of the younger generation and from a determination to lead an armed struggle and defend one's nation from death even at the cost of sacrificing one's life. Regardless of how inhumane a war may be, every nation that respects itself and every individual who is conscious of being part of that nation, have not only the right, but the duty to defend the most noble values of mankind — freedom, justice, national independence, faith in God and the native Church of Christ, and God's peace among the nations of the world. In the name of these values, the nation and the individual must do their utmost to open the way for affirming God's law on one's native land. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army was born of a Christian consciousness that affirmed the necessity of fighting against Satan and his earthly servants. Without any external support the Ukrainian nation "in

defence of its freedom armed its sons all across the land from the Carpathian Mountains to the Don and the Caucasus and created the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. The Ukrainian nation's faith in victory was built upon the maturity and might of one's nation and faith in Almighty God's help.

These indestructible foundations which blessed the Ukrainian nation and the nations of the entire world with a unique and as yet unraveled phenomenon. In a land occupied by a barbaric hostile system, a brutally oppressed nation, by its own efforts creates the nucleus of its native national



leadership. After the war when the world powers were fraternizing amongst the ruins of war and the mounds of corpses, dividing their spheres of influence, when the atheistic empire began rebuilding its tottering slave system of national and social subjugations, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army continued to fight for many years defending the untarnished honour of its nation and the right to believe in and worship God the Creator. The spilled blood and sacrificed lives of the Ukrainian insurgents sanctified Ukraine, and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army became the legacy and testament for future generations.

Although the Russian enemy drove many freedom fighters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army into prisons and death camps, just as was done with the hierarchy, the clergy and the faithful of the Ukrainian Churches, the enemy could not destroy the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, it continues to exist as a living legend.

As a prisoner for the sake of Christ and a witness to the profound faith in God and trust in the intercedence of the Mother of God shown by my fellow prisoners and not having the opportunity to convey my blessings at that time upon the decision to create the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, I am doing so now. As head and father of the Ukrainian Church I affirm and bless the noble resolve of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

On the occasion of the 40th Anniversary of the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which falls in autumn of this year, particularly I urge and appeal to all Ukrainians in our native land and throughout the world regardless of religious and political convictions, to commemorate this anniversary in keeping with God's will, with dignity and unity, mutual forgiveness and brotherly love, thereby showing our Christian and national fortitude.

If my appeal does not reach your hearts to awaken your conscience, then may the sea of blood of your brothers and sisters, their martyrdom and faith, the graves of those who gave their lives for their country's freedom, the *taigas* of Siberia sown with their bones, the dead and living witnesses of the struggle, cry out to you in thunderous voice, so that on the eve of the millenium of Christianity of Ukraine, the Cross of the apostle Saint Andrew once again may rise and radiate in the city of Kyiv. Listen to this voice brothers and sisters, "Do you hear, mother Ukraine is calling, answer her call." I ask all Bishops, Clergy and faithful to unite in prayer on the Feast of the Holy Virgin the Protectress, to hold services and to mention in your prayers the fallen warriors.

May God's grace be with you.

*Josyf I*  
Patriarch

## ABN — EFC Conference

Yaroslav STETSKO

### AN ANALYSIS OF RUSSIAN EXPANSIONISM\*

Allow me to begin with a few comments concerning the ideological aspect of Russian expansionism:

In 1878, Dostoevsky wrote that "all people should become Russian, particularly Russian, because the Russian national idea is universal."

Russian literature to date invariably continues in the genre of this colonial tale. During the past years many books have appeared about the undercutting of Turkestan by "progressive" tsarist generals; about the battles with the Basmachi (Turkestanian freedom-fighters) in the nineteen twenties; about the colonial war against the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in the nineteen-forties. Alexander Prochanov's novel "A Tree in the Centre of Kabul" is one of the latest additions to Russian colonial literature. It is a story about the Russian nation's "brotherly" assistance provided to the "oppressed Afghan nation" in which Prochanov ideologically justifies war with the whole world and armed intervention wherever a Russian can set foot. Volkov, a journalist and hero of the story, rides through the streets of Kabul in a tank crushing the residents; rides in a helicopter shooting at caravans of women and children convinced that he is "bringing happiness, goodness, and unprecedented life, love, beauty..." Prochanov is in dispute with those fascinated only with the Russian tsarist past... In his opinion, the current mission of the Russian empire in the form of the USSR is much broader and much more important, because the spread of the "idea of Bolshevism, of Soviet ideals, will bring the world as a whole inevitable happiness..."

The narrative, published in the journal *Oktiabr* 1982, supports the predictions of the Russian writer Evgenij Zamiatin made in his 1920 narrative "We" about the "Sole State of the Future" in which the residents "found happiness beneath the iron fist of their benefactor" (the Good Samaritan).

In the daily *State Newspaper* there is an announcement, with which the story begins, informing all that the construction of the cosmic ship has been concluded. Its mission: to subject unknown beings living on other Planets, possibly still in the wild state of being free, to the divine restraint of reason. The announcement emphasized: "If they do not understand that we are bringing them unmistakable happiness, then it is our responsibility to force them to be happy..." In 1920, the *State Newspaper* notified: "Prior to weapons we try words." It was at that time that the Red Army was engaged in battles with the Army of the Ukrainian National Republic,

\* Address given at the banquet on 25th September 1982

and then with the Polish Army, in order to "bring happiness" to those "unknown beings from other Planets" living in the "wild state of freedom" or, in other words, in their own present independent states of 1982. Prochanov continues to describe the next attempt at "forcing a nation to happiness". In Afghanistan, the Russian "word" is not effective, is without power, and the Russian army establishes "happiness through force..."

Without an understanding of the spirit of the bearers of Russian imperialism, it is impossible to understand Russian politics or the strategy of Russian aggression. Lenin incorporated Marxism into his complex of imperialistic ideas because it was a justification for using Russian force to bring about "happiness for creatures on other Planets".

Russia aspires to conquer the entire world, and Moscow feels threatened when each one of its conquests must be secured by another conquest in an infinite progression. Such a progression can only lead to the conquest of the whole world. Moscow will only feel secure when Budionnyj and Tukhachevsky have begun their armed march to undercut all of Europe; when Zamiatin's "Sole State of the Future" of 1920 becomes reality.

The 1980s will be a decade of volcanic explosions in the Soviet-Russian prison of nations.

On numerous occasions, the Russians have declared their aims. In 1921 Lenin said:

*Western Europe and America have closed their eyes before the facts and reality and will support the Soviet war industry with the materials and technology that we need to defeat them.*

In 1973 a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stated in Prague:

*With détente we have achieved more in a short time than in all the years of political confrontation with NATO. Comrades, through détente we will be able by 1985 to attain a position we consider indispensable.*

A few years ago Brezhnev said to the President of Somalia, General Mohammed Siad:

*We must acquire the two things that mean life or death to the West: the oil of the Persian Gulf and the minerals of Africa.*

In refraining from exposing the USSR as the most brutal colonial empire in the world to date, the West is creating an illusion of the existence of a homogeneous and nationally uniform "Soviet nation" as a new "historical formation". Some circles in the West are thereby justifying Moscow's deceitful and deceptive political strategy of being the supporter of the rights of the nationally and socially subjugated and oppressed peoples in the world, whereas in reality Russia is herself the brutal subjugator of nations and peoples.

There are two fundamental issues which the West must resolve: to identify the enemy and find a consistent solution to the world political crisis.

British Air Force Vice-Marshal, E. J. Kingston McClough, appropriately identified the enemy in his book "Global Strategy":

*The enemy here considered is not simply embodied in an ideological threat but rather it is the State called Russia; that is, Russia as a power; a Russia expanding and desiring to extend her sphere of influence; a state posing as the symbol of all manner of ideals. It is Russia as a fighting force, an organized community, and a power or state in the most autocratic and absolute sense with which we are concerned.*

General J. F. C. Fuller expressed his views as follows:

*No power the world has ever seen has been more vulnerable to internal attack than the Bolshevik empire. It is not a national state but a state of nationalities. As Theodore Mommsen wrote nearly a century ago: 'The Russian empire is a dustbin that is held together by the rusty hoop of Tsardom. Rip that hoop and its empire is at an end.' In 1956, when the Hungarians rose against their tormentors, the shock to the Kremlin was so great, I am convinced that had America and Great Britain flown a provisional government into Hungary, which upon arrival would forthwith have called upon them for military support, then rather than risk a nuclear war, the Russians would have evacuated Hungary. The reason should be obvious. It is that the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the hearts of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel...*

*Because both America and Great Britain realize that they cannot hope to rival Russian manpower, they have decided to make good their deficiency by relying on what they call "tactical nuclear weapons"; in other words, nuclear weapons less powerful than atomic and hydrogen bombs, which are called "strategic nuclear weapons". This is tackling the problem the wrong way round. The correct solution is... to reduce Russian superiority in manpower, and so indirectly increase Western manpower. This can be done by subverting the Russian armed forces, which are largely recruited from the subjugated peoples within the USSR and the satellite countries. Be it remembered that during the first few months of Hitler's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, well over 2,000,000 prisoners were taken by the Germans. This seems an incredible figure until one realizes that the vast majority of these men were deserters—Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Turkestanis, Cossacks, and other subjugated peoples.*

I would like to underline that the excellent military theoretician, General Hackett, in his book "The Third World War", written in conjunction with other renowned military theoreticians of NATO, predicts that the subjugated nations in the Russian "prison of nations" will play a crucial role

in the future clash between the world of Freedom and the Russian world of Tyranny. He pays particular attention to the anti-Russian revolutionary potential of Ukraine, which he posits as the decisive factor in the victory of the Free World.

From the political perspective of the struggle against Bolshevism, allow me to present several facts without further expounding on them so as not to unnecessarily encumber our deliberations.

It would seem that the political and military strategy of the West is founded upon the expectation, that a miracle will come of and by itself. *This real miracle will be the revolutionary uprisings of the subjugated nations.* This miracle will come with the appearance on the international global area of this neglected power.

I would like to bring to your attention the role of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in World War II and the related fault in the Allies' strategy.

For example, Ukraine is a wealthy country in many respects. Her wealth is attributable to an abundance of grain, raw materials, natural resources and in general, her geo-political position. She also possesses a dynamic, revolutionary potential in her huge and creative population. Her system of values and ideals of renewal is diametrically opposed to the Russian system of ideals; the Russian way of life. Other subjugated nations are not of less importance, for instance, Turkestan, Azerbaidjan, Byelorussia or Georgia. The two-front liberation war of Ukraine, Lithuania and the other subjugated nations, in a common front with the Western Allies, against Nazi Germany and Russia, would have been the decisive factor in World War II. It could have saved the world from both Nazism and its original prototype — Bolshevism. Later, when it was clearly too late, Winston Churchill reached a similar conclusion, stating that the Allies ought to have 'slaughtered' both 'pigs' when they had the chance.

Another theatre of Russian aggression is present-day Afghanistan. In 1912, the foresighted American General Homer Lea stated the following:

*There are two lesser known cities in the world, which are of enormous significance for all of humanity — Herat and Kabul.*

The General then underscores the significant words of the Russian tsar — Peter I, taken from the tsar's final testament to his successors. In this testament the tsar states that India will be the key to Europe. Then he continues:

*Do not waste any possible opportunity of provoking war with Persia, so as to quicken its destruction and to make possible our conquering of the Persian Gulf.*

It is important to note that the Islamic nations in the USSR have a combined population of approximately 50 million people and they are rapidly outnumbering the Russians. Afghanistan is also an Islamic nation and the ideological-political consequences of its anti-Russian liberation struggle are already evident in the USSR.

What, in fact, is the communist system?

We must remember that the liberation processes are a power, and power means authority. But it is impossible for two powers to reach a compromise when the powers concerned are those of the occupied and the occupier. A good example is Poland.

The essential fact to be remembered is that the communist system is an integral component of the imposed system of Russian occupation. It is impossible, for example, to maintain the stability of an occupational system, imposed upon an occupied nation by Russian armies and the KGB and to simultaneously maintain free and independent trade unions. The communist party is the inevitable and concomitant agent of foreign occupation. This occupation is made possible not only by Russian troops, but also by the communist terror apparatus, the party and its administrative organs and various branches.

The Church also has a leading role in the liberation process, because religion is in opposition to the Russian militant atheistic system of occupation. The national and social liberation processes are in continuous opposition to the national and socio-political Russian totalitarian system. These revolutionary tendencies, when aroused in all spheres of life, will exert increasing pressure resulting in a radical change of the whole system, including the expulsion of the occupational forces.

The well-known European expert on guerilla warfare — Peter Scholl-Latour — writes in his book on Vietnam, "Death in the Rice Fields", that the armed liberation struggle in Ukraine after World War II lasted well into the 1950s even though the terrain in Ukraine was less favourable for a guerrilla war than the mountainous terrain of Afghanistan.

We understand the policy of détente very well in all its variants, including the politics of balance of power. We all wish to avoid a third world war especially a thermo-nuclear war. We are all opposed to it but we, the subjugated nations, comprise the most determined opposition because it is on our land that the war will be played out.

Now there is only the question of whether the policy of détente and balance of power are preventative measures; are an alternative to atomic war. If the parties in question are not aspiring to identical goals, there can be no balance of power. In comparison to the so called period of Western power politics, the policy of détente brought with it an unparalleled expansion of the Russian empire across all the world continents.

The USSR cannot win an arms race with the West. But it is not necessary to create tragicomic situations — with one hand to arm the USSR and with the other to beg the Russians for "arms parity at the lowest level", while at the same time creating the groundwork for a maximum arms build-up. Western world markets indirectly arm the USSR while their governments concurrently conduct disarmament talks. At the end of the 1980s the empire will be at the end of its technological armament potential and will be in the midst of an oil crisis.

Hence we suggest to stop all technological, commercial and economic trade with and aid to the USSR and its satellites.

### **What is necessary at the present?**

1. A centre of psychological warfare should be created in Western Europe and elsewhere, founded on the political and ideological concepts of the ABN, and at the disposal of the ABN, directed at the subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite countries with branches established in:

- a. One of the countries of the Middle East, perhaps Egypt, directed particularly to Afghanistan and the African nations presently controlled by Moscow and its puppet states such as Cuba, the "DDR" and other satellite countries;
- b. Latin America, particularly Cuba;
- c. South-East Asia, with Vietnam as the focal point;
- d. The Far East, with Siberia as the focal point. (Siberia is the land where many freedom-fighters of the subjugated nations are waiting out the years, prepared for the final, decisive battle.)

The major objective of the centre would be the promotion of the idea of national liberation on all levels of society in the subjugated nations, particularly the Soviet army, on the basis of political co-operation with the national liberation centres or organisations of the subjugated nations.

2. Military training in guerrilla warfare must be offered to the Afghan revolutionaries, as well as to the members of all nations subjugated by Bolshevism. We ask that the West give military aid to the Afghan freedom-fighters — the Mujahideen, in the form of arms, anti-helicopter and anti-tank weapons, surface-to-air missiles, mine detectors, radio-broadcasting sets, and so on.

3. On the forum of the United Nations and elsewhere in the international sphere the West should recognise the true representatives of the subjugated nations — the representatives of the national liberation movements — as the only genuine representatives of the will and aspirations of these nations, rather than continue to recognise Moscow's imperialist lackeys.

4. The representatives of the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations should have at their disposal the various modern technical means of promoting their struggle in a number of forms based on their concept of liberation, without them having to meet any pre-conditions affected by changes in Western policy.

The West should actively support the Cuban freedom-fighters, so that they may overthrow Castro's regime in Cuba, which will immediately resolve the numerous problems of diversion in Latin America, and all the more, in Africa.

5. We are convinced that the great Chinese nation, with its culture of many millenia, will return to its intrinsic Confucian traditions and the

national-political and social concepts of Sun Yat-sen, overcoming with its own integral forces the Marxist-Leninist way of life forced upon it.

6. We support and recognise the legitimate Japanese claim to the Kuril islands and Sakhalin now occupied by Moscow. We fully support the idea of re-unification in freedom of Korea and Germany. We call on all of the world to actively support the Vietnamese insurgents, and all of the patriotic anti-Communist fighters for freedom and independence of the nations of Africa who are defending their native lands from Russian imperialist aggression.

Our demands are not simply the demands of our respective émigré communities, but rather they emulate the demands of those who are on the first front of the struggle. During the uprisings in the concentration camps of Siberia already during the Stalin era, the political prisoners demanded that the West support their revolutionary aims, as was outlined by Joseph Sholmer in his book "Vorkuta":

1. The dropping of leaflets over all camps giving the signal to prisoners to call a general strike.
2. The dropping of arms, radio transmitters, explosives, medical supplies and food. This is to be done not only at Vorkuta but in all the forest camps along the railway leading southwards.
3. Immediate information by the prisoners of partisan groups who would be in a position to cut the 1550 mile railway line at given points.
4. Creation of a separate republic independent of Moscow, which would embrace the whole vast forest network of European and Asiatic Russia. If the prisoners had arms, this would be quite unassailable. Neither tanks, aircraft nor artillery can operate effectively in this gigantic partisan terrain. Herein lies the immense significance of Siberia.
5. Intensive radio propaganda to the peoples in the Soviet Union from this independent republic with the aim of bringing about:
  - a) A peasant rising under the traditional slogan "Land for the peasants".
  - b) A workers' rising under the slogan "Factories for the workers".
6. Proclamation of national independence for the Baltic States, Byelorussia, Ukraine, the peoples of the Caucasia, Turkestan, and the Far East.

This is only one example of the actual reality of our liberation concepts. Permit me, once again, to quote General J. F.C. Fuller:

... Because in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against Russia, so in the ABN, however lacking in organization, in 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 one without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of Communism and Russian imperialism but the complete elimination of Bolshevism — without which there can be no peace in the world.

Remember that the ABN is fighting for freedom and independence for Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Byelorussia, Poland, Slovakia, Czechia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia, Albania, Ukraine, Turkestan, Idel-Ural, Georgia, Azerbaidjan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Cuba, Angola, Afghanistan and all other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism. We also admire the heroic history and the heroic armed struggle of the Finnish nation against the Russian aggressor during World War II.

Let me conclude my address with the words of the great Ukrainian poetess-revolutionary Lesia Ukrainka :

*He who liberates himself, will be free; he who poses as a liberator of others will lead them into slavery. Freedom ex gratia is not freedom!*

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### OUR STATE OF READINESS

The theme of this conference, "What Alternative Is There to Thermo-nuclear War?" is one of the foremost political and moral issues of the day. The continuing build-up of nuclear arsenals in the world while millions starve and go hungry is an affront to the values of human dignity and social justice which the Western democracies hold so dear.

Since these staggering expenditures on nuclear military weaponry seem to be the antithesis of what the liberal democracies of the free world stand for: as they preempt scarce resources which all men of good conscience can see are so badly needed for the alleviation of poverty at home and for the elimination of famine and starvation overseas how can they be tolerated in a world which has already witnessed the awesome consequences for the populations of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and their generations yet unborn of the detonation of two "nominal" yield atomic bombs in August 1945? And now we all know that the atomic yield of the world's nuclear stockpiles exceeds those of the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs put together by many thousands of times.

The so-called peace movements who, of course, can propagate their creed freely in the West unlike within the Soviet Bloc play upon this awesome paradox. How is it that such fearful weapons of mass destruction can be justified? Would not their use entail the destruction of the very Western civilisation and values they were designed to preserve?

The young generation in the West knows nothing fortunately of war upon the soil of the Western democracies. They do not understand that the nuclear deterrents of the West were created simply to counter the preponderance of Soviet military manpower and the repeated willingness to use force to achieve its objectives on the part of the Soviet Empire, as the Soviet Blockade of West Berlin and the Soviet inspired coup d'état in Czechoslovakia, to take but two examples, showed in the immediate post-war period.\*

Since then the Soviet Union has repeatedly used its own Armed Forces and those of its satellites and surrogates to expand the frontiers of the Russian Empire within the Eurasian landmass and the extent of Soviet influence worldwide. Military power is seen by Soviet strategists as an integral part of the process of projecting Marxist-Leninist ideology and the instruments for this purpose are well known — the Red Army, the Soviet blue water Navy and Merchant Marine — (Admiral Gorshkov's historic contribution to the furtherance of the Soviet plan for global expansion), a massive air transport force which includes the supposedly civilian assets

\* The Rt. Hon. John Wilkinson M.P. was recently elected President of the European Freedom Council. The address was given at the ABN-EFC Conference on 25.9.1982.

of Aeroflot and last, but by no means least, the all pervasive apparatus for destabilisation, misinformation, sabotage and repression of the KGB.

These instruments for offensive power projection are all underpinned by the Soviet nuclear forces which have now acquired strategic parity with those of the USA, and by the modernised and highly effective intermediate range nuclear forces which threaten to neutralise and I use the word advisedly, the whole of Western Europe.

The West's nuclear weaponry is strictly deterrent in nature. We know that the Warsaw Pact exercises routinely on the basis of the first use of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons by its forces and that the Soviet Union does not hesitate to use the power of intimidation and blackmail inherent in its nuclear forces as was demonstrated in 1956 when Mr. Khrushchev threatened to unleash a ballistic missile attack on London if the Anglo-French and Israeli troops did not cease their operations to recover the Suez Canal which had been illegally seized by President Nasser, while at the same time the Soviet Union unleashed the Red Army to crush the patriotic people of Hungary who were trying to regain their liberty and independence.

Within the Soviet Union and its Marxist satellite states satisfying the economic needs and aspirations of the population is entirely subordinated to massive armaments programmes which are fundamental to Soviet Russia's offensive global strategic plan maintained by an increasingly geriatric and uncertain Kremlin leadership. About 13-14% of the Soviet G.N.P. is devoted to military spending (and this excludes the space and scientific expeditions by the USSR) compared to less than half that figure for the USA and about  $\frac{1}{3}$  of that figure for the United Kingdom which of all the main NATO nations spend the highest proportion of their national wealth on defence.

What is more, because of the appallingly low pay and abominable conditions which Soviet conscripts suffer, some 75% of Soviet defence expenditure goes directly into weapon procurement. This is a figure which far exceeds the Soviet Union's defence needs and is of course boosted by Western Technology Transfers and easy financial credits. In the UK and USA by contrast which have all-regular volunteer forces not even half the defence budget goes on weapon procurement.

However the morale of Soviet troops is poor. The gap between the pay of Soviet General officers and Admirals and the enlisted personnel who form the predominant part of their units is vastly wider than in NATO Armed Forces. Senior officers in the Soviet Forces enjoy a status and panoply of perks, perquisites and privileges unthinkable for their counterparts in the West. What is more there is no love lost between the occupying Soviet Forces and the peoples of the Captive nations where they are stationed such as Poland, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan. In Afghanistan the heroic resistance of the Mujahideen to the Russian invaders has had

striking success. The Soviets cannot maintain control of the countryside even though their Forces use the most brutal and inhuman methods such as aerial bombardment with napalm, chemical weapons and widespread terror tactics, torture and scorched earth. The Soviet Russian Commanders have had to content themselves with garrisoning the principal cities and with building up their military facilities such as missile sites and air bases which are of great regional strategic significance and are actually a principal objective of the Soviet invasion itself in addition to the destabilisation of Afghanistan's neighbours, Pakistan and Iran.

However the cost of the Afghan operation is extremely high and the Soviet Russian authorities go to great length to conceal the extent of Soviet cruelties in Afghanistan, largely for fear of provoking unrest and further dissidence among the Captive Nations within the USSR.

Recent developments in Afghanistan and Poland are really the writing on the wall for Soviet Russian expansionism and for the Communist system within the Russian Empire itself. In Poland we are witnessing the way in which a whole people has rejected Soviet Marxist Leninist ideology and turned to their Christian heritage and proud national history for inspiration. The emergence of Solidarity showed that the Poles did not believe that the Communist Party and its puppet institutions represented the best interests of working people in Poland.

Furthermore, the imposition of martial law demonstrated that not even the hollow façade of Marxist Leninist representative institutions could be sustained in power. Instead the apparatus of Soviet military might alone underpins the Polish Party militia and secret police which are in effect the occupying forces of their own country and impose the subjugation to an alien power—the USSR of their own people.

How should we react in the West? First, we must maintain a military equilibrium. An imbalance in favour of the Warsaw Pact encourages Soviet Russian political confidence and expansionism. President Reagan's "zero option" is the only sound and secure basis for nuclear weapons control in Europe.

At present five triple warheaded mobile SS20 ballistic missiles which from East of the Urals (nuclear free zone advocates please note) can reach all points in Europe except Iceland and the Azores, are built every month. Already 200 SS20s are targetted against Western Europe. The modernisation of NATO's INF\* is an imperative necessity.

Secondly, we must combat anti-Americanism, foolish détente policy which feeds illusions about Soviet objectives over such issues as the provision of Soviet gas supplies to the West, Western financial credits, preferential sales of food surpluses and reckless Technological Transfers to the Soviet Union. The unity of the Western Alliance and the rejection of Popular Front style solutions to Western European political and economic prob-

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\* Intermediate Range Nuclear Forces

lems which would prove a Trojan Horse within the walls of NATO are vital too.

Finally, we must in our policy making realise that the USSR is itself finally flawed by denying the independence and national aspirations of the constituent peoples of USSR. Too long unreciprocated détente, that is appeasement, characterised Western policy towards the Soviet Bloc. The result was to heighten Soviet strength and confidence. Too long the Sonnenfeld Doctrine held sway in the chancellorships in the Western World. The *status quo* in Eastern Europe has been misguidedly identified with security. The result has been to embolden the terror apparatus within the Soviet Bloc and to achieve nothing towards the implementation of the Helsinki Accords and the furtherance of human rights.

From a position of strength we must extend the hand of friendship and encouragement and support to those subjugated peoples within the Soviet Union in whose hands lies not only their own freedom but in the long term ours as well.

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*Roman ZWARYCH*

### **THE ABN ALTERNATIVE TO THERMO-NUCLEAR WAR**

The shadow of a thermo-nuclear holocaust looms over the entire world. Freedom-loving humankind must face the very real possibility of complete extinction. This has not stopped the Russian imperialists, however, from exploiting Western fears of a thermo-nuclear confrontation in pursuing their own imperio-colonial aims. Moscow has over and over again used its huge thermo-nuclear capacity as an overt trump card to force the West to continuously acquiesce to its expansionist measures. As a result, a political atmosphere of a "new Rapallo" has been created in Western Europe in particular, and a generally defeatist-pacifist attitude has been increasingly permeating Western democratic societies and paralysing their moral will to fight.

Moscow has transformed its vast atomic arsenal into a potent psychological-political weapon, overtly used to terrorize the citizenry of free democratic societies. Western liberal-democratic, capitalist institutions have also considerably added to this moral and political debacle, by nurturing a materialistic, hedonistic way of life, to which the heroic values of the Western historic past are completely anathema. Those rare Western statesmen who have been courageous enough to identify the Russian imperio-colonial threat and to raise the political awareness of the citizenry of their respective countries have been discredited as "fascists", "warmongers", and "hawks", — labels taken directly from the Bolshevik political lexicon. Western Democracies, in having to take into account this morally crippled and psychologically terrorized condition of their people, are incapable of significantly building up their conventional military potential, which in a large measure depends on human capacity, thereby allowing the Russians an overwhelming advantage in this area. Hence, in the face of a vast Russian thermo-nuclear arsenal that is burgeoning at an alarming rate, the West has been relegated to a vulnerable position of futilely trying to maintain nuclear parity with the USSR, which is not constricted by public opinion in projecting capital outlays for its military expenditures.

From its position of absolute military inferiority with respect to conventional armaments, the West has been forced to develop a nuclear "first-strike" option, which would presumably deter the USSR from launching a conventional military offensive on Western Europe. Needless to say, Moscow has fully exploited NATO's position in this regard for its propaganda purposes in projecting an image of NATO, and the United States in particular, as the principal instigator and threat of World War III.

Moscow has deployed a considerable amount of its intercontinental and medium-range ballistic missiles (SS-4, SS-5, SS-20) on the territories of the

subjugated nations, particularly in Ukraine. NATO's response has been to target their nuclear arsenal primarily on these territories, which underlines its complete lack of understanding of the true Russian imperialist nature of the USSR and of the multifaceted national liberation processes presently evolving in the Russian empire. In the event of a conventional military confrontation with the West, Moscow need not become overpreoccupied with the possibility of a nuclear escalation of hostilities, since strictly Russian ethnographic territories would be left relatively unscathed.

Secondly, Moscow is counting on a considerable segment of the population of the subjugated nations to actively enter the war *against the West*, after receiving an inordinate dose of anti-Western propaganda and after NATO's missiles have destroyed vast areas of Ukraine and the other subjugated nations, which will only serve to prove Moscow's propaganda statements. The basic flaw in NATO's nuclear strategy is that it totally neglects to consider the fact that the USSR is essentially a Russian imperialist system, the primary power base of which is precisely the dominant position of the Russian minority and the prevalence of the idea of "Mother Russia" as such. If the Western Powers are to have any chance of securing the allegiance of the subjugated nations, then their nuclear strategy must be fundamentally overhauled in the sense that their missiles be *exclusively* targeted on Russian ethnographic territories, as was recently suggested by General Maxwell D. Taylor, a former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the US Armed Forces in an article in the *Washington Post*.

The bare fact, which the West fears to admit, is that the danger of nuclear holocaust cannot be simply negotiated away. The peoples of the Free World must come to understand that nuclear weapons cannot be totally removed from the face of the earth. They are with us to stay. However, if future generations are to live freely without the ominous shadow of a thermo-nuclear Armageddon hanging over their heads, then all freedom-loving humankind must vigilantly seek to liquidate the present primary threat of thermo-nuclear war (and the concomitant factor of thermo-nuclear extinction), it *causa sui*, which lies in the continued existence of an imperialist Russian prison of nations, bent on establishing its neo-colonial hegemony over the entire world.

*This threat can be precluded only with the elimination of its root cause through the dissolution of the Russian empire from within by the national-liberation revolutions of the subjugated nations.*

A strategy of simultaneous and co-ordinated national revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, led by armed insurgent formations, is the only viable and realistic alternative to thermo-nuclear war. Several considerations enter into our discussion of this point.

The Russian population in the USSR according to the most recent official census reports, which invariably are doctored to the benefit of the Russians, and on the basis of present demographic projections, in a decade at least every third inhabitant of the USSR will be Islamic. This is a fact of con-

siderable importance, especially when one takes into account the increasingly restless nature of the subjugated Islamic peoples in the Russian prison of nations. The present Afghan war of liberation clearly demonstrates the irresistible power of religious faith when it is embodied in a national ideal. The Afghan Mujahideen's essentially religious tenet — "Allah Akhbad" ("God is great") — has been transformed into a potent revolutionary slogan directed against the Russian atheistic, communist, imperio-colonial system of subjugation.

The national statistical breakdown of the population of the Russian empire is reflected *per se* in the national composition of the Soviet army. Moscow is forced to arm the young men of the subjugated nations, if its expansionist objectives are to be fulfilled. Hence, *Moscow by necessity must give the subjugated nations the instruments of the future destruction of the Russian prison of nations.* In light of this fact, NATO can significantly neutralize, even decisively reverse the Russians' conventional military advantage by actively seeking to gain the allegiance of the soldiers of the Soviet army from the subjugated nations. This fact acquires all the more significance when the "satellite" countries are included in the above power equation. Two-thirds of the soldiers of the Warsaw Pact are non-Russian, and therefore, represent, potentially at least, a future insurgent force of national liberation within the Russian prison of nations to be added to the existing revolutionary underground liberation movements in each of the subjugated nations.

Furthermore, the entire spectrum of internal contradictions and weaknesses of the Russian-Bolshevik system, ranging from the socio-economic decrepitude of the USSR to the ideological bankruptcy of Communism-Marxism-Leninism as a political ideal, only further accentuate the power of the subjugated nations. *They are the Achilles' heel of the Russian Prison of nations.*

It would be a mistake to think that a national-liberation struggle can provoke an atomic catastrophe, or even a war on a higher scale. The apex of this struggle will be simultaneous, synchronized and co-ordinated revolutionary uprisings on the territories of the subjugated nations, whose underground leadership will then be able to implement to the fullest all forms of insurgent-guerrilla warfare against the Russian occupational system and terror apparatus. It must be remembered that the Russian occupational system is highly centralized, total and monolithic, in that it is designed to encompass all spheres of life in the subjugated nations, imposing a Russian way of life on these nations. This will have negative consequences for the Russian imperialist régime, since even the slightest breakdown in one area of the system will have reverberating repercussions over the entire system as a whole. Therefore, Moscow will not be able to isolate the national-liberation struggle of only one nation (which may serve as the necessary spark for national uprisings throughout the entire empire), but

it will be forced to fight on several fronts in order to preserve its imperio-colonial dominion intact.

In this kind of situation all of Moscow's vast thermo-nuclear arsenal is rendered completely useless and impotent. This fact, which stands as a major premise of an insurgent-liberation alternative to thermo-nuclear war, has been proven many times over in the not-so-distant past, for instance in the mass strikes and uprisings of political prisoners in Russian concentration camps in the 1950s. And this fact is being proven today in Afghanistan or in Poland, where Moscow is barely able to hold its own in spite of its ominous thermo-nuclear capacity. *The Kremlin cannot afford to drop its atom bombs on the insurgents, since this would be tantamount to suicide. Moscow would then be destroying its own colonial forces and terror apparatus* (the KGB, Russian occupational forces, the Russian colonialist population in the subjugated nations) *by which it is able to maintain Russian imperio-colonial rule in the subjugated nations.*

In advancing this alternative to thermo-nuclear war, the subjugated nations concurrently caution the Free World not to continue their "balance of power" and détente politics, with all the implications of these policies, in the hope that the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations will of and by itself always remain a last-ditch salvation option. This alternative cannot be effectuated, if the West continues to bolster the Russian empire through multi-level trade relations and transfers of sophisticated technological equipment to the USSR. If the West continues to recognize the "inviolability" of the borders of the Russian prison of nations and the "integrity" of the Bolshevik system of subjugation, then the subjugated nations have no choice but to consider the Western Powers the *de facto* allies of Moscow, who will be co-responsible for a future destruction of freedom-loving humankind. *Our alternative is not meant to help those who are digging their own grave.* This alternative will only then have any meaning for the Free World, when the Free World takes active measures *to save itself.*

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Zenon KOWAL

## VARIOUS FACETS OF THE DISSIDENT MOVEMENT

### Differences of ideological and political outlook

As accepted in the Western world, the notion of 'dissidence' calls to mind a relatively important and diversified movement that shows itself within the complex social reality of the Soviet Union. This movement shapes the currents of thought; it awakens the social and national consciences, the action of the intelligentsia, the rise of humanist trends in the culture; it urges its promoters towards open and united action against the regime.

The evolution of the dissident movement underwent a number of phases, each of which represents a search for more effective means of opposition and struggle. These phases can be characterized as follows: the emergence of a "dissident" attitude immediately following the 20th Congress of the CPSU in 1956; the emergence of a cultural-literary dissident movement after 1961; later, the emergence of a strong workers' oppositional movement, as a consequence of glaring social systemic inequalities; and finally, the emergence of a so-called "legal", and open opposition in the 1970's.

Dissidence has broadly contributed to unmask the ethical and legal amorality of totalitarianism. Within two decades, it managed to pose the human rights issue as one of the most important current values and a universal lever against totalitarianism.

A certain number of common aspects of dissidence can be identified: the specific and personal way of acting of each member, the will to use strict moral principles in its struggle, open writings and public actions based on human rights principles — or tactically on the Soviet Constitution — instead of clandestine actions.

Being a dissident means to withdraw from the official conception of the ideology and the political system based on it. The notion of dissidence appears nevertheless to be much too wide and might cover without any distinction, conflicting or even incompatible ways of thinking. As a matter of fact, it would not be correct to put on the same level nations with a different status, nations with different intellectual or social surroundings, nations with unequal opportunities to spread ideas or information within or outside the Soviet Union.

Dissidence reflects the various degrees of bondage and the consequences of the pressure that the régime exerts towards people and the nations — oppressors, subjugated or satellites. The evolution of the dissident movement underwent a number of phases, each of which represents a search for more effective means of opposition and struggle. These phases can be characterized as follows: the emergence of a "dissident" attitude imme-

diately following the 20th Congress of CPSU in 1956; the emergence of a cultural-literary dissident movement after 1961; later, the emergence of a strong workers' oppositional movement, as a consequence of glaring social systemic inequalities; and finally, the emergence of a so-called "legal", and open opposition in the 1970s.

New facets of crisis appear nowadays in the Soviet Union, bound to economic stagnation, demographic mutations, awakening of nationalities. Up till now, albeit in a symbolic way or for a very short period of time, the opposition has not succeeded in polarising the discontent in the Soviet Union but nevertheless the fear generated in the Kremlin leaders by this outlook were certainly grounds for an increasingly harsher repression.

The subjugated nations' dissidents complain, quite often with reason, about the lack of understanding by the Russian opposition. Their varied attitudes towards national claims cover their individual characteristics but they also reflect the existing political divergences: neither Solzhenitsyn and his friends who believe that the Russian people have suffered the most, nor the liberal Marxists who try to limit their claims to an acceptable level for the régime, can recognise or even admit the national aspirations of the subjugated peoples of the Soviet Union. Now it happens that until today only the so-called stateless people or the Jews, and the non-Russian opposition movements managed to gather a mass audience especially through factors like cultural, religious or national identity.

To secure its domination in a multinational empire like the Soviet Union, an autocratic power has to confirm the pre-eminence of one people, the Russian people, over all the others.

The open and brutal racism is not illogical, but it is the extreme consequence inevitable of that system. It goes along with the clamp-down on each revolt, each uprising, as for example the struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army that fought an unknown war well into the fifties; that racism takes its roots in the Russian chauvinism which is the only law in the Soviet universe. To quote an Uzbek delegate at the 25th Congress of the CPSU "The Uzbeks, equals among equals, as all our own peoples, have an older brother, the great Russian people".

Tackling the issue of dissidence, one has to draw a clear distinction between two main streams: the national liberation struggle of the subjugated nations and the fight of the Russians in the human rights movement.

The current social situation in the Soviet Union is the result of a scientific and technical situation that, along with the growth of the productive forces has favoured the continuous rise of the national liberation movements within the Soviet Union and in the satellite countries. These much more obvious movements in the satellite countries are now growing from both ends of society and gathering a much larger base of support than before.

Because of the continuous repressive terror, among other reasons, the opposition movements are showing individualised, differentiated and group aspects. They could not develop in a structural way and generally do not have strictly defined programmes or international co-ordination centres.

In addition to these external reasons we find purely internal ones. The national movements of subjugated nations remember the bitter experiences of the past and have lost confidence in the Russians who are considered as bearers of the Russian nation's interest despite their anti-communist struggle. This means that national liberation movements do not want to get involved with the Russian movement which, anyway, tries to avoid the national question.

Having chosen as an aim the protection of Human Rights the Russian movement disclaims or even bluntly opposes the self determination and liberation of the subjugated nations.

For the moment, because of the very localised character of the dissidents' actions, we cannot speak of systematic contacts and mutual assistance between national liberation movements of the Russian empire or the satellite countries.

Co-operation is uncommon and on a very specialised or individualised basis. But the reality is such that Ukrainians, for instance, have an easier contact with dissidents in Moscow than with dissidents in Lithuania, Estonia or other countries. The other opposition movements are in the same position.

The reasons for such a situation are quite simple: Moscow's position as a capital, much easier conditions of work for the dissidents of the oppressing nation, the elitist composition of the movement, access to the international means of information and support by the citizens of the Free World. This is why Moscow became the centre of the dissident movement.

In the current situation on the one hand we have to underline that most of the Moscow members and particularly the Jews do understand the interests of national movements but on the other hand, we have to admit a very peculiar situation, for the prerogative of initiative and the centre of information exchange and contacts are in the hands of forces — even though democratic — of the oppressing nation.

The main problem is therefore the convergence or the divergence of the aims of subjugated and oppressing nations.

The human rights issue was at the base of the dissident movement; for the Russians on the one hand, it represents the ultimate aim — for the other nationalities, on the other hand, it is only one aspect, although important, of the final aim, namely, national liberation.

It is important that the human rights issue is not used as a façade by the Russians to mask the main aim of the non-Russian dissidents — the liberation of the subjugated nations.

The peculiarity of the Russian dissident movement is to be the opposition within the occupying nation, promoting Human Rights, the improvement of the economic system, the possible democratization of the centralistic régime by conceding cultural and national identities, within the untouchable empire's frontiers.

The national liberation movements on the contrary share the following aims — sovereignty, democracy and justice.

To conclude, I would say that the dissident movement today finds itself in a very difficult situation, with broad possibilities on the one hand and on the other a current situation made up of the toughest repression since Stalin's era.

Although the struggle of the dissident movement is dangerous for the stability of the régime, these movements are not able to overthrow it. But if the important national groups under Russian domination were to initiate an uprising, the situation would be different. At the moment, many, but still only a small section of Ukrainians, Armenians, Georgians, Lithuanians and other nationalities in the USSR give their open support to the dissident movement and we cannot say that abroad their influence is more important than is the Russian Human Rights movement. And today, central Asia raises the most fears for the régime, even though there still has not been openly declared any opposition movement as elsewhere.

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## THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

### — A Progressive or Inhibiting Factor in the Development of Liberation Processes

On August 1, 1975, the governments of 33 European countries and those of the United States and Canada signed the so-called Helsinki Accords, which included a set of principles dealing with such matters as equality of states, the non-use of force, the inviolability of frontiers, the right of peaceful change of borders, territorial integrity, expansion of trade and industrial scientific and technological cooperation and finally "freer movement" and contacts, individually and collectively, "between the East and the West. The Final Act of the agreement was ratified by all the participants and it was decided that every two years a meeting would be held to see whether the agreement has been fully observed.

#### HELSINKI MONITORING GROUP

There have been established in the USSR several Helsinki watch groups in individual non-Russian nations to inform the signatory nations and the world at large about the violation of human and national rights in the USSR. One such watch group is the Ukrainian Public Group to Promote the Implementation of the Helsinki accords. The Kyiv Helsinki group was established in autumn of 1976 headed by Mykola Rudenko, a writer and poet, with such other prominent Ukrainian intellectuals as Oleksa Tykhy, Myroslav Marynovych, Mykola Matusevych, Lev Lukyanenko, Oles Berdnyk, Ivan Kandyba, Ivan Svitlychny, Oksana Meshko and Vyacheslav Chornovil. The Helsinki group was formed for two immediate reasons:

1. The absence of independent Ukraine represented by the Ukrainian National Liberation Movement (similarly as PLO in the UN) at the Helsinki Conference. The Kyiv group considered the absence of Ukraine, a nation of 50 million people, to be illegal and tending to undermine the moral and practical force of the accords.

2. The linking of universal ideas of national and human rights to the situation in Ukraine. Implementation of the Final Act must be guaranteed by the participation of Ukraine and by bringing to world attention violation of human and national rights in Ukraine and the present status of the Ukrainian nation.

#### A COLLECTION OF CONTRADICTIONS

The Western powers acknowledged in Article III of the Final Act of Helsinki the inviolability of the boundaries of the Russian colonial empire

for example the *status quo* of enslavement and national oppression. They further acknowledged in Art. IV the territorial integrity of the empire but simultaneously in Art. VIII the rights of the peoples to self-determination and their full freedom to choose their internal and external political status as they like and in Art. VII they proclaimed that the human rights, the fundamental liberties and the rights of the national minorities must be respected. The recognition of the *status quo* — i.e. the totalitarian Russian empire — on the one hand and of the right to national freedom and independence — i.e., the dissolution of the empire and the implementation of the human rights and liberties in this empire on the other, is contradictory in itself; there never existed an empire in which the subjugated peoples were able to implement the human rights irrespective of the national rights without restoring or attaining their national independence beforehand.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

From the viewpoint of the revolutionary process, the Helsinki accords were a blow to the revolutionary and liberation movements of the non-Russian peoples who are striving for their freedom and national independence. They were even a greater blow than the Yalta agreement over 30 years ago which an English politician called the greatest scandal of the 20th century.

The whole world rightly expected that the USA and her Allies would insist on the revision of the Yalta Agreement and the right of all oppressed peoples outside and inside the Russian empire to national independence. But instead of this they went to Helsinki where they officially recognized Russia's claim to everything they gave Stalin in Yalta.

The Western participating states to the Helsinki Conference must have been extremely naïve in expecting Soviet Russia's honouring these accords. In the past Soviet Russia has been party to numerous international conventions and agreements which should have secured human rights for enslaved peoples, none of which have been complied with, for example: the UN Declaration of Human Rights, the International Convention on civil and political rights of 1973 and many others. Furthermore, there was no reason to believe that Soviet Russia would obey the principles of the Helsinki accords, this empire is held together by fear and violence. If Soviet Russia were to do so then the colonial empire would disintegrate.

### THE HELSINKI ACCORDS: GOOD OR BAD?

From the viewpoint of the revolutionary process, the Helsinki accords were a blow to the revolutionary and liberation movements of the non-Russian people who are striving for their freedom and national independence. The signing of the Helsinki Accords was a major political and psychological victory for Communist Russia and a humiliating defeat for the Western powers, especially the United States which helped make this victory possible for Moscow, by its participation.

Our objections to the Helsinki Accords are motivated by the following considerations:

1. First of all, they gave the Soviet Union the long sought agreement and *acceptance of the status quo of the political division of Europe, including the Soviet domination of a part of Germany and a number of Eastern European countries—Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria—a victory never dreamt of by the most aggressive Russian Czars.*
2. *The Helsinki accords excluded European peoples, including 50 million Ukrainians, 12 million Byelorussians, over 8 million Estonians, Latvians and Lithuanians, and over 12 million Armenians, Azerbaijanis and Georgians, from participating in the Helsinki Conference because they were and still are coerced into political silence by the oppressive and totalitarian régime of Communist Russia.*
3. The Soviet Union ratified the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and its social and economic counterparts in autumn of 1973 without the least attention to their implementation—indeed, the Declaration serves the Soviet Union primarily as a catalogue of human rights of which it can deprive the people.

The net effect of the entire Helsinki experience was to sanctify the present political *status quo*:

In the Canadian Parliament at the time, Sen. Paul Yuzyk charged that Canada, by signing the Helsinki document, “was bowing to commercial and trade pressures exerted by the Soviet Union... Ask yourself how many people the Western world has liberated from Communism and then compare that with the people Communism has annexed by brute force and you will see what we are up against...” He said that great concern has been expressed in both Canada and the United States that the “Helsinki document should have tacitly accepted the Soviet acquisition of such countries as Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine and others.”

In conclusion, we have to admit that the Helsinki groups and their activities in the USSR, particularly in Ukraine, Lithuania, Armenia and Georgia, had brought to the forefront the traditional Soviet Russian disregard for written covenants and had exposed the naked terror toward those individuals who thought that the Helsinki Accords would force Moscow to a more civilized behaviour toward its own citizens. But this has not happened. If anything it has aided the Soviet Russians in bringing dissidents out into the open; and with their complete disregard to the Helsinki Accords and Western opinion, they have arrested and terrorized these people. The signing of the Helsinki Accords was a major political and psychological victory for Communist Russia and a humiliating defeat for the West inasmuch as the West, without signing a peace treaty con-

cerning Central and Eastern Europe, had *de facto* recognized the Soviet territorial conquest of Europe and therefore had delayed perhaps forever, the liberation of the non-Russian nations both within and outside the Soviet Union.

History will undoubtedly prove that the Helsinki Conference was a tragedy for the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, and for Europe as a whole, in which tragedy the United States and Canada were active participants.

### UKRAINE

*Unhappy land which I shall never see,  
Beloved of millions who cannot return  
To haunts of youth which, even then not free,  
Inspired stout hearts which never cease to yearn,  
You will one day see Freedom's flag unfurled.  
The anguished sacrifice of countless souls  
Was not in vain. The despots will be hurled  
Into the dust, and Infamy's black rolls  
Will yet reveal oppression and cruel years  
Of ruthlessness and inhumanity.  
Then Freedom's torch will burn and dry the tears  
Of those who served you with fidelity.  
Ukraina, your people scattered far and wide  
Await the dawn when tyranny has died.*

W. Whitlock.

20th September, 1982.

Read

Read

## ABN Correspondence

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Stanley SITKO

## PRECONDITIONS FOR THE VICTORY OF WORLD FREEDOM

### An American perspective\*

It is the purpose of this address to give an American perspective on the preconditions needed for the victory of world freedom. A major precondition is that the United States clean-up its own house, especially in the area of foreign policy.

Foreign policy in the United States has been dominated by a small circle of what I call "noble dreamers" for at least the last 70 years. I call them "noble dreamers" because they have a world view that they work for regardless of the will and opinions of others, i.e. a new aristocracy. With their plans for a "New World Moral Order" they have been able to influence Foreign Policy contrary to the will and *cultural* inclination of the majority of the United States. When the manipulations of this small clique become too great, a reaction sets in, such as the isolationism after the First World War. There are even indications that this group counts on the blind reactions of the people of the United States to further their own claims.

Perceived externally, the United States gives the impression that it is unable to evolve and pursue a coherent foreign policy. The truth is that an elite has overlaid its own ideas on a population whose common sense runs contrary to those ideas. It is this battle that has sent the States off to war for freedom and then participate in such crimes against human freedom as Yalta, Potsdam and Teheran. This state of affairs has, unfortunately, led to mutual disillusionment in the United States and the rest of the world.

The major vehicle in the United States for these "noble dreamers" is the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), counterpart to the various European Round Tables, other vehicles such as the Trilateral Commission come and go, but the CFR continues to supply Secretaries of State and key policymakers. Some students of the CFR and related organisations make a strong case for a conspiracy to rule the world, however, the foreign policy errors that have been made by these people should be enough to dethrone them. Regrettably, this has not been the case, for instance, Robert Strangelove McNamara, who started the gutting of American military power and helped create a no-win situation in Vietnam, is now the head of the World Bank. Others have also been reshuffled and re-packaged only to come out later in positions of influence. This situation has only partially been changed by the 1980 elections.

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\* The speech was delivered by Mr. Stanley Sitko at the ABN/EFC conference in London on Sept. 24, 1982. Since the author delivered the speech from notes, the text may not be identical to the one delivered in London. The author is taking this opportunity to clarify some points and hopefully the reconstruction is better than the original.

The geographical situation of the US has made questions of foreign policy remote indeed to the average citizen, but this is not the only factor that has contributed to this sad situation. Considering the errors committed by various "noble dreamers" even their own "good old boy" network could not keep them in power, if there *were* an active, co-ordinated alternative.

Another factor that has kept this "Foreign Policy" elite in power, is a travesty that has been imposed on the people of the United States under the name of the "Great Melting Pot". At the beginning of this century, the concept was put forth that all citizens of the US were to melt into something called a "True American". What that meant is that all ethnic conformity is not required to be a "True American", that a "True American" has yet to be defined, outside of the political and economic spheres, an Anglo-Saxon role model was the one put forward. This theory of cultural schizophrenia effectively isolated many groups and individuals that *could have* had a positive influence in Foreign Policy by countering disinformation or providing correct information.

It has only been since the mid-60's that the non-Anglo-Saxon majority in the US has begun to flex its political muscle. It is now well understood, that the US is a multicultural land, unified by a political and economic system. The various ethnic (cultural) groups have started to unify in the defence of old American concepts of individual liberty; that sovereignty belongs to the people and is only partly ceded to the government, that coinformity is not required to be a "True American", that a "True American", as far as there can be one, can only be defined by his belief in our common system embodied by the constitution, its amendments, and the Declaration of Independence. This ethnic revolution in America has brought about a re-examination of the basic principles that hold the United States together and it is not at all compatible with the "dreams" of the foreign policy elite.

What is needed to counteract the old foreign policy establishment, is to foster an informed, aware, and active public in the US and to create an alternative to the same tired individuals.

This requires a realistic evaluation of the problems and potentials facing us, some of these have been mentioned very briefly and they deserve closer study and examination. Based on those statements, there are several things that can be done and are being implemented by *Western Goals Europe*, some of these programmes are:

A close study and publication of findings regarding Communism, terrorism and European history so as to correct misconceptions and expose disinformation. These studies provide intellectual ammunition for freedom-minded people in the United States with which they can combat the multitude of publications produced by the "noble dreamers". (It should be remembered that the number of publications

available in a free society make it difficult for an individual to decide what is valid and what is not.)

To sponsor study groups which attack areas untouched or ignored by the "noble dreamers". An excellent example of this is the paper being presented at this conference, the publication of which was sponsored by *Western Goals*, called "From Stalemate to Victory" which examines the possibility of a Polish-Ukrainian co-operation. *Western Goals* plans to sponsor a meeting of key Ukrainian and Polish leaders in the West to develop this theme. A cooperation is already in the planning stages between the Poles, the Czechs and the Slovaks. This is a delicate area of study because of past prejudices and history, however these problems must be examined if any of our people are to have a sovereign existence.

Another area of study we are very interested in is the area of psychological warfare. The Soviets have spent billions in this area while the West has done practically nothing in this area. This has allowed the Soviet propaganda machine to obtain an easy victory with obvious lies. General Singlaub's presentation examines this in depth and I am proud to say that he is an advisor to *Western Goals*.

The final example of what can be done is to use the existing possibilities in the United States to provide a direct information bridge from an ethnic group in the United States to its cousins in Europe. *Western Goals* has started a pilot project called "Radio Free America" which consists of current information being taped in the groups' original language and being broadcast via ethnic radio stations in the United States. The programme consists of preparing five-minute spots here in Europe and then finding the appropriate sponsors in the United States. It is unfortunate that the "noble dreamers" control the major networks and filter out news that does not fit their plans. It must be understood that the "noble dreamers" do not have a monopoly on newspapers, television and radio stations. They have concentrated on the news gathering aspects of the communications system. There are several hundred ethnic radio stations in the United States that are highly interested in this material and could spread the truth, without difficulty, to many millions of ethnic Americans. An English version of this programme could reach even more millions; for example there are over three thousand conservative, religious radio stations in the United States alone.

The above programmes are ones in which *Western Goals* has already taken active steps in. There are many more possibilities that need to be explored in the fight for world freedom.

The underlying theme of this talk is that the people of the United States need the practical experience and information which can only be

supplied by the people of Europe, just as the people of Europe need the strength of the United States to obtain world freedom. This must be an active partnership, otherwise world freedom will be lost and a nuclear war will become very probable.

In considering the ethnic population of the United States we have a huge potential for furthering the cause of world freedom, but we need to activate it and we must take into account the peculiarities of the United States. The majority of ethnics in America are now two or more generations in the United States and have developed along different lines from their counterparts in Europe, just the difference in environment and experience has caused a difference. This does not mean that they are no longer interested in their cousins in Europe, it does mean that special care has to be taken in mobilizing them. Another factor to be considered is that the largest group in America is the German-American one, over 52 million, of which 29 million actively identify. Forty years after the Second World War, it is time to remember that a portion of Germany is under Soviet occupation and to actively enlist Germans in the fight to free the captive nations.

A negative example of what can happen is underscored by a picture that came out a few weeks ago with Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill surrounded by European ethnic leaders. This picture is interpreted by the average American ethnic as indicating that Mr. O'Neill is voting correctly in questions affecting their European cousins. The fact is that Mr. O'Neill has one of the worst records regarding the liberation of enslaved peoples in Congress. Mr. O'Neill comes from a district that has a considerable ethnic population and he needs the votes. We must be careful with our actions in the United States and not be content with declarations and resolutions which are only paper, we must pay attention to how these individuals voted in very practical areas such as how they voted on matters affecting Radio Free Europe, military expenditures and on various treaties such as Helsinki. A possible solution would be to create an index of key votes in the Congress so that we could have a practical idea of how various members of Congress vote and could inform our ethnic counterparts accordingly.

It is my hope that this small presentation has shown some methods by which the cause of world peace and freedom can be victorious, that the situation in the United States can be redirected into a positive channel by an active partnership with Europe, that the people who produced Yalta, can be thrown out and kept out of power, that a people-to-people bridge of ideas and mutual assistance can and must be built. Over two hundred years ago, during our own American war of independence, an observation was made that is just as valid today regarding the quest for freedom: "Gentlemen, we shall all hang together or most assuredly we shall all hang separately."

*Post script:* This talk was directed to an audience that understood many of the problems mentioned above from experience. Further, the audience had the opportunity to ask questions and in fact the speech was designed with that ability in mind. Therefore, I must apologize to any readers behind the Iron Curtain who do not have this ability and find the context confusing.

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Dr. Douglas DARBY\*

## EMPIRES AND NATIONS

### Preamble

More than one third of humanity is captive under communism. That does not seem to worry very many people. Two hundred million people belonging to at least twenty-five nations, are captive in the new continent, which I call *Sovietska*.

For example, the American Encyclopedia, which devotes seven pages to President Eisenhower, makes no mention of his decision to inaugurate Captive Nations Week, and to pledge that from 1959, every succeeding President should proclaim America's concern until the Captive Nations were finally liberated. None of the world's seven most prominent encyclopedias makes any mention of Captive Nations.

Certainly their plight is foremost in the minds of two million people, who since World War II have escaped. They have poignant memories of their own sufferings, but when their leaders, as well as other freedom lovers try to expose history's greatest persistent crime, very few commentators, journalists, publishers or legislators give them a proper hearing. What is the reason for this? The first, and well understood reason, is the effectiveness of communist propaganda.

The special reason, however, which I wish to examine, is that for the past thirty years, educational authorities throughout the Free World, have ignored the existence of captive nations and their incorporation into the communist political structure.

For example the syllabus for Modern History leading to matriculation standard in New South Wales gives no hint about nations captive in the Soviet Empire. None of the text books used in high schools has any word to say about the tragedy that exists beyond the iron and bamboo curtains.

Therefore, today, I want to present the Captive Nations story under the

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\* Dr. Darby in one of Australia's most prominent anti-communists. While a member of the New South Wales Parliament from 1945-1978, every possible opportunity was taken to emphasise the international menace of communism, and its evil treatment of its captive nations. For the past thirty years he has participated in many anti-communist organizations and anti-communist demonstrations.

Among his anti-communist publications are "A New Rat Track"—an exposé of Communist infiltration among Polish refugees, "Why Croatia", "Slovakia's Quest for Freedom", "Lenin, Master or Monster", "Oil for the Lamps of Freedom"—success in Taiwan, and "Trust the Two Percent"—the story of Taiwan since 1949. "Freedom for Ukraine" will be published in 1983.

*Empires and Nations* is an address given by Dr. Douglas Darby at the ABN-EFC Conference.

heading "Empires and Captive Nations". That is the title of a book which I believe should be available to high school students. They should be given an understanding of how captive nations have featured in history since human society became complex. Every student should then understand how dozens of captive nations have been liberated during the last two hundred years, and particularly since the end of World War II. The important lesson that should be learnt is that practically all the captive nations that remain are communist dominated.

### The background of the empire story

When human beings became organized into societies, a pattern which we may call kingship, became almost universal. Whether the ruler said he was a king, prince, duke, earl, *het'man*, landgrave, pasha, bey, sheek, rajah, shah, mandarin, pharaoh, or merely chief, he had the responsibility of lawgiver, judge and army leader.

When, however, kings, like all persons in positions of power, were able to satisfy their ambitions, they began the adventurous business of empire building. For the past three or four thousand years, the history of mankind is the story of the rise and fall of empires.

Occasionally empire builders have been so competent and powerful, that they have had dreams of world conquest. If that could be achieved, tribute would be paid to the central control which would issue directions and correct any dissension.

The ambitious intentions of Alexander the Great were interrupted by his untimely death. In due course, Rome, which started its empire under the care of consuls and senators, became controlled by emperors.

The Roman Empire established a *pax Romana* which lasted for four or five centuries. Warfare became generally restricted to additional conquests or resistance to barbarian invasions. When the Roman dream collapsed, its world returned to an amorphous collection of independent kingdoms. In course of time, however, new empires developed, fell apart, and grew up again.

Some empires persisted in Europe for centuries; others expanded, contracted and even disappeared. For some centuries Polish people received tribute from Lithuanians, Silesians, Moldavians, Ukrainians and Byelorussians, but the fortunes of war and international intrigue found them captive within a German, Austro-Hungarian, or a Russian Empire. Estonians, never strong enough to establish an empire, were generally subservient to Teutonic Knights, Lithuanians, Swedes, or Russians.

So effective was the dominance of the English in the British Isles, that the Scots and Welsh have not regarded themselves as 'captive' for at least two hundred years. With the Irish, however, there is a complication which exists wherever there is a racial difference, difficult to reconcile.

## Modern empires

Five hundred years ago, many Europeans became so knowledgeable and enterprising that they were able to establish colonies in the Americas, Africa, Southern Asia and the Pacific. Those races which were not included in this expansion, continued for some hundreds of years to maintain a static existence.

Resistance to colonization resulted in the bulk of the colonies founded in America acquiring their own independent status. Within Europe the movement for autonomy gained impetus as literacy increased, captive nations establishing their own literature, produced their own newspapers and printed their own poetry.

Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a persistent awakening by the captive nations. Some of them, such as the Greeks, were able to stage successful rebellions. Others decided to discard a life under imperialist tyranny and find freedom as well as adventure in the New World.

Some imperialists gave concessions and even encouragement to their captive nations, but reactionaries strengthened their grip even more viciously.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, most of the world was under the control of eight European maritime empires, and three continental empires, Austro-Hungary, Russia and Turkey. Actually both the United States and Japan had joined the empire builders. In Central and South America independent republics continued with their original European dominance. China, itself beholden to European infiltration, headed the list of a relatively few independent nations.

Then came the War of the Empires, generally called World War I. German ambitions were halted, and its colonial empire shared among the victors. The three continental empires fell apart. Most of the Tsarist empire was however retained by a communist régime, which had conducted a series of successful civil wars. The Soviet Empire established in 1923 enslaved at least twenty captive nations who could look with jealous eyes at seven newly liberated autonomies, two of them federations of six erst-while nations previously under Austro-Hungarian rule.

Political idealism, which had been largely sponsored by English speaking peoples, supported the growing hopes of freedom which had been eagerly grasped during the closing stages of World War I. The British having learned valuable lessons from American independence had been generally successful with their temperate zone dominions. Compromise and generosity combined with their idealism enabled independence to be granted happily to their tropical colonies.

The initiative taken by the British was the signal for the progressive collapse of the other colonial empires. With the exception of those in the communist world, only a few captive nations remain.

When the Dutch surrendered their East Indian empire, provision was not made for its dismemberment. In the tropical world empire builders are still to be found in such cities as Accra, Hanoi and Port Moresby. There is still misery among the Kurds and the Armenians.

World War II, initiated to save Poland, ended up quite differently. The Soviet Empire, becoming the major victor, was determined to keep its original captive nations under subjection, and then to swallow four old Tsarist colonies and add five new captive nations to its tyranny.

Afghanistan and Poland are current examples of the Soviet persistence in its plans to expand an empire where exploitation is more ruthless than any of the Christian, Mohammedan or pagan sovereignties of history.

The vast majority of captive nations now under communist control had an independent history. Some of them such as those west or south of the capital city of their overlords have a superior intellectual and cultural heritage.

It may well be appropriate to recall the resemblance of a Russian and a bear in four lines written by Rudyard Kipling, the English poet

“When he stands up as pleading, in wavering, man-brute guise  
When he veils the hate and the cunning in his little swinish eyes;  
When he shows, as seeking quarter, with paws like hands in prayer  
That is the time of peril—the time of the Truce of the Bear.”

Very little publicity is ever given to the Russian policy of progressive genocide. The citizens of the captive nations within the Soviet Union are transferred to other areas either forcibly or by sinister irony suggesting the prospect of economic advancement. Thus a Kirgiz may find himself appointed as a signalman on a railway from Kyiv to Lviv. Although national languages are still tolerated, every ambitious young person knows that only those who speak Russian are able to gain advanced educational opportunities or promotion in an occupation or profession.

### **Internationalism versus nationalism**

Karl Marx, who found a contradiction in everything prompted the cult of internationalism as a contradiction to the spread of nationalism, which in his lifetime, was gaining strength every year. Idealistic as that concept may be, the vast majority of people have an indissoluble attachment to their native land, and a jealous regard for their own native language.

That is why international languages such as Esperanto have faltered, and nowadays are generally supported by Marxists. One simple example is enough to indicate the growing insistence of nationalism. When I went to Wales in 1970, growing Welsh nationalism impressed me, but during the next ten years the name of every town was shown both in English and Welsh.

When the African continent finally was relieved from domination by six European-based empires, it became a continent of fifty independent nations. All of them were aware of the extra costs involved from separate military, diplomatic and economic establishments, but they all regarded them as essential to independent nationhood. None of them since has united with any other country. Some theorists would anticipate the development of common markets to parallel success in Europe, but only time will modify the jealous regard for complete international independence.

There have been many efforts to unite or federate Central American republics which have the same language and the same European heritage. Every attempt has been as futile as those designed to create a West Indian Federation of former British colonies. Similar nationalistic sentiments exist in the Arabian peninsula, in South Asia and the islands of the Pacific Ocean.

It is therefore quite clear that if the peoples of *Sovietska* could become masters of their own destinies there would be more than twenty independent nations and two hundred million people with a new happiness and a revitalized determination to honour their heritage and embellish their nationhood.

The undemocratic totalitarian ideology of communism combined with Russian imperialism prevent that natural process from taking place. The "Iron Curtain" and the associated "Gulag Archipelago" are words that should awaken those drugged by communist deception.

A scientifically computerised spy system with attendant torture chambers has not blanketed the courage and optimism which has contributed to one of the most remarkable epics of human history. From time to time news is received of rebellions, industrial strikes and prison revolts, but resistance to tyrants in this modern age is much more difficult than in days when the fastest thing was a horse.

The collapse of communist power cannot be achieved by the freedom lovers living in the prison of their despoilers. They must be enthusiastically supported not only by those of the same heritage, but by freedom lovers throughout the world. Such people must be strong enough to influence their governments to take appropriate action leading to the eventual liberation.

### **The disappearance of atomic fears**

If the plight of two hundred million people in *Sovietska* and the thousand million people captive under communism elsewhere does not impress the governments and peoples of the Free World, they should realise that the collapse of the Soviet Empire heralds the end of the atomic war menace to humanity.

If *Sovietska*, almost as large as Africa, were subdivided as Africa has been subdivided during the past thirty years, eighty million Russians will occupy an area comparable to the historical Grand Duchy of Moscow

with access to the Baltic and White Seas. It will have lost the economic advantages of the industrial Ukraine, most of its atomic weapon sites and the greater technical superiority of its other satellites. Internationally it would be unable to provide any threat to the peaceable development of the rest of the world.

Apart from all else the Russian people themselves would take advantage of the opportunity to discard the communist cloak which has impoverished them and denied them the freedom which every man and woman is designed to enjoy.

### **The free world must know the captive nations' story**

Unfortunately the Free World is not aware of the captive nations story. The only people in the Free World who really comprehend its significance are the refugees themselves, their children, and a few lovers of freedom who think beyond the general run of popular newspapers and magazines.

In the last few years there has been considerable publicity regarding the Soviet prison system and even details of their hideous psychiatric practices, but in the Public Library of New South Wales only two of two and a half million filing cards give an index heading "Captive Nations". The first one refers to a 32 page booklet produced by the Captive Nations Committee of New South Wales and privately printed. It was not placed on sale, but distributed to members, newspapers, and prominent persons. It was written in 1965 by Dr. C. Untaru, a member of the Anti-Communist Bloc of Nations.

The other book is entitled "The Captive Nations: Our First Line of Defence", was written in 1969 by Bernardine Bailey and published by the Hallberg Company of Chicago. The foreword was written by Mrs. Slava Stetsko. In two hundred pages a documentary review of nations captive under communism has been made, with a valid conclusion that the captive nations were the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union. About a hundred copies reached Australia, and as far as is known none was sold in bookshops. One copy was sent by Mrs. Lia Looover, the honorary secretary of the N.S.W. Captive Nations Council, to the New South Wales Public Library.

Let us proclaim a universal proposition. If children at high school are not informed of something significant in history, the chances are they will go through life knowing nothing about it. One of the most significant aims of education is to whet the appetite of students so that in the wider world, they will want to increase their knowledge and understanding.

If the words "captive nations" are not used by text book writers, and I imagine, by only a few teachers, how can the rising generation be expected to give support to the Captive Nations cause?

The simple fact is that during the past thirty years, no history text book in current use by high school students in New South Wales even mentions the word, let alone makes any comment. I believe that a similar situation exists in all other areas of the Free World.

One book, a favourite with history teachers, written by J. J. Cosgrove and J. K. Kreiss and published in Sydney is entitled "Two Centuries — from the French Revolution to the Korean War". It makes no mention of the efforts of Ukrainians and others to gain independence when Tsarism collapsed. On page 325 a falsity is blatantly recorded.

"The creation of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania constituted a foolish attempt to punish Russia for her separate Peace of Brest-Litovsk, by practically excluding her from the Baltic. It was inevitable that Soviet Russia would sooner or later absorb those little states."

The nearest the authors get to recognising the existence of captive nations was to state on page 326 the following:

"The principle of nationality, admirable though it was in theory, created numerous small states which were unable to maintain their independence against the aggressive policies first of Hitler, and then of the Soviet Union after World War II."

On page 471 authors made the only other reference to captive nations by saying:

"The Nazis missed a golden opportunity when they occupied Ukraine in 1942. Dissatisfied with the rule of the Soviet Union, many Ukrainians were ready to cooperate with the Nazis, but became bitter and relentless enemies when they found themselves being treated as inferior human beings."

No mention was made of the massacres and deportations which followed restoration of Ukraine to Moscow rule, or any indication that Russia was an empire controlling captive nations.

"Challenge and Response", written by two Queensland teachers, J. H. Allsopp and H. R. Cowie in 1976, devotes 10,000 words to Soviet development 1917–1940, with no hint about the freedom obtained by the Baltic States, their historical success, or the efforts of Ukraine or any other of the Soviet captive nations to find freedom. Chapter 34 gives brief mention of rebellions in Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia. Eisenhower is quoted as saying "the heart of the United States goes out to the people of Hungary", but there was no reference to his subsequent proclamation of Captive Nations Week.

Both the "Students Guide to World History" by R. D. Walshe or "Modern History and Its Times" by James Hagan give no reference to the existence of captive nations. Hagan does mention on page 440, Stalin's oppression of the kulaks but the words "Ukraine", "famine" and "deportations" do not occur. "The Twentieth Century World", another high school text book written in England by John Mertell BA, makes no mention of the captive nations in any of its 300 pages.

Even historical treatises that would be consulted by University students studying a course of Modern History do not give due consideration to the

existence of *Sovietska* as an empire with twenty five captive nations whose demands for freedom are viciously repudiated.

It is therefore understandable why journalists and commentators are generally apathetic to the plight of two hundred million people.

One Australian incident tells the story. It was the practice of the Captive Nations Council of New South Wales to organise on Captive Nations Sunday a march through the streets of Sydney, a pause while a wreath was placed on the Cenotaph, and finally to conduct a meeting in Sydney Town Hall. Representatives of various religious denominations were invited to lead the gathering in prayer.

In July 1970 a request was made to the Rt. Rev. Marcus Loane, Anglican Archbishop of Sydney to nominate a representative. He chose the Reverend Harcourt Norton whose first thought for a captive nation was the Australian Aborigines, now generously provided with Australian social services. No living Australian aborigine can recall the massacre, torture or deportation of a relative or friend, but the Reverend gentleman was leading five hundred people in prayer for those who were immolated in such blots on human history that took place in 1941, 1944–1950 and which had continued remorselessly ever since.

If the Archbishop of Sydney — now Sir Marcus Loane — had known the Captive Nations story he would at least have apologised for the action of his representative.

### **A threefold challenge**

Accordingly a threefold challenge is issued to all those who study this article:

1. *Petition* your own local educational authority to include in the history syllabus for high school reference to the existence and the plight of the Captive Nations.
2. *Encourage* your own religiously based private schools to emphasize the Captive Nations story.
3. *Sponsor* the production of a book suitable as a text book for students of history entitled “The Story of the Captive Nations” or alternatively “Empires and Captive Nations”.

*Jerzy IRANEK-OSMECKI*

## **TOWARDS A NEW WESTERN POLICY WITH REGARD TO THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE**

We have already heard about the failure of Balance of Power politics, and of détente. My view is that Balance of Power, whether we like it or not, is a fact of political life.

There are short periods of fluidity in the international situation, and then the political order sets, it becomes permanent. The result may be a well balanced political order, or one that has in it seeds of weakness and collapse. This has nothing to do with justice.

A political order may be unjust, very unjust, and yet stable. The present order in Eastern Europe, we who come from there, consider very unjust, cruel and oppressive. But it has proved — unfortunately — more stable than the post-Versailles set-up.

We have tried changing it, but we have not succeeded. The country which has had the greatest number of upheavals, which twice managed, by a great show of discontent, to change the ruling team, Poland, is still too weak in the face of the combined power of its own communist stooges, and of Moscow, to liberate itself.

In my view, it will not be able to liberate itself in its own, purely Polish context.

Let me come back to the concept of balance of power, or rather, imbalance of power. There is too great an imbalance of power against the Polish people for the Poles to succeed. The Soviet power is too strong.

On the other hand, the success of a country such as Poland, all on her own, would create great problems. Can you imagine a free, non-communist Poland surrounded on all sides by satellite communist states?

No one can envisage such a state of things. If it did come into being, it would be unstable, it would be a threat to the Soviet empire, even if Solidarity and all Poles without exception swore that they would respect the obligations of the Warsaw Pact, the leading role of Moscow and of the Communist Party. It would be much too dangerous for Russia, it would be too contagious.

It would have to face constant, concerted pressure from all sides, it would have to wage an unceasing struggle for survival against overwhelming odds.

The West, understandably enough, would find it difficult to give effective support to such an anti-Moscow stand by one country alone. This offers no real solution.

A new political order in Eastern Europe requires changing the balance of power in such a way, that the power at the disposal of Moscow is greatly diminished.

Here we start dealing not with moral and ethical concepts, but with practical politics. We must start considering power facts.

The most powerful country among the Satellite states is clearly Poland. Even though I am a Pole, even though I am extremely proud of the achievements of my compatriots. I cannot see them succeeding in changing the structure of Eastern Europe — and without changing this structure I cannot see any change for the better in any one particular Eastern European country being permanent.

Soviet Power is composed of three types of elements :

1. Russia proper and the Russian nation,
2. The remaining nations of the USSR,
3. The countries of the Soviet Bloc.

The most powerful nation of the Soviet Bloc is Poland, as regards to population, military potential, area, and economy, even though at present the latter is not doing too well.

The most powerful nation within the USSR, after Russia proper, is Ukraine. It is the most numerous (50 million inhabitants as compared with 36 million in Poland), it is also the largest in area, and it is in practically all respects, industry, agriculture and natural resources, the richest part of the Soviet Union.

To my mind it is obvious that to weaken the Soviet empire, one must deprive it of substantial power factors. I have already said that the Polish power factor is not enough. But if one takes Ukraine into consideration, and if one considers *Ukraine and Poland together*, then there emerges a constellation of power factors that looks promising.

The importance of Ukraine lies in this that it is such a great component of the power of the USSR. Once deprived of Ukraine, the power of Moscow ceases to be so threatening. Once Moscow has to face in Ukraine a situation such as it has been facing in Poland, it will have its hands so full that it will be unable to intervene militarily anywhere else. And then, with the threat of intervention removed, the satellite countries will be able to achieve much more easily what the Hungarians failed to achieve in 1956, the Poles in 1970, in 1976 and in 1980/81, and Czechs and Slovaks in 1968.

So, to my mind, cooperation between the two strongest non-Russian power factors within the Soviet Bloc, Poland and Ukraine, can completely change the balance of power for the better, for very much the better, not only in East-Central Europe, but for all of Europe, and for all the world.

Moscow directed imperialism, whether Red or any other political colour, would cease to be a real threat.

I have presented a picture of a new European order of things, based on what you might call a Warsaw-Kyiv axis, and if it came to pass, such an order would have distinct advantages for all countries and powers that

have had to face up to the Soviet threat. This includes all of NATO.

But the crucial question has yet to be posed: Is this at all possible? You may well ask: this man speaking now (namely me) said a while ago that he wants to talk about *practical policy*. How practical is all this? Or are these simply dreams far removed from reality?

Let us look for a change not at Poland — next door to Ukraine, but at Iran. There, a régime armed to the teeth, the régime of the Shah, was defeated, removed, not by an armed invasion — it was defeated primarily by a well conducted public relations campaign.

It is immaterial that the man on whose behalf the campaign was waged proved no better than the Shah. It is the mechanics of exploiting discontent that are important. So we see that even a well organised apparatus of terror can be defeated by the pen, and by the word; whether broadcast or spread through cassettes.

In Iran we were dealing with, more or less, a nation state. In the case of Ukraine we would be dealing with a powerful nationality, but nevertheless a minority in the Soviet Union. But Ukraine would not be alone in facing the power of Moscow.

The success of the *practical* programme I propose depends utterly on cooperation between Poland and Ukraine. And this depends on educating both the nations as to the importance of that co-operation. This in turn depends on access to their minds and to their ears. Getting ideas across to Poland presents no great difficulty, even now, under the state of war. Not only air waves can be put to use, but the printed word gets across with no insuperable difficulty.

But gaining access to the ears, and then to the minds of Ukraine needs a very powerful voice, a very powerful broadcaster — a broadcaster that would understand and espouse the idea of Ukrainian-Polish cooperation.

This then I propose as a new Western policy towards the Russian empire: A communications campaign aimed at weakening it from inside. Not just bolstering up the Satellite nations, or keeping up their spirits, but using the provisions of the Helsinki agreements and the Soviet constitution to the full. This constitution contains the right to secede from the Union. Ukraine and Byelorussia have seats at the United Nations. Let Western policies exploit to the full the advantages that this affords.

Let us be clear about it. Such a policy would be a departure from the post-Yalta political order which the Helsinki Agreement seemed to sanctify. But the Helsinki Agreement had another, different side to it: that of guaranteeing human rights, rights of access to ideas, the right to propagate without hindrance these ideas across national frontiers, the right to protect national, cultural and historical character and traditions of various nationalities.

Let the West start using these Helsinki provisions to the advantage of the Captive Nations, and what is more important, *to its own advantage*.

Such a communication campaign, laying particular stress on Ukraine —

the strongest non-Russian component of the power of the USSR, and on Poland, the strongest power component of the Soviet Bloc outside the frontiers of the USSR, and on the cooperation of these two nations, can be successful beyond the wildest dreams. Look at the achievements of the Polish nation. They went well beyond what was thought realistically possible. They are being thwarted now.

We need to cross a threshold. Poland is too weak to cross it alone. Poland and Ukraine can do it together. And then others can, and no doubt will, join in.

This will take time and a coordinated campaign to reach the ears and the minds of these two nations. But NATO has been going on for a generation or so. Western Europe has gone through a process of quasi-unification — mainly under the Soviet threat, and the necessity of facing up to Soviet imperialism.

What I am proposing now will remove that threat from Western Europe once for all. And, more important to us, Eastern Europeans, we will become free as well.

One last word about balance of power. A new European order based on a Polish-Ukrainian axis would be *stable* and safe.

The two main elements would be well balanced. Neither would threaten the other, while together they would be strong enough to resist pressure from a Germany that would in all probability unite. I cannot imagine East Germany surviving as a separate Communist state, if the power of Moscow were pushed back well east of the river Dniπρο.

But then Russia would still be a considerable power, probably determined to reassert herself. Ukrainians, backed by Poland, would have no difficulty in resisting pressure from Moscow.

But then, the political order in East Europe would become completely shaken up. We would have a period of fluidity, that I mentioned at the beginning of my talk, and then it would set, it would congeal and become permanent. Any changes would have a much greater chance of being made, and acquiring a permanent character, if they were attempted during the period of fluidity.

So, if Poles and Ukrainians should start thinking about rebuilding an Europe based on their two nations as the main building blocs, let others start thinking about it too. For if Ukraine and Poland are successful, a new European order, for all the Baltic nations, for Byelorussia, for Czechoslovakia, for Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria will also become possible. And also internal Yugoslav problems might be solved. Yugoslavia is now in cold storage, — a hostage to East-West confrontation. Once the confrontation is removed, Yugoslav problems too, will become amenable to a solution.

M. A. NAIM

## THE MOVEMENT FOR SOLIDARITY, RECONCILIATION AND RESISTANCE IN AFGHANISTAN

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Allow me to convey my gratitude for granting me the opportunity to speak at this gathering about my country, Afghanistan that has been ruthlessly invaded by the Red Army. The Afghan nation which during the course of its long history has always struggled for the preservation of its freedom, territorial integrity and its national self-determination at the cost of its blood, and at this very moment as I am standing before you this struggle continues with the utmost determination and devotion, naturally regards freedom and self-determination as the legitimate right of all the occupied nations of the world, wherever they are, and shares their feeling.

Since April 27, 1978, the independence of Afghanistan once again has been threatened and for the first time a communist régime, backed by Russian intrigues, usurped power in Kabul. Although the puppet régimes of Taraki, Amin and Karmal in turn supposedly regard Afghanistan as non-aligned, independent and democratic, however, in reality this is pure imagination. Like all the slogans of communist ideology this is nothing but a series of lies and deceptions.

From the very beginning this régime faced the opposition and resistance of the Afghan nation; a nation which regards freedom and national independence as the noblest of human virtues. Persecutions, torture, terror, prison, mass execution and so on, were not able to change this determined resistance of the people of Afghanistan. By this action the Afghan nation displayed their rejection of the order portrayed by the communists as the so-called Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, that it is neither democratic or republican, nor does it belong to the Afghan people.

The régime never enjoyed stability. While faced with the ever increasing opposition of the Afghan people, it was infected with the diseases of egoism, ambition, discord and intrigues in such a manner which even their Russian masters were unable to heal. The People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which regards itself the founder and pioneer of this "revolution" was very shaky from the beginning and the already existing rift in its temporary coalition widened from day to day. Realising this and their total rejection by the whole of the Afghan nation, Taraki and Amin decided to find a scapegoat for their atrocities. Babrak Karmal and his associates were the first victims. Firstly they were exiled as ambassadors and subsequently dismissed.

In December, 1978, Taraki and Amin paid an official visit to the Soviet Union during which Taraki signed the so-called Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation in Moscow which in fact became the deed of sale of the

independence of Afghanistan to the Russians. Prior to April, 1978, Afghanistan had always had good-neighbourly relations with the Soviet Union. These relations were based on mutual respect, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and peaceful co-existence between countries with different political, economic and social orders. Also prior to April, 1978, there existed treaties between Afghanistan and the USSR. But those treaties were founded on the basis of friendship, equality and mutual understanding between our two countries. Afghanistan's view was that her friendship with the Soviet Union was not only in the interest of stability, peace and security in the region but would become an example of friendship between two neighbouring countries, great and small with different social, economic and political systems. But we regretfully observed that their deeds and words differed; while assuring the people of Afghanistan of non-interference in their internal affairs, they supported the *coup d'état* of April, 1978, and encouraged those whose opposition to the national interests of Afghanistan was evident.

International reaction at the beginning of the communist coup in Afghanistan was not effective and favourable as the people of Afghanistan expected. The West and the Third World did not realise the dangerous implications of the events at the time. The West which was lulled by *détente*, regarded the Afghan situation inferior to that of its relations with the USSR. The Third World, where unresolved problems from the colonial era still exist, was unaware of the threat posed by the development of events in Afghanistan. However, the shock waves of events were evidently felt in the region from the very beginning. The world at large became aware of these shocks at a time when it was too late to halt the course of present events.

Resistance intensified. A rift developed between Taraki and Amin caused by jealousy and lust for power which resulted in Taraki's death and Amin's supremacy. Amin in his turn became the victim of his lunacy and lust for power. And at last on December 27, 1979, Russia invaded Afghanistan. The exiled Karmal was installed by the Red Army. Amin was killed and used as a scapegoat by the Karmal régime. Amin who once advocated loyalty and friendship with the Soviet Union as criteria for patriotism, and had been applauded by the Soviets, was labelled as a CIA agent.

The Soviet invasion brought immediate international attention. Opinions differed on its causes and motivations. Some viewed it as a part of the long held Russian strategy to reach warm water outlets and a threat to Western interests in the Middle East oil fields. Others regarded it as defensive rather than offensive, acting to safeguard what they regard as Soviet security threatened by the so-called forces of imperialism and reaction. Of course, the Russians regarded the sending of their troops neither an invasion, nor interference in the domestic affairs of a neighbouring country nor the nullification of peaceful co-existence. In their view the sending of what they call their 'limited' contingents of troops (estimated

at over 100,000) was just and legitimate; and that they had complied with the repeated requests by the "legal government" of Afghanistan which was confronted by "bandits" and "terrorists" and threatened by an undeclared war by the Peking, Washington and Islamabad triangle. According to them the arrival of the Red Army protected the independent, revolutionary, non-aligned and democratic Afghanistan. And, furthermore, in this role they posed as if they were the liberators and deliverers of the Afghan masses.

These are the Soviet claims; but several questions remain unanswered, as follows: (a) Why and how the "legal government" of Afghanistan, who repeatedly invited the Soviet contingent, was toppled immediately after the Red Army arrived in Afghanistan? (b) When did Karmal, who took power immediately after the Soviet invasion, arrive from exile? How was he "elected"? What was the 'revolutionary way', by which he claims, he came to Kabul? (c) How was it that Hafizollah Amin, according to an official Kabul announcement, was tried the very night of the Russian invasion and how was it that he was executed according to the verdict before sunrise the next morning? What was the reason for such haste? Was it not possible to try him under better circumstances? (d) Was it not possible for the Afghan army to 'eradicate' the so-called 'bandits' and 'terrorists' who threatened the "legal government" of Afghanistan and who are regarded by the puppet régime as a minority while the régime "enjoys the support of the majority" of the people? And why, even with the might of the Red Army after more than two years, have the "bandits" and "terrorists" not been eradicated but, on the contrary, their number has increased?

Although the Kabul régime and its Soviet masters have tried to provide answers to these and many more questions, the contradictory nature of their replies makes their statements baseless; thus not only the Afghan people are dissatisfied with such answers; and not only does world opinion not take them seriously but even they themselves doubt the validity of their replies.

In my opinion, after the Second World War the Soviets took full advantages of the mistakes made by their rivals in the West. Posing themselves as the guardians of peace and progress, the rulers in the Kremlin avail themselves of every opportunity to enhance their international position. However, by invading Afghanistan the Russians made the gravest mistake ever in their foreign policy; and in order to conceal one mistake, they commit another and so on. The mistake they made was to think that they could impose communism on Afghanistan; but they were unaware that the majority of the Afghan people are patriots and devoted Muslims and never under any circumstances, either in the past or present would they compromise their freedom and faith. And their second mistake was that they calculated that with the might of the Soviet guns they might crush the resistance of the Afghan nation and eventually succeed with the installation of Karmal by freezing the Marxist experiment in line with the Leninist concept of "strategic retreat", which in turn would provide con-

ditions for the consolidation of a communist régime in Afghanistan. But during these two years neither was the resistance crushed by the Red Army nor has the Karmal experiment lulled the Afghan people. On the contrary, it has strengthened more than ever before the determination of the Afghan nation to free their own land at whatever cost.

The persistent struggle of the Afghan freedom fighters has narrowed the zone of influence of the puppet régime in Kabul. In order to survive, the régime in its turn is trying to make use of every possible and impossible means to counter the resistance. In a recent message broadcast by Karmal he urges Afghans abroad to return to their homes. "I assure you" he says "that the situation in Afghanistan is improving speedily. No one is pursued or harrassed because of his religion, ideology or political inclination, provided he does not engage in subversive activity against our revolution". He goes on further pleading that "in the name and honour of being Afghan and in the name of the motherland return to your homes...".

In reply to Karmal we would like to emphasize that as long as he and his associates are in Afghanistan under the auspices of a superpower and as long as our country is under the occupation of the Red Army the Afghan freedom fighters, wherever they are, will continue their fight relentlessly until their national aspirations — Afghanistan's national independence, national sovereignty and national identity, are restored. An Afghan with honour and worthy of his name has never lived and will never live in slavery. We are aware that Mr. Karmal knows perfectly well that the situation in Afghanistan is not improving speedily, as he says, but, on the contrary, in fact, is deteriorating rapidly. And we, the people of Afghanistan are determined, wherever we are, to continue our struggle until Karmal and his associates admit that they are nothing else but puppets and before they are thrown out, resign and let the people of Afghanistan choose their own destiny in the light of freedom and progress which are inseparable values.

In conclusion we want to point out to the Soviet Union that it is not easy to kill the spirit of the Afghan nation; this spirit is undestructable and unconquerable while the last dedicated Afghan is alive. A nation which has always fought for the preservation of its freedom with the "great powers" of all ages is still continuing to struggle for its freedom and faith until the end. Therefore, we believe that the continuation of the present state of affairs in Afghanistan in the end can only further destabilize peace and security in the region and the only way out would be to seek a honourable political solution. A solution in which there is no compromise on the basic principles of our nation — the unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan, their pledge not to back the Karmal or similar régimes in Afghanistan and not to interfere in Afghanistan's internal affairs should constitute this solution. However, any plan or any political solution to limit the national independence, national sovereignty and national identity of Afghanistan in any form or under any context is irrational and is unacceptable to the Afghan people.

*Dr Fethi TEVETOGLU*  
*Former Senator of Turkey*

## **THE GEO-POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TURKEY IN THE WORLD FRONT AGAINST RUSSIAN IMPERIALISM AND COMMUNISM**

The Turkish nation historically has been the primary target of Russian imperialism. Since the middle of the 16th century, Russia has occupied several Turkish lands, and wide areas of territory of Turkish origin. The consolidation of the Russian Empire began with this process.

Today, according to the official census reports of the USSR, there are 44,802,000 people in the Soviet Union, who speak Turkish in various dialects. This does not include the population of non-Turkish speaking moslem people in the USSR. On the basis of this, we can see that the population of Turkish origin in the USSR under Russian domination and Communist tyranny is approximately equal to the population of the Republic of Turkey itself.

Just as in Tsarist times, communist Russia seeks to conquer the world, but using different slogans and terms, such as "Communism", "Brotherhood", "Peace", "Soviet Union". There can be no doubt about this. There is no continent or community in the world that is not a target for Russian imperialist aims. There are many examples in history, from which we know, that whatever countries Russia occupied, she never left willingly. Over the last 25 years the Western countries have given up all their previous colonies. whereas Russia, by camouflaging her colonial conquest under various deceptive labels such as: "the member of the Warsaw Pact", or "independent republics", shows no inclination whatsoever of divesting herself of her colonies. The Brezhnev Doctrine does not permit this. Every member of the NATO Alliance can freely enter and leave the Alliance, whereas to enter the Warsaw Pact is obligatory and to leave is forbidden and impossible.

We can say that the Republic of Turkey is one of Russia's primary targets. This has been the case for many centuries. At present, this is even more definite. Prior to the 1980's, Communism, under the directions of Moscow, expended much energy on a campaign of intensive internal subversion, bringing the country to the brink of a civil war and a communist takeover of power. Turkey was almost dragged near the edge of a communist precipice.

By succeeding to bring Turkey to its ruins, Russia will not only have added more territory to its empire, but more significantly, Moscow will have overturned the balance of the entire world, thereby opening the way for subjugation and conquest of the entire world. If Russia is able to overcome the Turkish barrier, then she will gain access to the Mediterranean Sea, the Basra Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Indian Ocean.

From a military point of view, after Turkey there no other barriers able to contain Russian expansionism. After overcoming the Turkish barrier the Gulf States will not be able to survive for more than a few hours. Then Russians will control the strategically important and very rich oil-fields of the Middle East, on which the industrial power base of Western Europe, USA and Japan are critically dependent. There is no other way for Russia to severely cripple the West's industrial, technological capacity and lower the high standard of living in the Free World. Moscow must reverse Western superiority, because she is ashamed of her inferior position in front of her own people. In light of the incredible billions of dollars that Moscow spends throughout the world on armaments, on the space race, on a cultural war and communist propaganda against the free countries of the world, it is no wonder that the population of the USSR is destitute. This point is of grave concern to the Russian communists. Brezhnev can not only pride himself on achieving military parity with the West and for not allowing the dissolution of the Russian empire, but also for adding more new territories to the empire. However, it is impossible for him to settle accounts with the subjugated nations, who have to carry the overwhelming burden of the cost of these policies.

Moscow managed to find several states in the Middle East that adhere to its anti-Western policies, such as: Iran, Iraq, Syria, South Yemen, Algeria, Libya, etc. We cannot foresee when and how Russian communism will use these states as a stepping stone in its expansionist drive. We must acknowledge the fact that Moscow's foreign policy after World War II, in comparison with Western foreign policy, was more successful in attaining its objectives. Prior to taking over a country, Moscow acquired intricate knowledge of that nation.

The emergence of such a geo-political situation is not a recent development. This has been a reality for many years and Russian objectives and plans were well known. Unfortunately, the comfortable, luxurious self-complacent lifestyle of the West deprived it of enough foresight to understand the Russian communist threat. This laid the groundwork for Moscow's success. This Western attitude, under the leadership of the United States, resulted in a lack of understanding for Turkey's geo-political position. Only after the Russian invasion of Afghanistan and the recent events in Iran, did the West come to understand the significance of Turkey.

Turkey has a very old and noble military tradition. Presently her army is unparalleled in the Middle East. We should remember that the Turkish army exhibited a high degree of military prowess and bravery in the Korean war against communism. Hence, any external military aggression on Turkey is doomed to failure. Therefore, the Russian communists have to resort to methods of internal subversion, which have proven to be successful in other states. Moscow will continue these methods, hoping to bring about Turkey's internal collapse. But it will never succeed, as

was shown on September 12, 1980, when the Turkish army and the Turkish nation in general rose up against this communist subversion.

Mindful of all these facts and realities, the Western Powers must come to understand Turkey's crucial geo-political position. Turkey, on the other hand, must strive to maintain not only good relations with the West, but with other Middle Eastern pro-Western states as well, among which Saudi Arabia is a prime example.

The policy of not allowing Turkey to rise above a certain level of strength, which has been pursued by some Western and Middle Eastern countries is wrong and must be changed. The further continuance of this policy only benefits Russian communist expansionism, with calamitous consequences to the West and the Middle East.

By examining a map of the world and seeing how many countries fell to Russian imperialism after World War II, then we will understand the defect of Western policy. This picture is not very honourable to the Free World. The road of Moscow's communism must be shut and Russian imperialism must necessarily be ended. Herein lies the West's "to be or not to be". At this moment in time, all of world's history in its entirety must be brought to our attention and we must take decisive, effective and urgent precautions.

*NEW ON THE BOOK-SHELVES:*

## **FOR THIS WAS I BORN**

The Human Conditions in USSR Slave Labour Camps

Photographs, Testimonies, Poems, Readings, Petitions,  
Letters, and other Documents.

Compiled and Edited by Yuri Shymko

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*Oleh MARTOVYCH*

## **THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY**

**(On the 40th Anniversary since its formation in 1942)**

*(continued from No. 3)*

### **Ukrainians in their struggle for Freedom**

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement has manifested itself most markedly and powerfully during and since the last war. The fact that even just after war had ended in West Europe there were several armed groups of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) operating under Bolshevik occupation, attests to the determination of the Ukrainian people to fight against all forms of Russian aggression and persecution. The social and economic system imposed upon the freedom-loving Ukrainian people is naturally totally alien and abhorrent to them. Traditionally individualistic by nature and consequently opposed to communism, the Ukrainian has fought that system with all his might and power. Moreover, he rightly sees Bolshevism for what it actually is, just another facet of traditional Russian imperialism. For him freedom from Moscow and freedom from communism are synonymous. And that is why the Soviet rule of terror and intimidation manifests itself most markedly in Ukraine and why the Soviet policy follows closely the line of the old Russian imperialism in regard to Ukraine. Such a "solution" of the Ukrainian problem by the Soviets has considerably inflamed the anti-Russian feeling among the Ukrainians and Soviet abuses and crimes inflicted upon the Ukrainian people have burned into their soul a hatred of the Bolsheviks and have made them irreconcilable enemies of Soviet Russia. The wholehearted support the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) has received from all classes of the Ukrainian people is the best proof of such an attitude.

Simultaneously with the armed struggle, well organized anti-Soviet action is being conducted in various sectors of life with one purpose: to undermine the Soviet system and its regime. The only way to the liberation of the Ukrainian people is the national liberation and anti-Bolshevik r e v o l u t i o n of the whole Ukrainian nation in a common front with other nations enslaved by Bolshevism. This can only be reached by the revolutionary-liberation struggle of the widest popular masses, by the intensifying and deepening of the revolutionary process with its final aim of a national uprising. Three hundred years ago such a revolutionary process among the Ukrainian masses led to the victorious uprising of the Ukrainian people against Polish rule. The Ukrainian 'Cromwell' — Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky was able to establish a Ukrainian Cossack Republic (1648)! Ac-

ording to this line of thinking the revolutionary process has to saturate all ways of life and to counteract the hostile goals and efforts of Bolshevism with the ideals and aims of the liberation revolution and its principles of national-political, social-economic and spiritual-cultural freedom of the people and all men. This conception of liberty through revolution was represented by the Ukrainian Resistance Movement since the very beginning of its existence and realized consistently in all situations. The basic element in this conception is the stress laid upon the struggle of the whole nation, of its broadest popular masses, and not solely upon its organized forces (OUN — UPA — UHVR) which are only the pioneers and directing force behind the revolutionary process. The degree of ripeness for the national-liberation revolution depends, in the first place, on the degree it is possible to permeate the popular masses with revolutionary sentiments, on the enthusiasm of the masses for the cause of liberation and finally on their willingness to fight actively against their oppressors.

The internal situation of the USSR was influenced by the imminence of renewed conflict with the Western Bloc and the concrete possibility of a new war. The preparation for this new war in the USSR which meant ever increasing military expenditure led to poverty and to an unheard of exploitation of the popular masses. In this context the regime steps up its terror so that hatred and anti-Soviet feelings grow from day to day among the enslaved nations.

This dissatisfaction of the people, their extreme hostile attitude to Bolshevism, to the government and to the party as well as to its economical system and totalitarian order has been growing steadily since the end of the last war. Many reasons have brought about this situation. Above all the mendacious Bolshevik propaganda cannot claim that all around the USSR people are suffering awful poverty because the soldiers of the Red Army had the chance to see with their own eyes the true state of things and were able to spread this information all over the USSR. Furthermore, the ordinary population of the USSR expected that with the end of the war there would come changes, a greater freedom would be allowed and living standards would rise. Bolshevik propaganda during the war backed up these demands of the people and promised all kinds of marvels. Instead of "changes" for the better loomed bitter disappointments. New five year plans, new state loans, new social competitive campaigns, all signs that economic development was geared towards the preparation of a new war, caused such a hatred amongst the population that the Soviet citizen does not suppress his feelings anymore. Very often open outbursts of anti-Soviet sentiment of the population is heard in Ukraine. The expected "evolution" of the regime has bogged down and what has resulted is only the new privileged position of the party and of the new Soviet aristocracy (generals, writers, engineers, etc.) and the worst slavery, subjugation, pauperization and exploitation of the broad popular masses. The communist doctrine has completely lost all credit in the eyes of all those who possess a sound

feeling of what is true and still possess some common sense.

On the other hand, however, objective minds studying Russia and the problem of Russian imperialism must rid themselves of the myth that there is a gap between Russian nationalism and communist internationalism. Long before World War II, the synthesis of Russian imperialism and communist internationalism was achieved. The problem before the rulers of the Kremlin was to reconcile the internationalism of communist dogma and Russian nationalism. They initiated the glorification of the military past and the military heroes of the Russian nation with the purpose "of bringing the Russian people into an environment free of servility before all that is foreign and to destroy every vestige of moral dependence of Soviet citizens on the West" and to develop "the high and noble feelings of pride in their fatherland". Today, this glorification of the military is supplemented by the edifying information that all the great inventions, e.g. the radio, steam engine, etc. were 'Russian' in origin, by the propagation of all the great material and moral values of the Russian people achieved without help from foreigners, and by extolling all Russian works in literature, art, music and science. In this display of self-exaltation, the non-Russian peoples have been relegated out of sight. By ignoring the latter the Soviet brand of Russian nationalism sets to Russify the non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union. This is a tendency "to overcome the national differences of language, culture, customs... to prepare the liquidation of the national republics and religions... to merge all national languages into one common language, i.e. into the Russian language." This upsurge of nationalism can be explained on the basis that the Soviet masters may feel that the time is approaching when they will have to wage the decisive struggle with the West, but whatever is behind it, the world must not forget that millions of the non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union are conducting an implacable struggle against it. The non-Russian peoples, such as the Ukrainians, Byelorussians, the peoples of the Caucasus and Turkestan as well as the Cossacks and the Tartars of Idel-Ural, not to speak of the Baltic peoples (Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians) who were always ready to resist any form of forcible Russification and always the first to revolt once Russia was engaged in war, as was the case in two wars of 1904-05, of 1914-1918 and of 1941.

The only way in which the Bolshevik system has been able to combat the solidarity of the non-Russian peoples has been through the uses of unbridled terror campaigns involving unheard of atrocities and a spy system which permeates all levels of life, the whole governmental set-up, industry, army, education, even family life and the Church. Spies and police agents are evil features of the Soviet state which gives it its satanical strength. The first aim of the fight for national liberation has been to break the Soviet system of terror, as other factors of the Soviet power are only the derivative products and branches of the terror and spying system.

To combat the terrorist Soviet system and to change the hatred and passive hostility of the population into an active fight against the oppressors, in short, to destroy Bolshevism as a terroristic system, has been the chief aim of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. Now, looking back after years of fighting against Bolshevism we can say that it has had some successes. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement has overcome the influence of the Bolshevik terror and propaganda and made the Ukrainian masses conscious of their strength. Instead of just hating Bolshevism and waiting for its fall, the Ukrainian people have started fighting it with all their might to accelerate the revolutionary process.

It would be an utter fallacy to suppose that through social slogans alone the Russian people can be stirred to rebellion against their Communist regime. Bolshevism, as a social phenomenon is deeply rooted in the mentality, social structure and the national tradition of the Russian people. Therefore, it is not surprising that within the span of thirty years of Soviet rule there was no mass resistance by the Russian people against their despotic government. If Mr. Barmine quotes the activities of the *Ukrainian Insurgent Army* (*Saturday Evening Post*: In Defence of the *Russian* people), in order to state a general discontent of the *Russian* people with its despotic regime, it was only possible because of general lack of knowledge about East European affairs prevalent in the United States. Facts are stubborn things and once we rid ourselves of the myth of the homogeneity of the inhabitants of the Soviet Russian Empire, we clearly see that uprisings against the Soviet regime have been made by non-Russian peoples, notably by Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and by the peoples of the Caucasus and Turkestan, and never by Russians.

Since the last war the dissatisfaction of the Ukrainian people and other enslaved peoples with Bolshevism has intensified on a national scale. The Bolshevik system has become more and more "chauvinistic" and has openly praised the "superiority" of the Russian people, to recall only Stalin's famous toast to the "Russian people" at a Kremlin banquet in May 1945, when he singled out "the Russian people" as the "most outstanding nation of the Soviet Union". The campaign for the Russification of the non-Russian peoples has become more brutal. Bolshevik imperialism has become merely the latest and most virulent form of Russian imperialism. The last war has shown clearly that Ukraine as well as other non-Russian populations are hostile towards Bolshevism. Having the experience of the last war and preparing for a new one, Bolshevism is openly striving to strengthen Russian imperialism and seeking popular support. For Ukraine and other non Russian countries, this means the Russification of all sectors of life: centralization and colonialism in the state-political field and economic relations, slowing down and primitivization of racial cultures, the extinction of all expressions of national diversities, all this is carried out mercilessly and without disguise. Such a policy generates great hatred towards the centralistic Moscow among the enslaved races and this hatred

is so great that it is self-perpetuating thanks to the Bolsheviks themselves. But this hatred is also the natural breeding ground for the development of the struggle for national liberation within the USSR.

Thus, the real goals of the UPA actions in Soviet dominated Europe, go far beyond the borders of Ukraine. Soviet totalitarian practices compel enslaved races to fight the Soviet regime in underground organizations, because non-clandestine methods of opposing the Soviet regime in the Soviet reality are unthinkable. This truth was realized long ago by the Ukrainians who have been fighting Bolshevik imperialism for the last thirty years. But this truth is just beginning to be realized by many other enslaved peoples, especially by the "satellite" countries and by the Baltic states. Ukraine, as the champion of the anti-Soviet fight, has thus gained many valuable allies behind the "Iron Curtain". The UPA, which during the war called on the peoples of the Soviet Union to fight with arms in their hands both against Hitler and against Stalin, now finds support everywhere behind the "Iron Curtain", in Poland and in Slovakia, in Lithuania and Byelorussia, in East Prussia and in the Crimea. Following the historic tradition of Ukrainian revolutionaries it tries to organize a league of peoples oppressed by Soviet tyranny and to form a wide front of national underground armies fighting against Moscow. It is important always to remember that this is a struggle of ideas and that the nationalist movements among the enslaved peoples of the USSR constitute a most dynamic force and, therefore, the idea of national liberation is the most powerful weapon in the hands of these opponents of Soviet Russia. Surprisingly enough the democratic press of the free world has given little — if any — attention to this significant fact.

The International Press Bureau released on Dec. 8, 1948, a lengthy article, dealing with the future map of Europe, which, according to the informants of the Bureau, is being charted now by the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe. The aspirations of many peoples are closely tied to the plans, accredited to General Taras Chuprynka, commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). This plan, which is said to be widely circulated inside the Soviet Union, aims at the transformation of the Soviet empire into a series of national independent states. What is known as the "Chuprynka Plan" is a far-reaching blueprint of the reorganization of Eastern Europe and Asia based on national self-determination of the enslaved peoples within the Soviet Union and the "satellite" states as the first and most important prerequisite of the "world of tomorrow", "which will be followed by the establishment of four principal state units as follows: (1) Siberia, (2) the Caucasus, (3) Turkestan and (4) the Scandinavian-Black-Sea Unit." The importance of the latter for the "world of tomorrow" cannot be overemphasized. Economically, it would be a precious pearl in the future "United Europe". The cornerstone of the Scandinavian-Black Sea Block — Ukraine — is the world's third largest producer of iron, fourth in coal, eighth in oil, and has the largest manganese mines in the world. It

is a veritable "granary of Europe", and for generations has been a bread-basket for all Europe. And it is in Ukraine that a powerful anti-Soviet underground army, the UPA, waged a gallant fight for the realization of these ideas.

### The Political Programme of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement

The history of every people of the world reveals continuous efforts in seeking national self-determination and freedom. Many a bitter battle has been fought to free a given people from encroachment upon its human, economic and political rights by more aggressive and stronger nations. In like manner, at the end of the First World War, the Russian Empire of the Tsars was forced internally by her subjugated peoples to permit the creation of a series of national states on its ruins. In the throes of the civil war, the Russian Revolution, 1917, various disenfranchised peoples declared in quick succession their national independence from Russian political domination and oppression. Democratic, free national states of Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaidjan, Siberia and Turkestan, Cossacks of Don and Kuban, Mountainspeople of Northern Caucasus, Tartars and Bashkirs of Idel-Ural, declared themselves sovereign states, completely independent from Muscovite Russia. It must be stressed here that during the Revolution the claim for freedom by subjugated and stateless people was repeatedly guaranteed and affirmed by the present regime of Soviet Russia.

Thus, nearly thirty years ago, a free Ukrainian state came into being, creating an independent state for a Slavik nation almost as large as France. This Ukrainian National Republic was recognized *de facto* by Great Britain and France, and *de jure* by Germany, Austro-Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey, the Republic of Don Cossacks, the Republic of Kuban Cossacks, the Republic of Northern Caucasian Mountaineers, Byelorussia, Georgia, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and Poland. When the freedom of this Ukrainian Republic was threatened by the Bolsheviks, the Ukrainian government under Otaman\* Simon Petlura appealed in vain to the Western democracies for help and Ukraine was forced to sink again under the iron rule of Moscow. The Baltic States, Finland and Poland succeeded, with the aid of the Allies, in retaining their independence, while Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia and other peoples to the east again lost their independence under the might of Russian aggression and military occupation. As a result, Ukraine, the largest nation without statehood in Europe, along with other smaller subjugated nations of Western Europe became in effect Russian colonies. In many ways the operating methods of Russian colonial rule surpass all the indignities forced upon colonial peoples in the darkest corners of the world.

\* Otaman — commander-in-chief

Again and again during the past thirty years the advocates of the Ukrainian independence and the martyrs for Ukrainian freedom have brought to the world's attention the character of the intruding despotism that has wiped out every phase of Ukrainian liberty, murdered its leaders, starved its peasants by the million, and deported millions of others to die in the Far East and North. In the face of all these tragic events the Western world has remained passive, silent and indifferent.

The present Ukraine is historically and ethnically Ukrainian territory, which has been populated, developed and defended for centuries by the Ukrainian people. By all rights it should belong to the Ukrainian people as their national state. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement is now fighting for the establishment of the Ukrainian Independent State.

As under the German occupation, so today the Ukrainian Resistance Movement under the Soviet regime fights for the national and social freedom of the individual and of nations. Its watchword is: "Freedom of the Individual, Freedom of Nations!" The Ukrainian Resistance Movement fights, therefore, for the destruction of the 'dungeon'—Russia—and for the eventual freedom of all nations now suffering under the Bolshevik yoke. The fight against Bolshevik totalitarianism can be successful only through the amalgamation of the strength and power of all the subjugated peoples. Fighting for the formation of a Ukrainian Sovereign State in all its ethnographic territories, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is at the same time fighting for the establishment of other free and truly democratic states now within the boundaries of the USSR. All the nations enslaved by the USSR are in the same circumstances and, therefore, they are all natural allies of the Ukrainian people in this common cause. The circle of natural allies in the Ukrainian fight for freedom automatically widened and strengthened at the end of the Second World War, once the Baltic nations and the "satellite" countries of the Balkans and Central Europe found themselves in the Soviet sphere of influence. Fighting for the establishment of free and democratic states now within the USSR, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is also fighting for the restitution of sovereignty and independence of the "Satellite" states of the Soviet Union.

Thus, the principal aim of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is the overthrow of Bolshevism and the establishment of the new order in Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, based on the principle of self-determination of peoples, on independence and sovereignty of national states within their own borders, and on the idea of social justice and prosperity of the popular masses. The realization of this aim entails: (a) the partition of the USSR into national states established on their ethnic territories; (b) the restitution of national sovereignty to the "vassal" states of the USSR which were deprived of their sovereignty in the course of and after the Second World War. Furthermore, the realization of these aims calls for: (f) complete democratization of state and social life of nations, liberated from Bolshevik yoke, (2) free choice of forms of government and of social

and economic structures, (3) assurance of free spiritual and cultural development for the peoples in question.

Such a solution alone can settle the rightful demands of all the nations concerned, can bring order to Central Europe and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia and help to keep a lasting peace for the entire world. Otherwise the entire political and economic structure of Europe and the world will again be based on fragile foundations, producing unrest among the peoples and inviting future invaders and "liberators" to disrupt the economic and political security of the world and to endanger the durability of peace.

Fighting for the elimination of the totalitarian Stalinist government, for the overthrow of Bolshevism, for the extermination of the clique of Stalinist satraps and for a truly progressive order in the whole of Central and Eastern Europe and Soviet Asia, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement realizes that a just social-economic order covering the interest of the broadest masses of population has a first rate importance for the realization of its aims in the future. The historical experience of our times shows that the unstable political order, shaky social-economic system, low living standard of the population undermine the structure of any state and society. Therefore, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement fights for a Ukrainian State without exploiters or exploited, for a full participation of all citizens in civil liberties and where all efforts of the government will be directed towards the raising of living standards. Economic democracy is clearly envisaged in the political programme of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement, the best way to show it, is, to quote one of the proclamations, widely spread all over Ukraine by the Ukrainian Resistance Movement during the campaign against the Soviet elections of 1946. Here we reproduce it in its entirety translated from Ukrainian.

**UKRAINIANS! AWAY WITH STALIN'S IMPERIALIST  
TYRANNY! UKRAINIANS!**

Away with Stalin's imperialist tyranny!

Away with Stalin's compulsory election!

We will not go to vote for terrorism, plunder, imperialism, slavery and tyranny, for hunger and misery!

We will go to democratic elections in a free and Independent Ukrainian State!

UKRAINIANS! We will not go to vote for Stalin and his dictatorial party! We will not go to vote for the new Red bourgeoisie, for party exploiters, for the leeches of people's blood!

We will not go to vote for compulsory work for hunger pay, for stakanovization that wrings sweat and blood from the worker!

We will not go to vote for *kolkhozes*, for slavish work of the peasants, for the unheard of exploitation and plunder of property, work and blood of the workers and peasants!

We will not go to vote for imprisonment, for concentration camps, for deportations to Siberia, for the burning of our villages by savage NKVD police gangs, for maltreatment of the masses, or for the masses, or for the murders perpetrated daily by Stalin's police!

We will not go to vote for Moscow's sway over Ukraine. We will not go to vote for Moscow's sway over Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Finland, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria and many other countries of Europe and Asia which have been occupied, by violence, through Red Muscovite imperialism!

We will not go to vote for new imperialist wars which bloody Stalinist imperialists are preparing!

We will not go to vote for those who betrayed and annihilated the ideals of the French Revolution about the rights of man, who betrayed and ruined Christian culture, who have been faithless to any ideals of Socialism!

Away with bloody Red Fascism — blood brother of German Nazism! terrorism!

Long live the freedom of human thought, religion and speech! Long live freedom of the press, literature, art and science, denied and ravaged by the totalitarian system of Bolshevism!

Long live freedom of assembly, freedom of criticism, freedom of political and parliamentary representatives of the peoples. Long live freedom of political, social and professional organizations!

Long live free elections and democratic parliamentary governments, pushed aside and soiled under the Bolshevik regime!

Long live freedom of work! Long live the right of all workers to the products of their own work! Long live social justice, welfare and happiness for all men!

Long live the Independent Sovereign Ukrainian State! Long live the Free States of all nations in a mutual alliance, friendship and fraternity!

**FREEDOM TO NATIONS! FREEDOM TO THE INDIVIDUAL!  
DEATH TO TYRANNY!**

February, 1946,

*Ukrainian Insurgents.*

Such is, in short, the political programme of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In any case, it is certain that a democratic Ukraine will be able to cope more adequately with the problems of social, economic, political and cultural needs for the benefit of her people than could any imaginable occupier ruling her by force. And, therefore, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement is fighting with all its might to destroy this force and to free the Ukrainian people from the yoke imposed on them by the foreign invaders.

## **The territory of Ukraine under the Control of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement**

As a result of the Second World War almost all Ukrainian lands came under Soviet rule. Only little strips of Ukrainian territory remained in Poland, Slovakia and Rumania. The Ukrainian territory under Soviet rule comprised in Europe 330,000 sq.m. with a population according to the census of 1939 — 50,000,000. The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is only a part of Ukraine, ethnographically speaking. It has an area of 220,000 sq.m. with a population of 40,000,000 (1939). Situated in the southwest of the USSR; bordered in the south by the north coasts of the Black Sea and Azov Sea, on the east by the region which adjoins the Don River, and on the west by the northeastern slopes of the Carpathian Mountains and by the San River, it merges almost imperceptibly into Russia on the north. Ukraine has a fertile soil, a mild, humid climate and rich mineral deposits such as coal, iron ore, manganese, salts, oil and building materials. During World War II the problem of drawing Ukraine's western frontier arose and was discussed at the Conference of Teheran (November, 1943). At the Crimea (Yalta) Conference (February 1945) Roosevelt, Churchill and Stalin agreed that "Poland's eastern frontier should be based on the Curzon Line, with qualifications in her (Poland's) favour. This was a slight sacrifice of territory from the Russian-German (Molotov-Ribbentrop) partition of 1939. As a result, more than 1,00,000 Ukrainians found themselves under Polish rule. On August 16, 1945, Russia and Poland signed a boundary agreement in which Russia conceded to Poland modifications of from 3 to 5 miles east of the Curzon Line in some areas. Another agreement provided for the exchanges of population between Poland and Ukraine.

Ukraine is inhabited by Ukrainians which constitute 80% of the population. The Ukrainian SSR includes Vinnytsa, Volhynia, Voroshilovgrad, Dnipropetrovske, Drohobych, Zaporizhia, Izmail, Kaminets Podilsky, Kyiv, Kirovograd, Lviv, Mykolaiv, Odessa, Poltava, Rivne, Donetske, Sumy, Ternopil, Kharkiv Kherson, Chernyhiv, Chernivtsi, Ivano-Frankivske, Zhytomyr and Transcarpathian Provinces.

The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which in the spring of 1945 was formally accepted at the Conference in San Francisco as a member of the United Nations, is theoretically an independent state within the framework of the Soviet Union. Although it is called a separate republic, Ukraine does not enjoy liberty of action, because the most important political, economic, and cultural decisions concerning Ukraine and other constituent Soviet republics as well as so-called "satellite" states are invariably made by the authorities in the central Moscow administration.

As might be expected, over such a large area as Ukraine one finds a considerable variety of scenery and of climatic conditions. Apart from the

ramparts of the Carpathians in the west and the Crimean mountains in the south, Ukraine is a level country, gently rolling in some provinces. In the east and south there is a predominance of the open steppe type of landscape, reminiscent of many stretches in the Middle West of the United States. Ukraine is poor in forests (12%) and for that reason presents extremely disadvantageous conditions for guerilla warfare, but regions more suitable for such purposes lie in Western Ukraine — the marshy forests of Polissia and of northern Volhynia, north of Kyiv and Zhytomyr and in the Carpathian mountains. However, the Carpathian mountains, with their gentle slopes, broad valleys and thin forests cannot be compared with the natural 'fortresses' of the Alps, or the like. Occupied by Russian Tsarist troops in 1914, and by the Red Army in 1944, the Carpathian mountains do not represent any serious obstacle to a great army. Moreover, these mountains are quite accessible to light troops directed against the guerillas.

At its peak, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement controlled an area of nearly 100,000 sq.miles, comprising a population of more than 15,000,000 inhabitants. In this area the Soviets were forced to retire leaving strong garrisons in large towns and administrative centres of *rayons* (subdivision of a province). The network of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement embraces all the urban and rural places of this territory, with its resistance groups and armed UPA units in each country. The underground has its own system of administration protected by armed guerillas, its own security service with secret informers in the ranks of the Soviet army and police, and numerous other varieties of resistance cells. It is the area of Polissia (Province of Pinsk — Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Volhynia (Provinces of Rivne and Volhynia), Subcarpathian area (provinces of Ivano-Frankivske and Drohobych) and Bukovyna (province of Chernivtsi). The Ukrainian Resistance Movement has partly spread over the Carpatho-Ukraine, Galicia (province of Lviv), Podilia (provinces of Ternopil, Kamynets-Podilsky, Vinnytsia) and the province of Zhytomyr. UPA activities also spread to the mountains of the Crimea. The woods and forests north of Kyiv and in the district of Chernihiv at one stage were reported to be full of Red Army deserters and other anti-Bolshevik elements. The wilderness of Białowieża, in the frontier region of Poland, Lithuania, Byelorussia and Ukraine is the spot where more than once meetings of guerilla groups of different underground armies have been held. It was on Ukrainian territories to the west of the Curzon Line that UPA activities were carried out up to the middle of 1947.

Persistently the Ukrainian Resistance Movement tries to expand its activities to include all of Eastern Ukraine with its unfavourable terrain for guerilla activities. It must be said that the conditions for the guerilla warfare are extremely unfavourable in this area. The area comprises a belt of steppes, wide expanses of level rolling country, completely deforested, with very sparse population. There, the Ukrainian Movement has constantly been trying to organise underground resistance cells in the urban industrial

centres. It succeeded in establishing its groups in this area, because many young West Ukrainians were recruited to work in the Donets coal mines and Zaporizhzhia iron works. Banishment to forced labour has all too often been the fate of Ukrainians, but this drive at present was a big chance for the Ukrainian Resistance Movement which sent many of its members to this area as labour "volunteers". As a result, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement established strong cells in Donetsk, Makiyivka, Dnipropetrovske, Nikopol, Dniprodzerzhynsk, Zaporizhzhia, Mykolayiv, Kryvyi Rih, Odessa, etc. Along with resistance cells underground religious communities have been organized in this area and "God's underground" is widely spreading all over Ukraine. Among the local population of this industrial area the Ukrainian Resistance Movement has received whole-hearted support and gained devoted and enthusiastic followers.

Ukrainian insurgents operating in Ukraine and launching raids over into the neighbouring countries were the only insurgents in Europe who did not receive supplies from the air. They could get their arms and ammunition only from their enemies by disarming enemy detachments and by assailing enemy military transports. The only support the Ukrainian partisans have ever had in their fight is the full support of the whole Ukrainian population. This support far exceeds any haphazard type of aid. It is no exaggeration to say that because of this support, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement has repeatedly been able to survive all the offensives, raids and blockades of the Bolsheviks during the large scale actions against UPA since the end of the last war.

### **The Forces of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and their organization**

It would be an utter fallacy to think of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement as if it were only the armed battle groups of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). In fact the Ukrainian Resistance Movement consists of diverse units and forms a wide-spread underground organization, based chiefly on the political network of the OUN (Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists).

The Ukrainian nationalist underground has existed on Ukrainian soil for over fifty years. In spite of the fact that the Soviets and Nazis referred to OUN as a "fascist" or "terrorist" organization, or even a "subversive movement", because its existence threatened the fruition of their plans, it is only a political and military organization of the Ukrainian patriots who strive for the liberation of Ukraine and for Ukrainian statehood. If it uses "subversive" methods, it is only for the sole reason that there are no legal possible methods by which a struggle for independence can be conducted in Russia. As a clandestine organization it must operate with the best principles of conspiracy and adopt military procedure within its organization.

The Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was born long before "fascism" or "hitlerism" appeared in Europe. OUN's first pre-

decessor was RUP (The Revolutionary Ukrainian Party), an underground Ukrainian political organization which was founded by an ardent Ukrainian patriot Mykola Mikhnovsky as early as 1902. We can find its successor in the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) which came into being after the fall of the Ukrainian National Republic in 1921. UVO was founded by the officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Army who decided to continue to struggle for independence. Headed by late Col. Evhen Konovalets, a former Ukrainian army corps commander, it gradually changed its character from that of military organization, widened its activities becoming an illegal political organization. At the First Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists in Prague in 1929, the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists came into being, the successor of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO). It was led by Col. Konovalets until the day of his death in 1938.

Faithful to the motto of OUN: "You will secure the Ukrainian statehood, or die fighting for it", the Ukrainian patriots who joined OUN declared war on the enemies of the Ukrainian independence. It was the OUN which organized the first serious opposition to Hitler's plans in Eastern Europe. As early as 1939, OUN put up a stern opposition to the advancing Hungarian army in Carpatho-Ukraine. In 1941 OUN gave birth to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which in the beginning consisted only of the combat groups of the OUN. Because it was the sole political organization of the Ukrainian people which was active under the German and Russian occupation of Ukraine, it appealed to the Ukrainian people to join the struggle for independence against the German and Russian occupations. The Ukrainian people answered the appeal of the OUN and the ranks of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) swelled with Ukrainian peasants, workers and intellectuals who took up arms to rid Ukraine of the German and Soviets. In this manner, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) became the armed organization of the whole Ukrainian people.

Since it consisted of true Ukrainian patriots, the OUN in Ukraine never had any monopolistic tendencies and when, as the result of widening the revolutionary process in Ukraine, the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR) came into being in 1944, OUN participated in its creation by sending a delegation to the Ukrainian National Congress. OUN subordinated its activities to the direction of the elected Council and General Secretariat of UHVR and follows its directives. In the scheme of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement the OUN holds the responsibility for special branches and services of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and is the unit of the Movement in Ukraine.

Besides its political activities, the OUN became the quartermaster of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement responsible for regular delivery of the required supplies to all units of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement at stipulated times and places. It supplied the Ukrainian Resistance Movement not only with money, food, clothing, war material and other supplies, but also with trained men. It was responsible for all communications to head-

quarters and other units on a similar level. It looked for the necessary contacts between the different units of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement and prepared shelters and underground bunkers for the winter quarters of the resistance fighters as well as the underground shelters for special purposes. It supplied combat troops with all the ordnance stores that they may have required and recovered and repaired their equipment. It also had the responsibility for provision of laundry service, for decontamination of clothing and for protecting the units and installations of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement from enemy attack. It maintains depots, workshops, ammunition depots and small factories for soap, leather, tanneries, etc. It provides for the transportation of the supplies needed by different units of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. It is concerned with personnel, which includes recruiting, training (only political and ideological), organization, administration, discipline and welfare.

The political credo of the OUN remains the same as it was during the Nazi occupation. It is fighting for a free and democratic independent Ukrainian state, for the destruction of Bolshevik exploitation and the slave labour system, for the liberation of the Ukrainian peasant, worker and intellectual from political and social-economic slavery, for freedom of the press, of expression, of religion, for free cultural progress unhampered by Stalinist dictatorship, etc. Through its tireless counter-propaganda the OUN explained to the peasants, workers and professional intelligentsia the unbridgeable chasm between the ideals propagated by the Bolsheviks and their application under the existing Soviet conditions. It trained all Ukrainians in anti-Soviet methods and reminded the Ukrainians by propaganda in the underground press and by word of mouth of the nature of Bolshevism and its aims towards Ukraine and toward the rest of the world. It tries to unite all the oppressed peoples of Eastern Europe in a common front against Bolshevism and to prepare them for an all-out anti-Russian and anti-communist uprising when the opportune time arrives.

The widening scope of these activities was possible because the OUN had a widespread underground organization of its own existing in the country for years. Long after the war had finished in Europe the widely dispersed and well-concealed network of the OUN still existed in close co-operation with the UPA and embraced wide territories of Ukraine.

In addition to the territorial organization of the OUN, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement controlled such important services as the "Security Service" (SB), "Ukrainian Red Cross" (UCK), "Propaganda Service", and "Technical Service" (TZ) which have an autonomy of their own within the framework of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

The Security Service of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement (SB) is the most effective service and is composed of the best underground fighters. It is very well organized and has done the Soviets much harm by its activities. It succeeded in organizing a network of its collaborators among the Soviet officials as well as among Soviet army and police force. It is the sector

of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement which is most hated by the Soviet occupation administration. This is evident in an article entitled "Nationalist Phantoms" published on August 14, 1946, in the Soviet-Ukrainian official newspaper *Radyanska Ukraina* (Soviet Ukraine). The author of this article stated frankly that the fight against Ukrainian nationalists is very difficult, because the latter are "masters of masquerade", and have a "security service" of their own which consists of the most experienced "bandits". Also they have their own "propaganda" based on the ideology of the publications of Prof. Michael Hrushevsky and Prof. Serhiy Yefremov. These were Ukrainian scholars "liquidated" by the Soviets.

Another statement concerning the Ukrainian SB was included in the "manifesto" of Premier Khrushchev and NKVD General Ryassny to the Ukrainian Insurgents and SB-men. They stated that the "criminal" and "dangerous" SB holds the troops and civilian population in strong discipline. Another statement was included in the secret order of the chief of MGB (political police) of the province of Drohobych (Western Ukraine) General Saburov. He stated that the "SB" is "a very dangerous organization", that it adopted the "Hitlerite methods of provocation" and tried "to fight insubordination and desertion with all its forces". Gen. Saburov asked for the "constant vigilance" of his subalterns and instructed them as to the "methods of combatting SB activities".

The "Ukrainian Red Cross" is the wide field of women's activities. It provides the medical service in the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. Under its jurisdiction come the various nursing services, the evacuation, care, and treatment of sick or injured resistance fighters, advice on measures to insure the health of troops and population, supply and replenishment of medical equipment, and supply and organization of field ambulances for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). It mobilizes girls and trains them as nurses for the UPA, organizes the underground hospitals and cares for wounded and sick soldiers of the UPA. The underground hospitals of the UPA became famous throughout the world. The Red Polish newspaper *Glos Ludu* (People's Voice) wrote about one of these hospitals in June, 1947: "Recently an underground hospital was discovered in a forest. There was nothing seen on the surface but trees and grass. Ten metres under the ground there was a hospital with corridors, operating rooms, infirmaries, beds and medical equipment. When the hospital had been discovered, the doctors and the nurses defended themselves heroically and committed suicide when the ammunition came to an end." The correspondent of the Polish Communist newspaper ended his article by saying: "Nobody on the surface heard anything of this underground tragedy of men and women... who showed a ferocious fanaticism and strange heroism." Another description of such a hospital we find in *Le Phare* (Brussels) in the issue of July 10/11, 1948, and in the *Times* (London) of June 20, 1947. The role of the Jewish doctors must be emphasized here. During the time of the German occupation of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Resistance Movement mobilized many

Jewish doctors, pharmacists, and nurses into its service, in this way saving their lives. When the Bolsheviks re-occupied Ukraine, Jewish doctors and nurses continued to serve with the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. Many Jewish doctors and nurses offered their lives in the fight against the Nazi and Soviet occupiers of Ukraine. A Jewish doctor called Kum died as a hero in the defence of the field-hospital which had been in his care for more than two years, in Trukhaniv in the Carpathians (1945). Another Jewish doctor, Maksymovich, committed suicide when facing liquidation of his field-ambulance in the Carpathians.

The Ukrainian Resistance Movement has developed a very good propaganda service of its own. Every detachment of the UPA as well as each unit of the territorial organization, has its own propagandist who is responsible for the propaganda service and propaganda activities in the area where it operates. All those propagandists follow the directives of the "Propaganda Centre" which is located somewhere in Ukraine. The "Propaganda Centre" has its printing presses where the press organs, periodicals and leaflets are printed. There are many underground periodicals in Ukraine. The leading journal of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists is *Ideya i Chyn* (Idea and Action). Another is the journal of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) *Povstanets* (The Insurgent), the journal of the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (UHVR) *Samostiynist* (Independence), the humorous paper *Perets* ('Pepper'), the popular information paper *Informacijni Visti* (Information News), *Lisovyk* (The Man of the Forest), etc. It is interesting to note that Ostap Vyshnya, once the outstanding Ukrainian satirist and author of the *Usmishky* ("Smiles") who was banished to Siberia in the thirties, was brought back in 1945 to Ukraine to combat widespread Ukrainian underground satirical pamphleteering. Because the Ukrainian illegal satirical magazine *Ukrainian Pepper* was very popular in Ukraine, the Soviet government founded in Kyiv a magazine called *The Red Pepper*, and Vyshnya was put in charge of it. Apparently, he did not justify Communist party hopes, since the Union of Ukrainian Writers, a Soviet official organization, upon the order of the Politbureau, charged that *Red Pepper* was "substituting spite and vulgarity for popular humour".

The underground propaganda network quickly disseminates all available information by means of a whispered propaganda technique which is used very often. In addition, letters, newspapers, bulletins, posters, slogans, and pamphlets are printed and distributed chiefly in urban centres where military garrisons are stationed. The propaganda in the Soviet army is considered especially important. Material which is small in size and easily distributed is used when the Soviet Army units are busy carrying out round-ups and blockades against the UPA. Slogans like "Do you want to go on starving?", "Do you know what the fight is for?", or "Down with Stalin's tyranny", and the like, have a strong influence upon the morale of Soviet Army soldiers. The Ukrainian Resistance Movement published thousands of leaflets calling the Soviet army officers and soldiers to a common struggle

against Stalin's tyranny. It spoke to them with a profound knowledge of the terrible conditions of life under the Soviet régime. "With the overthrow of Hitler", wrote UPA in its proclamation to the Red Army in 1946, "only dictators-imperialists have changed their positions. Nothing has changed in the conditions of the People, of the working masses. Oppression, exploitation, and terror go on." After this statement the UPA summed up: "You fight for the victory of justice has not ended yet. You will end it, if you overthrow the dictatorial-terroristic exploitative system of the greatest foe of the people, Stalin's government, and his gang of people's exploiters, the Communist Party. Let us undermine the Stalinist system from within.!"

A book by Mykola Lebed which has been published in Ukrainian about the origin, growth and activity of the UPA reprints the texts of various appeals which were addressed to the Georgians, Armenians, Cossacks, Volga Tartars, and other non-Russian nationalities. Each text was adapted to the grievances and historical background of the people concerned. Some leaflets were printed in Russian, others were printed in the original language of the people concerned, using even the type faces of the language concerned (Georgian). During raids in Poland or Czechoslovakia, the leaflets in Polish, Czech and Slovak languages were issued by the thousands summoning the respective peoples to fight against the common oppressors. The appeals conclude: "We shall fight for the Ukrainian independent state and for the independent states of all the peoples whom the Bolshevik hangmen have enslaved... The peoples of Europe do not want Hitlerism or Stalinism... Long live the revolution of the oppressed peoples! Long live the sovereign states of all peoples! Long live peace and friendship of peoples!"

There are different methods of distributing propaganda material. In the urban centres propaganda material reduced in size is put into letter boxes at the door, or into coats or other garments in restaurants and cafes, and into books and magazines in public libraries. Other material of a similar small size is sent by post. In some cases Soviet officials are taken prisoner and then set free after being given intensive orientation and having been provided with propaganda literature. Other persons from the Soviet administration are selected and the individual approach is organized. In some cases meetings for the population are organized, and different points of the Soviet propaganda line is attacked. Theatre performances and concerts for the Ukrainian population were organized by a special propaganda group called the "Flying Estrade" under the protection of the UPA.

Revolutionary formations of the UPA and OUN pay very great attention to the fight in the economic sector. Everywhere in Ukraine slogans against Stalin's Five Year Plan are spread and the anti-democratic and sponging character of it is shown. The slogans of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement call to the fight against the exploitation of the peasants and workers, for social justice, for high living standards and for independence. Below we quote some appeals of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement:

“Working People! In the fourth Five-Year Plan the Stalinist spongers have made only aeroplanes, guns and tanks, but nothing you may need in your daily life! Make no preparation for war! Fight for real peace and a higher standard of living! Down with Stalin’s imperialism!”

“Working people! Down with the inverted declarations of Stalin about the transition to Communism! We do not want to be deceived by boasting about the construction of socialism. We want a free and good life! We want to fight against the Bolshevik exploitation! Down with Stalin’s parasites!”

“Workers! Stalin’s spongers ordered the Trade Unions to organize the new socialistic Stakhanovite contest! Down with the Stalinist Trade Unions! Down with this tool in the hands of the Stalin clique to exploit the working class! Death to the commissars of the Stalin Trade Unions! Let the real workers be the leaders of the Trade Unions! We want to fight for real democracy in the Trade Unions!

“Farmers of the kolkhozes! The Stalinist parasites enjoy their life by means of your products, while you suffer from starvation! Take the products for yourselves, for you are the producers. Take your own bread! Chase away the guards of the kolkhoz grain! Kill the active NKVD controlling people, and their spies!”

“Workers of Ukraine! The fourth Five-Year Plan is a preparation for a new war aimed at the suppression of other peoples of the world! We do not want to die for Stalin’s imperialistic interests! Break all Stalin’s plans wherever you can! The sooner that the Stalinist empire will collapse the better for you! Long live the fight of the Ukrainian people for their independent state! Long live the freedom of the peoples and the freedom of the individual!”

The leaflets of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement are spread all over the Soviet Union. Even now, Moscow was plastered with the leaflets of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement. In Ukraine every pillar-box, sign-post, telegraph and mile stone, railway station and railway train, buses and trams were covered with leaflets. Often they are printed on field-presses where handmade wooden types are used. Often they have artistic engravings which tell more than the contents of the leaflets.

The contents of the propaganda of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement classifies it not only as a “subversive organization” but also as a most important political force behind the “Iron Curtain”.

The Technical Service (TZ) operates the underground presses, prepares leaflets, printed materials, stores explosives, mines terrain and carries out the demolition of bridges, railway tracks, buildings and railway trains carrying supplies and war material and at the time of the German occupation, operated the underground radio stations. It operates the famous “Insurgent VI” which so brilliantly demolished the building of the Russian NKVD

and Polish UB in the battle of Hrubieszow, on May 27 and 28, 1946. It was a joint Polish-Ukrainian underground action against the town Hrubieszow in Poland in which the troops of VIN (Freedom and Independence), the Polish underground organization, participated alongside the troops of the UPA. The action ended with the seizure of Hrubieszow. As we said above, the Ukrainian "Insurgent V1" completely demolished the buildings where the Soviet NKVD and Polish UB troops were garrisoned, causing many casualties among them. This "Insurgent V1" was simply a Wooden Rack Launcher 28/32 cm of the German Army which could fire high explosive 28-mm rockets or incendiary 320-mm rockets. This rocket launcher and more than a hundred rockets were captured during the retreat of the German Army from Ukraine. To the duties of the Technical Service belongs also the preparation of false documents and other identification papers.

Having the territorial organization of the OUN as its chief base, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) carries out its operations throughout Ukraine and far beyond its borders. The troops of the UPA are organized into operative groups with group commanders and their staffs at the head. The groups are divided into sectors with sector commanders and staffs at the head. The sectors are divided into detachments, the detachments into sub-detachments and the sub-detachments into squads. Each detachment has its own area of activity and the borders of its territory are crossed only in exceptional cases and only on the order of the group or sector command.

The strength of UPA forces is a secret and it is impossible to give its numerical strength. Alfred Berzins, a former public affairs minister of Latvia, and former President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), estimated it in the *Washington Times Herald* from July 18, 1949, at 20,000 armed men, at the same time estimating the strength of the partisans operating in the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania at 8,000 men. In due course, however, the number and strength of the UPA detachments was reduced to a minimum, while the strength of the territorial organization of the OUN was increased. The main stress was then laid upon the expansion of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement to the East, and upon the propaganda activities which absorb most of the personnel. Once more the character of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement changed, losing its military character, and becoming more political. Nowadays it is the chief aspect of the fight of the Ukrainian Resistance Movement.

All UPA activities are planned by the Supreme Command of the UPA. Supreme Command is the main advisory body to the Supreme Commander on operations, intelligence, organization, supply, and general matters of the UPA policy. It basically consists of separate branches which cover all the proper staff and planning functions and which are groups under senior staff officers acting under supervision of a Chief of Staff.

(To be continued)

*Donald A. MARTIN*

## **WHY BRITAIN SHOULD BE INTERESTED IN THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY**

Mr. Chairman, Mr. and Mrs. Stetsko, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen.\*

This year marks the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in October 1942. It was founded to protect the Ukrainian Nation which had just recovered its independence from the retreating Russian Communists. Other speakers, as well as leaflets which are being distributed, give you the history and heroic deeds of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. It is not my intention therefore to cover this same ground.

What I want to do, is to give you a reason why British people should be interested in this 40th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. I feel that I can do this, having just led the largest British delegation ever to attend any previous Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and European Freedom Council (EFC) Conference. All the British delegates were very happy to play their part in making our just concluded ABN/EFC Conference a success.

But now, why should British people be interested in the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army? Firstly, it should be pointed out that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army had to fight on two fronts — one against Nazi Germany and the other against Communist Russia — both totalitarian régimes.

Nazi Germany has been defeated, but Communist Russia has not. Communist Russia only remains in business because the free world holds it together with aid, trade and technical assistance. This aid, trade and technical assistance must be stopped as it is treason to all freedom loving people.

This reference to economic assistance to the totalitarian communist Russian régime brings us to the important question of the causes of war. The causes of war are not only the lust for power and the desire for control of others. They are also economic.

It was a British engineer by the name of Clifford Hugh Douglas, who correctly explained the causes of war in a speech on the British Broadcasting Corporation, in 1936. This speech was later published as a chapter

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\* Address by Mr. Donald A. Martin, Chairman of The British League for European Freedom, at the Mass Rally in Trafalgar Square, London, England, on Sunday, 26th September, 1982, at the conclusion of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and European Freedom Council Conference to commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

in his book, 'The Monopoly of Credit'.\* A summary of this chapter is that you cannot have peace if expanding businesses are competing for a limited market. What we had before the last war (and we have it again today) is all nations seeking to export more than they import. Governments everywhere encourage businesses to go out and capture foreign markets. The very use of the word 'capture' explains the reality that business must be taken away from others — thus we see the cause of international friction. It is also the cause of friction within the nation, which Communist union officials exploit so well without providing a proper answer.

Against this background we see the importance of the financial and other aid given to the Communist Russian régime. If we examine the research work of British-born Dr. Antony Sutton, we see in two of his books, 'Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution'\* and 'Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler',\* that many of the same financiers who supported the succoured, and financed the two totalitarian régimes of Nazi Germany and Communist Russia, against whom the Ukrainian Insurgent Army fought, today are the same people who are continuing to finance the same tyrants. This is why I say that this treason must be stopped. If we do not stop this treason, that placard in the crowd which reads "Today Afghanistan, Tomorrow Europe, and then England" will, unfortunately, become true.

British and other free world workers should read the book of the Canadian Trade Union leader, Charles Levinson, called 'Vodka Cola',\* which documents how certain multinational companies are setting up factories behind the Iron Curtain, using Communist slave labour and then exporting their products to the Free World. These exports from Communist slavery are used to destroy the jobs of Free World Workers. The destruction of these jobs destroys the workers' pay and thus their purchasing power. This also destroys British industry. So we see that the exploitation by the Communists of their own workers, is designed to create problems in the Free World.

All this is why British people should be interested in this 40th Anniversary of the Founding of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

We should not forget that it was the capitalist Engels, who made his money from exploiting child labour in Lancashire, England, who helped Karl Marx to write the Communist Manifesto. The Communist Manifesto says, "Workers of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains". I say, "Be warned British workers — Workers in the Russian and Chinese Empires are in chains and slave labour camps. Use your brains

\* Note: the books mentioned in this address: 'The Monopoly of Credit' by C. H. Douglas (price paperback £3.25, hardback £5.25); 'Wall Street and the Bolshevik Revolution' by Dr. Antony Sutton (price paperback £3.50, hardback £6.50); 'Wall Street and the Rise of Hitler' by Dr. Antony Sutton (price paperback £3.25, hardback £7.50); and 'Vodka Cola' by Charles Levinson (price paperback £5.95, hardback £10.95) are all obtainable from Bloomfield Books, 26 Meadow Lane, Sudbury, Suffolk, England, CO10 6TD. Prices are post free.

## NEWS FROM UKRAINE

### REPRESSED UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

(continued from U.R. No. 3, 1982)

213) KHOMYCH, born in the Volhynia region, a participant in the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, for which he was interned for many years in concentration camps. When released, he became active in religious life and for this he is continuously persecuted.

214) KHOZAN, a 4th year student in the history faculty at Lviv University, from which he was expelled in the summer of 1973 for having been involved, together with other students, in the publishing of the underground magazine *Koryto* and for distributing leaflets.

215) KHRYSTYNYCH Bohdan, born in 1929 in Ternopil, sentenced in 1960 to 15 years imprisonment for membership of OUN.

216) KHUDASH, a lecturer of psychology at Lviv University. In the summer of 1973 he was dismissed when a semi-legal student group at the University was discovered with which he had had connections.

217) KHVOSTENKO H., a 3rd year student of Ukrainian philology at the Lviv University, from which he was expelled for being involved in the publishing of an underground magazine *Koryto* and for distributing leaflets among students.

218) KICHAK Ihor Yosyfovych, arrested in 1958 in Dnipropetrovske and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 10 years imprisonment.

219) KIFIAC Semen Ananiyevych, born in 1941, arrested for political activity and sentenced in 1971 under Article 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 5 years imprisonment.

220) KINDRAT Vasyl, born in 1930, a member of the underground organisation The Ukrainian National Front, for which he was arrested and sentenced in Lviv on 23rd December 1961 to 13 years imprisonment in concentration camps. While in prison he became mentally ill.

221) KINDRATYSHYN Victor, born in 1952 in the Ivano-Frankivske region, an artist-sculptor, married, father of a son. He was treacherously murdered by hanging and his body was not found until 1st December 1979.

222) KIPYSH Ivan Zacharovych, born in 1923 in the Lemko region, he worked for the militia. He was arrested at the end of 1960 and sentenced in Lviv under Article 19, 56-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 7 years imprisonment in concentration camps for being a member of the Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union.

223) KHLEBANOV Volodymyr Oleksandrovych, born in 1931 in the Donbas region, a coal-miner, married and has 3 children. He was dismissed from work for

**British workers: the Communists would first steal your gains and then give you chains!"**

When all these facts are faced and the answers that I have suggested are implemented — then will Ukraine and all Captive Nations be free.

I look forward to the time of the 50th Anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and hope that it can be a truly golden anniversary when they can parade in a free capital of Ukraine — Kyiv.

publicly defending workers' rights and then interned in a psychiatric hospital, where he was kept from 1968 till 1973. When he was released, he was continuously persecuted. In 1977 he was arrested for attempting to form an Association of the Free Workers' Trade Union and later put into a psychiatric hospital.

224) KLISHCH Mychaylo, an artist, sentenced to long term imprisonment for political activity. He was transferred from the concentration camp in 1972 to psychiatric hospital in Sychovka.

225) KLIUCHYK Antin, a priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, he had been imprisoned in Stalin's concentration camps. After his release he was continuously persecuted and re-arrested in 1974 for demanding the revival of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

226) KLYMCHUK Pavlo, arrested in 1961 for political activity and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment.

227) KLYMKOVYCH Yosyp, arrested in 1949 for participating in the liberation struggle and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment.

228) KMET V., a member of the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, in 1947 he was taken prisoner and sentenced to long term imprisonment.

229) KOBYLECKYJ Yaroslav, in 1960 he was sentenced in Kyiv to 5 years imprisonment in concentration camps for "nationalistic propaganda".

230) KOBRYANCHUK Vasyl, sentenced in 1957 in Rivne to 10 years imprisonment for nationalistic activity.

231) KOC Mykola Hryhorovych, born in 1930 in the Volhynia region, a lecturer at an institute in the Ternopil region. Arrested at the end of 1967 for distributing underground literature and sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 7 years imprisonment in concentration camps and 5 years of exile.

232) KOCHUBEY Ivan, inspector of a collective farm *Druzhba* in the Transcarpathian region, arrested when found reading religious literature of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and sentenced in 1973 to 5 years imprisonment.

233) KOLOPACH Roman S., born on 12th November 1954 in the Lviv region finished secondary school, arrested on 10th May 1972 and sentenced to 3 year imprisonment for raising the Ukrainian blue and yellow flag with some friends in the village of Stebnyk in the Lviv region. In 1977 he was still imprisoned in the Permskyj concentration camp.

234) KONCHAKIVSKYJ Mykola Semenovych, born in 1919 in the Lviv region a leading member of OUN-UPA, during a battle on 29th August 1950 he was captured and spent 28 years in prison camps. He was released on 29th August 1978 and on his way home he died in mysterious circumstances.

235) KONDRATIUK Yu. D., sentenced to death in 1978 in Zhytomyr for political activity.

236) KONEVYCH Ivan, born in 1930 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, a labourer arrested in December 1958 and sentenced to 7 years imprisonment in concentration camps for membership of the underground group, "The United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine". He and seven other associates were sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

237) KOPTSIUKH, sentenced under Article 64 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 13 years imprisonment where he is still interned in concentration camps.

238) KOPEYKO Mykola, sentenced to long-term imprisonment for political activity.

239) KORNIYCHUK Anatoliy, a long-term political prisoner, known for his protests against Russification of Ukraine and against the privileged position of Russians in Ukraine.

- 240) KOROBBAN Andriy Mykhaylovych, born in 1930, a teacher, first arrested as a student for nationalistic activity and sentenced in Kyiv to 10 years imprisonment. He was arrested for the second time on 10th September 1969 for writing an essay entitled "Apropos the Question of National Independence for Ukraine". He was sentenced in Kyiv under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 6 years of concentration camps and 4 years of exile.
- 241) KOROL'CHUK Semen Izydorovych, a doctor, first arrested in 1967, but was released due to lack of evidence. He was re-arrested in 1971 and sentenced in Lviv under Article of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 4 years of concentration camps of strict regime. Korol'chuk was charged with membership of the underground group The Ukrainian National Front.
- 242) KOZAKEVYCH Liubov Mykhaylivna, born in 1952, a baptist, arrested on 19th January 1980 in the Dnipropetrovsk region.
- 243) KOSHELYK Roman, arrested in 1964 and sentenced in Lviv under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 6 years of concentration camps.
- 244) KOSTENIUK Victor Yosypovych and his brother, Volodymyr, both priests of the Evangelical Baptist Church in Chernivtsi, arrested 5th January 1980.
- 245) KOSTIV Mykola, born in 1915 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, a participant of the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1945 and sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. Re-arrested in 1952 and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment in concentration camps.
- 246) KOTYK Yevhen, a priest of the clandestine Ukrainian Catholic Church, arrested in 1967 and sentenced for refusing to recognize the 'liquidation' of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by Moscow. When released he was continuously persecuted. On 10th May 1980 Rev. Kotyk's body was found near Lviv. He had been murdered by KGB agents.
- 247) KOVHAR Borys F., born in 1926, a journalist, married with children, arrested in 1972 in Kyiv and sentenced to forced treatment in a psychiatric hospital for having refused to go on working as a KGB agent.
- 248) KOVTUNENKO Mykhaylo S., a doctor, arrested in 1976 in Kyiv and sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for having refused to work for the KGB and for refusing to inform on the author Mykola Rudenko.
- 249) KOVAL'CHUK Ivan, a participant of the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. Released in 1974 but was refused permission to return to Ukraine. He is at present living in Krasnodar.
- 250) KOVAL'CHUK Dmytro, arrested 1962 in Chernivtsi and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in concentration camps.
- 251) KOVAL'CHUK Petro S., born in 1922 in the Rivne region, a member of the revolutionary OUN-UPA, for which he spent many years in Stalin's concentration camps. He was re-arrested in 1972 and sentenced to death in Torchyn, in the Volhynia region.
- 252) KOVAL' Ivan Teodorovych, on 23rd December 1961 he was sentenced to death in Lviv and shot for organizing an underground group calling itself the Ukrainian National Committee. In all, there were 20 people arrested at the same time.
- 253) KOVALENKO Mykola Yermiylovych, born in 1919, a teacher, arrested in January 1972 and sentenced in Kyiv under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years of exile. In 1974 he was transferred to a psychiatric hospital.

- 254) KOVALYK F., sentenced after World War II to long term imprisonment for participating in the liberation movement OUN-UPA. He was last heard of in 1970.
- 255) KOVALYSHYN Hryhorij, arrested in 1962 in Ternopil and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in concentration camps for nationalistic activity.
- 256) KOZHAN Ivan, a participant of the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, a long-term underground activist, sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.
- 257) KOZLA, arrested in 1950 and sentenced in Ternopil to 25 years imprisonment for membership of OUN.
- 258) KRASIVSKYJ Zinovij Mychaylovych, born in 1930 in the Lviv region, a philologist, married, with children. Arrested in 1947 charged with membership of UPA and sentenced to long-term imprisonment and exile. While in exile, he became an invalid and was allowed to return to Ukraine. He was re-arrested in March 1967 for membership of the underground group, The Ukrainian National Front and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivske under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 12 years imprisonment of very strict regime and to 5 years of exile. Since 1972 he has served his sentence in several psychiatric hospitals. He was re-arrested for the third time on 12th March 1980 so that he could complete the remaining 8 months of his sentence as well as the 5 years of exile.
- 259) KRAVCHUK Yaroslav, born in 1938, sentenced to hard labour in the Dnipropetrovske region from where he was transferred to a psychiatric hospital. In 1979 he was moved to a psychiatric hospital in Lviv.
- 260) KRAVCIV Ihor Ivanovych, born in 1936, an engineer, on 28th October 1972 in Kharkiv he was sentenced under Article 61-1. of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 6 years of concentration camps. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted.
- 261) KRECKYJ Hryhorij I., born in 1929 in the Chernivtsi region, a participant of the liberation movement OUN-UPA. He was arrested for the 2nd time in 1976 and sentenced in Chernivtsi under Articles 56 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 10 years imprisonment and to several years of exile.
- 262) KROL' Petro Mykhaylovych, born in the Lviv region, member of OUN, a long-term underground activist, arrested and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. In 1967 while in prison, his case was re-opened and he was sentenced for the second time to long-term imprisonment.
- 263) KROTYK Petro Fedorovych, born in 1929, a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church, married and a father of 8 children. Arrested on 25th October 1973 and sentenced in Cherkassy under Articles 138-2 and 209-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 3½ years imprisonment for his religious convictions.
- 264) KROVETS Andrij Mykolayevych, arrested in January 1973, accused of distributing underground literature and raising the Ukrainian flag. He was sentenced under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR in Ternopil to 4 years imprisonment and 2 years of exile. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted.
- 265) KRYSTAL' Pavlo F., born in 1922 in the Volhynia region, participant of the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, a long-term underground activist, arrested in 1971 in Dnipropetrovske and sentenced in Lutske under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 17 years imprisonment.
- 266) KRYVYJ Ivan Mykolayevych, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, he was first subjected to repression during Moscow's liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

He was re-arrested and sentenced in 1974 in Lviv to 4 years imprisonment for printing and distributing religious literature of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Rev. Kryvyj is married and has 2 children.

267) KUCHERENKO Fomyn, arrested on 19th August 1978 and sentenced to 2 years imprisonment for his religious convictions.

268) KUKHARUK Oleksa M., born in 1923 in the Volhynia region, a participant of the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1972 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years of concentration camp imprisonment.

269) KUKAVKA Mykhaylo, arrested for nationalistic activity and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. In 1976 he was transferred to a psychiatric hospital.

270) KULAK Onufrij, born in 1928, a participant of the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA for which he was sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 25 years imprisonment. He was last heard of while serving his sentence in the Permsky camp.

271) KULCHYNSKYJ Mykola, born in 1947 in the Dnipropetrovsk region, arrested on 17th June 1969 and sentenced in Dnipropetrovsk under Article 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 2½ years imprisonment for jointly writing a 'Letter From the Creative Youth of Dnipropetrovsk', which consisted of collected documents about the Russification of Ukraine.

272) KULIABKO Ivan, a young doctor, arrested in 1959 and sentenced to 6 years imprisonment for nationalistic activity among students.

273) KULISHER V., arrested in 1977 for membership of OUN and sentenced in Chernivtsi to long-term imprisonment.

274) KUL'KA Pavlo, arrested in 1956 in Kyiv and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in concentration camps for collaborating with OUN-UPA.

275) KULYK Ivan, a long-standing member of OUN, an instructor in UPA, a leading figure in OUN from 1945 onwards in the Kolomya region, captured in battle and sentenced to long-term imprisonment.

276) KULYK Mykola, born in the Crimea, in 1972 he was sentenced in Simferopol to 15 years of concentration camps. He was accused of armed attacks.

277) KULYK Pavlo, arrested in 1959 for nationalistic activity among sailors and sentenced to long-term imprisonment. Since his release, he and his wife have undergone continuous persecution.

278) KULYKOVSKYJ Volodymyr, arrested in 1962 in Ternopil and sentenced for nationalistic activity to 15 years of concentration camps.

279) KULYNIN Vasyly, born in 1943 in the Lviv region, completed his secondary education. Arrested in 1967 and sentenced in Lviv under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 6 years of concentration camps and 5 years of exile for membership of the underground Ukrainian National Front.

280) KURCHYK Mykola Yakovych, born in 1927, arrested in 1953 and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 26 years imprisonment for membership of the liberation movement OUN-UPA.

281) KURYLIAK Stepan, arrested in 1963 in Rivne and sentenced to 5 years of concentration camps and 4 years of exile for his nationalistic convictions and criticisms of the regime. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted and unable to find work.

282) KUSHNARCHUK Ivan, born in 1921, a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church which does not recognise the officially sanctioned Russian Orthodox Church council, arrested in 1972, his trial took one year and he was finally sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment.

283) KUSHNYRIUK Vasyl T., born in the Chernivtsi region, a member of OUN-UPA, a long-term underground activist, arrested in 1976 and sentenced under Article 56 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment.

284) KUZYK Hnat, born in 1933 in the Lviv region, arrested and sentenced under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR on 23rd December 1961 in Lviv for membership of the underground Ukrainian National Committee to 15 years imprisonment in concentration camps.

285) KVETSKO Dmytro Mykolayevych, born in 1935, a history teacher, married, has one child. Arrested in March 1967 and sentenced in Lviv under Article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 15 years imprisonment and 5 years of exile. He was accused of being the ideologue of the secret organisation The Ukrainian National Front. In 1979 he was serving his sentence in the Permskyj concentration camp No. 35. As reported in the *U.R.* No. 3 (p. 52), 1982, he is now living in exile.

286) KRAYNYK Mykola Mykhaylovych, born on 20th April 1935 in the village of Solukiv in the Ivano-Frankivske region, married with 2 children. In 1967 he graduated in history at the Chernivtsi University. He was arrested on 19th September 1979 and sentenced on 21st August 1980 under Articles 62, 64 and 208 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation) to 7 years of concentration camps of very strict regime and 3 years of exile. Since 21st November 1980 he has been serving his sentence in Mordovia: USSR, Mordovian ASSR, st. Potma, pos. Barashevo, Zh/Ch-358/3-5.

287) KUSHNIR Mykhaylo Hryhorovych, born in 1938, a priest of the Evangelical Baptist Church, married and has 7 children. Arrested on 5th January in Chernivtsi. His term of sentence is not known.

288) KUSHCHENKO Ivan Konstantynovych, born in 1923, married and a father, a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church, arrested on 19th December 1972 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment.

289) HUTSKALUK Slava, arrested in the 1950s and accused of being a member of OUN. As a result of torture she is half-paralysed.

290) LABINSKYJ, a labourer from Khodoriv in the Lviv area. On the 1st October 1971 (Anniversary of the October Revolution), he refused to carry a placard for which, 2 days later he was hung by KGB agents in a Khodoriv sugar combine, where he worked.

291) LAVRENUCHUK Andrij S., a member of the Evangelical Baptist Church, arrested and sentenced under Article 249 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to long-term imprisonment for refusing to carry weapons during military service. He is interned in the Arkhangelsk concentration camp.

292) LAVRENUCHUK Mykola Ivanovych, born in 1955, arrested on 25th February 1974 and sentenced under Article 249a of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 3 years of concentration camp imprisonment for refusing to carry weapons during military service.

293) LEMYK Luba, the wife of Mykola Lemyk. She spent 12 years in concentration camps for working for the OUN. When she was released she was kept under

close surveillance by the KGB in connection with the case of V. Moroz and the 'samvydav of 1st May 1970. Luba is continuously persecuted by the KGB.

294) LENNYK L., born in 1934 in Zhytomyr, sentenced on 8th July 1966 to 3 years imprisonment.

295) LEONIUK Volodymyr, born in 1932 in Berestia (Brest-Litovsk), a participant of the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1951 and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment. In 1960 he was again put on trial for being involved in the OUN-North, which was formed in the 1950s by political prisoners in Vorkuta. His prison sentence was then extended to another 12 years in concentration camps.

296) LESIV Yaroslav, born in 1945, married and has a son, he is a lecturer in physical education. He was first arrested in 1967 for belonging to the Ukrainian National Front and was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment in concentration camps of very strict regime and to 5 years of exile. In November 1979 he was re-arrested and sentenced to 2 years in concentration camps under Article 229 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for supposedly being in possession of drugs, but in fact, for being a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

297) LESTIUK Hryhorij Pylypovych, born in the Ternopil region, arrested in 1944 and sentenced to long-term imprisonment for membership of the OUN. Since his release he has been continuously persecuted.

298) LEVCHUK I. N., arrested in 1962 and sentenced in the town of Khmelnyckyj to 10 years imprisonment for political activity. His brother meanwhile was sentenced to 9 years of concentration camp imprisonment.

299) LEVOV Ivan, arrested in August 1977 and sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment.

*(To be continued)*

In English translation

## REVOLUTIONARY VOICES

**UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS  
CONDEMN RUSSIAN COLONIALISM**

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### BLIND POLITICAL PRISONER APPEALS TO U.N.

*In spring of this year a Lviv regional court sentenced Ukrainian human rights activist Pavlo Kampov\* to 10 years imprisonment and three years exile. The charge on which Kampov was arrested had been entirely fabricated by the KGB: first it arranged to have his Category I invalid status nullified, then accused him of having fraudulently received that status and of illegally receiving 190 roubles in aid for his daughter.*

*In April 1982, shortly after the trial, Kampov wrote an appeal for help, addressed to the United Nations. He was able to have it smuggled out of the labour camp near Lviv and passed on to the West. The External Representation of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group has forwarded Kampov's appeal to the UN.*

To: The United Nations  
 From: Pavlo Fedorovych Kampov,  
 political prisoner, strict regime  
 camp VL 315/30, Lviv

### AN APPEAL

I, Pavlo Fedorovych Kampov, was born September 21, 1929, in the village of Dilok, Mukachiv District, Transcarpathian Region, into the family of a poor village widow. My father died when I was but one year old.

I completed graduate studies at Uzhorod University. I worked as a teacher, a school principal, and as a lecturer of higher mathematics at Uzhorod University. I was in the Komsomol and the Communist Party. Never did I engage in anti-Soviet thoughts or actions.

On June 16, 1970, I was arrested by organs of the KGB, and subsequently sentenced to six years of camps and three years of internal exile for so-called anti-Soviet activity. They accused me of writing a book, "Twenty-five Years of Hopes and Disappointments", showing me a copy signed by a Petro Pidkarpatsky. That year, while elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR were taking place, leaflets were distributed in the region which, in the name of the party for the non-violent resurrection of Subcarpathian Rus', called on the people to vote not for the official candidates, but for other people, among whom my name was listed.

In 1977 I returned home a Category I invalid. There was no real life at home—I was called to the KGB after the arrests of Ginzburg, Lukyanenko, Meshko and Kandyba. I had sat in the camps with some of them; others I did not even know. Militiamen Durunda and Syurtyk tore down the doors of my house one night, stole 62 karbovantsi (roubles) and left.

On April 22, 1981, six persons from the KGB searched my place for

\* About Pavlo Kampov see also *Ukrainian Review* No. 3, 1982, p. 42 and p. 52.

two days. They confiscated notes; letters; a photo of Sakharov; a reply from the Canadian Embassy regarding my request to emigrate to Canada; a reply from the Governor of Pennsylvania, USA; the handwritten draft of my book "To Bring Up Good People", and a review of it by the Karpaty publishing house; and drafts of various articles. On December 13, 1981, I was searched again by six militiamen. They were looking for my marriage certificate and my daughter's birth certificate; they took me, a Category I invalid, to jail without medical supervision. There they charged me that my daughter had been unlawfully receiving ten karbovantsi per month for nineteen months—a total of 190 karbovantsi—because I was an invalid. Such aid is guaranteed by law for children of Category I invalids. My friends repaid the 190 karbovantsi without my knowledge. Then I was prematurely subjected to a medical examination under the direction of Professor Kotelyansky and, under pressure from the KGB, they reclassified me as a Category II, not I, invalid. But this was not enough for the KGB. They then moved me to Dnipropetrovsk and nullified even my Category II status. Then they accused me of fraudulently attaining invalid status, and sentenced me to ten years of strict regime camp and three years of internal exile.

Thus, the Soviet regime has sentenced me to a total of twenty-two years.

Let me talk on the subject of my illness. My left eye began to ail in 1944, and is now totally blind. My right eye, in the opinion of Dnipropetrovsk doctors, retains 0.1, or 10%, of visual function and, in the opinion of Professor Kotelyansky—7%. I first began to see poorly through my right eye in 1968. While I was imprisoned in the KGB prison in Uzhhorod, investigator Bilotserkivets often beat me about the head and eyes. One time after a beating, I began to bleed from the chest. The doctors in the tuberculosis clinic confirmed that the bleeding resulted from a blow, and that this should be recorded in the prison log. While I was in an isolation cell for thirteen months in the KGB prison in 1970, a 200-watt bulb burned continuously day and night. My eyes hurt, but they did not call a doctor and, instead, would not allow me to read books.

In 1971, in the Mordovian camps, I developed a fracture in my spine as a result of heavy lifting, and my right eye became extremely painful. I was taken to the hospital. They treated my back, but not my eye. Only Panakhydyn, an "orderly" and a driver by trade, instilled my eye with drops. The eye ceased to function.

In 1973, in the Perm camps, Doctor Nesterenko prescribed a treatment plan, but the treatment was never delivered. In the same year, a doctor from the Perm Medical Institute classified me as a Category II invalid. Since 1973, I was bedridden for almost three years with pneumonia. For all three years I also had a fever. In 1977, a special regional expert working commission on eyes classified me as a Category I invalid. I never requested classification as an invalid because the attitude towards me was terrible.

In 1977 I spent over four months in the Uzhhorod hospital and was discharged still ill. In 1978 I was hospitalized in the Uzhhorod Regional Clinic of Uzhhorod University, under the care of Professor Kotelyansky. After this, the Uzhhorod committee classified me as a Category I invalid. The diagnosis: chronic pneumonia, aortic sclerosis, complete atrophy of the left eye and partial atrophy of the right. In Uzhhorod I received no treatment besides aloe and vitamins for my eyes. For four years my eye was treated by a Moscow academician, along with a Canadian professor for two and one-half of those years. I never deceived anyone. When they took me to Dnipropetrovsk, a doctor asked investigator Rayko (my accompanying officer): "Why do you want to nullify Kampov's invalid status?" He answered that this is a special case. I asked Rayko whether he did not fear God when he did such things. He answered that all this was the KGB's doing that he had no say in the matter.

When they arrested me on July 13, 1981, Motenko, the chief of the militia in Uzhhorod, was present. Investigator Rayko asked what was to be done with me; Motenko said to arrest me, because he had been telephoned by Siryk, chief of the regional MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs) who told him that the KGB had approved this action with Kravchenko the procurator, and with Bandrovsky, the regional Party leader. All this is known to Barashnikov, the head of the prison. Thus, there was a conspiracy against me, an innocent Transcarpathian, by the heads of the penal institutions in Transcarpathia. All of these persons — Siryk, Yakovenko Malyk (KGB), Kravchenko, Bandrovsky and Barashnikov — came from the East to direct penal institutions in Transcarpathia.

My trial was assigned to Judge V. [illegible, ed.]. His name has terrorized Transcarpathians for over forty years, in all camps of immigrant Transcarpathians who fled to the USSR in 1939. The procedure against me shows that the government is ready to kill anyone who was ever incarcerated in a political camp. It fears its deeds against me, an innocent individual and wishes to kill me so as not to have a living witness.

When I returned home, I spent all of my time in my house, spoke with no one, and did not become involved with anything. But they could not even tolerate me that way. After the trial, the newspaper *Zakarpatska Pravda*, a Party organ, published an incriminating article against me. The Party organ called me cuckold. After that, as in 1970 when they shipped me to Russian concentration camps, my family fell apart. They sent a judge from Kharkiv Region to try Transcarpathians. He married a Transcarpathian girl by the name of Hetsko from the village of Kushnytsya. Then they assigned him to Uzhhorod. Here, he moved into my house and began to live with my former wife; then, after a scandal, he married her, taking all valuables from Hetsko. Later, he took all the possessions from my house, including bonds valued at 3,000 karbovantsi, and left my house and his new wife. The Communist Party organ does not criticize its own

members—a judge and a schoolteacher—who are supposed to be educators. This serves the principles of Communism, and it is easy, without pangs of conscience, to call me a cuckold.

Then the article stated that I made contact with some ambassadors and received parcels from them. The fact of the matter is that individuals from the US, Canada, Switzerland, W. Germany and England have been writing to me and, after my return from prison, sent me several parcels.

In 1976 I was moved to the Tomsk Region to begin internal exile. They transported me there, and dumped me—a sick cripple—in the village of Komsomolsk without clothes or money. I was hungry, and walked about nearly naked. Soon, people in the USSR and, subsequently, people from abroad, found out about me and began to write and help me. About this, the Party newspaper remains silent, as about the fact that when I returned home I slept on the floor, without covers. The Communist Party did not help me, and the Party organ wants no one in the world to help me, so that I will die from hunger, cold and misery. And for this they bring me to trial, because there could not have been any other reason, especially in light of my meagre existence.

The Party organ insists that I became a dissident because I was dissatisfied with my career, that I wanted to become a Minister. We will leave this insinuation on the conscience of the newspaper. But is the desire to become a Minister a vice? The Communist Party itself joins in voting blocs with non-Party members and, if such blocs are for real, then non-Party members can become Ministers. Is being a non-Party member a crime?

Yes, one can often read in the newspapers that the Soviet government considers Transcarpathians to be apelike. No one writes that the first dean of St. Petersburg University was Transcarpathian, that Hohol (Gogol) was brought up by the Transcarpathian Orlay, dean of the Nyzhynsk Gymnasium, and that the Transcarpathian Hrabar wrote about the history of Russian culture. They say that I disagree with cadre politics. I truly wish that Transcarpathians would manage factories, plants, regional communist parties, trade unions and the Komsomol; would grow; would feel that Transcarpathia is their land; would be accountable to the people for their deeds; and would grow conscious that they are truly able to influence life and growth in the region. This is the dream of all Transcarpathians.

They complain that I am dissatisfied with the growth and development of Transcarpathia, specifically, with public education. They resettled children of the region to the Donbas to begin the first grade because of lack of space. This was only ten years ago. Children cannot go to school because their fathers, in order to feed the family, travel east with their wives for work. Night schools function only on an illegal basis. Many with a certificate or a diploma from trade schools cannot even read. In this region, as if by design, they do not establish even a branch of a higher technical school. Can anyone be satisfied with this?

They complain that I am dissatisfied with economic development. The region suffers from lack of heating fuel, despite the fact that through it run several gas and oil pipelines, for which more than one hectare of land is devoted. But in the regional centre, people lack fuel, and other cities suffer even more. How can it be that Transcarpathians are not sufficiently supplied with natural gas heat? There are fewer forests than before in the region, and thus it is not possible to satisfy the needs of the people with firewood. The mountain regions are underdeveloped, people unemployed. The slogan "Transcarpathians, they await you on the Amur in Khabarovsk Territory," does not cater to the desires of the people. The slogan "Youth, you can express yourself on the Baykalo-Amur Main Line" is romantic, but the youth of Transcarpathia would rather express themselves in Transcarpathia, especially since many people from the East settle in Transcarpathia, mainly to manage our affairs. While in 1946 there was only one Russian-language school in Uzhhorod and one in Mukachiv, now there are about eight in each city. The newly arrived obtain apartments, but local people would also like to obtain them. Now they live in underdeveloped regional areas, where there is no heating fuel; on the outskirts of Uzhhorod there is no running water or sewage system; individual people have built shacks. The same applies to Mukachiv, Berehiv and Vynohradiv.

A great deal of fertile land was given up for construction: this land once completely furnished the cities with vegetables. They build railways on fertile land. They have planted low-yield, worthless orchards and vineyards, and have disaccustomed the people to owning cows or fowl by accusing them of harbouring tendencies of private ownership: children in the villages have no milk. If one compares the number of cattle, fowl and pigs before Soviet rule to the number of cattle and fowl on collective farms, then we see that it has been reduced. Here, there is only one solution — to give opportunity and respect to every household where there is a cow, pig or fowl. There is no other solution. One cannot accuse the entire population of private enterprise: if the people do not love their land, they die; they will never love their country or defend it.

Why do they accuse me of all this? As I already mentioned, I never spoke to anyone about anything. All of this was discussed in the essay "Twenty-five Years of Hope and Disappointments". Petro Pidkarpatsky, the author of this book, accuses the government of engaging in corruption. He charges Dykuserov — the former regional Secretary of the Party — with this. This is why a conspiracy against me was formed by individuals who were sent from the East to manage our affairs. One of the secretaries of the regional Party said the following when he was drunk: "Well, why don't the Transcarpathians like us, the newly arrived? Why, we have only moved into the villas formerly occupied by Czech and Hungarian officials. We have no servant girls, as did the Czechs and Hungarians. They are old now. Our servant girls are their daughters." I would have never evaluated the conditions in Transcarpathia in such a fashion: after all, the tendencies

of the twentieth century leave their traces even in Transcarpathia. The people of Transcarpathia are good and hard-working. They build decent homes, raise their children, travel to earn income, and do everything possible to ensure their economic well-being.

For the last thirty-eight years in Transcarpathia they have fought against Magyarophiles, Czechophiles, Russophiles, Ukrainian nationalists; against former parties, those who did not fulfil work quotas, those who did not submit the required foodstuffs to the government; against kulaks and sub-kulaks; against nationalization, collectivization; against Catholics, Greek Catholics, Jehova's Witnesses, Pentecostals, Baptists; against those who did not want to travel to the Donbas to work. These made-up battles — and one-sided at that — no one can heal. How many lives were taken in these battles God only knows . . . No one boasts of this. When will this one-sided war end? For thirty-eight years already, they deport six wagons of prisoners from Transcarpathia monthly. When will this end? Who can answer for this, who is to blame? Why did they sentence an innocent person like me to twenty-two years? Where shall I look for defence? And how many more of such questions?

I became familiar with the camps in Lviv. Here the warden Povshenko complains that he must feed me. Captain Savatimov kicks me with his feet because I cannot walk to the manufacturing zone in the evening, and supervisor Stavrin beats me because I cannot leave the dining hall swiftly. And Shpek screams because I cannot see well enough to sew a tag on my chest.

I am a cripple, I cannot work or walk by myself, and yet the doctors judge me and force me to work. For ten days they held me in a cell, so I announced a 160-day hunger strike. But nothing influences the jailers. How can I defend myself? Once I appealed to officials of the Republic, of the entire Union, to Brezhnev for that matter. My relatives write to judicial organs — but everyone remains deaf.

I appeal to all of the people of the planet, to all countries, to all governments and government officials, to the invalids of the world: stand up for me, free me or exchange me from Soviet slavery, do not let them be cruel towards me.

Pavlo Kampov

April 1982

*P.S.* Forgive the mistakes, but I cannot see what I have written.

## IRYNA RATUSHYNSKYI AND OLEKSANDER SHATRAVKA ARRESTED

In September 1982 news reached the West about the arrest by the KGB of *Oleksander Shatravka* who earlier had left Ukraine and lived in many towns in the Soviet Union.

Oleksander Shatravka wrote many letters and appeals which were widely circulated in *Samvydav* form and is also the author of a book "If You Ail from Freedom or a Report from a Stomach of a Man-eater". Mr. Shatravka was born on 6th October 1950. In 1974 he applied to emigrate from the Soviet Union but permission was withheld. A little later he crossed the Finnish border with a group of friends and asked for political asylum but instead the Finnish authorities arrested him and returned him to the Soviet Union where he was held in prisons and psychiatric institutions. In 1981 he was released from prison. In order to avoid persecution and further arrests he assumed an 'illegal' way of life. He was arrested once more by the KGB in Tyumen *oblast* in RSFSR and taken back to Ukraine where he was accused of "spreading anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation".

*Iryna Ratushynskiyi*, a poet and by profession a physicist, the wife of Ihor Herashchenko and an associate member of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR, has also been accused of "spreading anti-Soviet propaganda and agitating against the state". Her works have appeared, according to sources, in *Samvydav* form.

## THE FATE OF EVHEN KRAMAR

According to information from *Samvydav* sources *Evhen Kramar*, a former jurist and a historian, has spent a year in prison. His arrest and trial took place in September 1981 and his release in September 1982. The charges brought against him were 'slander' and 'parasitism', the Soviet legal term for being unemployed.

Evhen Kramar was born on 18th February 1933. After completing his law studies he worked according to his profession in Volhynia region. His interests also cover history and literature, especially the early history of Ukraine and of other Slavic nations. His essays on this period appeared in an eight-volume tribute to the 1300th anniversary of Bulgaria which was published at the time of the KGB searches at the author's home. Mr Kramar also contributed to *Nasha Kultura* a supplement to the Ukrainian weekly *Nashe Slovo* published in Warsaw. In the past he has been forced to join work expeditions and has been confined in psychiatric prisons. Mr. Kramar is married and has two sons and a daughter.

### EVHEN ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH SENTENCED

News has reached the West about the trial of thirty-year old *Evhen Antonenko-Davydovych*, the son of a noted writer Boris Antonenko-Davydovych. His father is one of the few survivors of the remarkable cultural renaissance in central and eastern Ukraine which reached its peak in the early twenties only to be crushed brutally by Stalin.

Mr. E. Antonenko-Davydovych was sentenced to 4 years imprisonment. This was his third arrest, he has already served a 5 year sentence (1971-76). His second arrest took place in 1971 when he was held in prison for a year.

### OLENA KRASIVSKYI ARRESTED IN LVIV

After an earlier hideous press-campaign in the Lviv local press (the newspaper *Vilna Ukraina*, 18th August 1982) the KGB arrested 45 year old *Olena Antoniv-Krasivskiyi* whose husband Zinoviy (see also p. 78/258 of this issue of *Ukrainian Review*) has already been forcibly despatched to work on the empire's gas-line in Tyumen *oblast* in the Russian Federation.

Her offence is that she allegedly received and shared amongst the families of political prisoners financial help from the O. Solzhenitsyn public fund in Moscow. The KGB hack M. Toropovskiyi in *Vilna Ukraina* tries to insinuate in all possible ways that in fact the source of these funds is the American CIA. Following Toropovskiyi's distorted 'logic' a case could be brought against Mrs Krasivskiyi under violation of currency regulations as well as indirect collaboration with a foreign espionage agency. The aim is to try Mrs Krasivskiyi on criminal rather than on political charges, a tactic used more and more by the Russian KGB.

Since her arrest it has been learnt that Mrs Krasivskiyi has been forced to go into exile to join her husband.

Mrs Natalia Solzhenitsyn, the wife of the Nobel prize-winner and the manager of the fund, has publicly declared that the money from this fund derives solely from the royalties of the book 'The Gulag Archipelago'.

In Toropovskiyi's provocative article mention is also made of people who have nothing whatsoever to do with the fund, for example, Kateryna Zarytskyi, Ivan Hel', Mykhailo Osadchyi, the Sichko family, Vasyl Striltsiv who all have endured imprisonment and detention for political dissent in the past. It may be that the same fate awaits them as Mrs Olena Krasivskiyi. There cannot be much doubt that behind this masterly 'scenario' lurks the practised hand of the top KGB man himself in the Soviet Union, Vitaliy Fedorchuk, now promoted for his 'earnest endeavours' to the post of Interior Minister of the Soviet Union.

## DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

### **THE INTERNATIONAL JUBILEE COMMITTEE IN HONOUR OF THE UKRAINIAN INSURGENT ARMY (UPA) ON THE OCCASION OF ITS FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY**

This year marks the fortieth anniversary of the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). All Ukrainians and their friends throughout the world are solemnly commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the UPA.

This commemoration is patronized by the *International Jubilee Committee* in honour of the heroic national-liberation struggle of Ukraine, which fought on two fronts — against National-socialist Germany and Bolshevik Russia — for its national independence, statehood, sovereignty and freedom.

The composition of this Honorary Committee is as follows:

Hon. *Yaroslav Stetsko* — former Prime Minister of Ukraine.

His Beatitude *Andrey* — Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Greek-Orthodox Church of Winnipeg and all Canada.

His Excellency *Maksym Hermaniuk* — Archbishop of Winnipeg, Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.

His Excellency *Marko* — Archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA.

His Excellency *Konstantyn* — Archbishop of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in the USA.

His Excellency *Izydor Boreckyj* — Eparch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of Toronto and Eastern Canada.

His Excellency *Ivan Prashko* — Eparch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Australia, New Zealand and Oceania.

His Royal Highness *Otto von Habsburg* — Member of the European Parliament, Honorary President of the European Freedom Council.

Hon. Senator *Barry Goldwater* — former candidate for President of the USA, General of the US Air Force.

General Sir *Walter Walker* (Great Britain) — former Commander-in-Chief of Allied Forces-North.

General *Bruce K. Holloway*, (USAF) — former Commander-in-Chief of of the Strategic Air Command, Gen. *Daniel O. Graham*, (USA) — former Director of the Defence Intelligence Agency, Gen. *John K. Singlaub*, (USA) — former Commander-in-Chief of United Nations Forces in Korea, President of the United States Council for World Freedom, Gen. *Robert C. Richardson, III* (USAF), Dr. *Lev E. Dobriansky* (Colonel-USAR).

General *Robert Close* (Belgium).

General *Wego W. K. Chiang* (Republic of China).

General *Adriano Magi Braschi* (Italy).

General *W. D. Whitaker* (Canada).

General *Daron J. A. Bentinck* (Holland), General *E. J. C. Van Hootegem* (Holland).

General *Alejo S. Santos* (the Philippines).

General *Praphan Kulapichitr* (Thailand).

Gen. *F. P. Serong* (Australia).

General *Abdul Sabur Scharaf* (Afghan "Mujahideen") — Commander of the Front Esteklal in Kandahar, Commander *Mohammad Nabi Saheli* (Afghan "Mujahideen") — Commander of the Insurgents in the Kunar Province.

General *Konstantyn Mandzenko* (Ukraine), General *Sava Yaskewycz* (Ukraine), Colonel *Yuriy Tys-Krokhmaliuk* (Ukraine).

General *Stasys Rastikis* (Lithuania), Colonel *Jonas Svedas* (Lithuania).

Colonel *Preben Kühl* (Denmark).

Colonel *D. Kosmowicz* (Byelorussia).

Dr. *Ivan Bankovsky* (Bulgaria) — Head of the Bulgarian Combatants.

Mr. *Vilis A. Hazners* (Latvia) — Honorary President of the Latvian Combatants. "Daugavas Vanagi".

Colonel *Eugen Ren* (Ukraine) — Commander of the Units of Ukrainian Nationalists (DUN), Mr. *Vasyl Ninovskyj* (Ukraine) — DUN and UPA. Mr. *Sviatoslav Frolyak*, representative of Ukrainian-Combatants of the Canadian Army.

Representatives of the UPA Warriors:

*Mykola Kowalczyk, Mykola Kulyk, Lev Futala, Dr. Bohdan Kruk-Melodia, Stepan Goliash, Volodymyr Makar, Yuriy Borets, Petro Mytsak, Nadia Goliash, Mykola Hryckowian, Mychajlo Shashkevych, Mychajlo Cheresnovskyj.*

Prof. Dr. *Roman Osinchuk* and Dr. *Bohdan Dzerovycz* — Members of the Sovereign Ukrainian Government (1941).

Prof. *Lev Shankovsky* — Head of the Initiatory Committee for the creation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR).

Prof. *Avhustyn Shtefan* — Head of the Parliament of the Carpatho-Ukrainian State.

Hon. Dr. *Ku Cheng-Kang* (Republic of China) — Honorary Chairman of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL).

Hon. *John Wilkinson*, M.P. (Great Britain) — President of the European Freedom Council (EFC).

Mrs. *Slava Stetsko*, M.A. (Ukraine), Dr. *Dimitr Waltscheff* (Bulgaria), Dr. *Baymirza Hayit* (Turkestan), Dr. *Basil Mailat* (Rumania) — Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

Mr. *Osami Kuboki* (Japan) — former President of WACL, President of

the International Federation for "Victory over Communism".

Senator Dr. *Cihad Fehti Tevetoglu* (Turkey) — Secretary General of the World Refugees League, Member of the Honorary Presidium of the EFC.

Prof. Dr. *Woo Jae-Seung* (Korea) — WACL Secretary-General.

*Veli Kayum-Khan* (Turkestan) — President of the National Turkestanian Unity Committee.

Mr. *Enrique Matrinez Codo* (Argentina) — world renowned author of a book on the UPA, entitled — "Insurgents Behind the Iron Curtain".

Dr. *Ante Bonifacic* (Croatia) — Honorary President of the Croatian Liberation Movement.

Dr. *Mykola Klymyshyn* and Mr. *Julian Zablockyj* — Representatives of the Executive of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

Mr. *Osyp Tiushka*, M.A. — Member of the OUN Executive (1941).

Prof. *Simon Wozhakivskyj* — regional OUN leader in Kirovohrad, organizer of the detachment of the UPA-South.

Mr. *Sviatoslav Karavansky* — prisoner of Russian concentration camps for over 30 years for his activity in the OUN, a writer and a freedom-fighter.

Dr. *Roman Malashchuk* — Chairman of the World Ukrainian Liberation Front.

Mr. *Ivan Bazarko*, M.A. — President of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians.

Mrs. *Lidia Burachynska* — Chairman of the World Federation of Ukrainian Women's Organizations (SFUZhO).

Mr. *Yaroslav Hayvas* — Secretary of the Ukrainian National Council in Kyiv.

Mrs. *Stephania Bukshovana* — Chairman of the World Federation of Friends of the National Centre of the Ukrainian National Republic in Exile.

Mr. *Oleksa Kalynnyk* — Association of the Federation of Ukrainian Political Prisoners.

Mr. *Yevhen Hanovskyj* — President of the World Executive Board of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM).

Mr. *Roman Zvarycz* — World Federation of Ukrainian Students (CeSUS).

## L'Est Européen

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## **PRESS STATEMENT**

### **ON THE "60th ANNIVERSARY" OF THE USSR**

In December 1922, 60 years ago, a so-called Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was formally established on the ruins of the national independence and statehood of many nations, such as Ukraine, Georgia, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Azerbaidjan, Armenia, North Caucasus, Idel-Ural, and others, that were formerly enslaved in the tsarist Russian empire. This date marks the beginning of a new era in the historical Russian imperialist drive to conquer the world—a drive that was shortly interrupted by the collapse of the tsarist imperialist system, but was soon rejuvenated with the coming to power of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. At that time Lenin had one significant and decisive advantage over his tsarist predecessors: the alluringly deceptive, political and psychological power of communism, which could always be utilized as a tool for the internal subversion of a free country prior to its military takeover by Russian occupational forces.

During World War I, the nations formerly under the occupation of tsarist Russia declared their independence and re-establishment of their national sovereign states, by means of national-liberation revolutions and wars of liberation. The real war began when global military hostilities were waning, as the Russian Red Army invaded the re-established independent states and coerced them into a "voluntary union" with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR), and later into the USSR. The Bolshevik system, embodied in the USSR as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and communism, was by no means a negation of Russian tsarism. On the contrary, in light of the countless number of nations that have since fallen victim to the traditionally-Russian, messianistic and historical aim of ruling over the entire world, Bolshevism and its outward embodiment, the USSR, represents the highest emanation of the Russian national imperialist ideal, as expressed by Dostoyevsky's inherently Russian racist maxim—that "all people should become Russian, and Russian above all else, because the Russian national idea is universal..."

The history of the USSR has left a legacy of torture, untold bloodshed, and mass genocide, which has resulted in a population gap of over 100 million people. In the years 1932–1933 nearly 8 million Ukrainians alone died from mass starvation in an inhuman artificially instituted famine. In this "age of freedom", Moscow has built a huge network of slave labour camps. The subjugated nations have been subjected to a systematic and brutal campaign of Russification, designed to eradicate all vestiges of national awareness. The various national Churches of the subjugated nations in the USSR have been virtually decimated, whereas the Russian Orthodox Church enjoys a privileged status guarded by the KGB. In short,

quoting a Ukrainian political prisoner — Yuriy Lytvyn — “the cult of the ‘Oktiabr’ is a cult of violence, a cult of evil”.

Being the first victims of this rejuvenated Russian imperialist drive, the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and communism caution the countries of the Free World to maintain a high degree of vigilance, lest this legacy become yours also. Vigilance alone, however, will not eliminate the constant threat, which has now become all the more ominous with the establishment of Russian military superiority over the West in conventional armaments and parity at best in nuclear weaponry. This threat can only be eliminated by a joint freedom campaign on the part of the Free World and the subjugated nations. The subjugated nations, in their liberation struggle for national independence and freedom, have the strength to internally dismantle the Russian prison of nations and its concomitant communist system, if rendered significant Western moral and political support.

To this end the Western Democracies should proclaim a GREAT CHARTER OF INDEPENDENCE for the nations subjugated by Bolshevism in the USSR and its “satellites”, and that they condemn the founding of the USSR on all international forums, particularly the United Nations, as this would severely undermine the Russian political-psychological offensive on the Free World.

Secondly, the countries of the Free World should demand the immediate de-colonization of the USSR on the basis of present international legal covenants, such as the United Nations Resolution on De-Colonization from 1960/72 as well as the United States Resolution on the Captive Nations (US Public Law 86/90), with the aim of re-establishing national independent states of the presently subjugated nations.

Thirdly, the Western Democracies should recognize on all international forums, particularly at the UN, the representatives of the national-liberation movements of the subjugated nations as the only genuine representatives of the will and aspirations of their nations.

Fourthly, the Western Powers, in particular the countries of the NATO Alliance should introduce a resolution on the floor of the UN voicing support for the national-liberation struggle of the subjugated nations utilizing the precedent of the UN Resolution on Namibia from 1976, — which required that all member-states render aid to an enslaved people fighting against a foreign colonial yoke.

Fifthly, on the basis of a resolution of the International Red Cross Com-munities on an equal juridical footing with the POW's from conventional armies, requiring equal and proper treatment for both categories of prisoners, the Western Democracies should initiate a political campaign demanding the immediate release of incarcerated insurgents-POW's from the subjugated nations, who presently languish in Russian prisons and concentration camps, after having already spent 25-30 years in the most inhumane conditions of imprisonment.

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## **BOOK REVIEW**

*Ethnic Chicago*, ed. Peter d'A. Jones and Melvin G. Holli. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1981. 384 pages.

The material of this attractively produced and generously illustrated book is very impressive indeed. The authors' knowledge of ethnic Chicago is tremendous. They combine a broad overview of American ethnicity with a scholarly knowledge of details; they have studied virtually every important work or document pertaining to their subject. The book is in the fullest sense the work of the specialists, and only few of us will read it without envying the authors their attainments.

Also the editors added much to the stature of the book by their introduction and by the organization of the work. They follow a definite treatment of the subject and do not present a series of tentative notions. Having in view the continuing national debate over Cultural Pluralism and the Melting Pot, they focus their approaches about America's heartland city in several directions: "the national ethnic processes of adjustment, survival, identity, and even melting into the American Melting Pot". For that reason they have divided the book into two parts: (1) Cultural Pluralism, and (2) The Melting Pot. There are five chapters in the first and three chapters in the second. The division, however, is not balanced quantitatively, but rather qualitatively, by offering specific explanations as well as concrete examples for a proper understanding of the Melting Pot process. As a result the book's treatment of ethnicity is descriptive rather than prescriptive and tentative rather than dogmatic. This is also caused by the surge in ethnicity, in the United States and in Europe, which was indeed typical of the political, social, and cultural debate of the sixties and seventies with a special focus on cultural pluralism as the best answer for our society.

Let us now turn to the individual chapters for an examination of how various ethnic groups have behaved and acted in America. The two chapters handling Irish immigrants show two different points of view: the ethnic-conscious view and the view directed toward greater assimilation and success in power politics. It is to be stressed that the Irish of both views always "formed a highly self-conscious and relatively cohesive ethnic community" that was in contact with other Chicagoans. Moreover, even if those more ethnic-conscious demonstrated their concern for Ireland, their love for their new country was in no way diminished, nor was their loyalty to and faith in the United States affected. The most important factor responsible for this situation is, without doubt, the language that always helped to smooth out difficulties because the language spoken by Irish-Americans is that of their immigrant ancestors and that of present-day Ireland as well as that of the United States. Of importance is also the fact that, "in combining old-world traditions with new-world democracy, the Irish developed a unique political personality among Chicago's inhabitants", and therefore were able more than others to overcome political discrimination and ethnic prejudice.

Furthermore, they "became the major catalysts within the Chicago Democratic Party" because much of the city's early history centred "on their own quest for power and respectability". This is a unique situation which fortunately enough always helped the Irish, "including more rapid melting into the Melting Pot".

The study of the Greeks by Andrew T. Kopan presents a different story. It is to a large degree "an odyssey that challenges much of the conventional wisdom about ethnics. One may question how it is possible that this poor "rural folk who came to America neither with urban skills nor education" could have reversed their status in order to reach here the top of the educational, professional, and income ladder. These monumental achievements, according to Kopan, became possible because of the right adjustment to the American way of life by preservation of Greek formal and informal education in communal ethnic schools, by strong family bonds, by preservation of their cultural heritage, by adaptation of the best of the two worlds — American and Greek — as well as by their carefully not being "swallowed up by the vastness of America". These factors not only contributed to Greek ethnic survival but they also produced a special blend of ethnic pride and resourceful participation in the American dream.

The study "The Jews of Chicago: From Shtetl to Suburb" by Irving Cutler proves with persuasion another story of success which became possible because of occupational and economic achievement and of public education which turned out for young Jews to be "an important vehicle for becoming Americanized and moving upward socially and economically, and often away from the world of their parents." The author also handles with skill the once-sharp differences between German and Eastern European Jews and shows how they adjusted through hardships and suffering in the overall process of acculturation.

Myron B. Kuropas, a former White House Ethnic Adviser to President Gerald Ford, wrote the study "Ukrainian Chicago: The Making of Nationality Group in America". He approached his work from a unique point of view which holds that "for many a Ukrainian *émigré*, the United States was not an ethnic melting pot but rather a school for his ethno-national development." This approach gave his work a profound socio-political dimension even though the Ukrainian success was drastically curtailed by America's change in policies during the Roosevelt era. In the 1930s the Ukrainian national movement in the United States, as Kuropas states, was unfairly treated and linked by its detractors to a Fascist conspiracy which ultimately brought political disaster to the Ukrainian cause. Thus the Ukrainian people, who, during the period of 1884 to 1939, matured in the United States from an ethno-cultural group into a politically self-conscious nationality, suffered an undeserved setback. Their aspirations were tainted because in free America it became suddenly anti-democratic to work for the dismemberment of the Soviet empire. How different would be the world today should America have helped to disintegrate the Soviet Union and create — in some cases to recreate — in its place a number of free states.

For this reason Kuropas's study reaches beyond ethnic Chicago and sets an example of ethnic impact on global politics.

Dominic Candeloro in his work "Suburban Italians: Chicago Heights, 1890-1975" indicates very clearly how Italians were bound to adopt American values by moving up in their new world without having melted completely into it. They remained, however, a well organized and most powerful force in the community, and dominated easily the city council, the school board, etc. This proved their vitality and mobility to make gains economically and politically.

Study by Melvin G. Holli "The Great War Sinks Chicago's German *Kultur*" shows very clearly how the German-Americans, who, before August 1914, were even more highly regarded than were the English, lost their prestige during the World War that damaged beyond repair German ethnic, linguistic, and cultural institutions. As Holli says: "*Deutschtum's* fall from its most favoured nation status was brought about in part by the bellicose behaviour of German-Americans themselves. In the end, it was Kaiser Wilhelm's submarines that sank not only Allied shipping but America's *Deutschtum*."

The book ends with Masako M. Osako's study "Japanese-Americans: Melting into the All-American Pot?" Like German-Americans, Japanese-Americans became war victims. It is interesting to stress that the hardships of the internment camps redirected the Japanese not toward rejection of America but toward absorption. Osako suggests that the "Japanese-Americans may be the first racial minority to integrate and assimilate biologically into the dominant white stock of America."

*Ethnic Chicago* editors' task was surely not easy. Few scholars would attempt to write ethnic histories of a great city and to provide profound analyses. The book has scored many successes by offering new and provocative evaluations while evoking well the inner world of many ethnic groups. The studies as a whole are carried out in great detail involving quite extensive treatment of the developing socio-political process in ethnicity. The insights thus gained are altogether new and allow the continuity of development to be perceived more clearly. There are, unfortunately, some weaknesses in this otherwise sound and fascinating book. One is the question of ethnic cultures that persist unaltered to varying degrees. This question is constantly approached but never properly illuminated. The same applies to the cultures melted or in the process of obliteration. While the book succeeds in showing the ethnic importance of some groups, it fails to indicate clearly, for example, why the Italian group, about to melt, should still be incorporated into division Cultural Pluralism. For this reason the editors' division between cultural pluralism and melting pot is rather artificial and deprived of organic fabric.

*Ethnic Chicago* without doubt is an important book, a work of thorough and mature scholarship (each study is provided with numerous notes; there is adequate material about contributors, as well as an exhaustive index) on the subject which, though specialized, is of wide interest and application. The editors and contributors are to be congratulated on having carried out creditably a labour well done.

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Wolodymyr T. Zyla