

The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



I

1984

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine

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St. Sophia's Square in Kyiv where on 22nd January, 1918, the Independence of Ukraine was proclaimed. A year later on 22nd January, 1919, the unification of all Ukrainian lands into one state was proclaimed here

Yarema Gregory KELEBAY

UKRAINE AND THE BOLSHEVIK AGENDA

I

Sixty-five years ago, the Ukrainian Central Rada proclaimed these historic words of the Fourth Universal, and began a new epoch in Ukraine's history: "From this day the Ukrainian National Republic becomes an independent, unreliant, free and sovereign state of the Ukrainian people".

Today, I want to share with you my reflections on the historical significance of the proclamation.

The Act of the Central Rada (or Council) on January 22, 1918 was a central event in the history of Ukraine because it divided the history of the Ukrainian liberation movement into its pre-modern and modern eras.

The Ukrainian Revolution of 1917-1921 called into existence the Ukrainian National Republic; and the Republic's proclamation of the Fourth Universal was the first step of modern Ukrainianism.

As the Ukrainian historian Ivan L. Rudnycky has written, until January 22, 1918, the dominant political conception among most Ukrainian patriots (including those in the Central Rada) was "federation with Russia". It is true that Ukrainian sympathy toward the notion of "federation with Russia" had a long and complex history, but by the early twentieth century the major reason for this attitude was the friendly disposition of most Ukrainians toward the corpus of Russian revolutionary socialist thought, sentiment and opinion as it was articulated during the 19th century. Together (in federation) with their Russian brothers, Ukrainians were going to help build a socialist world based on equality, liberty and dignity.

But after the collapse of Kerensky's Provisional Government to the Bolsheviks in October of 1917, the Ukrainian National Republic began to witness the goings-on of the new Russian Revolution. The Ukrainian Central Rada, unlike anyone else at the time, had the opportunity to get a direct and unmediated look at the real character of Russian Social-Democracy under Lenin's leadership and, as a result, almost immediately distanced itself from all Bolshevik proclamations and separated itself from the actual implementation of the Bolshevik agenda.

Why did the Ukrainians do that? Because, unlike the West which is only beginning to acknowledge this today, the Ukrainians saw that the system represented by Lenin was from the very start marked by terror and dictatorship. From its very inception, the Russian Revolution was the carrier of totalitarianism, although that word was not yet in use.

Therefore, Ukraine wanted to separate itself by a national border from the northern "good" being brought by Bolshevism. Soon after October, 1917, the Central Rada realized that Bolshevism was Russian imperialism dressed in the

toga of socialism, or as Dmytro Donzow wrote, many people immediately saw “the wolf’s tail under the grandmother’s skirt.

The real significance of January 22, 1918 in Ukrainian history is that it marked the Ukrainians’ passage from “federalism” to “independence” and represented a revolution in the political thought of Ukraine.

We have evidence of this from the participants, politicians and historians of the Ukrainian Revolution. The words of the Fourth Universal itself show the radical change in disposition toward Bolshevism among leaders of the Central Rada. For example, the Fourth Universal proclaimed that:

“The Petrograd Council of Commissars, in order to regain its dominance over the free Ukrainian Republic, declares war on Ukraine and sends their armies of Red Guards and Bolsheviks to our land to rob peasants of bread. . . . (In response) to the so-called Bolsheviks and other invaders ruining our country, we empower the executive of the Ukrainian National Republic to make decisive battle with them, and encourage all citizens of our Republic not to begrudge their lives in defence of wealth and liberty. Our National Ukrainian Republic should be cleansed of emissaries of the Petrograd tyrants trampling on the rights of the Ukrainian Republic”.

Also, Mykola Lubynskij, the representative of the Ukrainian government at the Peace Conference at Brest in February, 1918, said: “The loud declarations of the Bolsheviks about the complete self-determination of nations are nothing but crude demagoguery. . . . In practice, they oppose the accomplishment of this principle with hired bands of Red Guards; they also resort to even uglier and more unforgivable means; they close newspapers, disperse political meetings, arrest and shoot activists, and use mendacious, tendentious insinuations to undermine the governments of the new republics.”

The Bolshevik aggression of 1918 helped destroy the “federal idea” among Ukrainians. The Ukrainian historian Hrushevsky called this jolt to Ukrainian consciousness a “baptism of fire”. In several essays written during February-March of 1918 Hrushevsky said: “The invasion, occupation and destruction of Kyiv by the Bolsheviks was the height, the culminating point, and the turning point (of incalculable consequence) in the history of Ukraine. . . . All commonly held views, worn out formulas, and ideas formed in other circumstances. . . . Have to be put aside, or better said, fundamentally re-assessed, re-evaluated, and re-examined to what extent they are appropriate to the new obligation put before us by history. . . . what I consider obsolete and outdated, which so to speak ‘burned in my cabinet’, is our orientation toward Moscow and toward Russia. . . .”

Ukrainian political thought then, made a decisive step from “federation with Russia” to “independence from Russia” or, from the “federalist idea” to the “idea of independence”.

With the proclamation of the Fourth Universal on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian National Republic declared its separation from Russia, and the separation of the Central Rada from the proletarian Soviets, the Ukrainian national-democratic revolution from the Russian Bolshevik *coup d’état*, the Ukrainian

national principle from the Russian class principle, and the Ukrainian capital of Kyiv from St. Petersburg and Moscow.

II

Before continuing, let me reiterate. Within three months after the Bolshevik Revolution of October, 1917, the Ukrainian Central Rada declared Ukraine's independence. This declaration was the first step of the Ukrainian liberation movement into the modern era because it signified a radical departure from the pre-modern policy of "federation with Russia".

By this act Ukrainians severed their connection with the Russian socialist revolutionary intellectual heritage of the 19th and early 20th centuries, and established the first modern, independent Ukrainian nation-state.

What was it about the goings-on of the Bolshevik Revolution which made Ukrainians take this step? Was it only the military aggression of the Red Guards? Was the military aggression of the Bolsheviks simply an historical accident? Or was the military aggression a symptom of something else?

While the Russian Revolution has gained acceptance and respectability throughout the world, why have Ukrainians in general so consistently rejected the Bolshevik agenda? How are we to explain this Ukrainian exceptionalism?

These questions are important not only to Ukrainian or Eastern European history, but to the contemporary world as such. It is my view that our intellectual stance toward the Bolshevik Revolution and its agenda is the most central intellectual issue of our time. It is the paramount political question of our era. It is virtually impossible to make any sense of history of the 20th century without some understanding of that event.

I respectfully submit that our intellectual disposition toward the Bolshevik Revolution and its intellectual agenda virtually tells us the kind of persons we are. Our ideological location with regard to that Revolution characterizes us as people. The Bolshevik agenda is the commanding political problem of our time. There is no political problem that is larger or more enveloping.

This being the case, the Ukrainian Revolution and its early withdrawal and separation from the Bolshevik agenda (and the subsequent development of Ukrainian nationalist thought) should be of great interest to all of us.

The Ukrainian response to the Bolshevik Revolution is authoritative because (if for no other reason) it was the first and closest historical response to that event. The Ukrainian people were eyewitnesses to the Bolshevik Revolution. They saw it unfold at first hand, directly with their own eyes.

As a result of witnessing the Bolshevik Revolution and its consequences, the content, shape and direction of Ukrainian nationalism, as articulated in the 1920's, 30's and 40's, assumed the form that it did. In fact we can almost say that the shape and content of modern Ukrainian nationalism was largely designed to deal with that unprecedented phenomenon. This, of course, is only normal.

Mahatma Gandhi's strategy of "non-violence" was developed as a result of experience and diagnosis of the British Empire. Martin Luther King's imitation of Gandhi was also based on his judgement of what would work in the United States

of America. In their respective countries, both Gandhi and King were successful; but, how effective would their strategies have been against a Joseph Stalin?

With the benefit of hindsight, today it can safely be asserted that the Ukrainian Declaration of Independence in January 1918, or the principle of "separation from Russia", has continued being a keystone doctrine in the political strategy of Ukraine. This strategy comes from the Ukrainian experience and diagnosis of Soviet reality and is based on what can be called the Ukrainian Thesis on the Russian Bolshevik Revolution.

Central to the Ukrainian Thesis have been two insights. Or to put it another way, the Ukrainian Thesis stands on two feet. The first is that the carrier of the Bolshevik agenda is the Russian nation-state which historically has been, and remains, imperial. The second is that socialism (in all variants) is an "inherently tyrannical" doctrine naturally inclined toward hegemony.

Contemporary Soviet reality (with Gulag and secret police) is not the product of any "deviationism" or "cult of personality". Nor is it the result of any "betrayal" of the Revolution, or the abandonment of socialist principles. Soviet reality is the result of socialism's own internal logic and the dedicated pursuit of socialist aims. Given the nature and content of socialist theory, and the dedicated pursuit of its visions, the results will always tend to be the same, whether the doctrine is in the hands of Lenin, Trotsky and Stalin, or St. Francis of Assisi.

In view of the content of the Ukrainian Thesis, over the years, various progressive circles, apologists, polemicists and opponents of Ukrainian nationalism have charged that Ukrainian nationalism came to resemble the fascist movement and to harbour Nazi sympathies.

I do not want to dignify that accusation by offering a rebuttal. But remember that Ukrainian nationalists fought on "two fronts" during the Second World War. Ukrainian nationalism fought equally against modern Europe's two *socialisms*. That is, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists fought against both the "international-socialism" of Stalin and the "national-socialism" of Hitler.

Some of you may be a little surprised by this claim. That is because most people forget that Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy were essentially *socialist* regimes. Mussolini and Hitler both came from the European socialist camp and essentially built their careers on what amounted to socialist platforms.

It has never ceased to amaze me how the Left has succeeded in bringing all of Hitler's atrocities to the doorstep of his nationalism, and none of his crimes to the address of his socialism. My point here is that the 18th and 19th centuries both witnessed the phenomenon of nation-states and rabid nationalism. But in spite of that, modern totalitarianism did not emerge. Only after the emergence and widespread acceptance of socialist opinion and (after 1917) the establishment of socialist states do we witness the emergence of modern totalitarianism. This is not a coincidence. Hitler's national-socialist state and Stalin's international-socialist state were both *totalitarian*; a new 20th century phenomenon unlike pre-modern dictatorship or absolutism.

By definition, a modern totalitarian state is total in its claim for allegiance. Totalitarianism totally excludes all competing sources of authority and legitimacy,

particularly the Church. So the defining characteristic of most European totalitarianism is its total hostility to the traditional authority of the Church. Modern totalitarianism is unique because it is totally empty of any Christian content.

A proper understanding of the Second World War is that it was a war between two socialist totalitarianisms. The central dispute was which socialism would gain hegemony in the world; the national-socialism of Germany or the international-socialism of Russia. In that struggle, Ukrainian nationalism fought both of them in the name of "God and Ukraine".

More recently, in addition to the explicit effort to discredit and slander Ukrainian nationalism, we have all been subjected to the propaganda which says internationalism is the order of the future and nation-states are obsolete. This theme has been insinuated upon us in a thousand little ways. The very focus of our political discourse on issues such as the "unification of Europe", "interdependence", "the danger of nuclear war", the "Global Village", multinational corporations ostensibly "more powerful than nation-states", the Third World and the North-South dialogue, all point us in that direction.

With regard to this, let me make one observation. Originally, when founded after the Second World War, the United Nations had 51 member states. By 1975 the United Nations' membership increased to 138 member states. Therefore, in the thirty year period between 1945-1975, 87 new nations-states joined the United Nations. More members joined the community of nations in a thirty year period after the Second World War than in the previous 2000 years. And while we have been witnessing this development, conventional wisdom would have us believe that we live in a post nation-era.

Perhaps there is a law of history here which can be stated thus: the rate of increase in the number of nation-states is inversely proportional to the volume of rhetoric denouncing them and prophesying their disappearance. But now let me begin our descent by returning to my earlier argument.

III

The proclamation of January 22, 1918, declaring Ukraine a sovereign and independent state, was the first expression of the Ukrainian Thesis regarding the Bolshevik Revolution. This Thesis adopted two stances against Russian imperialism and against Soviet Bolshevism.

The Ukrainian National Republic and the Ukrainian people were the first witnesses to the character of the Bolshevik Revolution. Ukraine's historical proximity to that experiment enabled them to see firsthand what the rest of the world was to get second or third hand. Ukraine's location provided it with the historic opportunity to grasp the gist of that event. It is from this fact that the Ukrainian response to the Bolshevik Revolution derives its compelling relevance and authority.

The Ukrainian Thesis teaches that Russian imperialism and Soviet Bolshevism are humanity's total, complete and entire enemy. The Russian Bolshevik Revolution was an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of mankind. Its revolutionary agenda challenges in every realm of life: philosophy, religion, culture,

politics, economics, science, education and leisure. Against its advance there must be a line of defence comprised of various barricades. At the head of each of these different barricades there must be an active and politicized Nationalist Man.

The appeal and success of Russian Bolshevik thought lies in its coherence, consistency and inner harmony. It provides people with answers to all problems of living. This is why Bolsheviks enjoy the reputation of being smart, intelligent and crafty. Unlike our Western politics of questions, they provide a politics of answers.

Furthermore, the real range of Bolshevik ambition can be properly understood only by realizing the meaning of their commanding thought or idea. The commanding idea of Russian Bolshevism is "revolution". Revolution is not synonymous with and must not be confused with change, progress or advancement. A revolution never invents, creates or contributes something new.

"Revolution" derives from the word "revolve"; that is, to turn over or to turn around. Revolution implies, what Christopher Hill called, turning the present existing world "upside-down". This is why there is no branch of life that the Russian Bolshevik Revolution has not "turned upside-down". The aim of the Russian Revolution can be compressed into one sentence: to turn the intellectual and spiritual heritage of Western European Christendom "upside-down".

A close examination of Russian Bolshevik conduct in domestic and foreign policy shows that for Bolsheviks, that which is good is evil, and that which is evil, is good. The peaceful is considered aggressive, and the aggressive is considered peaceful. The productive and useful is deemed useless and valueless, and the non-productive is valuable. The healthy is sick and the sick is healthy, The wise is ignorant and the ignorant is wise. The religious is superstitious and the superstitious is religious. As George Orwell said, for Bolsheviks freedom is slavery, and slavery is freedom. Democracy is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat is democracy.

The Ukrainian National Republic saw this "dialectical" logic and therefore distanced itself from the Bolshevik agenda and its actions. From that moment on, Ukrainian nationalist thought has always borne witness to that insight.

Against the Russian Soviet theory of the helpless, passive man who is the subject and captive of Marxist historical laws, Ukrainian nationalism has placed eye-to-eye the theory of the idealist and activist who is master of his own destiny. Against the slogan "upside-down", Ukrainian nationalist thought has proclaimed "standing upright". Ukrainian nationalist thought has confronted the Russian Don Juan with the Ukrainian Don Quixote.

Practically speaking, what does this mean? It means many more of us must become involved in order to continue our political and party activity. Yes, I say party activity.

A political party is one of the highest achievements of European political thought. Congregations, groups, brotherhoods, committees, associations, sects, factions and unions are all important and have their place, but none are proper political parties. The notion of party has a specific linguistic and political meaning.

A political party is one of the highest institutional forms of a national political life. A political party is the proper place of free and independent, but ideologically

like-minded people, and a locus for their efforts on behalf of the common good of the whole nation. The major characteristic of every modern developed and civilized nation is to have several political parties, party thought and party projects for the advancement and development of their nation. For a captive and colonized nation like Ukraine, the political party is the only means to an independent and sovereign state.

The Ukrainian people, Ukrainian nationalism and the forms and institutions in which it lives, have the longest and most proximate historical relationship to the most decisive and central question of our century: Russian imperialism and Soviet-socialist expansionism. There is no larger question or issue in our times. And therein lies our calling and mission.

Only to the extent that we properly and accurately locate ourselves in relation to that problem will we be contributing to the dismantlement of Ukraine's unfreedom, and only to that extent will we fulfil our duty, and thereby enter the pages not only of Ukraine's history, but the pages of the history of all mankind. Because, if not we, then who? And if not now, then when?

HISTORY OF UKRAINE

by REV. ISYDORE NAHAYEWSKY, Ph.D.

**The Second Edition of this important book, written in English,
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This enlarged Edition of the History of Ukraine in the English language ought to find its place in libraries and colleges as informative material for the enlightenment of all those interested in the history of Ukrainian people.

Stepan OSINSKYJ

ON THE LIBERATION FRONT

It is noteworthy that in 1983 the Free World in general had strengthened its resolve to counter Russian imperialist aggression throughout the world. This, in turn, has spurred greater interest in the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations in the USSR and the "satellite" countries. The numerous commemorative observances of the ABN's fortieth anniversary that were held last year in Washington, D.C., London, Bradford, Detroit, Chicago, Toronto, Montreal, Munich and elsewhere underscore the growing interest in our concept of liberation, as an alternative to nuclear war.

1983 also marked the tragic fiftieth anniversary of the Ukrainian Holocaust of 1932-33, in which Moscow starved to death over 7 million Ukrainians by means of a deliberately instituted, artificial famine. Western interest in this heretofore little known Holocaust is an indication of rising indignation over Russian genocidal practices that Moscow employs to suppress the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples. In an article that appeared in the *Washington Post* on January 5, 1984, columnist George Will describes Moscow's genocidal practices in Afghanistan by drawing a parallel to the Ukrainian Holocaust of 1932-33. The primary lesson that the legacy of Stalin and his pupil — Hitler has indelibly imprinted on the minds of the present-day rulers in the Kremlin is that an occupational system requires the application of indiscriminate terror and even a deliberate genocide of mass proportions; any lessening in the degree of terror will result in its inevitable failure.

The Russians cannot achieve their ultimate aim in Afghanistan by conventional military means. Hence, they lead a war of attrition against children, women and the elderly. Small toy-bombs have left countless of Afghan children maimed and crippled for life. Since they cannot defeat the Afghan insurgents, the mujahideen, in open battle, the Russians choose to destroy or terrorize the entire nation. The insurgents depend on the people, like fish depend on the ocean.

The war in Afghanistan is brutal. But the Afghan people remain unvanquished chiefly because of their strong faith in God and their Nation. The Russian cannot triumph on this front. Just as in 1940 in Finland, similarly now in Afghanistan, an insurgent strategy has proved to be superior to Moscow's modern military strategy. Afghanistan will continue to be the Achilles' heel of Russian aggression and our strategy must be incorporated within the complex of psychological warfare in Afghanistan.

The situation in Poland is somewhat different. The concept, promoted by *Solidarnosć's* leader Lech Walesa and Cardinal Glemp, to share authority with the colonial regime, has not justified itself. Bolshevism precludes any possibi-

lity of applying Montesquieu's classic three-tiered division of power (*L'Esprit des Lois*, 1748), or even a dual division of power between the enslaved people and their oppressor. The communist military regime in Poland is an extension of Moscow's colonial power and, therefore, any negotiations with this regime cannot be valid: a system of dual authority, where an occupied people, represented by *Solidarność*, and the occupying power, represented by the Communist Party and Jaruzelsky's military regime, is *a priori* impossible. Polish national structures cannot exist in parallel to Russian, Bolshevik structures. This was also recently asserted by *Solidarność's* underground leader, Zbigniew Bujak ("Polish Fugitive urges 'Long March'", *New York Times*, December 19, 1983, p. 8).

Several Variations in the Occupant's Strategy

We must always bear in mind that the Russian General Staff of the Armed Forces, the KGB and the Politburo have provided for a number of contingency plans in their general strategy to suppress the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples. Past experience has shown that Moscow can always implement these contingencies with the tacit consent of the West. The Hungarian uprising of 1956 was crushed by direct military intervention. Moscow employed different methods in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968, in 1961 in the Berlin wall crisis, and in 1953 in the Berlin uprising. In 1968 in the CSSR Moscow deceived the architects of the "Prague spring" (Dubcek and Smrokovsky) and suppressed the people's aspirations for freedom from above. For their subservience, the reform-minded communist leaders in the USSR were granted their lives, but were rendered completely powerless. In Poland, the overt threat of direct Russian military intervention diverted the attention of *Solidarność's* leaders from the covert betrayal that Jaruzelsky and Moscow's other agents were preparing. The euphoria, that was created in the false hope that the negotiations with Vice-President Yagelsky will bear fruit, blinded Walesa, Bujak and others as to the possibility of a betrayal, which was already prepared by Jaruzelsky and his benefactors in Moscow. It was also in Moscow that the entire propaganda campaign in justification of the subsequent proclamation of martial law was prepared. During the half year prior to the institution of martial law in Poland, special military "ZOMO" and militia units were being secretly trained in isolation, so that in a few days these same well-trained units were able to drive millions of *Solidarność's* adherents into the underground, thereby striking the death knell for open, "legal" dual authority in Poland.

A different variation of the Politburo's general strategy was applied in the CSSR and in Hungary. In Afghanistan we find yet another variation: the prelude to the Russian military invasion was the outright execution of the past "disloyal" pro-communist government. In Grenada, President Reagan's rescue mission forced Moscow to abort its plans for a military invasion by proxy. Moscow's unexpected response to the three-day-long strike in Kyiv, fulfilling most of the worker's demands, was yet another variation of this general strategy.

Bujak's recent appeal to begin building Polish national structures not paral-

lel to, but in opposition to the Bolshevik structures of the occupational regime, further confirms our concept of liberation. Although the Church in Poland is also a decisive factor in the liberation struggle, it has nonetheless, become an inhibiting factor as well, since it has placed itself in the position of a partner to the occupational regime. The Pope's recent visit to Poland was interpreted by Jaruzelsky as a bestowal of "legitimacy" to the PPR, i.e., an independent state of the Polish peoples, endowed with a rightful place on international fora. However, we feel that only the Polish people, and not a satellite state of Moscow, can be accorded a legitimate place on international fora. The Pope's visit has resulted in an undercutting of *Solidarność's* authority, and buttressed the colonial pseudo-authority of the occupational regime. The moral strength of the Church is great, but it has become politically incongruent with the revolutionary liberation movement. Moreover, the Church's orientation is not directed towards forging a common front of liberation among the subjugated nations, but it seems to think that the Polish nation can liberate itself on its own.

On the Situation in Poland

The situation in Poland is, in general, also a result of the deliberate policy of the Vatican's Secretary of State, Cardinal Cassaroli, who seemingly has accepted the existence of the communist system and, in particular, of the Russian empire with its ever-increasing expansionist capabilities, as a stable, immutable *fait accompli*. This view is apparently also shared by Cardinal Glemp and the Vatican, which is planning to establish diplomatic relations not only with Warsaw, but with Moscow and Zagorsk. It is interesting that the Pope has expressed little concern with the genocide in Afghanistan and even less concern with the genocide in Ukraine. Furthermore, by placing President Reagan and Andropov on an equal footing in the Vatican's appeals that both Washington and Moscow make mutual concessions is in itself tantamount to identifying a genocidal regime with the humane and democratic US Government. The Church's position in this regard has led to a considerable degree of disorientation, particularly among the Third World and most of all in the overwhelmingly Catholic Latin American countries.

In his clandestine interview, Z. Bujak, the leader of the Polish underground, confirms our concept of liberation by opposing any dialogue with the occupational regime. He calls for a "long march" of resistance to the colonial regime, building clandestine organizations in schools, factories, scientific, academic and cultural institutions. Bujak believes that any type of legal forms of struggle are now unfeasible. He stated in the interview that "there exists a very strong resistance movement. . . , a very strong movement of rejection, a movement to boycott all institutions of the regime, and I regard this element as very significantly changing the classic system of Communist rule." *The New York Times* writes that "despite the setbacks in the streets, Mr. Bujak said in the interview, the opposition was building clandestine structures that would enable it to sur-

vive. . . The strategy of the “long march”, Mr. Bujak said, consisted of ‘ignoring of all the actions of the authorities, with the exception, or course, of those directly affecting us, such as the police, which have to be counteracted, and organizing various forms of social life — independent union activities, independent activities in science, education and culture — outside the influence of the authorities.’

“The idea, he said, was to put ‘permanent pressure on the authorities in all areas of social and political life.’” Bujak further states: “The strength of the regime and of Moscow comes from using oppression against society, an oppressive system built into all possible areas of social life.”

Bujak does not agree with Walesa, who recently suggested that US sanctions be dropped since they are too harmful to the Polish economy. “As long as the decisive policy of Western governments is maintained”, according to Bujak. “the policy based on respect for human rights, we can cherish hopes our efforts will not go to waste. . . If this support and this decisive policy of the Western governments will be replaced by a policy of concessions and the closing of eyes to what is happening in our country, this will threaten us with the danger of the breakdown of resistance.”*

In quoting at length from this *New York Times* interview with “Poland’s most wanted fugitive”, our aim was to demonstrate that the present events in Poland substantiate our paradigmatic revolutionary concept, that perceives the revolutionary processes primarily as a struggle between two diametrically opposed conceptions of life, two ways of life, two cultures, two polar world-views, two antithetical moralities, two inimical to each other national organisms: a Russian, Bolshevik system of values against the national value-system of each subjugated nation. This revolutionary concept is presently being applied in part by the Polish underground. In an interesting statistic taken from a poll recently conducted among Polish students, we find that 90% of them openly stated that they were religious and anti-communist. This is a reflection of the complete state of bankruptcy of Communism in Poland, despite the fact that it has been in existence there for almost forty years.

Several Characteristic Elements of the Ukrainian Liberation Struggle

With regard to the situation in Ukraine, we have in the past drawn attention to two intersecting phases in the revolutionary processes: a.) the continuity of the ideological-political struggle, and b.) the formation of Ukrainian national, social, cultural, religious and other structures in polar opposition to the Russian, Bolshevik structures forcibly implanted in Ukraine. Given a system of totalitarian terror, it is completely infeasible to establish an organizationally centralized, revolutionary network with a central headquarters that would regularly send out special instructions to its clandestine units. The revolutionary processes themselves mobilize the wider strata of society, who on their own

* “Polish Fugitive urges ‘long march’” *New York Times*, December 19, 1983, p. 8.

initiative create groups of like-minded people that are not organizationally or technically connected, but whose activity is directed towards the same ideological-political aims. The very form and substance of the occupational system, which is a forcibly imposed, holistic way of life, in itself evokes a resistance movement. This struggle does not need clandestine instructions, but first and foremost it needs vital mobilizing ideas and slogans, that would be in consonance with the spontaneous vital life-forces of the nation. Moreover, these revolutionary ideas must continuously stress that only by achieving national independence, sovereignty and statehood can the nation as a whole truly prosper on every level of its own inherent creativity. National independence and statehood are the primary preconditions for the fulfilment of all of the people's desires and aspirations.

Our struggle, the ideals for which we are fighting, are specified in our programme of action. Our strategy must be applied to an occupational totalitarian system that is in its essence a Russian, Bolshevik system of occupation. The Russian artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932-33 was not only an economic policy, a result of Moscow's collectivization drive, in fact its primary aim was to physically liquidate the Ukrainian nation and to break the Ukrainian will to fight for its national independence. Collectivization, as an anti-Ukrainian social ideal and system, was the means by which this aim was to be achieved.

We must demonstrate that in our liberation struggle we seek to bring about a revolutionary change on all levels of life in accordance with our national values and ideals. The revolutionary processes will continue to grow, as our nations continue to grasp the true national essence of all aspects of life, and as groups of like-minded individuals continue to be created, popularizing our liberation ideals by means of modern technology and electronics. The various smear campaigns that Moscow has led against us, in which it even resorts to falsifying our publications, e.g., the most recent provocation by Moscow's lackey — Kukh-tiak, who is known in Ivano-Frankivsk as an agent-provocateur, — all have one aim: to compromise our liberation struggle in the eyes of the Western world. On the one hand, Moscow desperately wants to cut all possible political contacts that we may have with Western democratic Governments, and on the other hand, to create an illusion behind the Iron Curtain that the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) have been in contact with KGB centres and are in the service of Western intelligence agencies, all of which is nothing more than a pack of lies and provocations.

Moscow is accusing us of militarizing our youth. Yet, how else is one to describe that which is going on in the USSR? There, the youth is continuously being militarized, beginning with the "Pioneers", then in the "Komsomol" and finally in the army, service in which is mandatory. If the West were to adopt our insurgent-guerilla strategy, as the only viable alternative to nuclear war, this would be a significant blow at the weakest point of the empire. Hence, Moscow's primary aim is to compromise our alternative, to destroy any possibility of its future effectuation.

The Need for a Psychological Offensive

Afghanistan, Finland, the PLO, or the insurgencies in Latin America and Africa are a clear indication of the modern significance of an insurgent-guerilla strategy. For over four years the Russians have been desperately trying to salvage their colonial position in Afghanistan, with no end to the war in sight.

From the perspective of our strategy, it is vital to mount a political-psychological offensive, particularly by means of radio-broadcasts behind the Iron Curtain. Unfortunately, in the context of the West's political strategy, the significance of this factor is not yet fully appreciated. Until now *Radio Liberty* has not been broadcasting into Afghanistan. If *Radio Liberty* is truly founded upon principles of democratic pluralism, then its personnel composition should be reflective of the proportionate strength of a given political movement or orientation, and not of a strictly leftist-liberal colouring.

Solidarność would never have grown into an all-national movement of mass social proportions had it not been for the broadcasts of *Radio Free Europe*. The Polish radio-broadcasts provided a crucial organizational link of communication. For example, a detailed description of a strike in Gdansk over the radio waves of *Radio Free Europe* was, in fact, an instruction for the *Solidarność* groups in Warsaw, Cracow, Lublin, Poznan and elsewhere, that the same methods be applied there. Modern technology and electronics are also a means of revolutionary struggle and not only a means of the repressive policies of the occupational regime.

The Mujahideen in Afghanistan need anti-helicopter rockets. They do not need foreign armies, but they lack the crucial types of weapons necessary for leading a modern insurgent-guerilla war of liberation. Furthermore, a most decisive form of Western assistance would be to equip the Mujahideen with the modern technical means for leading a political-psychological war among the soldiers of the Soviet army. This would have to be coupled with a means of transporting Soviet POW's somewhere to the Free World.

The Afghan front of liberation remains unvanquished, in spite of the fact that there are over three million refugees that have escaped from the invading Soviet army. It is unlikely that there were three million bourgeois capitalists in Afghanistan. Are the millions of Afghans who are actively supporting the Mujahideen also bourgeois capitalists? Is it true that the Mujahideen have an "extreme constriction of the social base of the objective process"? These are the words that one of Moscow's agents uses to describe Ukrainian nationalism (*Ukrainian Historical Journal*, No. 10/83). In a recently published book, O.V. Kartunov expresses concern that "the nationalist leadership has begun very heated activity, with the aim of enlarging their nationalist groups with young people, that have become poisoned with the ideology of bourgeois nationalism." This ideology, the author continues, "has long since and forever lost its social base in Ukraine and has become an émigré phenomenon."** These statements contradict the positions of Andropov and Chernenko, who in their

** *Pastka dla Molodi* — "A Trap for the Youth". Kyiv: Politytydav Ukrainy. 1982.

keynote addresses have called upon all party cadres to maintain a strict vigilance against the threat of nationalism and religion.

Paying the required tribute to the “indomitability of proletarian internationalism”, Kartunov states, that nonetheless “nationalism has attained a social base among the Ukrainian émigré community, . . . which lives in the spirit of the ideology of bourgeois nationalism, and cultivates ethnic separatism.” In these words we find the real goal of the Russians: to bring about the assimilation of the Ukrainian *émigré* community, so that there will remain nothing of the nationally conscious *diaspora* that has been the vanguard of the nation’s struggle for independence and statehood in the Free World.

The author is acutely perturbed, that “the Ukrainian nationalists have borrowed and utilized the experience of international Zionism with regard to creating a spiritual ghetto. . . .” He is concerned with “common subversive actions, that have been co-organized by the nationalists and the Zionists, their participation in anti-Soviet rallies, the publication and distribution in our country of provocative literature, the preparation of threatening radio broadcasts, etc.” And another factor that really hurts is the fact that “the ringleaders. . . have utilized clericalism for the dissemination of their anti-communist, nationalist ideas among the youth.” This is a reference to the documents of our Churches that we have been smuggling into Ukraine by the thousands. Repeating for the tenth time the phrase about “the constriction of the social base and the deepening of the ideological-organizational crisis of bourgeois nationalism, the author recapitulates that “one should not underestimate it (nationalism) in the present ideological struggle,” because (in conclusion) “the nationalists are becoming more active and aggressive. . . .”

These same ideas, even formulae can be found in all of the communist-Russian, communist-Ukrainian and communist-Polish press and journals. Evidently, Moscow issued directives to all of its colonies in the USSR and the “satellites” to raise the level of vigilance regarding the threat of Ukrainian nationalism. In an article in the *Trybuna Lyudu* (“the People’s Tribune”), the author — Yezhy Wisnowski, expresses concern with President Reagan’s words — “Your struggle is our struggle. Your dreams are our dreams.” He agitated over the growing understanding in the West of the significance of Ukraine and the subjugated nations, and particularly of Ukrainian nationalism. He writes: “So much has been written about the fascist (sic., S.O.) Stetsko and his comrades from the OUN, UPA, ABN. . . .” and further — “There is absolutely no social, or political or any other base for the realization of their insane aspirations either in Ukraine or in Poland. . . . However, any underestimation of this small, albeit determined and fanatical enemy would be a grave mistake. . . .” Here again, the true fears of Moscow are fully revealed. On the Kremlin’s orders, the various Bolshevik periodicals have literally copied verbatim in a number of languages Moscow’s anti-OUN-UPA-ABN smear campaign and have revealed their fear of the threat that awaits the empire from the liberation struggle of Ukraine and the subjugated nations.

The subjugated nations are the Achilles’ heel of the Russian empire!

John WILKINSON M.P.

FREEDOM FOR THE OPPRESSED NATIONS*

It is a great honour for me to be invited to participate in this 40th Anniversary celebration of the formation of the ABN and 25th Anniversary of the Captive Nations Week in Bradford. The unveiling of the commemorative plaque in the Cathedral this afternoon by the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko was a deeply moving occasion for us all.

The appreciation of the Church and civic authorities of this great city for the wonderful work of the Captive Nations Committee in support of the restoration of freedom for the oppressed nations behind the Iron Curtain is an example which I wish were followed more widely in this country.

This has been for me a sentimental journey — a personal pilgrimage to come and join you this evening. I know that I shall always regard the years in which I represented Bradford West as among the happiest of my career. I made friendships among the Captive Nations Committee in Bradford which have stood the test of time and which have been an inspiration not least for my subsequent political work in support of the European Freedom Council and ABN.

I am delighted that my conservative colleague Geoff Lawler is already making his mark in the House of Commons. I often wonder whether the British adequately realise just how lucky they are. Apart from two civil wars, one in the 15th century and one in the 17th century there has been no serious fighting on English soil. There have been one or two major British invasions but nothing to match the histories of invasion, subjugation, rape, pillage, arson, famine and oppression that have characterised the histories of the nations of Eastern and Central Europe. In the days before the aeroplane and the guided missile were invented, the sea, was a valuable factor for security.

I often wonder also whether the British sufficiently comprehend what a fearful tragedy the Bolshevik revolution was. And what a watershed in human history it constituted. Briefly it offered hope of liberation from Tsarist Russian despotism but, those hopes were rapidly extinguished as the full horror of the evil genius of Communism was unleashed. Likewise, the end of the Great War proved a very mixed blessing except on the Western Front. True, the enactment of President Woodrow Wilson's principle of self-determination at the Versailles Convention subsequently brought internationally recognised sovereignty and independence to Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, but self-proclaimed independence by Byelorussia and Ukraine were short-lived and within a year of the Armistice in November 1918 no less than five armies were fighting on Ukrainian soil.

What followed is a tale of Communist brutality and oppression probably

* An Address by Hon. John Wilkinson, M.P. at 40th ABN Anniversary and 25th Captive Nations Anniversary — Bradford, W. Yorkshire.

unmatched in the annals of human affairs — Stalin's enforced collectivisation of agriculture in Ukraine was followed by the artificial famine in Ukraine — 1932-33 in which at least 7 million persons died.

In July 1983 the Ukrainian Catholic Bishops of Halychyna (Galicia) protested against the Soviet atrocities in Ukraine and in their pastoral letter they wrote:

“All Ukraine is in agony. The people are dying from hunger. The cruel, non-caring system of state capitalism based on injustice, deceit, atheism and corruption, has brought the richest country (in Europe) to complete ruin. Pope Pius XI, the Head of a Catholic Church has protested emphatically against Bolshevism because it opposes God, Christianity and human nature and he warned the whole world of the terrifying consequences of such crimes.”

Yet even to-day with all the well-chronicled accounts of the consequences of Communism there remain many in the West who seek to come to an accommodation with it, to acquiesce in its extension to new peoples and territories. They are unwilling even to recognise its evils and to defend adequately our Western democratic world against it, let alone to roll back its frontiers and set free the many millions who have been enslaved in its name. For example, such people would seek to equate the brutal Soviet occupation of Afghanistan with the American and E. Caribbean rescue mission for democracy in Grenada.

That is why the example and dedicated commitment of the Hon. Yaroslav and Madame Slava Stetsko to the liberation of Ukraine and more widely those of the ABN to all nations endowed by Communism are well an inspiration. The tribulations that Yaroslav Stetsko has endured would have broken a less courageous man since he became first Prime Minister of Ukraine upon Proclamation of Ukrainian independence in June 1941.

His commitment to the cause of challenging communist hegemony from within the Soviet Russian Empire offers, ultimately, the best hope of eliminating the mutual antagonism between the Soviet communist and the liberal democratic system that polarises our world and creates the tensions that would lead to war. In this nuclear, age the imperative necessity of removing from within, the threat that an expansion of the Soviet Russian Communist system poses to us all, is greater than ever.

This is not to question the validity of the principle of nuclear deterrence. No responsible Western statesman would ignore the Soviet nuclear build-up and not seek in response to create on the Western side a sufficient nuclear deterrent to deny the Soviets the opportunity to blackmail and intimidate us into acquiescing with their policies whatever they may be.

The mass graves are full of the corpses and the concentration camps are full of the broken bodies of those that have had to bow to the Soviet will. Ultimately we seek the greater security that only a lower level of armaments can bring, and the assurances that would accompany a mutual arms control agreement based on the twin principles of balance and verification would bring.

However the Soviets will seek to arrogate for themselves a prerogative to

maintain a degree of nuclear and overall military superiority which does not accord with our needs for genuine security.

For ten years the West and Soviets have been negotiating futilely over mutual and balanced arms reductions at Vienna and the Soviets have had four years notice of NATO's determination to deploy Cruise Missiles and Pershing II's failing a satisfactory theatre nuclear arms agreement at Geneva. I am proud that the resolve of NATO and the British government in particular has not wavered in the face of Soviet blustering and threats. The deployment of Cruise Missiles, on schedule, in this country is a factor for stability and peace.

Even so the need for change inside the Soviet Empire is as paramount as ever. Such is the all-pervasive nature of the aspects of Soviet Term and control that we cannot expect it to happen of itself. Our support by political, diplomatic, economic and moral means for the national liberation struggles within the Soviet Russian Empire will give sustenance and hope for peoples who are at heart and in reality our allies. Our foreign policy must be modified accordingly — no high technology transfers for the Soviets and no overgenerous credits to sustain a technically backward and financially bankrupt system.

Allies and friends cannot be won and kept without fervent and enduring expressions of good faith and practical assistance. Friendship cannot be sustained without solidarity in adversity. That is why the two Parliamentary expressions of political support this year are so important, that is, the House of Commons Captive Nations Resolution and Early Day Motion No. 265 "Situation in Ukraine".

That is why the work of ABN and of the Captive Nations Committee are so important. The fruit of your labours may not be immediate — patience is the hardest and most important of all political virtues to learn — freedom will return to the lands you love and liberation of the captive nations whose destiny I have in a small measure come to share.

Read

ABN Correspondence

Read

BULLETIN OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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Major General John K. SINGLAUB, USA (Ret.)

**“YOU CAN TRUST THE RUSSIANS
(TO BEHAVE AS BARBARIANS)”***

I am deeply honored by the invitation to speak to this gathering to commemorate the 50th Anniversary of the Genocide in Ukraine. I accepted this invitation to speak at this commemorative observance because I have learned through my years of service to the nation, that there is much to learn from the tragedies associated with the Ukrainian Nation and the great and proud Ukrainian People, inside and outside Ukraine, that make up that indestructible Nation.

The year 1983 contains three significant anniversaries in the history of the Ukrainian people. It was 65 years ago in 1918 that the Ukrainians declared their independence from years of Russian domination. While it is recognized that the independence declared at that time had a relatively short life in the face of the brutal Red Army, the spirit of that movement and the continuous struggle by Ukrainians inside and outside the Russian Empire have been an inspiration to Freedom Fighters throughout the world. The open defiance of Russian efforts to wipe out the Ukrainian language and culture, and disregard of communist efforts to eradicate religion among the deeply religious Ukrainians, and defiance of Soviet Russian efforts to destroy Ukrainian nationalism have all served as examples for those in other parts of the world who have been subjugated under communist imperialism. It is significant to note that while Russification has been reasonably successful in other parts of the Russian communist empire, it has been a miserable failure in Ukraine.

Not only do the three million free Ukrainians in the United States and other free-world countries continue to practice their own language, religion, and culture, but it has been impossible to suppress them within the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It is well known that the most difficult and perhaps the most hazardous assignment for the Russian KGB agent is to be posted in Kyiv, the capital of the Ukrainian SSR. This, in my view, is another tribute to the spirit of Ukrainian independence.

This year, 1983, also marks the 41st anniversary of the creation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Some of you may be old enough, as I am, to remember that in the spring of 1941, Adolph Hitler betrayed his ally and fellow socialist, Joseph Stalin, and sent his victorious Panzer divisions racing across the plains of northern Europe toward Moscow. As early victims of Russian expansion during the communist revolution, Ukrainians were looking for liberation as the *Wehrmacht* divisions drove the Red Army eastward, the Ukrainian people, feeling they were about to be liberated from years of Russian oppression, dec-

* This address by Major General John K. Singlaub, USA (Ret.) was presented at the Commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the genocide in Ukraine 1932-33 in Los Angeles, California, on 4th December, 1983.

lared themselves, again, free and independent. The following year, 1942, 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. Some 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 Nazi *Wehrmacht* and Stalin's Red Army. Both of these armies suffered heavy losses at the hands of the Insurgents. After the collapse of Germany, the Insurgent Army continued its resistance against the Russian military and security forces. But, 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 to the communists has not brought freedom, individual liberty, or independence to the re-enslaved people of North Korea, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia, Afghanistan and Nicaragua. 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.

These two incidents from Ukrainian history demonstrate to the world the great spirit of independence that burns in the hearts of every Ukrainian and creates for their would-be Russian masters the so-called "Special Ukrainian Problem" that has made life miserable for KGB agents stationed there. Khrushchev won his reputation there. It is this same "Special Problem" that has prevented the Soviet Army from sending Army divisions containing large numbers of Ukrainian soldiers to Afghanistan to suppress the freedom fighters there. Non-Russian and especially Ukrainian troop formations are considered unreliable in that theatre of conflict. It is also this "Special Ukrainian Problem" that has caused the population of the Gulags to contain such a disproportionately high percentage of Ukrainians. It is seldom that a nation can take pride in the numbers of its citizens incarcerated in the prison system. In this case, however, it is a badge of honour depicting the universal desire of Ukrainians to achieve personal and national independence.

It is the third incident from Ukrainian history that we are commemorating here today. This year, 1983, is the 50th anniversary of the pre-meditated, carefully planned extermination of nearly seven million Ukrainians by an artifi-

ally contrived famine which was engineered and controlled by the Soviet Russian government.

We all know that throughout history mankind has been subject to famine brought about by war, drought, flood, and other natural disasters. But never and nowhere have any people suffered so devastating a famine as that inflicted as a matter of policy by the Soviet Government against the Ukrainian people in the years 1932-33.

A natural question is, "How is it possible to create a famine in what has been considered the Bread Basket of Europe?" It was not easy, but with the determination of Joseph Stalin to punish the Ukrainians for their resistance to his programs of collective farming and confiscation of private property, he was able to accomplish it. The whole region was sealed off so that none of the intended victims could leave and no mercy or help even to innocent starving children could be brought in. The farmers were forcefully removed from their homes, their land confiscated, their crops taken away and shipped to other areas. This total confiscation of the harvest was carried out under the supervision of the Red Army. Since the harvest was good throughout the USSR that year, it was possible for the government to export the confiscated Ukrainian grain for hard currency.

Special trains had to be sent in from outside to haul away the corpses since the victims lacked strength to bury the dead. The communists in control were well fed and set up a special program to prevent the inevitable cannibalism. A major disinformation program was conducted to dispel the rumours which leaked out to the West about some starvation existing in USSR. A very limited number of sympathetic western journalists were conducted on a special tour to "prove" that all was going on well on the collective farms in Ukraine.

As whole villages died off, the Ukrainians were replaced by compliant Russian farming families.

The Ukrainian genocide was not an aberration, a moment of Stalinist excess, something the Soviet government regrets in its past. The Soviets do not reject Stalinism. They embrace it as glorious and a guide to future policy. The methods Stalin used in the Ukrainian famine and later in the Great Purge and a whole galaxy of greater and lesser horrors are an integral and intrinsic part of the nature of the Soviet state.

Unfortunately, this holocaust has not received the attention that it should. It took the Soviet Government one year to destroy 7 million people. It took the Nazis 5 years to destroy 6 million people, using sophisticated technology. While the Nazis were defeated and while their works against humanity have been widely distributed, communicated, and published, this particular crime by the Soviets is less known.

I am confident, however, that none in this audience today who doubts the fact that this atrocity against mankind took place or that it was perpetrated by the government of the USSR for political purposes. Yet I am also confident that there are some within the sound of my voice who doubt that the Soviet Union

is using terror network which stretched from Rangoon to New York and from Beirut to Sakhalin for the same expansionistic purposes.

There are probably some who still doubt that the Soviet Union is using myco-toxins to exterminate whole tribes in the mountains of Afghanistan and the jungles of Laos and Cambodia.

In fact, today in the aftermath of the massacre of 269 innocent civilians on board-KAL 007 by the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union, the governments of the 13 nations that lost citizens on that flight still consider that the world is in a period of peace. The whole world was shocked and horrified that the Russian barbarians could do such a thing in a so-called period of peace.

In times past such an act of violence against an unarmed merchantman would have automatically produced a state of war against the aggressor. Wars have resulted from less provocative acts. Today we seem to be conditioned to the idea that unless the attack is directed by the Armed Forces of one nation against the Armed Forces of another using conventional or the more violent weapons of the nuclear age, we are still in a period 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 does not recognize national boundaries but it is only fought in the "War Zone" which by communist definition includes all nations outside the Soviet controlled "Socialist Camp".

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, look 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 munitions.

The military forces of the Free-World are generally organized, equipped, funded, and trained to fight either one or both of these options. The USSR on the other hand recognizes and employs a third option and considers unconventional or non-shooting, covert war 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", which they have created, in the Third World and the Communist Parties which they support, in the capitalist nations, in the total conflict with Western Civilization.

This unconventional warfare part of the conflict includes low intensity ac-

tions such as sabotage, terrorism, and guerrilla warfare. It also includes such covert and non-violent activities as subversion, psychological operations, economic warfare, support to dissent 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 restraint, 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 its allies 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, people of the U.S. must reject any increase in defense expenditures, accept a freeze at the present level of nuclear weapons, and even initiate unilateral disarmament to show our good faith. If 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 citizens of the West, we will remain in the false state of peace while the Soviets extract more and more concessions on compromises. If we do nothing about KAL 007, we will be forced to meet additional 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 500 B.C. 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 neutralizing

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 must 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, coordinated, 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 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 people within the Communist Empire. The real Achilles heel of the whole Soviet power system is the restiveness and disaffection of the people within the Soviet camp. Can you imagine the terror it would strike into the hearts of the Kremlin leadership if it were faced with other Polands inside the Warsaw Pact and one or more Insurgent Armies of the Ukrainian model of 40 years ago inside the Soviet Union? Can you imagine the immobilizing panic of the Soviet Armed Forces if it were faced with a few more Afghanistans on and inside its borders? The fact that the Polish Solidarity Movement has grown several-fold since the imposition of martial law gives some indication of the magnitude of this restiveness and the 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 military commitment there stands as testimony to the strength of Muslim resistance to Communist imperialism and colonial aggression. And let us not forget that Communist China is subject to the same pressures of restiveness and disaffection of its own enslaved people and the victims of Chinese colonialism in such territories as Tibet.

Since Communist tyrants, Chinese and Russian, fear nothing so much as the infiltration of ideas of freedom and justice into their sphere of influence, a non-violent, non-military truth campaign beamed at the enslaved people of the world will have a significant deterrent effect against future communist expansionism.

In fact, the Free Nations of the world who now find themselves confronted by an ever-increasing worldwide communist offensive, carried out under the threat of nuclear attack, can defend themselves by turning the tables and hitting Soviet imperialism in its most sensitive spot namely the internal resistance inside the Captive Nations.

For the Free Nations of the World to carry out this new strategy, some important changes need 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 Forces 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 Empire. The targeting of Nato retaliatory nuclear strikes should be changed to recognize the friendly status of the Captive Nations and emphasize the strategic importance of targeting Russian facilities and populations. Perhaps most important, there is a need to expose and counter Soviet and Chinese disinformation activities in the Free World with an expanded, modernized, and unapologetic series of multi-lingual 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 people who are searching for some form of recognition and encouragement which will lead to their eventual liberation from their involuntary enslavement under Communist totalitarianism. They need the same hope of liberation that the Allies gave to the Nazi-occupied nations of Western Europe and to the Asian people occupied by the totalitarian forces of the Japanese Empire.

The Soviet Russian Empire today when faced with the possibility of other Solidarity movements among its occupied satellites and faced with the unreliability of its non-Russian forces in actions against the Afghan Freedom Fighters will be deterred from further overt aggression if confronted with the threat of increasing disaffection as a result of a truth offensive from the free-world.

We in the West must recognize that the subjugated people and Captive Nations of the world-wide Communist Empire 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 liberation (or Low Frontier) alternative to nuclear war. If we can provide this hope of eventual liberation, then perhaps the loss of 7 million Ukrainians will not have been in vain.

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News from Ukraine

THE CRUEL SENTENCE IMPOSED ON VALERIY MARCHENKO

Readers of *Ukrainian Review* will recall that in issue No. 4, 1983 (p. 37) we brought a report on the fresh arrest of *Valeriy Marchenko* (October 21st, 1983) who had endured KGB harassment during his so called time of freedom and then when he sought employment, met all kinds of official obstruction. Following his arrest he was put on trial — this being already the second time in his life, each time on similar charges — that his Ukrainian patriotism constituted an attitude and outlook which was anti-Soviet in nature. What follows is an account of his trial and tribulations based on information passed on about him to the West.

His trial was supposed to take place on 12th March but because of his poor state of health it was postponed for one day. Valeriy suffers from chronic nephritis (i.e. inflammation of the kidneys) and hypertension. His blood pressure ranges from 220 to 130 which clearly is very dangerous for somebody in his state of health. On 13th March the procurator and 'witnesses' read through the 'evidence material' which supposedly 'demonstrated' his involvement in 'anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation'.

On 14th March the Kyiv judge Hryhorii Zubets, the deputy head of the Kyiv city people's court passed sentence. In accordance with art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR Valeriy Marchenko was given 10 years in a strict regime concentration camp and 5 years' internal exile — in all, 15 years of captivity.

In passing such a lengthy sentence on this Ukrainian patriot the judge H. I. Zubets himself committed a double crime. Firstly, without the slightest feeling of humanity, he illegally condemned a person who was accused of 'anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation' for the sole reason that he, whilst confined earlier for several years in a concentration camp, passed information about living conditions in the camp and the state of health of political prisoners.

The 'offence' committed by Valeriy Marchenko can hardly be proof of the fact that he had some intention to 'undermine' the foundations of the so called 'socialist system' existing in the USSR and is completely in accordance with the right of every person 'to hold convictions freely and to be able to exercise them', which includes the freedom 'of seeking, receiving and disseminating information and ideas by all kind of means, free of state borders'.

This right is enshrined in art. 19 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights passed by the United Nations, the members of which are, from the time that organization was established, the USSR and the fictitious Soviet Ukraine.

Secondly, the judge H. I. Zubets committed an additional crime because he deprived of freedom a person who suffers from a serious and incurable disease. Even in favourable conditions, a person suffering from glomerulo-nephritis has

not much time to live. Valeriy is 37 years old, but his health has been completely wrecked by Soviet concentration camps. On not one occasion he appealed to higher authorities to allow him to go to Italy for treatment.* The most 'humane power' in the world, the Soviet state deprived Valeriy Marchenko of the right to receive qualified medical help, in other words, the right to live!

The shameful sentence passed by judge H. I. Zubets is in act an extended death sentence.

The Ukrainian litterateur and dissident Valeriy Marchenko had, it seemed, all the prerequisites for a brilliant career in journalism, literary scholarship and also as a translator from Azerbaijani and English. He is the grandson of the Ukrainian historian Mykhailo Marchenko** and the son of a lecturer of Ukrainian language and literature. Valeriy also proved to be a brilliant scholar of Ukrainian literature. During an examination of diploma dissertations his work on the Ukrainian orientalist Agatanhel Kryms'kyi was given a high mark and recognised as one of the best dissertations. As a result, he himself was recommended by the academic staff at the university for postgraduate work in literature.

After completing his university course he worked as a journalist writing on literary topics for the newspaper *Literaturna Ukrayina* (Literary Ukraine). But his integrity and Ukrainian national consciousness as well as his deep concern for his people apparently stood in the way of his literary career.

On 25 June 1973 Marchenko was arrested for 'anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation'. He was incriminated on the basis of articles he had written which circulated in *samvydav* form and also for espousing beliefs qualified as nationalistic. His sentence on that occasion was 6 years' deprivation of freedom, 4 years' in a concentration camp and 2 years' exile.

In the Perm concentration camps Valeriy, notwithstanding the constant deterioration of his health, took an active part in many common protests, he wrote statements and appeals protesting against the cruelty of the administration.

From that time on he was persecuted at every step, in prison, in exile and after his release, in 'freedom' (this we highlighted in the previous issue of *Ukrainian Review* -Eds).

In July 1983 a search was carried out at his flat and all his private letters were confiscated. He was also denied the opportunity to teach Ukrainian language and literature. Later he was threatened with a 'parasitism' charge. On 20th October 1983 he was arrested once again in Kyiv. Yet again for 'anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation'.

* Valeriy Marchenko sent a letter dated 28th April 1982 to the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR Shchelokhov in which he describes the symptoms of his disease (constant headache, vomiting, diarrhoea, swelling of the face) and his attempts to treat the disease. He stated that because of his illness he was discharged from military service. However, his request for permission to come to the West for treatment was rejected.

** Prof. Mykhailo Marchenko, a noted Ukrainian scholar, died on 22nd January 1983, as a result of injuries he incurred in 1980 after 2 thugs assaulted him in the streets. In 1939-40 he was the chancellor of L'viv University, a senior associate of the Institute of History at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR. During the Second World War he was appointed a lecturer at Novosibirsk Institute of Education and as from 1956 he became a professor at Kyiv University. He is the author of many scholarly works which include titles such as 'The History of Ukrainian Culture from Earliest Times to the Middle of the 17th Century', 'The struggle of Russia and Poland for Ukraine'. He suffered constant repression for his courageous defence of Valeriy and his daughter Anna, who married Mykola Horbal, another Ukrainian political prisoner. Before his death at the age of 81 he had lost his power of speech and was virtually crippled after being beaten up. He was cared for in his last years by his daughter Anna.

In one of his letters from the concentration camp to his mother on her 50th birthday Valeriy Marchenko wished her 'unspoiled happiness and endurance (the last for my own sake). . . '

Valeriy did not remain long in 'freedom'. Next came his third and probably the last sentence passed down on him by his persecutors.

There is no doubt that Valeriy knew that this sentence meant death for him. Despite this he conducted himself manfully and with dignity, he courageously declared at his trial that he believes in God, in God's goodness, and that he loves Ukraine without bounds. All that he did, he did with great love only wishing to serve good. At the same time he struggled against evil and darkness, against the violence of the dark powers which surrounded him and persecuted him.

His mother endured the most terrible anguish of her mother's heart. Tears flowed from her eyes as she awaited him. But what can she do alone to help her son when this wicked enemy filled with rage, destroys Ukrainian patriots and calls into question the very existence of the very substance of what is Ukrainian.

However, his mother found strength within her to oppose the atheistic authorities. Not too long ago Nina Marchenko wrote a letter appealing to the Holy Father, the Pope in Rome, John-Paul II in which she requests his assistance.

Here is the text of the letter:

Your Holiness,

My son, a practising Christian who never broke any of the tenets of the Christian faith, has been sentenced for a second time to 15 years and is dying in prison.

His life was full of aspiration to what is good and just.

Hoping for your assistance. Save Valeriy Marchenko a practising Christian!

His mother: Nina Marchenko

Already a group of eminent writers in West Germany have come out in support of this Ukrainian patriot. Judge H. I. Zubets by applying the cruel laws of the corrupt Soviet legal procedure has committed a great crime by taking part in the murder of a human being of which Ukraine should, and will be proud of.

In the bulletin *Vesti iz SSR* (News from USSR, Munich) we read some additional details about the trial of Valeriy Marchenko. It is stated there that he did not accept the defence lawyer appointed by the court, Osadchyi. He decided to defend himself. Of his family present at the trial, there were only his mother Nina Mykhailivna and his aunt Anna. The prosecution witnesses were an official of the KGB based at the Perm concentration camps and workers of the camp administration. There were no prisoners amongst the witnesses. The evidence produced at the trial were manuscripts which Valeriy Marchenko had sent abroad and that had been published there. Somehow the manuscripts had fallen into the hands of those who were conducting the case against him. Valeriy Marchenko protested his innocence and stated that he believed in God and the goodness of man. He also said that the state (the Soviet state — Eds) was guilty in front of its citizens a millionfold and that he would always, to the end of his life, protest against this.

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL IN KYIV

Dr. K. Lyubars'kyi reports in his bulletin *Vesti iz SSR* (News from the USSR) that Vyacheslav Chronovil, the noted Ukrainian journalist and political prisoner, was brought to Kyiv in October 1983. However, it is not known as yet under what conditions. The possibility exists that he was released conditionally and is now committed to forced labour. This would mean he arrived in Kyiv during a short break. V. Chornovil is now committed to compulsory work in a factory in Yakutian ASSR.

ANATOLIY LUPYNIS TRANSFERRED

The poet Anatoliy Lupynis, known for the poem he recited in Taras Shevchenko's honour at an unofficial celebration of the Ukrainian Bard in Kyiv on 22nd May 1971, was transferred in October 1983 from Orlovsk special psychiatric hospital to an ordinary psychiatric clinic in Saratov.

STEPHAN SAPELIAK THREATENED

On 3rd November 1983 the former political prisoner *Stephan Sapeliak* who now lives in Kharkiv was taken from his place of work to the KGB where he was 'cautioned' by a directive emanating from the Soviet militia organs (under a regulation of 25.12.1972). He was accused of disseminating typewritten reviews of foreign broadcasts, the letters of L. Tumanova in his defence and appeals to Y. Andropov.

On 22nd November S. Sapeliak was yet again taken to the KGB where he was notified that a certain Zelena 'who had tried to cross the border illegally' had had with her a collection of his poems and his address. They stated that in the event of any more similar material being revealed they would open a case against him under art. 62 of the criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR ('anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'). He was to be summoned to the KGB once again on 30th November 1983 — at which time the case of the illegal attempt to cross the border was to have been televised locally.

A MONUMENT TO TARAS SHEVCHENKO IN KAZAKHSTAN

Two Ukrainian sculptors, M. Vronskyj and V. Sukhnenko, worked for over ten years on a monument project dedicated to Ukraine's literary genius, Taras Shevchenko.

At first, this monument was to have been placed on Ukrainian territory, that is to say, in the so-called Ukrainian SSR. It took a long time to find an appropriate location! A directive from Moscow stated that a third person, a Russian, be added to the above mentioned sculptors. Subsequently, a certain S. Fyodorov from Leningrad, was added. Sometime later the Ministry of Culture of the USSR still had not authorized the statue's location to be in Kyiv. Permission was granted in 1982.

It is quite obvious that the decision was not made in Ukraine since it was decided that the statue of Taras Shevchenko is to be placed in distant Kazakhstan (the so-

called Union of Republics Ministry of Culture is not authorized to make such decisions which emanate from beyond the borders of the given “republic”).

Finally, in October 1982, the monument to Taras Shevchenko was unveiled, in the city of Shevchenko, which is located on the shores of the Caspian Sea, in the presence of Kazakhs, exiled Ukrainian settlers and Russians.

A wrathful Kobzar sits on a low cliff, holding in his hand a proscribed booklet in which the poet wrote his nationalist-revolutionary works during his banishment from Ukraine. On the Kobzar's back there is a soldier's greatcoat and on his feet clumsy army boots — “sopogi” . . .

“Arise, and break your chains!” the bronze statue of Shevchenko, his face expressing anger, cries out to the miserable people in the communist paradise.

This is why the 6 metre tall statue was placed so far away from Ukraine. This is why the subservient Kyivan journal *Literaturna Ukrayina* could not publish a picture of this statue on the Caspian Sea for more than a year and a half, which like the small city of Shevchenko, is located in the Kazakhstan SSR. The statue stands amid the desert sands and the silicone bearing earth. Even now, *Literaturna Ukrayina* in their March 1984 edition did not publish a single word about this monument, nor did they publish the text nor the language in which the dedication to the Ukrainian poet-revolutionary was written.

UKRAINIAN BISHOP DIES IN KARAGANDA

Samvydav sources in Ukraine inform that on 26th May 1983 a bishop of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church *Oleksander Khira*, passed away. He had been taken into exile to Kazakhstan in 1949 where he remained with only short intervals for 35 years.

Bishop Oleksander Khira was born on 17th January 1897 in Transcarpathian Ukraine. He completed his theological studies in Budapest and was ordained a priest in 1920 in Transcarpathian Ukraine. Later he became a professor at the theological seminary in Uzhorod and in 1934 he was appointed its director.

After the Hungarian occupation of Carpathian Ukraine Rev. O. Khira was placed under house arrest although he continued to teach seminarians. Soon after the Soviet Russian occupation the Bishop of Uzhorod, Theodore Romzha, appointed him as his vicar general and with the permission of Pope Pius XII he secretly consecrated him as bishop. In February 1947, after Bishop T. Romzha died the death of a martyr at the hands of the Russians Bishop Khira was imprisoned in Uzhorod and was subsequently taken to L'viv where he was sentenced to 25 years in concentration camps and internal exile. When it was revealed to the NKVD that Rev. O. Khira was in fact consecrated secretly as a bishop he was taken to Kyiv, the NKVD headquarters in the capital, where he underwent extensive questioning. He was accused of maintaining secret links with the Vatican and eventually accused of ‘state treason’ at which point he was deprived of Soviet citizenship and forbidden to return to Ukraine.

During his forced exile Bishop O. Khira continued his pastoral duties despite the persecution of the KGB. After Stalin's death he was granted an amnesty and he returned to Transcarpathian Ukraine where he performed his pastoral duties in

his native village. However, he was arrested and sentenced once again. As of 1957 he was held in a concentration camp in Karaganda. He was released in 1962 but forbidden to return to Ukraine. He remained in Karaganda where he served as a priest to German Catholics. As of 1978 he became their official pastor in Karaganda. It was whilst performing his duties as a priest amongst German Catholics that he died. He passed away never betraying his Church nor breaking his pastoral vows.

UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS PRAISE LITHUANIAN CELLMATES

Recent letters from Antanas Terleckas, a Lithuanian political prisoner, tell of how Ukrainian political prisoners praise Lithuanians for their courage, according to the January 1984 edition of ELTA Information Bulletin of the Lithuanian National Foundation.

“A Ukrainian who came to Kucino somewhat later had good things to say about Pecéliunas and Iesmantas. In the spring, two Ukrainians were transferred here from a special camp, and a Kalmuk was brought in much later. They openly expressed their pride that they were friends with Henrikas Jaskunas, a man of great physical strength who was able to fight for his convictions anywhere. They also had much good to say about Balys Gajauskas who spent 30 years in prison, but never broke down”.

Terleckas, who was sentenced on September 30 1980, to three years in strict-regime camps and five years exile, also told of his encounter with Mykola Rudenko, head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group.

“In the middle of September 1981, Mykola Rudenko was brought here from Mordovia. Having found out that I was Lithuanian, Mykola spent a whole evening telling me about the Lithuanians in the Mordovian camp: V. Lapienis, P. Paulaitis, A. Zypre, V. Skuodis and A. Janulis. Mykola himself deserves the highest compliments, but he spoke about the Lithuanians without concealing his admiration.

“Mykola told me that already Taras Shevchenko had raised the idea of an alliance between Lithuania and Ukraine. As we recall that idea, we should better know and understand one another. Mykola concluded our conversation in these words: ‘Your nation is a nation of heroes. You have a moral right to be proud of it’. It has been a long time since I had felt so happy. Thank you for all of that. I needed your example very much during my journey to Kolyrma. It is a source of strength for me to this very day.”

Sviatoslav HORDYNSKY

THE STONES CRY OUT

An Essay on Ukrainian Architecture

I. General Character and Development

The largely steppe character of Ukraine is associated in the imagination with horizontal planes. Ukrainian architecture grows out of this level soil, and as if for the purposes of contrast creates powerful vertical forms.

Not many regions of the earth have been subjected to such numerous and different influences as the territory of Ukraine. Geographically belonging to the East, Ukraine forms the final boundary of a Western culture. The French historian Leroy-Beaulieu writes that Kyiv was more European than Russia ever was before Peter I. One of the most important facts of Ukrainian culture is that it has the same classical base as the cultures of the Romance of Germanic nations: it possesses the Graeco-Roman heritage. The territory of Ukraine was in this sphere of influence by the VIII century B.C., when the first Greek colonies were founded on the territory of Southern Ukraine. Especially rich in architectural remains are the territories of former Olbia, Khersonese and Kerch, (the ancient Panticapeum). For example, in Olbia, at the delta of the Dnipro and the Boh rivers, which was founded in 645 B.C., archaeologists have so far discovered seven cultural states corresponding to the different periods of cultural development. Whole streets have been unearthed in Kerch and Khersonese, and in Sevastopol, Crimea, that is located on the bay opposite the ancient ruins of Khersonese. The Greek colonies later came under the rule of Rome, and in southern Ukraine in the IV century of our era many Christian structures were erected. In Khersonese alone the foundations of thirty churches dating from the IV-IX centuries have so far been unearthed. The oldest types were the cross-formed and the basilica; later the three-naved church with three apses developed, and this became the predominant type in Ukraine, in the X-XII centuries.

Even before the official acceptance of the Christian faith in Ukraine by the Great Prince Volodymyr in 988, there were Christian buildings in Kyiv. But the real architectural development of Ukraine began with the acceptance of Christianity. The magnificent twenty-five dome church of the Tithe (Desyatynna), built by Prince Volodymyr the Great, has not survived, but the Church of St. Sophia, built by Prince Yaroslav the Wise (1017-1054), can give us a good idea of how the Desyatynna might have looked. The Church of St. Sophia has five naves of the basilican type, with the central dome held up by supports. At first there were only nine domes (today there are nineteen). The characteristic trait is the disappearance of the columns and the almost exclusive use of pillars, which serve better to uphold the great arches. In this fashion miles could be covered with vaults, (H.

Pavlutsky). In architectural grandeur St. Sophia in Kyiv, even in its present rebuilt state belongs to the most beautiful Byzantine structures in the East, and the mosaics that decorate it are superb.

The German Bishop Thietmar of Merseburg counted as many as 400 churches in Kyiv in the beginning of the XI century. It is possible that many of them were wooden structures, that could not have survived to our time but many stone churches were ruined during the Mongolian raids. However, a proportionately large number withstood these raids and were still in existence in our era, although the exteriors of some have been partly rebuilt in different styles. To these belong the Goldenroofed Cloister of St. Michael, (originally the Church of St. Dimitry), built in 1054, and demolished by the Russians in 1934, the church of the Ascension in the Lavra Monastery of Kyiv, built in 1073, and ruined during the war, the Church of the Saviour *Spas na Beresti* from the XI century, the Church of St. Cyryl, 1140, the Church of the Three Saints, from 1184 (but demolished by the Russians in 1934). Chernihiv was second to Kyiv in its love for building; the Cathedral of the Saviour, built in 1024, which was one of the most beautiful structures from the era of the Princes in Ukraine, survived to our time, but like other buildings in that city it was badly damaged by the war. It was a three nave structure with five domes. In Chernihiv was also built and still exists the church of the Assumption of the Yeletsky Monastery, 1060, the Church of Borys and Hlib, 1120, and others. Whereas the architecture of Kyiv is closer to Byzantine and Caucasian types, the buildings of Chernihiv show a marked Romanesque influence. This style also predominates in the architecture of West Ukraine, although not much of this period remains. For instance in the ancient capital city of Halych (Galicia), thirty foundations of churches have been discovered, among them the cathedral of the Virgin, which was not much smaller than the Church of St. Sophia in Kyiv. Only the Church of St. Panteleymon survives in a fairly good state. The city of Volodymyr in Volhynia, which had one of the oldest Ukrainian cathedrals, built in 992, now has only one rebuilt church dating from 1160. From the rich architecture of Kholm, described in the ancient chronicles, only fragments of the old fortifications remain.

After the fall of Kyiv during the Mongol raids, the cultural life of the country moved to west Ukraine. The Byzantine-Romanesque style still predominates in architecture: the Church of St. Nicholas, and the Armenian Cathedral, built in 1363, are both in Lviv, Galicia. But the permanent state of war with the Tatars placed the emphasis rather on military architecture: defence walls and castles. These structures are particularly numerous in Podillya and Volhynia (Ostrih, Lutsk). The fortified churches in Rohatyn (Galicia) and in Sutkivtsi (Podillya) 1476, show Gothic influence. In the church in Sutkivtsi the four defence towers of the structure form four apses, the altar is in the eastern. The Gothic style did not represent an organic part of Ukrainian architecture, but was more characteristic of the Roman Catholic churches (the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Lviv). However, one of the favourite styles, widely accepted and deeply rooted in Ukraine, was that of the Renaissance. It was brought to Ukraine directly by Italian architects, mainly to Lviv, where they joined the local guilds and very often took Ukrainian names.

Following the great fire in Lviv in 1520, the city developed a wide architectural activity, and the centre of the city took on an almost Italian character, but at the same time the Italian builders accepted many features of Ukrainian architecture. Thus one of the finest Renaissance buildings in Eastern Europe was erected, the church of the Assumption in Lviv, begun in 1564, with its graceful tower the work of Petro Krasovsky, Pietro di Barbona and Paolo Romano. The Renaissance radiated strongly from Lviv to the province.



St. Michael's "Golden-Roofed" monastery in Kyiv (11th C.) destroyed by Communist Russians in 1934

The second great period of architectural development, after the early Kyivan period, comes with the Kozak era in the XVI-XVIII centuries. The Renaissance found fertile soil in Ukraine, undoubtedly because it had also a classical foundation. The centre of architectural development returns once more to the heart of Ukraine, Kyiv, and results there in structures worthy of the capital of the Kozak state. Architecture now takes two directions; the first is restoration of the old buildings which now received their Baroque exterior, and original building. Such historical figures as the Archbishop Petro Mohyla and the Hetmans Ivan Mazepa and Samoylovych have rendered priceless services in the architectural revival of the country. The Ukrainian Baroque is even termed the "Mazepinian Baroque" in memory of the great builder. The warlike character of that turbulent period left its mark on the Ukrainian architecture: it is dynamic, exuberant, often flamboyant, and with a wealth of ornamentation, which occasionally resembles the sumptuous Oriental styles, but it is always in good taste. The finest specimens of this style, excluding the reconstructed buildings, are the church of St. Nicholas, built in 1690

by Ivan Mazepa, and torn down by the Russians in 1934, the church of the Holy Trinity in Chernihiv, the Cathedral of Kharkiv built in 1689, a number of churches in the Lavra of Kyiv, the bell tower of St. Cyril (demolished by the Russians in 1934), the church of ss. Peter and Paul (demolished by the Russians), the Brothers' Monastery from the XVII century (demolished by the Russians in 1935) and many other highly artistic structures, mostly blown up by the Russians between the years 1930-1936. The best architects of that time were Stepan Kovnir, Fedir Starchenko, Ivan Barsky, and D. Zarudny. The Baroque harmoniously develops into the Rococo, but here the style becomes more international because foreign architects take over more and more the planning of the buildings. So the Church of St. Andrew in Kyiv was built by the Italian architect Bartholomeo Rastrelli, the Academy of Kyiv and the tower of the Lavra by the German I. Schedel, and the Cathedral of St. George (Yury) in Lviv was built in 1744 after the plans of Merdeder-Meretini. These western influences become more pronounced in the pseudo-classical period of the XVIII century, when the aristocracy of Ukraine, wishing to equal that of Petersburg, invited the leading architects from the West, such as de la Motte, Charles Cameron, Giacomo Quarenghi, who built a number of splendid palaces and churches in the time of the last Hetman of Ukraine, Cyril Rozumovsky.

But simultaneously with this architecture, which developed parallel to western European style, grows the folk architecture which is one of the most interesting and original phenomena of European architecture. The oldest wooden churches have survived mostly in Galicia. (Potylych, Busovovsko). They date from the 16-17 centuries. The church divided into three parts or cross type is the form most frequently used in these churches, and accordingly the church has one, three or five domes. This same form in east Ukraine, develops into the nine-dome church. In the Carpathian region (Galicia, Carpathian Ukraine, Bukovina), the most characteristic feature is the wide over-hanging roofs, that form as it were, a low gallery around the church. These roofs grow higher, in the form of a helmet, often with seven to eight stories. The beams of the walls here are arranged horizontally, whereas in east Ukraine they are placed vertically and form a smooth and high wall that is crowned on the very top with a wreath of Baroque domes. Such is the Kozak church in Samar, built in 1773 by the architect Pohrebniak.

The development of Ukrainian architecture met with a serious setback in the XIX century, as the result of the ban issued by the Tsarist administration, forbidding the building of structures in the Ukrainian styles. In the place of Ukrainian style the official Russian pseudo Byzantine style was introduced in Ukraine. On the whole the architecture in Ukraine in the XIX century is eclectic as in the rest of Europe. At this time the architects in Ukraine imitated the trends coming from Petersburg and Vienna, and in this academic style many public buildings were erected in Kyiv, Odessa and Lviv, such as universities, theatres, private residences. Ivan Levyns'kyi is regarded as the first representative of modern Ukrainian architecture. He was the designer of the main railway terminal in Lviv. In the beginning of our century the architects became interested in Ukrainian wooden architecture, and the result of this interest is the attempt to prolong the artistic tra-

ditions of the country. One of the first pioneers in this trend is Vasyl Krychevsky, who blended harmoniously the elements of Ukrainian wooden architecture with the modern style in his building of the Poltava County House, 1910. The study of the Byzantine style also had a great influence on modern Ukrainian building. Today the Ukrainian architects may be divided into two groups: those that seek a national character in connection with former Ukrainian traditions: Oleksa Lushpynsky, E. Nahirny, D. Diachenko, S. Tymoshenko, V. Sichynsky, M. Ivanchenko and J. K. Jastremsky (the last in the United States). The other group represents the architecture of the modern engineering type, but artistic; in this group American influence is pronounced: the "skyscrapers" of Kharkiv, the construction of the Dniprelstan (Dniprostroy). Among the large modern structures of Kyiv are the administrative building of the Supreme Soviet by V. Zabolotny, Verbytsky's railway terminal in Kyiv, and the buildings of E. Nakonechnyi, M. Hrechyna, etc. But unfortunately this "socialistic reconstruction" of Kyiv has been carried out at the cost of ruthless demolitions of the priceless architectural monuments of the XI-XVIII centuries. The damage done by the Russians in the single year of 1934, was far greater than resulted from several Mongolian raids.

2. An Example of How a Ukrainian Church was Wantonly Destroyed by the Soviet Russians

Since the final occupation of Ukraine by the Russians in 1920, no less than forty churches have been demolished in Kyiv alone. Among these were buildings of great historical and artistic value. Some dated as far back as the XI and XII centuries, others were from the Kozak period. They withstood throughout the ages the attacks of Mongolian hordes, wars with Poland and Tsarist Russia, the so-called "Great Ruin" following these wars, World War I and the revolution, when Kyiv changed hands more than once during cruel battles, and when hostile artillery bombarded its historic edifices, only to be demolished in the years that were officially known in the history of Europe as the years of peace. They were destroyed by religious and national hatred. There is no trace to-day of the "Golden Roofed" Cloister of St. Michael from the XI century, of the Holy Trinity Church of 1184, of the Church of the Assumption on the Podol (the lower part of Kyiv) built in the XII century, and of a long row of splendid structures of the Kozak period, built in the characteristic styles, which is known under the name of "Kozak Baroque" and constitutes the highest achievement of Ukrainian architecture. The Cathedral of St. Nicholas erected by Hetman Ivan Mazepa in 1690, the Churches of St. Nicholas Slupsky, from the XVII century, of ss. Peter and Paul, 1640, the Bratsky Monastery on the Podol from the XVII century, were all demolished by the communists. In the demolishing of the Church of the Assumption in the Cloister of the Lavra, which was begun in the XI century and completed in the XVII century, the Germans had a hand. This is a list of only the most important buildings, though they by far do not complete the list of priceless losses.

Amid all this destruction the Ukrainians felt most acutely the demolition of the "Golden Roofed" St. Michael's cloister. It was one of the oldest as well as one of the most imposing edifices of Kyiv, not including the Cathedral of St. Sophia, built

by Great Prince Yaroslav the Wise in 1017-37. The demolition took place in 1934, and today we are in possession of adequate and authentic information from witnesses and contemporaries of this sad event. Several official documents pertaining to the destruction have already been published. But before we analyse the hysterical frenzy of destruction that led to the ruin of this memorable building, let us first give a short history of it. It is all the more necessary, because lately new information has come to light on the time of its erection and even its name.

Until recently historians were of the opinion, that the church named after St. Michael, and mentioned in the Lawrentian Chronicles and those of Ipaty, was built in 1108 by Prince Svyatopolk II, the grandson of Great Prince Yaroslav the Wise. However it was also known from the old chronicles, that the son of Yaroslav the Wise, Great Prince Isyaslav-Dimitry, built a church somewhere in the vicinity of St. Michael's before that church was started. During the Mongolian raids, when many structures in Kyiv were ruined, one of the two churches disappeared, and in later times there was no evidence which of the two remained and which was ruined. However the documents from the XVI century associate the remaining church with that of St. Michaels'. Some of the later authorities of the XVII century, as for instance, Saphonovich in his "Small Chronicles" of 1672, even began to connect it with the times of the legendary Michael — the first archbishop of Kyiv. Beginning with the XVI century the church gained in renown, and was visited and described by many foreign travellers of the time. The emissary of the German Emperor, Eric Lassota in 1594, saw it and mentions its mosaics in the apse and dome and the frescoes on the walls. It was described by the well-known French scientist and constructor Guillaume Le Vasseur de Beauplan in 1650 and Paul, the Archdeacon of Aleppo and emissary of the Patriarch of Antioch in 1654. Beginning with the XVII century the church was renovated by the Great Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytskyi, who built the side domes and finally under the Hetman Ivan Mazepa it received its external appearance of Baroque.

Some art historians, as the Russian scientist D. Aynaloff, tried to identify St. Michaels with the church built in honour of St. Dimitry of Thessalonika, but there was no definite proof. Finally, some time ago, Prof. P. Kurinny proved, that the church known since the XVI c. as St. Michael's was actually the church of St. Dimitry, erected in 1054-78 by Prince Isyaslav-Dimitry, and therefore, it was only a few decades younger than the cathedral of St. Sophia — the most prominent surviving monument of ancient Ukrainian architecture.

At first this cloister-church was a two storey structure, with three apses and five domes. Its oldest parts were the east side, with the apses and the west side with two towers — one of which had stairs leading to the upper choir gallery. Four old pillars in the forms of crosses supported the main dome. In the XVII-XVIII centuries, the northern and southern walls were removed, two side naves were added, the gold plated domes were renewed and two more added. Among the interior decorations, the most valuable were the mosaics in the main apse, that represented the Holy Eucharist. In the centre the image of Christ with an angel appeared twice, and from both sides of the altar advanced rhythmically the Apostles. The Eucharist was flanked on each side with figures of St. Dimitry and St. Ste-

phen. The rest of these apses and walls were covered with frescoes which were covered with a layer of mortar, and were rediscovered only after 1808. Only a part of them survived, but it is very possible that with the demolition of the building, undiscovered frescoes on the church walls were forever lost.

It is characteristic, that the inscriptions on the mosaics were not only in Greek, but in Old Ukrainian as well, whereas the mosaic inscriptions in St. Sophia are still only in Greek. On the basis of the old chronicles, historians conclude that the mosaics and frescoes in St. Sophia were made by foreign artisans and those in St. Michael's were made by local artisans, all the more so, as no chronicle mentions foreign artisans as taking part in this construction. Historians are of the opinion, that in the XI century the local artisans were still unable to undertake such a high artistic assignment as in the Cathedral of St. Sophia; this became possible in the following century. However, as the architect Oleksa Povstenko points out, these historians sadly erred in their dating. Povstenko generally inclines to regard the mosaics and the frescoes of St. Sophia also as partly the work of local artisans, and defends this thesis rather convincingly, by emphasizing Old Ukrainian traits found in these works, such as the costume, the way of life depicted in them and the similarity of many artistic elements to Ukrainian folk art.*

In any case the possibility, that the artisans, who worked for Yaroslav the Wise, worked later for his son in the Church of St. Dimitry, brings up all sorts of interesting artistic parallels and suggestions, that can throw a new light on the history of the Byzantine style in Ukraine. This negates simultaneously the previous hypothesis. It also destroys the hypothesis of D. Aynaloff (in the review *Belvedere*, Vienna, 1926, No. 49), that one of the creators of the mosaics in St. Michael could have been the well-known painter and mosaist St. Alimpy, about whom we know that he travelled from Kyiv to Constantinople to learn the art of mosaics. The *Pechersky Pateryk* mentions that in 1089 he worked on the cathedral of the Pechersky Monastery under Greek artisans, and "learned from them". But at that time he would have been about twenty years old — and could not have possibly helped to decorate the church of St. Dimitry.

This priceless architectural monument, which held a prominent place in the history of east European art, was demolished in 1934.

Up to 1933 the capital of Soviet Ukraine was not Kyiv but Kharkiv. Kyiv, situated in the very heart of Ukraine, had too many historic memories of ancient and recent traditions, when in 1917-18 many thousands of Ukrainians demonstrated in the Kyiv squares, demanding an independent State. In view of this fact the Soviet Russians began their experiments of the communistic reconstruction of Ukraine not in Kyiv, but in a newly appointed capital, Kharkiv, that was situated nearer to Moscow and on the route to the industrial Don Basin. But following the staged and organized famine of 1932-33, that finally brought about compulsory collectivization, the Russians felt strong enough in Ukraine to move the capital back to Kyiv. Therefore, the Communist Party decided to "reconstruct" Kyiv, in order to erect new buildings for government offices and new residences for the aristocracy of the Party. According to the plans of Moscow for the construction of the buildings that would house the "Central Committee of the Party," the site of the Trinity Church, built in the XII century, was assigned. For the "Council of Folk Commis-

*See two of his articles about the churches of St. Sophia and St. Michael-Dimitry in the I and II issue of *Ukrainian Art*, Munich, 1947.

sars” the site of the Cloister of St. Michael (Dimitry) was assigned. Between these two new buildings a gigantic statue of Lenin was to be erected. The instructions for these “reconstructions” were given to the former head of the GPU (Soviet equivalent to the Nazi Gestapo) — Balicky. An accurate report of the planning of the demolition was published in Lviv (Lemberg) in the monthly review *Nashi Dni* (No. 10, 1943) by Prof. Volodymyr Miakovs'ky. He writes: . . . But it would be unjust to assign himself (Balicky) any initiative in these plans. The programme of the reconstruction was made out in Moscow. The authors of the plans were architect-constructors, for whom the five figured fees, that they received for this work, meant more that all the antiquity of Ukraine, but the general decisions and programme of the reconstruction came, of course, from the Kremlin.”

The intended demolition of the Cloister of St. Michael-Dimitry caused a real battle. The leading opponent of the new plan was the aged Professor Mykola Makarenko, widely known in the scientific world as an archaeologist, and a member of the Archaeological Committee of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. In order to save this priceless structure from ruin he attempted to use his connections in Russian scientific circles, dating from the time when he was one of the prominent members of the staff of the Hermitage in Petersburg. When this proved of no avail he even had courage enough to send a telegram to Stalin himself. This daring step sealed his fate; he was arrested and exiled and that was the last ever heard of him. In justice to the truth, it should be mentioned, that the Russian art historians of the older generation, D. Aynaloff and H. Kotoff, tried likewise to defend the ancient edifice. They proposed to the Communist Party to tear down the additions that belonged to the general group of the cloister and leave only the church itself in the complex of new buildings, as a “rare souvenir of ancient times.” But the “reconstructors” would not allow the church to stand in the square. Where the monument of Lenin was to be erected, and when at the same time over the portals of Ukrainian Churches gigantic letters proclaimed Lenin’s famous slogan; “Religion is the opium of the people,” the “lovers of old rubbish” were granted only permission for the immediate removal of the mosaics and frescoes from the walls of the church. The words “lovers of old rubbish” are authentic, and taken from the official letter of the Commissar (minister) of Education, W. Zatonśky, to the GPU, later published by Professor Miakovsky. The decision stood, and the splendid old edifice was hastily torn down, to make room for the new government building.

We do not know the reason why the Communist Party changed its mind and the site from which a fine nine century old building was removed with such unseemly haste, remains completely empty, till this day. Possibly the plans were altered. But who can restore that priceless monument of the Ukrainian princes and hetmans?

Owing to the efforts of “the lovers of old rubbish” it was possible before the demolition to remove the mosaics and frescoes, and preserve them in the store house of one of the museums of Kyiv. From there a part of them, including the figure of St. Dimitry, the patron saint — was transferred to Moscow to be shown there as specimens of “Russian” art.

Such is the short history of only one of the many Old Ukrainian churches that were demolished.

Truly the stones cry out.

Taras KUZIO

NON-RUSSIAN NATIONALISM IN THE U.S.S.R. AND SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICY

“You wanted to hide people in the forests of Mordovia; instead, you placed them on a stage for all the world to see... You hurled a stone at every spark of life on the Ukrainian horizon, and every stone became a boomerang”

Valentyn Moroz. (Ukrainian dissident) 1970

Whether one considers that the non-Russian nations pose no ‘serious threat’ to the Soviet regime depends upon what one understands to mean by a ‘serious threat’. We can take this to mean either (or both) a resistance to official nationalities policy aiming in the direction of the ‘new historical community — the Soviet people’, or the implied, or demanded right of independence for their nationalities. Although the 1977 Constitution, in article 71, states that, “every union republic shall retain the right to freely secede from the USSR”, this, in practise has been a hollow “right”. It is often pointed out (among the many places, in historiography, for example) that, “the strength of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics lies in the fact that each nation is aware that its freedom and progress are reliably assured precisely within the Union”¹ Stalin was even against the moderate autonomy rights granted to union republics with the foundation of the USSR, and in favour of their incorporation into the Russian republic the so-called “autonomization” plan, rejected by Lenin.² But, as one author has succinctly commented, “the efforts of Soviet writers to present the USSR as a union of truly sovereign republics cannot convince any impartial observer that the republics are more than provinces possessing only limited measure of self-government. In comparison with the Soviet Union, for instance, the cantons in Switzerland or the states of the US are virtually independent countries”.³

Soviet writers and politicians tirelessly strive to claim that, “the nationalities question under socialism proves that as a result of the implementation of the Leninist nationalities policy the breeding ground for nationalism and conflicts among nations disappears”.⁴ Yuri Andropov, in his first major speeches stated that although the national question in the USSR had been “solved”, there still remained national conflicts.⁵ He criticised his Russian kinsmen and went on to say that, “it is important... to remember that the natural pride one takes... should not degenerate into national arrogance or conceit, that it should not gravitate towards exclusiveness and disrespect for other nations and nationalities”. Andropov conceded, “Yet such negative phenomena still occur”.⁶ The attitudes of Russians towards non-Russians, and vice-versa, lie at the crux of the nationalities question within the USSR. Although each nation within the USSR is in theory “equal”, the Russians are more equal than others.

At the Kremlin banquet to celebrate the end of the Second World War, Stalin categorically put forth his view on this, when he said, “I would like to propose a

toast to the health of our Soviet people, and above all to that of the whole Russian people. I drink a toast to the health of the Russian people, because it is the most outstanding nation of all the nations within the Soviet Union. I propose a toast to the health of the Russian people because it earned in this war general recognition as the guiding force of the Soviet Union among all the peoples of our country".⁷ Andrei Amalrik has observed that, "in all the union republics "the Soviet regime" is called the "Russian regime".⁸ Consequently, Richard Pipes is undoubtedly correct when he states that, "the national problem in the Soviet Union surely has not been "solved". On the contrary, if by a "solution" we mean the disappearance of national frustrations and animosities, the problem is in many ways more acute than it was when the Communists seized power fifty years ago"⁹

The non-Russian party organizations are important within the overall scheme of nationalities policy within the Soviet Union, and, in the words of a Soviet author on the CPSU "our party is not a federation of national communist parties, but a unitary all-union organization, with one Programme, one Statute. At the same time, the composition of any party organization must reflect the national composition of the administrative-territorial complex, in which it operates"¹⁰ The data offered by another Soviet author would seem to indicate that this is indeed the case, and that, "the data reflects to a definite degree the relative share of the indigenous nationality among the population of this or that union republic".¹¹ In fact, all public organizations in the USSR follow this in their distribution of membership among the local nationalities. Party recruitment therefore, tends to follow in the footsteps of policy decided upon at the Congress, and there does not seem to be any evidence to say that republican parties favour the major titular nationality within their republics.¹² The ruling organ within the USSR, the Politburo or Presidium, on the other hand, has a strong over-representation of Russians in proportion to their numbers within the country.¹³ If we add to the Russians the other two Slavonic nationalities, the Ukrainians and Byelorussians, their domination of the commanding heights of Soviet power would be even more obvious.¹⁴

The Soviet elite was mainly dominated by ethnic Russians during Stalin's day. Since then and especially under Khrushchev, Ukrainians have entered this elite also in large numbers. Representation of both Russians and Ukrainians on the Central Committee is higher than their proportionate numbers in the total Soviet population. In many regions of the USSR, Ukrainians or Byelorussians, are often looked upon by the locals as "Russians", and indeed many of them are russified. The proportion of non-nationalities in their respective parties and organizations corresponding to their percentage in the population though, declines as one moves closer to the central reins of power. As pointed out, "it is highly improbable that a Ukrainian could attain the Supreme Soviet leadership".¹⁵ John Armstrong has defined these nationalities as "younger brothers, who are, low in social mobilization, yet close to the dominant ethnic group in major cultural aspects".¹⁶ Ukrainians and Byelorussians play this role which has been assigned to them, especially in Central Asia where they help to import russification, being themselves, on the whole russified. The low birth rates of the three Slav nationalities, in relation to the Muslims, together with the declining share of the Russian proportion of the

Soviet population which is expected to fall below 50% by the year 2000, has meant a re-emphasis of this "younger brother" relationship in recent years. The 1500 year anniversary of the founding of Kyiv, probably has this in mind to stress the common origins of the three Slav nationalities, and their outlook and future together.¹⁷

In Union republics the first secretary is invariably of the local titular nationality, his deputy, on the other hand, the second secretary, is usually a Russian. In view of the fact the "second secretary is as a rule the person in charge of the *kadry* and as such wields practical control over the entire republican party apparatus".¹⁸ The first secretaries of the non-Russian republics have a high casualty rate, and, "thus; the native party first secretary may be only a figurehead, but it is one that is often likely to be cut off".¹⁹ The sensitivity of allowing Russian, central authority control over the non-Russian parties would be the reason why the second secretaries are deliberately kept out of the limelight. They spend three-quarters of their time on organizational and personnel matters, in charge of cadres and the republic's *nomenklatura*. The second secretary can therefore, "veto any suggestions on personnel that the first secretary might put forward", can "recommend the dismissal of a first secretary, but not vice-versa" and also acts as "an institutionalized check on the first secretary".²⁰ The Russian official acts as a watchdog for federal interests and for those of the local Russian minority.²¹ If there was no "threat" posed by the non-Russian nationalities then why the degree of control?²²

The mixing of nationalities within the Soviet Union is an important component of nationality policy, coupled with the in-migration of ethnic Russians into the respective republics. This was declared an aim of the 1961 Party Programme. The non-Russians sent out of their respective republics become easy fodder for russification, there being no provisions for their national needs in, say Siberia. Ivan Dziuba pointed this out quite well, when he wrote, "What awaits the Ukrainians who leave to render fraternal assistance to Siberia is well known...(here) there is not a single Ukrainian radio programme or cultural-educational establishment. Denationalization and assimilation are in store for those people who have come to render fraternal assistance".²³ The 1979 census recorded 5.5 million Ukrainians outside of their republic, with no provisions for their cultural or linguistic needs.²⁴ This is all the more alarming when one considers the fact that the Soviet census' questions as to one's nationality are verbally presented and recorded without requesting to see the individual's passport entry on nationality. As one author commented, "this procedure itself is suggestive and may be seen as a tacit acknowledgement by the Soviet census authorities that 'nationality' is a category open to subjective interpretation".²⁵ Consequently, if one parent is only Russian, the tendency is for the child to opt for this nationality, inter-marriages therefore are an important component for russification, especially for those living outside their republics. Those with the highest rate of inter-marriage are Latvians (31%), Ukrainians (29.8%), Moldavians (25.4%) and Byelorussians (22.8%).²⁶

Migration of non-Russians out of their republics, and Russians into them, is an important way in which Moscow maintains her control over her non-Russian peoples — attempting to prevent the emergence, of any opposition. Ukraine, as the

largest non-Russian republic, and the most important in terms of population and resources, plays a pivotal role here. As a sociologist has pointed out, "it should be remembered that migration, both in and out of Ukraine, made this republic in this period one of the busiest areas in the Soviet Union. Indeed, immigration into Ukraine has been larger than into any other Soviet republic".²⁷ Between 1959-1970, for example, the Russian population in Ukraine has increased by 28%, as compared to 9.7% for the Ukrainians. Out of a population in 1979 of 50 million, 12 million were Russian. These Russians are, "only in the most literal arithmetical sense... a national minority", and, "the Russians of Ukraine, or a significant part of them, have been there for centuries and most of them have felt they had not left their own homeland by living there".²⁸ Another important motive for sending in large numbers of Russians into Ukraine is to secure her economically. It is no accident that most of the migrants go to the Donbas, the largest concentration of Russians in the Ukrainian republic.²⁹ This has led to calls in the realm of economic planning to alter republican boundaries. In the words of one author:

"Hence, as the CPSU Programme states, national boundaries within the USSR are increasingly losing their former significance. This has already made it necessary in certain instances not only to create inter-republic economic agencies but also, by legislation, to make certain changes in boundaries between Union republics".³⁰

'Leninist nationality policy' is a very malleable phrase, because "Lenin's works present neither an explicit definition of nationhood nor a concrete statement of the 'laws of development' of nations".³¹ After the 20th Party Congress in 1956, the general line on Soviet nationalities policy has been that the non-Russians are "flourishing" (*rastsvet*). By 1958 increasing reference was being made to the eventual "coming together" (*sblizhenie*) and even "merging" (*slianie*) of nations. "Flourishment", stands for the separate development of each Soviet socialist nationality within the community of Soviet nations, with each nationality striving for betterment and self-fulfilment".³² Thus, this means political, social and economic integration — but not assimilation. "Coming together" is a movement "towards eventual fusion, assimilation, amalgamation".³³ It is a passing stage, moving along slowly. "Merging" is the final goal that is to take place around the *Russian* nation and its language.

During the early 1960's these concepts were quite prevalent in official party terminology. An article in *Kommunist*, the theoretical organ of the CPSU, stated "in the USSR... the ever-increasing merging of national cultures is taking place and a single socialist nation is being formed".³⁴ At the 22nd Party Congress in 1961, the Party Programme was endorsed and it stated that, "the boundaries between the union republics within the USSR are increasingly losing their former significance... Full-scale Communist construction signifies a new stage in the development of national relations in the USSR in which the nations will draw still closer together and their complete unity will be achieved".³⁵

With the fall of Khrushchev there was a slight reversal of these goals, although not in their entirety — and due to non-Russian pressure and criticism. Ivan Dziu-

ba's monograph entitled 'Internationalism or Russification'? written during this period in the Ukrainian republic, was circulated by the First Secretary of the local party, Petro Shelest, to all his *nomenklatura*. Dziuba commenting about the new policies wrote, "instead, the anti-Marxist and anti-socialist 'theory' is being vigorously implanted now, purporting that in the USSR, instead of many peoples and nations, one single 'Soviet nation' (?!), one single 'Soviet people' is taking shape, not as a collective concept, but as some supposedly mono-national or nationless synthesis which did not exist, let us say, in the 1920's or 1930's and is being formed just now... This, however, is an absurdity..." The reasons why these new goals have been outlined according to Dziuba are that, "the meaning given among us today to this confused concept, as well as the 'theory' of a single 'Soviet nation' (no matter how it is formulated) or 'Soviet people', not in the sense of a commonwealth but of an identity — are intended to prove and justify 'theoretically' the extensive process of Russification".³⁶ Brezhnev, on coming to power, dropped the usage of the term "complete unity" as a goal. "Flourishing" and "coming together", though were treated as equal, inter-related and parallel processes.

Already at the 22nd Party Congress Khrushchev had said that, "in the USSR a new historical formation of people had emerged comprising different nationalities, who have a common, socialist fatherland — the USSR, a common economic base — the socialist economy, a common social class structure, a common outlook — Marxism-Leninism, a common aim — the building of communism..."³⁷ This was not included in the 1961 Party Programme, and was not officially endorsed until the 24th Party Congress when Brezhnev announced that, "a new historical community of people — the Soviet people — arose in our country". This like many pronouncements in the Soviet Union, reflects more official *desiderata*, than reality. The 'Soviet people' is a by-product of developed socialism, and is not a national, but a post-national and multi-national formation, and a stage on the road to communism, where all national distinctions will be eradicated.³⁸ This road is a very long one, like the journey to communism.

In 1972, in his speech marking the 50th anniversary of the formation of the USSR, Brezhnev introduced new terms defining his nationality policy. That the Union republics were reluctantly being dragged along the road of official nationality policy was even admitted by Soviet authors. Brezhnev's new concepts were all-round *rapprochement* (*vsestoronnee sblizhenie*) to *splochenie* (cohesion) to unity (*edinstvo*).³⁹ The first Party secretaries, on the other hand, used terms less forceful — either plain flourishing or extensions of it. Brezhnev later warned against "any kind of attempt to slow down" (*sderzhivat*) the process of *rapprochement*. The sensitivity of the non-Russian nationalities to terms such as "fusion" have led to Brezhnev dropping it in favour of "unity". The former means the dissolution of original substances, whilst the latter merely entails the consolidation of separate entities, without mutual assimilation, or russification. This "represents a major concession to the non-Russian nationalities by both Leonid Brezhnev and his faithful follower, Professor Lepeshkin".⁴⁰ At the 25th Party Congress in 1976 there was also no mention of "fusion", merely "unshakeable unity". The practical consequences of this nationalities policy, namely the intermingling of peoples out-

side of their respective republics, has been indirectly admitted to have led to some friction. At a "practical scientific" conference on the problem of nationalities held in Riga in July, 1982 it was decided to set up centres, or councils, to handle relations among the ethnic groups of the various republics⁴¹

The rise of non-Russian nationalism during the last two decades has posed difficulties, and a threat for the Soviet regime. Dissenters in the non-Russian republics are given harsher sentences than in Russia proper. This relatively new nationalism is associated with modernization and urbanization, rather than with the rural peasantry. That everything was not rosy among the non-Russian nationalities was reckoned to be the cause in the delay in publishing the Soviet constitution, and has been admitted by Brezhnev himself at the 50th anniversary of the founding of the USSR when he stated that, "nationality relations even in a society of mature socialism are a reality that is constantly developing and putting forth new problems and tasks".⁴² The sensitivity of the non-Russians was also admitted by Brezhnev when he said, "finding the best paths for the development of the individual nations and nationalities and the most correct combination of the interests of each of them with the common interests of the Soviet people as a whole".⁴³

The rise of the local elites has led them to assert their legitimacy in their own cultures and histories. Resentment against Russian domination has been on the increase, which, in turn, has led to a counter-reaction by Russian nationalists over the seemingly ingratitude of the non-Russian nationalities for their "aid" and "sacrifices". In the economic field this has led to the increased demand for more income generated within the Union republics to remain there. The all-Union state planning committee always has problems seemingly with the Ukrainian equivalent and Council of Ministers because they, "always stubbornly try to increase capital investment funds, basing their demands on production quotas which Ukraine contributes to the all-Union fund. They openly speak of being robbed".⁴⁴ In the officially published refutation of Petro Shelest's book *O Ukraine Our Soviet Land* it states that it "examines the development of the republic's economy, achievements, separately from the triumphs of the Soviet Union as a whole", and, "elements of economic autarchy are highly evident in the book. Their perniciousness lies in, aside from all else, the fact that they can feed nationalist illusions and prejudices, the survivals of national limitedness and conceit"⁴⁵

The Ukrainians, being the largest non-Russian nationality, play a pivotal role in Soviet nationalities policy. Their opposition to Soviet rule was admitted by Khrushchev himself in his secret speech to the 20th Party Congress, when he talked of the deportation of certain minorities on the orders of Stalin during the War. Khrushchev revealed that, "The Ukrainians avoided meeting this fate only because there were too many of them and there was no place to which to deport them. Otherwise, he would have deported them also".⁴⁶ As another author has pointedly commented, "whatever the reasons, the Ukrainians seem at the forefront of the national reawakening, and solution of the national problem in Ukraine is crucial for the Soviet leadership, because if the Ukrainians were successfully assimilated, pressures from other minorities would be of only marginal importance".⁴⁷ As we shall see, the short term policy of, drawing the younger

brothers (especially the Ukrainians) into "indissoluble junior partnership with the Russians as the dominant ethnic group",⁴⁸ has not wholly been successful.

The Second World War allowed the Soviet Union to incorporate many regions in its westernmost part, such as the three Baltic states, western Ukraine and western Byelorussia. As one author has observed, "among all the regions of the USSR, open anti-Soviet dissent appears to be... most intense in the Soviet West".⁴⁹ Most of these regions have historical ties to areas outside the USSR, a strong identification with Europe and relatively high economic development rates. Moldavia, for example, is merely a Romanian speaking province annexed by the USSR in 1944. Lithuania, with its strong identification of Catholic Church and nationality, probably produces the largest outcrop of *samizdat* within the Soviet Union, and the national movement there is undoubtedly strong. Amalrik, whilst visiting another republic in the region, Latvia, wrote later in his memoirs, "we would occasionally sense a hostility towards us as Russians".⁵⁰

The relative 'kid-gloves treatment' of western Ukraine and western Byelorussian was due to the strong national movement, especially in the former. Roman Szporluk, in his discussion of comparative nationality policy towards each of these two regions, says "that the post-1944 treatment of west Ukraine and west Byelorussia in the press reflected a political assessment of their diverse past and problems".⁵¹ The more developed national movement and consciousness in western Ukraine, which included armed opposition to the Soviet regime until the early 1950's, led to the Soviet regime developing a more subtle, less overt russification policy there *vis-à-vis* the use of the press. In western Byelorussia on the other hand, the press from the outset began heavy concentration on the Russian language. In western Ukraine, also, the 'modern nationalism'; of which we spoke earlier, has been on the increase with industrialization and urbanization, a factor differentiating it from eastern Ukraine, where these two processes have tended to be synonymous with russification. One has to remember that western Ukraine was never a part of the Russian empire, and therefore, Russian immigration is a phenomenon that has only taken place since 1945. As Roman Szporluk, has pointed out, "annexation of west Ukraine has (also) strengthened Ukrainian national distinctiveness in the USSR".⁵² It is particularly noteworthy that many eastern Ukrainian dissidents travelled to the western part of their republic for inspiration. Roman Szporluk concludes, that, "west Ukraine must be seen as the critical area of the Ukrainian nationality problem as well as one of the most sensitive zones of inter-ethnic relations in the USSR".⁵³

The development of new local (non-Russian) elites, and rise of a modern nationalism, became worrisome for Moscow during the 1960's with the regime of Petro Shelest, as first Secretary of Ukraine from 1963-1972. He attempted to establish a *modus-vivendi* with the nationally-minded Ukrainian intelligentsia. Not only did he encourage the dissemination of Dziuba's highly critical appraisal of Soviet nationalities policy, but also promoted a Soviet Ukrainian 'patriotism'. At the 5th Congress of Ukrainian Writers Union in November, 1966 Shelest made a statement, which was taken to mean by those present, as his approval of the fostering of the Ukrainian language, the Ukrainization of the republic's institutions, as well as

their opposition to Moscow-inspired russification. He goes on as follows, "The development of the socialist Ukrainian culture and language in many respects depends on the people who have gathered here today; and it depends, in the first place, not on talks about the necessity for such development, but on your creativity. We must treat our beautiful Ukrainian language with great care and respect... Your efforts in this direction always have been and will be supported by the Communist Party".⁵⁴

The rise of new nationalism in the Ukrainian republic, became a cause for increasing concern when the events in Czechoslovakia flowered and reached their climax in the Prague spring of 1968. The presence of a sizeable Ukrainian minority in Czechoslovakia, together with the exchange of tourists between the eastern-most part of this country and Ukraine during this period, led to many voicing fear that the Prague spring might spill over and 'contaminate' Ukraine herself.⁵⁵ The Ukrainian factor as an important component in the decision to intervene, cannot, consequently, be discounted. One must remember that during the 1960's a number of underground groups had been uncovered within Ukraine with the express intention of demanding the right of independence for the republic, and "guaranteed" in the constitution.⁵⁶ Shelest was removed from his office in May, 1972 after being summoned to Moscow, and after the beginning of a large-scale crackdown in this republic in January of the same year. One has also to remember that events in Poland during 1980-81 also led to fears again being expressed over the 'contagion of the Polish disease' by Ukraine, and to this very day the Polish-Soviet border remains closed.⁵⁷

Another republic which has experienced the rise of a new nationalism, as a consequence of modernization, is Georgia. This republic is the only one to have the fortune of an absolute fall in the number of Russians.⁵⁸ Between 1959-70 the percentage of ethnic Georgians in the republic actually increased from 64.3 to 66.8%. Georgians are also more likely to live within their republic, and 97% of them do (compared to 60% of Soviet Armenians). A high percentage of them do not command any fluency in Russian, and this purports to show, "little tendency toward the assimilation of Georgians through the acquisition of Russian; indeed, a quite clear resistance to learning Russian is evident".⁵⁹ Georgian control of the local party apparatus in fact enabled the consolidation of a local elite, which encouraged discrimination against minorities within the republic — Russians, Armenians and Jews. These new developments helped to provide an "alternative" to the model of development imposed upon them by Moscow, and, "Georgians, in their national pride, have come to feel that their evolution is hindered by the restraints placed on them by the Russians. It is widely believed among the Georgians that left to themselves, they would more quickly realize their historic potential".⁶⁰

Another problem area for the Soviet authorities is that of Central Asia — the five Muslim republics. What is not always appreciated by western observers is that the rise of Muslim fundamentalism in neighbouring Afghanistan and Iran, led to a fear of contagion by the Muslims in Central Asia — and must have played a decisive role in pushing for military intervention in Afghanistan. The modernization of

these republics has also led to the rise of local elites, and, in the realm of the so-called "national relations" Central Asia is becoming a problem area second in importance to Ukraine, and — if present trends continue — it may well be the future focus of Soviet ethnic conflict".⁶¹ These republics all share common Islamic cultures and traditions, they are the least integrated regions within the USSR, and the local indigenous population exhibits a strong reluctance to migrate from rural to urban areas, and especially out of their republics. The region has the highest population growth rate in the USSR, which augurs badly for Soviet economic planners. Not only will it mean that these Central Asians will have to be found work, but also that they will become increasingly a large percentage of the armed forces. If investment is channeled into Central Asia to ensure jobs for them, this will entail its divergence from other projects — in Siberia or in Russia proper, either way not to the liking of the Russian nationalist establishment entrenched in various institutions. Local investment would also require migration of Central Asians into urban centres in the region which would lessen Russian domination of them. If these Central Asians were, on the other hand, moved to economic regions in the Russian republic, something they would be unlikely to do without some form of compulsion, then they would present the Soviet authorities with enormous problems in the field of ethnic rivalry. The presence of a Central Asian *gastarbeiter* on the outskirts of Moscow is not a sight that those in *gosplan* would like. What then?⁶²

Language policy has become an instrument of Soviet nationality policy, and the one to which non-Russians have voiced the most objections.⁶³ In May, 1979 an all-Union conference was held in Tashkent on the "The Russian Language — the Language of Friendship and Cooperation of the Peoples of the USSR".⁶⁴ The objective of language policy has been stated to be, and was endorsed by the conference to be, "the attainment of complete bilingualism in the Soviet Union, thereby elevating Russian to the status of the 'second native language' of the non-Russian nations".⁶⁵ The worst fear on the part of the Soviet authorities is that of the rise of the Central Asian Muslim population, who will reduce the Russian share of the overall population to 45% by the year 2000. The Russian language, we are told by Soviet commentators, serves to 'cement the unity of Soviet Culture' and acts as an 'effective accelerator of the drawing together of nations'. Forty per cent of non-Russians have no facility in Russian — obviously a cause for concern for the authorities.

Opposition to language policy has been evident on the part of the non-Russian nationalities.⁶⁶ The clearest signs of disaffection have emerged from Lithuania, Estonia and Georgia. Between 1970-79 the actual number of Estonians claiming a knowledge of Russian, as a second language, decreased. Demonstrations have also been reported in Tallin and Tbilisi, over language policy, and some of these called for the removal of Soviet troops. In the spring of 1978 the central authorities made an attempt to remove a clause from the draft of the new Georgian constitution affirming Georgian as the language of the republic in all state matters. After demonstrations and written protests it was later announced that the disputed clause would be retained. As Ronald Suny has written, "this was a highly

56. J. Birch, "The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement in the USSR since 1956". *Ukrainian Review*. 1970. XVII (4) p. 2-47.
57. R. Solchanyk, Poland's Impact Inside the USSR". *Soviet Analyst*. September 9, 1981.
58. R. G. Suny, "Georgia and Soviet Nationality Policy". S.F. Cohen et alia eds., *The Soviet Union Since Stalin*. London. 1980. p. 207.
59. Ibid. p. 208.
60. Ibid. p. 222.
61. T. Rakowska-Harmstone, "Nationalism in Soviet Central Asia since 1964". G.W. Simmonds ed., *Nationalism in the USSR and Eastern Eurpoe in the era of Brezhnev and Kosygin*. Detroit. 1977. p. 272.
62. M. Feshbach, "Observations on the Soviet Census" *Problems of Communism*, May-June 1970, p. 62 gives the following comparative figures of population increases (1959-1970) RSFSR-11%
 Uzbekistan-45%
 Kirghizia-42%
 Tadzhikistan-46%
 Turkmenistan-42%
63. See the following: R. Conquest. *Soviet Nationalities Policy in Practice*. London. 1967., J. Ornstein, "Soviet Language Policy: Continuity and Change" in E. Goldhagen ed. (ref. 16) p. 121-43; U. Weinreich, "The Russification of Soviet Minority Languages". *Problems of Communism*, Febuary 1953, p. 46-57. Also two articles by Roman Solchanyk, "USSR's Great Language Debate" *Soviet Analyst* December 8, 1982 and "Merging of nations" Debated" *S. Analyst*. November 11, 1982.
64. R. Solchanyk, "Russian Language and Soviet Politics". *Soviet Studies*. 1982 XXXIV (I) p. 23-42.
65. Ibid. p. 23.
66. Ibid. p. 33-39.
67. R. G. Suny, p. 219.
68. R. Solchanyk (1982) p. 39.
69. T. Rakowska-Harmstone (1974) p. 15.
70. I. M. Volgin, "The "Friendship of Peoples"... Pages from a Notebook". *Problems of Communism*, September-October 1967. p. 107.

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A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF MAZEPA HETMAN OF UKRAINE AND PRINCE OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, 1639-1709

5. Mazepa's Participation in the Great Northern War

As soon as Peter had ended his war with Turkey, he joined the Polish king, Augustus II, in an attack upon Sweden in order to secure an opening to the Baltic Sea. From 1700 on, the Tsar demanded increasingly more Cossacks from Mazepa to fight against the Swedish King and his ally, the newly elected Polish king Stanislaw Leszczynski.¹

After the declaration of war on Sweden, August 8, 1700, Mazepa received orders from the Tsar to march with 10,000 Cossacks to help the Polish King Augustus II, whose troops were laying siege to Riga at that time, in Livonia. Mazepa had already made the necessary preparations when new instructions arrived, cancelling the previous order. Then came another order to send 12,000 troops to Narva. Mazepa sent the 12,000 men under the command of Colonel Ivan Obydovskij, who, however arrived at Narva after the battle was over (November 10, 1700), and was directed to the vicinity of the city of Pskov, where he suddenly died (January, 1701). After the death of their leader the Cossack troops returned home.²

In February, 1701, Tsar concluded a formal alliance with the Polish King, promising him 15,000 troops and 100,000 roubles. In the same year, at the Tsar's order, Mazepa divided his army into two parts, sending the smallest part, under the command of Colonel Michael Borokhovych, to Pskov. Here Colonel Borokhovych joined the Russian troops under the command of Count Repnin, who was ordered to help the Saxon-Polish army at Riga. With the rest of his army Mazepa also marched to Pskov, but at Mohyliv he was ordered to send a vanguard of 20,000 men and wait with the rest of his force for further orders. The Hetman sent 17,000 Cossack troops under the command of Colonel Daniel Apostol to join the Russian General, Boris Sheremetjev (June 26, 1701). Although Count Repnin was unsuccessful at Riga, General Sheremetjev with Colonel Apostol, defeated the Swedish troops under the command of General Shlippenbach at Erestferk (December 29, 1701). Colonel Apostol also operated on his own in pursuing the Swedish cavalry, but in the beginning of 1702 he was ordered to return home, leaving two regiments for the defence of Pskov and its vicinity.³

In 1702 the Swedish King seized Warsaw and Cracow, but the Polish people

Continuation from issue No. 4, 1983 of *Ukrainian Review*

1. For Mazepa's activities in Poland see: J. Wimmer, *Wojsko Rzeczypospolitej w dobie Wojny Pólnocnej*, (Warsaw, 1956).

2. For details see Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 520.

3. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 520-1.

fared badly under Swedish rule, causing many of them to align themselves with Augustus II. At the same time, a revolt under the leadership of Colonel Semen Palii⁴ was going on against the Polish administration in the Right-Bank Ukraine.

At the end of the 17th century, Poland found itself at war with the Turks, who devastated the Right-Bank. In order to protect this land, the Polish King Jan Sobieski re-established the privileges of the Cossacks, which had been previously abolished. However, when a peace treaty with the Turks was concluded in Carlowitz in 1699, the Polish Diet decided to abolish the rights of the Cossacks once more. As a result of this measure, not only the Cossacks but the peasants and townspeople revolted in the summer of 1702 against the Polish magnates. Colonel Palii, who became the leader of this revolt, defeated the Polish troops at the fortress of Bila Tserkva, a military and administrative centre on the Right-Bank. Thus he not only seized the fortress, but controlled such large areas of the Right-Bank as regions of Kyiv, Bratslav, Podolia and Volhynia. In spite of frequent demands of the Polish magnates to return these areas to them, Palii refused to do so.⁵ Moreover, he intended to separate the Right-Bank from Poland and unite it with the Left-Bank under Hetman Mazepa.

At this time, the Polish magnates divided themselves into two parties. This came about when, at their conference in Sandomir, some of these magnates decided to support Augustus II and remain loyal to the Russo-Polish treaty, thereby retaining Russian help against Charles XII and Palii, while the others preferred to come to terms with the Swedish king in order to gain his assistance in regaining that part of Ukraine on the left bank of the Dnipro River held by Mazepa.

This Ukrainian problem played a very important role in Polish politics concerning the Swedish King and Mazepa. This also caused a very fierce struggle between the followers of Charles XII and Augustus II in Lithuania. The fighting was concentrated at the fortress of Bykhiv, which had been taken by Count Sapieha, leader of the Swedish supporters. Augustus ordered the *Starosta* Halecki to march against Sapieha and seize Bykhiv. At the Tsar's order, Mazepa sent 2,500 men, led by T. Radych, an officer for special assignment, to assist Halecki at the beginning of the campaign. On July 17, the Hetman added 10,000 troops, under the command of Colonel Michael Myklashevskij and gave it over to Halecki, a decision which displeased Mazepa so greatly that he reproached him for it. Nevertheless, Mazepa, for his assistance, received the highest Polish award, "The White

4. S. Palii (real name Hurko) was born in the early 1640's. Originally he was registered in the regiment of Nizhyn on the Left-Bank, but in the 1670's he went to the Zaporozhian host, where he became known as a skilful military leader and organizer. In 1685 he moved into the region of Fastiv on the Right-Bank, where he in the summer of 1702 became the leader of the insurrection against the Polish administration until 1704. When in the spring of this year, at the Tsar's order, Mazepa moved to the Right-Bank, Palii interpreted this move as a support in the struggle against the Poles. However, Mazepa ordered Palii not to fight the Polish troops, and having arrested him, sent him to the Tsar, who exiled him to Siberia until 1708, when he was brought back to fight Mazepa. Palii died in January 1710. For details see: Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 235-241.

5. For details see Jan Perdenia, *Stanowisko Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej wobec sprawy Ukrainy na przełomie XVII-XVIII w.*, (Wroclaw-Warsaw-Cracow, 1963).

Eagle”⁶ (*Bialy Orzel*). Mazepa also sent some small units elsewhere in Poland to assist the Polish Army.

In 1703, Mazepa did not participate in any military operation, but in 1704 the Swedish king put his *protégé*, Stanislaw Leszczynski on the Polish throne and a struggle between two Polish kings took place. At the Tsar’s order in April 1704, Mazepa moved with his army of 30,000 men into the Right-Bank Ukraine to help King August II, to whom the Hetman sent advance forces of 3,000 men.

Meanwhile, Mazepa, having taken the Right Bank Dnipro in Ukraine, which was now free from the Polish magnates, decided to use this opportunity to unite Ukraine under his leadership. However, being afraid of Palii’s popularity among the people, Mazepa treacherously arrested him and by falsely denouncing him for having been in communication with the Swedes, sent him to the Tsar, who exiled him to Siberia.⁷ After Palii’s arrest, Mazepa ordered his troops to occupy the Right-Bank territory with the fortress of Bila Tserkva, which was the centre of this region. Moreover, Mazepa established his residence in Bila Tserkva and even transferred a part of his personal treasury there from Baturyn. Thus Ukraine was reunited again and Mazepa became Hetman of the entire country until 1708.

But according to the Polish-Russian agreement of August 19, 1704, the Poles asked the Tsar to return to them the Right-Bank territory with the fortress of Bila Tserkva. However, Mazepa explained to the Tsar that as long as there was a pro-Swedish faction in Poland, it would not be in the interest of Moscow to return the fortress and the surrounding territory to Poland. It was easy to convince the Tsar since he himself had plans that envisioned keeping the Right-Bank within the Hetmanstate. As soon as the war with Sweden was over, the Tsar intended to attack the Ottoman Porte and was to seize the territory on the Right-Bank in order to secure free passage for his troops southwards. Furthermore, if the territory on the Right-Bank were returned to Poland, the Poles would have direct communication with the Turks, a situation which would not be in the Tsar’s interest. Therefore, the Tsar not only agreed to Mazepa’s suggestion, but instructed him not to surrender the Right-Bank to the Poles. When the Poles came to the Tsar in this matter, he would tell them that he issued the order to Mazepa to return Bila Tserkva. Mazepa in his turn would say that without the order signed personally by the Tsar, he could not return the city. These delaying tactics were carried out by both the Tsar and the Hetman until 1708. In January 1708 the Tsar signed an order to surrender only the fortress Bila Tserkva to the Polish Troops, however, without mentioning the surrounding territory, which was necessary to provide the troops with food and provisions. The Right-Bank-Ukraine was returned to Poland in 1714.⁸

In the middle of June, 1704, Mazepa established his camp in the vicinity of Pavoloch. From here he sent Demetrius Maksymovych to Augustus II with a request for instructions. On August 10, Maksymovych returned to Mazepa,

6. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 523.

7. For details see: Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 525; Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 235-241.

8. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 521; Subtelny, *On the Eve of Poltava: The Letters of Ivan Mazepa to Adam Sieniawski* (hereafter “On the Eve of Poltava”) (New York, 1975), pp. 25-8.

who meanwhile had moved to the city of Berdychiv, and reported that Augustus II requested 30,000 Cossacks, and that with the rest of his troops, the Hetman should devastate the estates of a Polish magnate, Count Lubomirski, who joined the Swedish party. Mazepa, however, sent only 10,000 under the command of Colonel Ivan Myrovych, who joined Augustus II at his headquarters near the city of Javoriv, and maintained that the rest were needed to control the unreliable Polish gentry.⁹

From Pavoloch, Mazepa moved to the vicinity of Berdychiv, where the situation was poor because of lack of food. Owing to the lack of action, the Cossacks requested of the Hetman that they be allowed to return home. At that time, on August 24, Mazepa received a message informing him that Augustus II had left Poland for Saxony and has asked Mazepa to devastate Lubomirski's estates,¹⁰ whereupon Mazepa moved to Lubar (Volhynia).

Not only Augustus II, but also the Tsar instructed the Cossacks to loot and devastate the estates of those Polish landlords, who took the Swedish side.¹¹ The Cossacks, however, did not always make a distinction between those Poles who were pro-Swedish and those adherents of Augustus II and plundered the property of all Polish gentry ("*szlachta*") whom the Cossacks considered generally as their enemy. In addition, the Polish gentry, who were supposed to be Mazepa's allies, were obliged to supply his army with food and other provisions. The *szlachta*, however, was not eager to comply with its obligations and the Cossacks used force in order to obtain necessary provisions.¹²

However, when Mazepa moved in September 1704 to the vicinity of the city of Lubar in Volhynia, he "not only did not harm or oppress the gentry, but even provided it with guards against looters."¹³ In fact, later in the same month, a delegation of *szlachta* of the Kyiv province came to Mazepa to express its gratitude for his protection of their estates.¹⁴ The Polish historian, Joseph Feldman, however, accused Mazepa of "organizing devastating raids into Poland, before which everybody alive fled."¹⁵ But even the English diplomat, who was at that time in Poland, Dr. John Robinson, remarked in his report from Danzig of September 16, 1705, that Mazepa "has behav'd himself with moderation."¹⁶ Shortly afterward, however, he received orders not to harm Lubomirski's estates because the latter had now joined Augustus II. Finally, on October 12, Mazepa received instruction from the Russian envoy in Warsaw who stated that Augustus II wanted the Hetman to return home. Accordingly he started for home, arriving in Khvastiv on October 18, and on October 29 reached Baturyn, his own residence.

At the time that Mazepa was moving in Volhynia, Colonel Myrovych was

9. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. p. 527.

10. *Ibidem*, p. 528.

11. *Pisma i bumagi Imperatora Petra Velikago*, (St. Petersburg-Moscow, 1887-1956), Vol. III, p. 1049.

12. *Archiv jugo-zapadnoj Rossii* (hereafter "AIZR") (Kyiv, 1868), Vol. II, part 3, p. 177.

13. AIZR. No. 248, p. 656.

14. cf., Subtelny, *On the Eve of Poltava*, pp. 27-8.

15. J. Feldman, *Polaka w dobie Wielkiej Wojny Północnej, 1704-1709*, (Cracow, 1925), p. 302.

16. PRO, SP 88, Vol. 16.

sent by Augustus II to rescue Lviv (Lemberg). However, the Polish commandant of Lviv, Kaminski, turned the city over to the Swedes (August 26), and Myrovych, being pressed by the Swedes, retreated to the city of Brody, where he joined the Polish Commanding General Rzewuski. Meanwhile, Colonel Apostol, under General Brandt, was successfully fighting. Later, the Cossacks were transferred to the command of the Livonian General in the Russian service, J.R. Patkul, who treated them shamefully, as in the city of Poznan, where he took away their horses and made them march on foot.¹⁷ These events were known to the English resident in Hamburg, John Wich, who mentioned in his report of November 7, 1704: “. . . The Cossagues. . . designing to march homewards, are all dismounted and oblig'd to do dutyes on foott, a considerable number of which, were blown up, in a late attacque, by a mine sprung by the Enemy.”¹⁸ When the Cossacks, under Colonel Myrovych, who was now marching together with General Rzewuski towards Warsaw, learned what had happened to Colonel Apostol's men, they decided to retreat through Lublin.

In the meantime, the Cossack troops under Colonel Apostol marched toward Cracow, and were met by the Swedish troops and the Polish units on the Swedish side of the city of Wielun, Silesia. In the ensuing battle, 1,620 of them were killed and only 80 Cossacks returned home.¹⁹ In the spring of 1705 Mazepa recieved several contradictory and confusing orders: at first, the Hetman was supposed to return to Volhynia, then to proceed to the city of Brest, finally in June to move with all his troops to the city of Sandomir. He also was ordered to send to Lithuania a group of approximately 4,000 Cossacks, which Mazepa sent under the command of Colonel Demetrius Horlenko, who went to the city of Grodno. In the meantime the Hetman himself marched with 40,000 men, including three Russian regiments to Poland. On his way he advanced to the vicinity of the city of Lviv (Lemberg), which Mazepa at the request of the city council passed by.²⁰ A week later, he entered the estates of Polish Commander-in-Chief, Adam Sieniawski, where he hoped to join the Saxon troops of Augustus II. However, Mazepa did not know that the Swedes had forced Augustus II to retreat west of the Vistula River, and could not join his army. From there, at the Tsar's order (September 23) Mazepa moved to the fortress of Zamostia (Zamiość), where there was a Polish garrison loyal to Augustus II, but the Polish commandant refused to open the gates for the Cossacks and they encamped in the vicinity of the fortress. In the middle of November, Mazepa again returned to the Belz province where half of his troops were quartered in the vicinity of the city of Kholm and the other half moved with the Hetman to the city of Dubno, Volhynia.

The morale among the Cossacks in 1705 was bad. The Tsar, in order to coordinate his forces, assigned Russian and German officers to the Ukrainian troops. During the war, it became evident that the Cossacks were no match for regular west European armies, the Russian and German west European army

17. Kostomarov. *op. cit.*, p. 530.

18. PRO. SP. 82. Vol. 21.

19. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 430.

20. The Ukrainian historian S. Tomashivsky found in the Library of Ossolinski Family, Mazepa's letter of August 14, 1705, to the Council of the city Lviv, in which he promised to pass the city by. See: Tomashivsky, "Nezvisnyj lyst Mazepy do mista Lvova," *ZNTS* (1609), Vol. XXXVII, p. 7-8.

The Russian and German officers treated the Cossacks as auxiliary forces, or sometimes as cannon fodder. Therefore, the Cossack regiments suffered casualty rates as high as 50, 60, or even 70 per cent.²¹ In addition, these foreign officers were arrogant and cruel not only towards common Cossacks, but even high ranking Cossack officers were not immune from insult and injury. For instance, Colonel Horlenko, Commander-in-Chief of the Cossack troops in Lithuania (1705), was accosted by Russian soldiers, thrown from his horse, which was confiscated to deliver mail, and barely escaped a beating.²² Even Mazepa himself was often insulted by the Tsar's favourite, Alexander Menshikov, who regularly disposed the Hetman's troops without even informing him about this.²³ Furthermore, in one of the campaigns, the Tsar placed Mazepa under Menshikov's command, an act which the Hetman considered an insult. The Hetman suspected that the Tsar wanted to oust him from office. There were well-founded rumours that Peter I offered the Duke of Marlborough Ukraine (Hetmanstate) for his service in the Russian army²⁴ and count Boris Sheremetjev, a personal friend of Mazepa warned him that the ambitious Menshikov had intentions to become Hetman.²⁵

The situation in the winter of 1705-1706 was changing in favour of the Swedish King. The Swedes attacked their enemies everywhere and the Tsar summoned Mazepa to the vicinity of Grodno. In March 1706 the Hetman arrived in Minsk with 15,000 men. Here he received an order to harass the Swedish troops between Minsk and Vilnius. During these operations the Cossacks had heavy casualties. Some regiments were decimated, some were taken prisoners by the Swedes as was the case in the city of Liakhovychi. By May the Hetman had about 2,000 men left and in June he returned to Ukraine.

Again on the Tsar's orders, Mazepa had to repair the Pechersky Fortress at Kyiv (1706-07) because the Tsar had some information that Charles XII would attack Ukraine. This attack was only a manoeuvre to mislead the Tsar, and the Swedish king moved into Saxony, where he forced Augustus II to make peace in Altranstaedt (September 14, 1706). Under these circumstances, Peter decided to call a general war council at the city of Zhovkva (near Lviv). Mazepa was invited to this council and arrived there on April 11, 1707.²⁶

After the war council, Mazepa was ordered to send a regiment from Zhovkva, under the command of Colonel A. Tansky, to the Polish General Sieniawski, who was still on the side of Augustus II, who had already abdicated in 1706. In May, the Tsar ordered Mazepa to send more Cossacks, and again the Hetman sent a regiment and continued to send Cossacks wherever the Tsar demanded.

However, the Tsar demanded not only combat troops from Mazepa but also

21. Ohblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-8.

22. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 541; cf. Subtelny, *The Mazepists*, pp. 23-4.

23. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 558.

24. Solovjev, *op. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 161; Dentschynskyj, *Mazepa*, p. 281.

25. Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 282.

26. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 558-9. The London paper, *The Daily Courant* of May 23, 1707, No. 1645, reported on the first page about this conference. After World War II the Russians changed the old name of "Zhovkva" to "Nestorov", honouring the Russian pilot Nestorov, who was shot down there in World War I. For details about military plans made in Zhovkva see V.E. Shutoj, *Borba narodnykh mass protiv nashestvija armii Karla XII*. (Moscow, 1958), pp. 213-6.

insisted that the Cossacks build fortresses at their own expense. In return for their services, the Cossacks received little gratitude. They received no pay, and were beaten, mistreated, and insulted in many ways.²⁷ The English historian, L.R. Lewitter, observed in his essay "Mazepa" that "the treatment meted out to the civilian population of Ukraine by the Russian army, with its daily routine of plunder, arson, murder, and rape, was more reminiscent of a punitive expedition than of allied troop movements".²⁸ The American historian, Robert K. Massie, also remarked that "there were constant protests that Russians were pillaging Cossack homes, stealing provisions, raping wives and daughters".²⁹

Such conduct on the part of the Russians must have caused gloom in Mazepa's heart. In addition, rumours were spread in military circles that the Tsar intended to abolish the autonomy of Ukraine and annex it as part of the Russian Empire. Moreover, the rumour was that the Tsar did not hide his intention of entrusting the office of Hetman to his favourite, A. Menshikov. These rumours were confirmed by a letter to Mazepa from a friend, the Countess Anna Dolska. The Countess in her letter described a conversation with two Russian Generals, Sheremetjev and Renne. She told Mazepa that when she made a friendly remark about him, Renne said: "O Lord, have pity on that good and clever man. The poor man does not know that the Count Alexander Danilovich [Menshikov] digs a grave for him, and after he is rid of him [Mazepa], then he himself will become the Hetman of Ukraine." Sheremetjev confirmed Renne's words. Concerning Dolska's remark that none of Mazepa's friends wanted to warn him, Sheremetjev said, "We must not say anything. We suffer ourselves, but we are forced to keep quiet."³⁰ After his chancellor, Philip Orlyk, finished reading the letter Mazepa said, "I know well what they want to do with me and all of you. They want to satisfy me with the title of a Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. They want the officer corps annihilated, our cities turned over to their administration, and their own governors appointed. If our people should oppose them, they would send them beyond the Volga, and Ukraine will be settled by their own people."³¹

There is evidence that the Tsar authorized his envoy to the Vienna Court, a German diplomat in the Russian service named Baron Heinrich von Huysen, to request the Emperor Joseph I to grant Mazepa a title of Prince of the Holy Roman Empire. Huysen left his memoirs and notes to Peter van Haven (1715-1757), a Dutch scholar whom he met on the boat returning from St. Petersburg to Germany before his sudden death in 1742. In them, he reported that Huysen obtained from Joseph I the title of Prince for Menshikov, the title of Graf for G.I. Golovkin, Peter's Chancellor, and the title of "Prince of the Holy Roman Empire" for Mazepa. The grant of the title of Prince, effective September 1, 1707, is recorded in an official register under "M", Vol. XII, and is also on

27. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 476-477, 489-490, 524, 530, 541, 551-554; S.M. Solovjev, *Istorija Rosii s drevnejshykh vremjen*, (St. Petersburg, 1864-1865), Vol. XV, pp. 1487, 1489. Feldman, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

28. L.R. Lewitter, "Mazepa," *History Today*, (London, 1957), Vol. VII, No. 9, pp. 593-594.

29. Massie, *Peter the Great. His Life and World*, (New York, 1980), pp. 350-6.

30. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 550; Solovjev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, pp. 1490-1493. See also: O. Pritsak, "Ivan Mazepa i Kniahynia Dolska" *PUNJ*, Vol. XLVII, pp. 102-117.

31. Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 550; Solovjev, *op. cit.*, Vol. 1491.

the back of Mazepa's letter (undated, but presumably written in 1707) to Emperor Joseph I.³²

According to Hyussen, there was not enough money to pay for Mazepa's diploma,³³ although Mazepa gave Menshikov 3,000 ducats for this purpose.³⁴ There is clear evidence that according to Huyssen's letter of June 8, 1707, to the Austrian Chancellor and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Count Schoenborn, Menshikov was immediately going to pay the necessary fees, as soon as the title of the Imperial Count was granted to Mazepa.³⁵ Huyssen's explanation, noted by van Haven that Mazepa's diploma was not delivered to him because of lack of money, cannot be true.

Another possible explanation, given by S. Tomashivsky, and after him by B. Krupnyckyj and O. Ohloblyn,³⁶ is likewise impossible. These historians believe that the Tsar actually requested the Vienna Court not to send the diploma. The fact that more than a year elapsed (September 1, 1707, to October 26, 1708) in which the diploma could have been delivered to Mazepa, indicates rather his lack of interest in it. It is true that later, after Mazepa went to the Swedes (October 16, 1708), the Tsar, through his envoy in Vienna, Baron J. Chr. Von Urbich, did request that the Emperor withhold the diploma.³⁷ However, after October 1708, it is doubtful that Mazepa himself cared about this title, which was actually in effect.

Even before October 1708, Mazepa did not care about this title, because, as Tomashivsky pointed out, he suspected that it was merely a part of Menshikov's intrigue, which was *promoveatur ut amoveatur*. As was mentioned above, Mazepa's suspicions concerning this title and Menshikov's intrigue were correct.

Curiously, Mazepa's diploma is no longer in the Austrian State Archives, although the German historian, M. Gritzner, reported seeing it before 1887.³⁸ Count A.V. Dabyzha, a Russian diplomat in Vienna, apparently saw Mazepa's diploma published with his coat of arms.³⁹ The fate of the diploma since is unknown.

(To be continued)

32. To my knowledge, this letter was published for the first time in my article, "Mazepas Rürstentitel im Lichte seines Briefes an Kaiser Josef I.," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, Vol. 44, No 3, (1962), pp. 350-356. The original letter is located in the *Reichsadelsaktenamt* in Vienna.

33. P. van Haven, *Nye og forbedrede Efterraetninger om det russis Rige (New Improved Accounts About the Russian Empire)*, (Copenhagen, 1747), 2 Vols.; I used the German translation: *Unterschiedene Abschnitte aus neuen verbesserten nachrichten von dem Russischen Reich*, published by Anton Fr. Büsching in his *Magazin für die neue Historie und Geographie*, (Halle, 1776), Vol. X, p. 319.

34. M. Vozniak, "Benderska komisija po smerti Mazepy", *PUNI*, Vol. 46, pp. 127, 131.

35. "... Sa de Alte de Menzikow m'a escrit il y a quelque temps, vouloir m'envoyer l'argent pour cet effet, aussitot qu'il verriot par la main de Votre Excellence. que Sa Maj. Imp. ne refuseroit point cette grace au dit Prince Mazepa. . . ." *HHS, Russica 1-20*. This excerpt of Huyssen's letter was published by S. Tomashivsky in "Mazepa i avstrijska polityka," *ZBTS*, Vol. 92, pp. 242-3.

36. S. Tomashivsky, "Mazepa i avstrijska polityka," p. 245; B. Krupnyckyj, *Hetman Mazepa und seine Zeit 1687-1709*, (Leipzig, 1942), p. 159; cf.: Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

37. "... dass E.K.M. nachdem der Mazepa dem Tzar meineydig worden und in shwedische dienst uebergegangen ist, das ueber die ihm ehedessen zugedacht riechs-fuersten-wuerde gewoehliche diploma nit expedieren, sondern den Mazepa, wan er sich in Hungaren retiriren wuerde, dem Tzar aushaendigen lassen moegten. . . ." *H.H.S., Russica 1-20*; This excerpt from Baron Urbich's letter was also published by Tomashivsky in "Mazepa i avstrijska polityka," p. 245.

38. F. Siebmacher, *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*, (Nuremberg, 1887), Vol. I. p. 161.

39. A.V. Dabyzha, "Mazepa — kniaz i ego shlahetskij i kniazheskij gerby," *Kievskaja starina*, (1885), Vol. XIII, p. 176.

Ivan MIRTSCHUK

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

(Part 10)

Music

It was only towards the end of the 19th century that Ukrainian music celebrated its entry into the general scheme of European music. To outsiders this must seem strange for a nation of 40 million whose songs are widely popular, a people with considerable musical talent who in earlier centuries possessed a high musical culture as has been particularly emphasised by foreign travellers. The explanation for this is the same as in the other branches of culture: the lack of a Ukrainian state and life under foreign rule by nations who strove to usurp the achievements of the Ukrainian people or at least to suppress all knowledge of them.

It is common knowledge that art can only find proper expression in an atmosphere of material security which can only be guaranteed by a state. If works of art are to become known to the European public they must be supported by government sponsorship. Since these prerequisites were missing, the world has learnt little or almost nothing about Ukrainian art in general and Ukrainian music in particular, all the more so since the Russian government abroad has been able very skilfully to mask the truth, claiming Ukrainian works as its own.

Another possible reason for the limited circulation of Ukrainian music in the cultural life of Western Europe is the fact that it is somewhat one-sided. Until recently it lacked creative personalities to try their strengths in instrumental music. Up to the 20th century there were only a few Ukrainian musicians who were interested in instrumental music and consequently there was no composer of stature. It would therefore be fruitless to search for symphonies, operas or even small works for symphony orchestras or chamber music. The people created original vocal music which is particularly cultivated by the Slavs but not so popular in the rest of Europe. True, the generally popular Košyć Choir during its European tour in 1919-1920 enjoyed boundless and enthusiastic recognition, however, its effect on the European public was only transitory and left no lasting influence.

EARLY & MEDIEVAL PERIODS

Before we look into modern Ukrainian music let us begin with some historical observations. Folk songs undoubtedly belong to the oldest works of Ukrainian music. They are linked with pre-Christian religious rites and follow the various seasonal festivals: carols, spring and harvest songs and also songs about the main events in life, births, deaths and weddings. Their archaic character

suggests that their origins are hidden in the mists of pre-history. With the advent of Christianity the texts came under Greek and Bulgarian influences. To a certain extent this is reflected in their structure. Since Christianity was unable to eradicate them completely, the Church transformed them, adapted their texts to suit the new religion and incorporated them in the store of Christian songs. Naturally, this did not happen overnight but over a long period. The beginning of the metamorphosis can certainly be traced back to the time when the Byzantine-Roman style was predominant in Ukraine. The information we have on this period in Ukrainian music is very scanty. That secular music was fostered can only be assumed on the basis of occasional references in the literature of the period. We find mention of the musical glorification of the heroic deeds of the ruling princes, the legendary minstrels Bojan and Mytusa and native and foreign musical instruments. The advocates of this art were minstrels at princely courts, professional musicians (*skomorochy*) and finally blind or otherwise crippled musicians who performed religious or secular songs to the people at annual markets or church festivals.

The following Gothic period of the 13th-16th century is even more obscure and vague in the eyes of the researcher since there is no source material. We can only assume that this period formed the basis for further developments.

The Golden Age of Ukrainian Song occurred in the 16th-18th century, the heroic age of Ukrainian history. It was at this time that the characteristic features were formed which clearly distinguished the Ukrainian folk song from corresponding foreign models. A new form of historical *duma* (a lyric-epic ballad) appeared glorifying the heroism of the kozaks in their battles against the Turks, Tartars and Poles. Thus began the special class of bandurists or kobzars who had their own guildlike organisation to protect their group interests. Resembling medieval bards and minnesingers the kobzars crossed the wide plains of Ukraine. They were heartily welcomed both in the halls of magnates and landowners and the rooms of simple peasants and kozaks. The rise of music was linked with political developments in Eastern Europe where the kozaks, a new force, contributed significantly to the rebirth of Ukrainian statehood. Even though this state was entangled in endless wars with its neighbours and unable to provide favourable circumstances for the peaceful prosperity of culture it nevertheless contributed to the general flourishing of art including music which was underway everywhere. It follows that the history of art in all its branches is inseparable from political events in Ukraine and is merely an expression of the actual processes being experienced by the Ukrainian people.

The subsequent development of the Ukrainian folk song brought it ever closer to the musical scheme of Western Europe with a clear differentiation in major and minor. Europeanisation, however, did not impair its original character. It should be emphasised specially that in the case of the folk song and music in general Ukrainians have been able to clearly define their cultural independence. Count A.K. Tolstoy (1817-75) stresses in a letter to an acquaintance that no other national music not even Great Russian, has proclaimed its individuality with such distinction and power as Ukrainian music. As we listen to it we see before us

the whole history of Ukraine, grasp the character of the people better than we could from reading Hohol or Konyskyj. Freidrich Bodenstedt in the foreword to his collection "Die poetische Ukraine" speaks warmly of the high musical quality and beauty of the Ukrainian folk song.

Church music arrived in Ukraine with Christianity during the reign of Grand Prince Volodymyr the Great whose wife the Greek princess Hannah brought both priests and hymns to Kyiv. The Chronicles tell how at the time of Prince Jaroslav the Wise three Greek singers and their families came to Old Rus¹. They performed "angelic chants" which continued for centuries with changes introduced by oral traditions. Thus gradually the characteristic features of the Ukrainian folk song were introduced to hymns.

The occupation of Ukrainian territory by Poland and Lithuania, the spread of Catholicism with its polyphonic vocal and instrumental music (mainly organ music) compelled the Orthodox hierarchy in Ukraine to cultivate the more developed choral music which even today is the only vehicle of Ukrainian church music. With the eager support of church brotherhoods in which all enlightened townspeople gathered choral music prospered throughout Ukraine until the end of the 17th century. It was encouraged by the sons of the rich old kozak aristocracy who travelled to Western Europe to study and returned bringing samples of Western European music. In Kyiv the characteristic form of so-called "concertos" arose in which the ensemble of the choir or choirs alternated with the solo voices.

THE FIRST MUSIC SCHOOLS. ITALIAN INFLUENCES.

In 1737 the first music school in Ukraine was established at Hluchiv which produced a long line of major singers and composers. We should mention that the choir at the Tsar's court has young enthusiastic Ukrainian singers among its ranks. In this way Oleksa Rozumovskij son of a simple kozak family arrived in the Russian capital and in 1732 entered the service of Empress Elizabeth. They later had a church wedding which has been substantiated by the latest research. Apart from this school numerous choirs and orchestras who mostly consisted of serfs and belonged to the courts of wealthy landowners, contributed considerably to popularising musical culture.

Gradually richer forms of music developed in the cities. Kharkiv became an important musical centre. It was here that the first music classes were organised at the Pedagogical Institute (1773). Towards the end of the 18th century a theatre with a musical repertoire was formed. In 1804 music classes began at Kharkiv University and a few years later an important encyclopedic work was published, the two volume *Theory of Music* by the composer, pianist and doctor of philosophy at the university, Hesse de Calvé. Particularly widespread in Ukraine at the time was Italian music by Giovanni Palestrina, Alessandro Scarlatti and their followers, Giuseppe Sarti and Baldassare Galuppi. Under their influence at the turn of the 18th century a specific Ukrainian "Italian church choir style" came into being typical of the classical period of Ukrainian music whose foremost representatives were the composers of the older period D. Bortnianskyj (1751-1825),

¹ Old Rus — refers to Rus-Ukraine of the Kyiv Period, not to be confused with Old Russia (Muscovy) which arose at a later time, at the beginning of the 12th century, and belongs to Russian history. (trans. note).

M. Berezovskij (1745-1777) and A. Wedel (1767-1808). All three studied at the Kyiv Academy. Bortnianskij and Berezovskij completed their studies in Italy, the former under Galuppi in Venice then in Rome and Naples, the latter at the Academy in Bologna under the famous tutor and author of a history of music Padre Martini. The style of church music created by them, especially Bortnianskij, dominated not only Ukrainian society but subsequently the church music of other peoples of the Greek-Orthodox faith. The most important of this trio, Bortnianskij,

after completing his studies in Italy spent the rest of his life as a conductor of the court choir in St. Petersburg. For this reason in spite of the undoubted evidence of his belonging to Ukrainian culture the world regards him as a Russian composer. It should not be forgotten that Ukraine could not offer these artists any possibility of developing. Taking up the invitation of the Russian tsars they exchanged their modest positions in Kyiv for well paid jobs in St. Petersburg. The policy of drawing Ukrainian cultural workers to the north begun on a wide scale by Peter I was continued in Russia until the fall of the Tsarist Empire in 1917. On the one hand any opportunity for Ukrainian culture to develop was either suppressed or hindered considerably. On the other hand all important scholars and artists were transferred to Russia. Ukrainian musicians were particularly regarded in St. Petersburg and Moscow which Russian historians themselves admit.

In the light of this policy of cultural expropriation Vedel's life appears especially tragic. A Ukrainian patriot he had no desire to leave his homeland and flatly rejected all suggestions that he should move north. On the contrary, he took part in anti-Russian conspiracies in Ukraine. In order to avoid persecution by the St. Petersburg government he entered the Pecherska Lavra (monastery) in Kyiv. This, however, did not rescue him. He was arrested and strangled in prison. Even in his artistic activity he was wary of foreign influences striving as a representative of indigenous conservatism to base his works on Old-Ukrainian traditions.

THE 19th CENTURY

After the best artists had left for the north and in the wake of the catastrophic political situation in Ukraine in the Russian Empire independent cultural work in the 19th century went into continual decline. The Church continued to cultivate the old chants though no longer under the direction of trained musicians. The earlier schools slowly followed one another into extinction and with them the unity of musical education. For a time about the middle of the 19th century the high musical art of the Dnipro region moved to Halychyna and produced a generation of composers including M. Verbyckij (1815-1870), I. Lavrivskij (1822-1873), V. Matiuk (1852-1912) and A. Vachnianyn (1841-1908) creator of the opera "Kupalo" which was performed in Soviet Ukraine after the First World War. This period was, however, only short and produced no more eminent masters.

Another sphere in which the creative power of Ukrainian music found positive expression in the 18th-19th centuries was that of the opera and operetta. Bortnianskij

had already written the operas "Creonte" and "Quinto Fabio" and Berezovskij "Demophont" which were performed in Italy. However, the themes and language of the texts were unsatisfactory and foreign to the Ukrainian public. With the rise of Romanticism and the concomitant predilection for folk themes Ukrainian composers chose subjects from peasant life or the heroic deeds of the kozaks. Thus in 1812 the operetta "The Kozak Versifier" by Prince O. Šachovskij; "Natalka Poltavka" the classic folk play with songs by I. Kotlarevskij; Hulak-Artemovskij's (1813-1873) opera "The Zaporizhian Kozak beyond the Danube"; the operatic treatment by M. Arkas (1852-1909) of Shevchenko's poem "Kateryna" and many others. M. Hrinčenko the contemporary Ukrainian music historian in his "History of Ukrainian Music" when discussing the opera "Kateryna" does not exactly flatter the above-mentioned works of the Ukrainian muse Polyhymnia:

"It is understandable that one cannot expect anything special from a dilettante. He has contributed nothing new in terms of musical form or content. Everything sounds pleasant, sometimes even warm and charming though in general ordinary,"

It would however, be wrong to deny these composers a place in the general creation of new genuinely artistic forms on the grounds of dilettantism. Although as a result of their incomplete musical education they produced few works their awkward attempts were an important step towards further development. Their creations came from the heart and therefore in spite of their primitiveness won the hearts of the audience.

M. LYSENKO AND HIS SCHOOL

M. Lysenko (1842-1912) was revolutionary in the development of Ukrainian musical culture. He was a successful exponent in all the spheres of musical creativity showing new paths to his followers. After graduating from the Leipzig Conservatory where he studied piano under Reinecke and composition under Richter Lysenko returned to Ukraine and devoted himself completely to music. He based all his work on the folk song though he approached it in a different way from the traditional manner. Whereas the folk song had hitherto been regarded as something primitive M. Lysenko searched for the musical "soul" of the Ukrainian which properly treated would form the basis for the further development of Ukrainian music. Firstly he studied the melodic line of the Ukrainian folk song to derive a logical harmony. He worked like a learned ethnographer and examined by scientific method the rich material at his disposal everywhere. There are few countries with a store of folk songs to match the considerable quantity and quality of the Ukrainian folk song. In terms of rhythm we find next to the slow more recitative *duma* the vivacious *kozačok*. Melodically speaking we have the old Christmas carol *ščedryk*, a song with a refrain moving exclusively within the minor third. Without going into an exact analysis of the Ukrainian folk song let us add that in the main it is four-part with an independent lead. The

staggered voices combine with the voice which begins the song creating an original counterpoint and interesting harmonic consonances. M. Lysenko made an exact analysis of the entire wealth of Ukrainian folk music and the difficulties which arose during its treatment. Nevertheless, the work had to be done in order to guarantee the further organic development and growth of Ukrainian music. He felt that to transplant foreign Western European models onto Ukrainian soil was wrong since he held that Bach, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Brahms, Wagner and others were primarily German musicians whose work is closely tied to German musical perception. He continued to hold the view that Ukrainian composers should learn to compose music from the German composers but should never try to slavishly imitate them. One should under no circumstances try via foreign means of expression from another musical sensibility to express the feelings of the Ukrainian soul. If forced to resort to foreign means of expression this should be by analogy not literally.

M. Lysenko's entire work is based on these principles. He had considerable success mainly in the field of folk music. Much remains unsolved since he was unable to achieve a complete explanation and conclusion about the Ukrainian musical "soul". He was also unable to make use of the results of his scientific work in instrumental music and derive a Ukrainian style. He lacked the necessary grounding, the strength of tradition, perhaps the talent and the technical ability to write a symphony which requires a host of powerful means of expression as do an A-cappella choir or a cantata.

M. Lysenko, a worthy representative of Ukrainian national music, is a master when it comes to the control of voices. It is therefore not surprising that the progress occasioned by him first showed itself in vocal music. M. Leontovyč (1877-1921), K. Stecenko (1882-1922) and J. Stepovyj (Jakymenko) (1883-1921) continued his work. Their works formed a synthesis of considerable technical ability gleaned from old folk music on the one hand and the Ukrainian folk song on the other from which they derived their rhythms and primarily their spirit. Therein lies the riddle of the fascinating successes of the Košyč Choir on their inter-city tour of Europe from Vienna to Berlin, from Berlin to Paris and London. The critics tried to outdo each other in their praise of the Ukrainian national choir. It combined the technical perfection and ability of the conductor, the voice parts and high quality of the songs performed into an harmonic whole.

M. Lysenko's contemporaries were M. Kolacevskij (1851-1897) who wrote the first Ukrainian symphony and P. Sokalskij composer and theoretician known for his work "Russian Folk Music — Great Russian and Little Russian", Kharkiv 1888.

Under M. Lysenko's influence a group of composers was formed in Western Ukraine who during the ensuing decades dedicated themselves mainly to compiling folk music and writing songs for choirs and solo voices. The following belonged to this group, D. Sičynskij (1865-1919), F. Kolessa (1871-1947) and J. Lopatynskij (1871-1936).

After the war M. Lysenko's principles permeated instrumental music and opened up new possibilities for development in all its branches from smaller compositions to symphonies and operas. S. Ludkevych marked a turning point in the history of modern Ukrainian music in Western Ukraine. He composed music of European stature. After completing his musical education in Vienna under Graedener and Zemlinsky he adopted their teachings and also based himself on his own studies and research of the composer and ethnographer F. Kolessa in an in-depth analysis of the essence of the Ukrainian song which he proceeded to incorporate in his works. However, his main service lies in his proposition, contrary to the prevailing view, that national character can also be expressed in instrumental music which by correct use of orchestral timbres preserves the national colour of music more readily than can human voices. His grand musical compositions such as the "Caucasus" oratorio in four parts for orchestra and choir, the poetic symphony "The Stone Breakers", his "Rifleman's Rhapsody" and works for smaller choirs mostly with orchestral accompaniment are imbued with the spirit of the Ukrainian folk song. Ludkevych the monumentalist and romantic as no other composer, has made the spirit of the Ukrainian folk song his own devoting his great technical talent to this task. His main contribution was in the field of vocal and vocal-instrumental music.

REPRESENTATIVES OF INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC

The group of younger composers in Western and Eastern Ukraine completely under the spell of instrumental music sought as far as possible to fill in gaps in Ukrainian instrumental music. V. Barvinskyj director of the Ukrainian Music School in Lviv, neo-romantic, master of chamber music, teacher of V. Novak devotee of the Slovak folk song continually applied the hidden treasures of the Ukrainian folk song to his works for the piano, cello, solos and symphonic works such as the "Ukrainian Rhapsody". N. Nyžankivskyj (1893-1940) is stylistically related to Barvinskyj. He was the son of the Ukrainian composer O. Nyžankivskyj of the second half of the 19th century who was a pupil of Marx. Like Barvinskyj and Ludkevych he used modern methods of composition and musical expression in his works. Z. Lyško and M. Kolessa both pupils of Novak were more radical in their approach. They stood back from the song and strove to compose in its spirit only. A. Rudnyckyj in his works for the piano, his chamber music and symphonies ignored the national element striving to bring Ukrainian music into harmony with extreme trends in Europe and the work of foreign modernists. Eventually, however, even he turned to national elements.

Composers in Eastern Ukraine turned more eagerly than their Western Ukrainian counterparts to instrumental music in its various forms, the sonata, suite, concerto, symphony, oratorio and opera. Supported by a richer tradition they were materially more prosperous and displayed more initiative and inspiration. The most radical and modern of them as regards technique and means of expression was B. Latošynskyj who composed for the piano and violin, wrote chamber music, symphonies, operas and film scores. Initially influenced

by the Russian composer Neurer he changed to atonal music and finally joined the Ukrainian national process in his overture on four Ukrainian songs and the opera "The Golden Ring". L. Revučkyj also composed grand instrumental works. Although influenced at first by Rachmaninov, Chopin, Skriabin and Tchaikovsky he became a strong and impressive personality in his own right. These foreign elements were melted down in his inner furnace into creations which in their leaning to the folk song are an interesting attempt to achieve a modern but genuine Ukrainian musical style especially his piano preludes, piano concertos, symphonies and songs.

The third representative of grand musical compositions (the sonata, symphony, piano concerto and opera) V. Kosenko (1896-1938) was a moderate lyricist. P. Kozyčkyj editor of the journal "Music for the Masses" and M. Verykivskyj conductor of the Kharkiv Opera, form a special group. Although they composed grand works they excelled in the instrumental and vocal miniature. Kozyčkyj's forte was vocal music in which he continued the glorious traditions of Leontovyč.

POLITICAL INTRUSIONS

The normal development of music in the Soviet Union was severely hampered by the ever increasing efforts of the official Bolshevik policy to hitch all art to the wagon of Communist propaganda. This has been particularly evident since the founding of the "Soviet Musicians' Union" in 1932. It was the "grateful" task of the latter to examine the works of Ukrainian musicians from the point of view of "ideological conformity" and therefore strangle the artist's individuality completely. This new politically uniform period found its initial expression in the choice of themes according to the prescripts of Socialist Realism. The great and small "leaders" of people, collectivization and industrialisation, the tasks of foreign and domestic policy, Soviet patriotism and war — these were the themes that Ukrainian composers were to set to music. We quote some of these works, "Unknown Soldiers" (1939) by Kozyčkyj; "Cantata on Stalin's 60th birthday" by Latošynskyj and text by M. Rylskyj; "Cantata in honour of the Red Army" by V. Barvinskyj; "Songs about Stalin" by L. Revučkyj and others. In order to avoid propaganda works for at least a time Ukrainian composers turned to themes from literature which for the time being were tolerated and put literary works to music: hence A. Shtoharenko's opera "Taras Shevchenko" and his cantata "My Ukraine" (1943), was awarded the Stalin Prize; R. Dankevyč's ballet "The Lily" and Skorulskyj's ballet "Lisova Pijnja" (Lesja Ukrainka). The tutelage of composers reached a peak in the decision of the Central Committee of the Communist Party regarding V. Muradeli's opera "The Great Friendship" (1948) which expressly forbade all contacts with the West. It was to be performed according to the style of Russian music and clearly underlined the propaganda tasks of music. In this way Ukrainian music was from the outset denied the possibility of free development in the spirit of the West and according to its old national traditions.

PERFORMING ARTISTS

We should mention in conclusion the names of performing Ukrainian artists who due to the lack of their own national circuit have been forced to perform in foreign countries for other cultures. We mention only some of the host of operatic artists, the soprano S. Krušelnyčka (1873-1953) — Italy; the tenor J. Alčevskij (1873-1917) — St. Petersburg; the tenor M. Mencinškij (1875-1935) — Cologne and Stockholm; the mezzo-soprano J. Gušalevyč — Berlin; the bass O. Nosalevyč — Vienna; the tenor O. Myšuha (1853-1922) — Italy and Russia; the soprano E. Zarjčka — Milan and London; the mezzo-soprano I. Malaniuk — Zurich, Munich and Bayreuth; and the tenor O. Rusnak-Gerlach — Königsberg and Munich.

The number of performing musicians is smaller. We might mention the pianists first, L. Kolessa known for his concerts in all the European capitals and T. Mykyša who won the Liszt Award in Budapest.

As regards choir-masters, D. Košyč won international and world-wide acclaim with his choir on their tour immediately after the First World War.

In general it can be said that Ukrainian music has made quite considerable progress in the last 20-30 years without exhausting its possibilities for development. It is in this field that taking into account the inborn musical talents of the Ukrainian people one can expect an enormous upsurge as soon as there is a change in the political environment and material conditions essential for life.

Translated by *W Slez*

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Documents and Reports

PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN CONGRATULATES PATRIARCH J. SLIPIYI ON HIS 92ND BIRTHDAY

February 17th 1984 marked the 92nd birthday of his Beatitude Josyf Slipyi, the Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. On that day many delegations of Ukrainian Catholic faithful were in Rome to honour and congratulate his Beatitude. The delegations came from Great Britain, the United States, Canada, Belgium, France and Germany. Greetings were also sent to Patriarch J. Slipyi from many parts of the world both from high dignitaries and ordinary faithful well-wishers. Amongst the letters from dignitaries was the following letter from the President of the United States, Mr. Ronald Reagan.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
official business

His Excellency
Yosif Cardinal Slipyi
Vatican City

Your Eminence:

It is a pleasure to extend my warm congratulations as you celebrate your ninety-second birthday.

Through the years you have not only been a hero to all Ukrainians but a symbol to freedom-loving people everywhere. You have epitomized the strength and power of religious beliefs and the virtues of uncompromising principle. From campaigns of harassment to imprisonment in Siberian labour camps, you have suffered for many long years the difficult consequences resulting from your devotion to religious freedom.

Your life serves as an inspiration to all those who have fought and struggled to preserve the liberty and dignity of the individual to pursue his or her own spiritual values.

May God bless you and everyone honouring you on this happy occasion.

Sincerely,
Ronald Reagan

IV WORLD CONGRESS OF FREE UKRAINIANS HELD IN TORONTO

The IV World Congress of Free Ukrainians was held between 30th November and 4th December, 1983, in Toronto, Canada. The new president elected by the delegates at the Congress is *Petro Savaryn*, a noted Ukrainian lawyer from Edmonton, Alberta in Canada who also holds the post of the Chancellor of the University of Alberta.

The World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU), which is held every 5 years, is the international coordinating body of Ukrainians in the Free World, representing over 200 organizations of the 2 million Ukrainians living in the West. The WCFU was first established in 1967 in New York. Present at the IV Congress were 581 delegates, 418 guests and 27 representatives of the Ukrainian press. The delegates came from the United States, Canada, Australia, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and the western European countries where Ukrainians are settled.

The nearly unanimous choice of Petro Savaryn marked a harmonious conclusion to the Congress sessions which at times appeared to put the future of the WCFU structure in doubt.

The two issues which proved contentious were 1) a demand by the Organizations of Ukrainian Liberation Front that a series of articles and statements defaming the Ukrainian liberation struggle during the Second World War and its leaders be condemned, and that the organizations responsible for their publications withdraw these defamations, and, 2) the question of whether the Ukrainian American Co-ordinating Council (UACC), comprised of organizations which had split from the Ukrainian umbrella body in the United States, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA), should be admitted to the World Congress on equal terms with the UCCA.

The two questions initiated prolonged debates as to substance and procedure and appeared to lead to a complete deadlock. In the end, however, through compromise, a dose of good will and, primarily through a recognition that the WCFU must be preserved, some semblance of consensus was achieved. The organizations of the Ukrainian Liberation Front were given a measure of satisfaction after a special committee issued a statement and recommendation on behalf of the Congress based on the First Manifesto of the WCFU which clearly recognized the contribution and role of OUN-UPA and its leadership in the modern Ukrainian liberation struggle, rejected any defamatory allegations and called upon member organizations of the WCFU to refrain from issuing such allegations in the future.

Although much time was spent resolving these important issues, which meant that other questions were not looked into with any detail, some of the parallel sessions and committee workshops did provide some in-depth discussion and concrete plans. Sessions on education and culture, welfare and social services, youth etc. proved quite productive.

Notable were two panel discussions organized by the WCFU Human Rights Commission the day before the Congress. One panel, dealing with the question of the effectiveness of Western broadcasts to the Eastern bloc, featured representa-

tives of Radio Canada International, Radio Liberty and the Voice of America. The broadcasts of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) came in for the heaviest criticism. A second panel on the Madrid Conference and the Helsinki Accords included United States and British envoys to Madrid and Canadian Human Rights expert Justice Walter Tarnopolsky. Both panels provided a forum where the particular concerns of the Ukrainian diaspora could be voiced and tested before official representatives, who in turn provided delegates with their 'realistic' assessment and interpretations.

Parellel or prior to the WCFU Congress, a series of conventions and conferences of other Ukrainian world structures were held. Among these was the World Conference of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) and the convention of the Ukrainian Liberation Front, both held at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre in Toronto. While the world presidency of the Ukrainian Youth Association was retained by E. Hanowsky of New York, the leadership of the Ukrainian Liberation Front passed from its founder Dr. Roman Malashchuk to Bohdan Fedorak of Detroit.

The significance of such a large gathering of Ukrainians in one place and their attempt to resolve problems, which may have arisen, as well as to outline plans for the future, is shown in the way the Congress caused consternation among the Soviet Russian ruling circles in Moscow. The *Toronto Star* of 5th December in a report in a report by Tom Spears, states the following: "The Soviet embassy has denounced a Ukrainian meeting in Toronto as 'a gathering of former Nazi lackeys and supporters' The World Congress of Free Ukrainians is trying to overthrow the Soviet government, an embassy spokesman said yesterday, adding the Soviets had asked Canadian authorities to boycott the gathering. He made the statement just hours after Opposition Leader Brian Mulroney, in a speech to the group's closing rally at Maple Leaf Gardens attacked the Soviets for their treatment of Ukrainians. Soviet press officer Alexander Podakin said his government had made the request for a boycott last month by 'one of the possible diplomatic channels'. He would not say whether the request was made verbally or in writing. "We made it clear that any support, be it a member of the government (or other officials), is a violation of the Helsinki Agreement" on human rights, he said. Countries that signed the agreement promised to "refrain from rendering direct or indirect support to overthrowing the legitimate government of other countries", he said. The meeting of 8,000 Ukrainians was a "gathering of former Nazis (who) have exactly that aim — to overthrow the legitimate government of Ukraine and eventually of the USSR."

Below, is the text of the speech given at Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto on 4th December by *Mr. Stefan Terlezki*, M.P. for Cardiff West who was present at the Congress.

Mr President, Your Excellency, Honoured Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen.

I am highly honoured and privileged to be with you here today in this City of Toronto, in your great and free country. With my Anglo-Ukrainian-Welsh accent I bring you greetings from United Kingdom.

There are 50 million Ukrainians under Russian tyranny that would love to be with us here today, and their tears would flow with joy now, if they only knew that today we remember them.

The Ukrainian National situation is tragic. We must not endure tolerance, nor intolerance, only equality. Anything else to the contrary is to refute the central truth of reality and history. If I am accused with reality of the situation I take no objection to it. Our duty is not only to analyse the past, but also to plan for the future. The question is not only how we got ourselves into it, but how we can get out of it. Ukrainian diaspora must be fully at work. Fight, fight and fight again for Independence of Ukraine. I am not asking you to work for a policy. Everything must be negotiable and not pre-emptory. I call for harmony and not for confrontation.

The forgotten holocaust and Stalin's treatment of Ukrainian people reminds us that while the world rightly deplored the killing of 269 innocent civilians in the Korean airliner massacre, a more profound perspective may be gained by considering, that the Russians would have to shoot down one airliner every day for 70 years to match the death toll of Stalin's terror-famine in Ukraine just over 50 years ago.

An important continuity between the Ukrainian holocaust and the incident is provided by the fact that, both were sponsored by the same régime and party, and that the present Kremlin leaders were young adults starting their political careers in the early thirties, just at the time when that party was throwing its younger cadres into the struggle with the men, women and children they regarded as their class enemies. The Soviet leadership has never expressed repentance for, or even publicly admitted the Ukrainian genocide operation, or many other massacres which mark their past.

The 1932-1933 famine had a number of special characteristics of which the most striking was that it was entirely man-made. The food was there, and was removed. At any moment reserves of grain could have been released and millions spared. The famine was completely localised, effecting only Ukraine and the Ukrainian-speaking regions.

The campaign started with a decree issued in mid-1932 setting grain requirement targets which could not possibly be met. Neither the Tsars, nor the Tartars, nor the Nazi occupiers ever promulgated such a terrible decree. The decree required that the people of Ukraine be put to death by starvation, put to death along with approximately 3 million little children. First of all the grain was taken, then the seed, then the houses and yards were searched and dug up, and any store of bread seized. The people lived on a few potatoes, then on birds, cats and dogs, then on roots, on acorns and nettles and in early spring they died, but they would not surrender to Stalin and his bloodthirsty tyrants.

The Soviet Russian dictatorship and totalitarian movements are not lacking fascist style collaborators. They do not preach the basic Christian doctrine of personal and social obligation. The Soviets do not produce military hardware just for the May Day Celebrations on the Red Square, or let them go rusty. No, they would use it if they could. When the people of Ukraine asked for bread, land and peace, what did they get? They got tyranny, slave labour camps, liquidation, star-

vation. They got Lenin, Stalin, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and Andropov. They got lunatic asylums, mass destruction. No Freedom, no Peace, no Bread and no Land. Let us remember those today. When in 1946 a Ukrainian freedom fighter before his heart stopped beating in the Carpathian Mountains, said to an old lady who nursed him "when you go home, tell them of us and say, for your tomorrow, we give our today".

Ladies and gentlemen, let us never forget that. Let that be a lesson to us all, never to surrender.

We face a Soviet Russian imperialist power which does not share our beliefs, or our freedom, but seeks to undermine our way of life. No matter how hard they try, totalitarianism can never extinguish the flame of freedom. And if only the nations of Eastern Europe, Ukraine with 50 million people were allowed to choose, they would choose independence, democracy and freedom, I know it.

Soviet Russian tyranny, just like Hitler's Nazi Germany, gave the peoples of the occupied countries, concentration camps, gas chambers, Auschwitz, Treblinka, Babyn Yar and Belsen. A holocaust none of us can ever forget. The brutality of Communism is not interested in the development or in the health and welfare of its people, in freedom and political democracy, in religion, or in the culture or history of a country. Its main goal is an irrational and fanatical urge to swallow the maximum amount of external territory and population, with the ideal limit being the entire planet.

It is not the case of "Better Red than dead", because in Soviet Russia you could be red and dead; and we know it. Soviet Russian imperialism has oppressed, abused, terrorised and kept many nations in political strait jackets in the name of Socialism, Marxism and Leninism.

It is dangerous to draw distinctions between better and worse Communism, between peace loving and the more aggressive kind.

Ask the Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Byelorussians, Poles, Ukrainians, Rumanians, Bulgarians, Hungarians, Czechs, Slovaks and Afghans to mention just a few oppressed nations.

Do you ever wonder what type of magnet, magic, or hypnotism does Marxism, Leninism and Communism embrace, that is so irresistible to some individuals? Ask yourselves, does it attract people because of its ruthless tyrannical suppression of all unorthodox opinion? Is it the KGB butchery? Or is it the tyranny of mass murder? Could it be the artificial starvation of 7 million Ukrainians in 1932 or, is it the hundreds of slave labour camps with hundreds of thousands of innocent people in them? Could it be Siberia where millions of innocent people have been starved and perished to death, or is it the perfectly normal and sane people being liquidated at the mercy of lunatics and corrupt, so-called "psychiatrists" in lunatic asylums? These are the most famous achievements of Marxism, Leninism and Communism. Those who do not believe me, let them go to the Russian "Paradise" and find out for themselves.

Today, let us stand shoulder to shoulder, united, denouncing imperialism and tyranny in the Soviet Russian Empire. Let there be freedom for Ukraine, and freedom for all the oppressed nations who are under the yoke of communism.

ON INTERNATIONAL WOMENS' DAY

A LETTER OF THE ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIAN WOMEN IN GREAT BRITAIN TO BRITISH M.P.'s

The Members of Parliament
Houses of Parliament
LONDON

Dear Members of Parliament

We are writing today, on International Women's Day, to seek your support in obtaining freedom of Oksana Meshko, who is currently serving a five year sentence of internal exile which the Soviet authorities will not lift, in spite of her age and extreme ill health. The details of her imprisonment and of the brutal conditions under which she is forced to live are outlined in the enclosed leaflet.

It is ironic that the Soviet Government should inaugurate an International Women's Day while showing a flagrant disregard for women's rights to teach their children their native language and to love and preserve their heritage and national pride.

It is also ironic that Ukrainians and their British born children living in the United Kingdom, are given every opportunity to retain their Ukrainian identity, their language and their culture under a British policy of racial tolerance and racial equality, while the situation in Ukraine itself is very different. There, the Ukrainian people are victims of the Soviet aim of total Russification — a policy which denies the very existence of separate nationalities let alone their languages and traditions, except where these can be exploited and manipulated to enhance the Soviet image. These are the basic human rights which Oksana Meshko has always upheld (and which are theoretically guaranteed by the Soviet constitution) and for which she has been persecuted all her life.

The colonial attitude of the Soviet system, which treats Ukrainians as second class citizens and thier language as a mere dialect, is unconsciously and implicitly upheld by the BBC External Service who refuse to broadcast to the Soviet Union in any language other than Russian. The value of Ukrainian language broadcasts would be immeasurable. Such broadcasts would provide the support to the spirit of Ukraine which the Soviet Government denies and would strengthen the natural ties which Ukraine has always had with Europe.

Unfortunately, all efforts to introduce Ukrainian language broadcasts have so far run up against a bureaucratic brick wall. The BBC claim that it is the responsibility of the Foreign Office, while the Foreign Office say it is a matter for the BBC management; the brick wall is continually strengthened.

We realise that the primary objective in world politics today is to seek a means of peaceful co-existence between East and West and to eliminate the threat of a nuclear holocaust. However, in our view, this vital search cannot preclude an equally vital concern for justice and human rights wherever these are threatened. We therefore ask for your support in securing the release of

Oksana Meshko, for your commitment to the basic human rights which are denied to millions of her fellow countrymen, and more tangibly for your help through representatives to the Foreign Office and the BBC in cutting through the tangle of red tape in order that Ukrainian language broadcasts can be introduced into BBC External Services.

We remain

Yours sincerely

Mrs A Ostapiuk Mrs B Krushelnycky

On behalf of the Association of Ukrainian Women in Great Britain:
8th March 1984

A LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF ISRAEL, MR YITZHOK SHAMIR

Dear Mr, Shamir:

The world evil is incarnated today in a number of life's phenomena.* Entire states and entire political movements proved to be carriers of evil and lawlessness. One of such carriers of the evil today is the totalitarian empire — the USSR. There are no nations inside the USSR or beyond its borders that were not affected by this empire. Monstrous are the crimes of the Soviet power against the Ukrainian people. About 10 millions of Ukrainians were annihilated by hunger, hundreds of thousands were tortured and shot in the "campaigns" of 1918-21, 1930-34, 1937-39. This country is also guilty of the bloodshed of the innocent Jews. It should be known to you that on August 12th, 1952 in Moscow the red fascists assassinated Jewish writers, poets and actors. Abiding in that time in the Soviet Gulag, the co-author of this letter, Sviatoslav Karavansky, witnessed what torments Jews suffered being sent to Gulag for the wish to emigrate to Israel. In the punishment cell of the camp "*Fabrica Beriya*," the overseers were throwing cold water over engineer-chemist Haikin after which he caught pneumonia and died. Antisemitism is raised in the USSR to the rank of state policy. As far back as the times when the Soviet Army "liberated" Europe, the KGB kidnapped in Budapest the former Swedish diplomat, Raoul Wallenberg, who saved the lives of thousands of Jews. You

* Reports in the American and British press have recently carried news about the commencement of deportation proceedings brought by the Israeli government against Ivan Demjanjuk of Cleveland, Ohio, USA, indicating that he is allegedly guilty of war-crimes committed during the Second World War. However, the evidence presented against Mr. Demjanjuk so far has rested purely on Soviet evidence. In this letter written by Mr and Mrs Karavansky to the Israeli Premier Mr. Y. Shamir, themselves former political prisoners in the USSR and very aware of the devious tactics employed by the Soviet Russian KGB to ensnare innocent victims in a web of malicious vilification, they question the reliability of the evidence presented so far. That such disinformation tactics are practiced in the West by the KGB has been confirmed by a recent resolution passed by the European Parliament in Strasbourg which condemned such practices. Such a resolution was passed following the revelations of former undercover KGB agents who have defected to the West. The Ukrainian community in the state of Ohio, USA lately voiced its concern in the case of Mr. Demjanjuk and, determined that he, and others like him, who have become the objects of vilificatory campaigns based on hear-say evidence, should receive a fair trial, discussed and analyzed the first session of deportation proceedings against Mr. Ivan Demjanjuk at a meeting of community activists in Parma, Ohio. As a result of the meeting, a Demjanjuk Defence Fund was set up with many organisations pledging large sums for his defence. Eds.

know, obviously, the answers of the KGB about him. At first they answered that "Soviet authorities know nothing of the fate of Raoul Wallenberg," and, after a series of queries, based on evidence, they affirmed that "Raoul Wallenberg died in a KGB prison in 1947." For decades, the Soviet government led and still leads the hostile anti-Israeli policy, and practically, is one of the bitterest enemies of Zionism. Thus, the Soviet communist empire is an enemy of their freedom, their independence and development.

Nevertheless, this state has practically no defeats in its offensive on the free world. Why? One of the main reasons is that the victims of the Soviet monster are alienated and cannot unite themselves. And here we should render justice to Soviet diplomacy and its secret service: they create the wonders of ingenuity in order to prevent their victims from uniting. One such "invention" are the slanderous accusations against a number of émigrées from East Europe that they allegedly took part in anti-Jewish actions during the war. Decades ago, the KGB turned the Jewish public against these émigrées, accusing utterly innocent people. The trials that took place in the USA against Kowalchuk, Kungys and others showed that Soviet accusations were groundless. In a number of cases the American courts were able to prove it. But in some other cases the American judges could not uncover skilful slander and sentenced people on the ground of KGB evidence.

One of such cases, where Soviet slander gained the upper hand, is the case of Demjanjuk. Demjanjuk was sentenced on the basis of a document provided by the Soviets and on the basis of testimonies of Jews, survivors of the death-camp Treblinka. Even though the judge Battisti passed sentence that identified Demjanjuk as Ivan the Terrible, and the USA Supreme Court affirmed the verdict, this case looks highly unconvincing for any unprejudiced eye.

Let us start from the fact that the document provided by the Soviets was in KGB possession from 1944. Doesn't it seem strange to you, Mr Prime Minister, that, during thirty years, the document from the German archives which exposed Demjanjuk as a Treblinka guard was not noticed by those who examined the archives? There is no doubt that these archives were examined steadily and very thoroughly. On the basis of these archives, Soviet authorities looked for the war criminals in the camps of displaced persons from East Europe during 1945-50. Moreover, Soviet officers had the full right to inspect the documents, the files and the people abiding in DP camps; the Soviet repatriation commission worked there; and Demjanjuk himself was registered in the camp under his real name. And yet Demjanjuk's name did not appear in any list of war criminals. For the first time his name as a war criminal appeared in 1975 in the newspaper *News from Ukraine* which was published by the KGB exclusively to be spread abroad. Thirty years the document was in the possession of the KGB and nobody ever mentioned it! If this fact did not seem strange for the judges who put Demjanjuk on trial, it is because they had no idea about the KGB and the Soviet judicial system. It seems to us not only strange, but, for that matter, explains the origin of the document itself.

It seems very likely to us that, preparing its slanderous accusations, the KGB looked for suitable “candidates” among *émigrées*. For the “role” of Ivan the Terrible the proper candidate had to have the name Ivan and had to be an automechanic or motorist by trade. The information about Ivan, the automechanic, living in Cleveland, reached the ears of those who looked for “the right man” only when Demjanjuk’s wife visited her native village in Ukraine in 1969. And merely after that, in 1975, the exposing document was ready.

Because of such a possibility, it should be expected, as American laws require, that this document would undergo detailed judicial examination. But the court did not do this. Soviet diplomatic and other services did their best to prevent such an examination. And the document was not examined.

The Soviet document should be also exposed to examination for another reason. All Jewish witnesses, that exposed Demjanjuk as Ivan the Terrible in the court, identified him after the KGB material appeared in the press. The procedure of identification after such a publication, practically, turned into a farce. For it is known that survivors of Treblinka identified as Ivan the Terrible several different persons. We have a copy of the document (see Appendix 1) compiled by the US vice-consul in Melbourne, Australia, in which a Treblinka survivor Chaim Sztayer, identifies as Ivan the Terrible the Lithuanian, Liudas Kairys. This proves that after forty years, events and faces were mixed up in the memories of survivors, and they could testify and really testified wrongly. The same thing happened at the trial of Frank Walus in Chicago. Eleven witnesses from ghetto prisons exposed absolutely an innocent man. So, where is the guarantee that such a mistake did not happen on the Demjanjuk trial? There is no such a guarantee, and therefore the examination of the Soviet document was extremely necessary in this case. Under the procedure of identification which took place in the Demjanjuk case, the witnesses would identify as Ivan the Terrible anyone who would be exposed by the Soviets. However, after promising to examine the document, the court did not examine it.

Above all, one of the Treblinka survivors, J. Steiner, in his book “Treblinka”, based on facts, writes that after the camp uprising the prisoners killed Ivan the Terrible. Besides this, while editing this letter, one of its co-authors, Sviatoslav Karavansky, recalled that in the camp “*Fabrica Beriya*” in Kolyma there was a Czech or a Slovak, sentenced to 20 years, called Jan. His last name was a German one: Mueller of Hoffman or something like that. He was sturdily -built and round-faced like many Slavs. The Jewish prisoners told Karavansky that Jan was an operator of a gas chamber. Unfortunately, Karavansky did not remember where exactly. In 1955 all Czechs were repatriated to Czechoslovakia. Maybe, this Jan was one more Ivan the Terrible? And yet, as soon as the anti-semites from the Kremlin provided a doubtful document, the Office of Special Investigation (USA) and the American court perceived it as God’s revelation without any examination.

Such faithfulness of the American judicial bodies seems to us, who are familiar with the secrets of the Soviet “justice”, extremely strange, and even more

strange is the request of the Israeli government about the deportation of Demjanjuk to Israel. It seems to us that the government of Israel found itself in the nets laid by the enemies of Zionism, in order to promote the hostility among their present and future victims and to cause a new wave of antisemitism. Does not the Israeli government see this perfidious goal of the KGB?

Demjanjuk is today a victim of KGB slander, because each document originated in the USSR and not examined in the proper way is slander. We, former Soviet prisoners of conscience, do not imagine another approach to the Soviet "documents". Why then, in the duel KGB-Demjanjuk, the Israeli government came to be on the KGB side? Does the KGB deserve all-round faith? Did the KGB inform the Jewish public comprehensively about Raoul Wallenberg, about his fate, his arrest and death? Did the KGB bring to trial the killers of Jewish writers, poets and actors in 1952? Does the KGB help Israel in its life and struggle? Is Demjanjuk more dangerous for Israel than the KGB that was and still is sending its deeply masked agents to all the free countries, Israel included?

What motives except of national hatred may justify the conviction of an innocent man after KGB prompting?

Does not, indeed, the Israeli government know that the KGB does only that which is advantageous for its totalitarian state? We know a number of cases when the KGB concealed war criminals. Why does it conceal some of them and label innocent people? Is not this because it is advantageous for the KGB? And how do you think, what is more advantageous for them: to enforce or to weaken Zionism? It seems to us that the latter is more likely.

The history of the past century may witness that, sooner or later, all of those who co-operated and collaborated with the USSR paid for their short-sightedness. Quite recently, the prince of Cambodia, Norodom Sihanuk, co-operated with the Soviets. Also the Emperor of Ethiopia, Haile Sellassie, collaborated with them. In its time, Czechoslovakia and a little earlier — Afghanistan co-operated with the Soviet Union. What are the results of these collaborations and co-operations, you, apparently, know. As for Israel, history will show how ends its co-operation with the KGB.

We know that it is hard to change the minds of people who are blinded with hatred and prejudice. We know, also, that just such people most frequently fall in the nets laid by the cold-blooded provocateurs from the KGB. Nevertheless, it is our holy duty to set forth our opinion about an idea, born in the KGB, to put on trial an imaginary 'Ivan the Terrible'.

By manipulating the facts and truth, it is possible to justify any crime and depict evil as good. But the conviction of an innocent victim of the KGB, especially, after a number of evident and back-stage violations of the due process, was and still is a crime against humanity.

Let the voice of reason be heard!

January 7, 1984

Former Soviet political prisoners:

Nina Strokata

Sviatoslav Karavansky

APPENDIX:

Commonwealth of Australia,
 State of Victoria,
 City of Melbourne,
 Consular General of the United States of America.

Statement re: *Liudas Kairys*

I, Chaim Sztajer, am a resident of 3/200 Glen Eira Road/Elsternwich, Victoria 3185/Australia. I am a survivor of Treblinka Concentration Camp.

I recognize the person shown in a photograph published in the 22 August issue of the *Jewish News*, Melbourne. I believe that the person identified in the caption as Liudas Kairys is identical to the man known as "Ivan" who worked as a guard at Treblinka.

During my eleven months at Treblinka, I was in daily contact with Ivan. My main duty was to carry corpses from the gas chamber to open graves. I saw Ivan commit crimes, including murder and preparation of the gas chamber.

I am prepared to testify to this effect in the case of Liudas Kairys vs. the Department of Justice.

Signed
Chaim Sztajer

Subscribed and sworn before me this 2nd day of September 1980 at Melbourne, Australia.

signed
Bruce L. Rosenberg
 Vice Consul

DON'T TRUST RUSSIANS, HOME ADVISES

On the day Yuri Andropov's death was announced, former Prime Minister Lord Home was telling a class of students of his own meetings with former Soviet leaders.

Speaking to a small group of history and politics students at Sir William Collins School, Somers Town, the elder statesman recounted his experiences as Foreign Secretary and advised the present incumbent, Sir Geoffrey Howe, to be a tough negotiator.

Recalling his own handling of a spy scandal, he said: "I used to say some terrible things to Gromyko, the Soviet Foreign Minister. When I sent his 100 spies home he said it was intolerable. I said there were 30 more I could have sent but they were too useful."

"We went to lunch after that and things went pretty well. We had to keep calm and keep our nerve".

Lord Home, 81, who was Prime Minister in 1963-64, told his audience that

the Russian threat was the biggest single danger to mankind and warned that the Soviets were not to be trusted in negotiations.

On the three separate occasions, in 1954, 62 and 71, that Britain had signed peace treaties on the future of South-East Asia, the Russians had stepped up the supply of arms before the ink on the agreements was dry.

He said that he always remembered the advice of his college tutor at Oxford who told him that if anyone said that their word was their bond, he should always take their bond.

Looking back to the break-up of the British Empire, Lord Home said that this country's decision to allow countries their independence should be contrasted with the Soviet's intention to enlarge its own empire by force.

For that reason he supported the deployment of nuclear weapons in this country. It was the only real language that Moscow understood.

"I have negotiated with Russia for 12 years and I can say that they will certainly not be induced to disarm by example; Andropov said so himself. But I am by no means a pessimist for your generation", he added.

He said he was relieved to see the withdrawal of British troops from Lebanon. While he understood the motive for sending them, he would never have deployed them himself; he had made a rule about not sending troops to the Middle East.

He predicted that Lebanon would now be carved up between Syria and Israel, and warned that Russian influence was on the increase in the Gulf.

(Hampstead and Highgate Express, London, February 17th, 1984)

CONGRESSMAN EDGAR IN DEFENCE OF YURIY SHUKHEVYCH

UNIS — WASHINGTON — The newest member of the *Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine*, Rep. Bob Edgar of Pennsylvania, submitted a statement into the Congressional Record on January 31st describing the plight of Ukrainian political prisoner Yuriy Shukhevych. A resolution approved by the Lawyers' Association of Philadelphia calling for his release was reprinted in the statement.

Congressman Edgar noted, ". . . there is a land where many of the visions of "1984" are a reality. In the Soviet Union, dissidents are jailed, exiled, or sent to mental hospitals. Members of minority groups and non-Russian nationalities are routinely harassed when they attempt to express their own identity."

"Yuriy Shukhevych has served almost 30 years in Soviet prisons merely because he has refused to denounce his father. General Roman Shukhevych was Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during World War II. This group fought for the independence of Ukraine from both Nazi and Soviet forces," stated Rep. Edgar.

According to Congressman Edgar, the resolution of the Lawyers' Association is an "example of what all American citizens can do on behalf of those imprisoned and mistreated because they follow their conscience, no one else will."

The resolution was signed by the President of the Barristers' Association of Philadelphia, the Chancellor of The Justinian Society, the President of the Brehon Law Society and the Chancellor of the Tau Epsilon Rho Law Fraternity. It was presented to William Nezowy, Vice Chairman of External Affairs of the Philadelphia Branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Copies were sent to President Ronald Reagan, Secretary of State George Shultz and Members of the US Congress.

MAGAZINE RECOMMENDS SUPPORTING UKRAINIAN NATIONALISM AS A STEP IN STOPPING SOVIET TERRORISM

UNIS — WASHINGTON — In a list of specific actions to stop Soviet terrorism, the monthly magazine *Conservative Digest* recommends support for the Ukrainian nationalist struggle. The article entitled "Terrorism: Vital Part of Moscow's Foreign Policy," suggests the need to "support anti-communist groups and movements inside the Soviet Union and Soviet-bloc nations. This would include Ukrainian nationalists in Ukraine, Afghan freedom fighters in Afghanistan and the Solidarity underground in Poland. We must demonstrate our willingness to help anti-communist groups that will put the Soviets on the defensive."

After first recognizing that Moscow is responsible for most terrorist acts in the West and declaring that the US government will take action to counter it, other specific actions include:

- Stopping all economic aid, loans and trade with the Soviet Union and all communist countries;
- Increasing pressure on Cuba to stop supporting terrorism in the Western hemisphere through more anti-communist broadcasting and literature and aid to anti-Castro Cuban groups;
- Scheduling more daily broadcasts over VOA and RFE/RL;
- Drastically reducing the number of KGB agents in the US.

USIA COMMEMORATES ARTIFICIAL UKRAINIAN FAMINE

UNIS-WASHINGTON — In response to a letter about the Ukrainian artificial famine of 1933 from Congressman William Broomfield, Charles Z. Wick, Director of the United States Information Agency, outlined a strategy adopted by the Agency to commemorate the famine.

The USIA, the government agency responsible for disseminating information about America to other countries, has set up a special task force to "utilize Agency media to address world audiences, including the Soviet Union" in order to observe the 50th commemoration of "the tragedy of the Ukrainian famine of 1933".

Ten commemorative articles have been commissioned by USIA. Two or three a month will be transmitted on the Wireless File, an international teletype system used to send news and features to USIA Missions in over 100

nations for placement in local media. They will also be broadcast by the Voice of America.

The VOA will also broadcast editorials, as well as covering statements and events which mark the obervance.

USIA's bimonthly magazine distributed abroad, *Problems of Communism*, plans to publish a major article this autumn about the history, culture and repression of the Ukrainians by the Soviets. It recently contained an article by Professor Yaroslav Bilinsky entitled, "Shcherbytskyi, Ukraine, and Kremlin Politics".

Congressman Broomfield, a Republican from Michigan, is the ranking minority member on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. His letter written to Charles Wick on the Ukrainian famine was the result of a campaign led by the UCCA's Ukrainian National Information Service to condemn the publication of an *America Illustrated* article dedicated to the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations with the USSR. *America Illustrated* is a Russian language magazine distributed in the Soviet Union by the USIA.

In his letter, Rep Broomfield told the Director of the USIA that "during the Stalin Famine, millions of innocent Ukrainian men, women, and children starved to death as the result of a well-orchestrated effort by the Kremlin to bring pressure upon those people. The famine occurred during a period of agricultural abundance in the Soviet Union. . . As you well know, Ukraine was one of the first Captive Nations. Even today, freedom-loving Ukrainian people in the Soviet Union live under the heavy hand of communist tyranny".

Besides contacting Congressman Broomfield, the UNIS office also notified the USIA, the editor of *America Illustrated* other organizations and several other Congressman and State Department officials about the impropriety of commemorating the 50th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the US and the USSR, particularly since it was in 1933 that more than 8 million Ukrainians were starved to death.

MEMBERS OF US CONGRESS PAY TRIBUTE TO PEOPLE OF UKRAINE

In Washington, on February 2nd 1984, several members of the US Congress paid tribute to the people of Ukraine for their determination to achieve freedom and independence in the face of great odds.

They also praised the Ukrainian American Community for its efforts through the years to focus the attention of the free world on the struggle. The Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives urged the Community to continue to speak out on Ukraine's behalf.

"Your cause is a just cause, a good cause, an important cause," Congressman Steny Hoyer told more than 100 Ukrainian Americans at a ceremony in Washington marking the 66th Anniversary of the Declaration of Ukraine's Independence.

Ukraine declared its independence on January 22, 1918. Ukrainians in the Free World annually mark the event with church services, concerts and rallies.

The ceremony in Washington was sponsored by the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America.

Hoyer said the Community's efforts are "critically important". He recalled a phrase from the late President John F. Kennedy's Inaugural Speech in which Kennedy told the American people that "the energy, the faith, the devotion we bring to this endeavor will light our country and all the world".

Congressman Don Ritter said the Ukrainian Community has done some remarkable things over the past year in bringing the plight of Ukraine to the attention of the American people.

Ritter, co-chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Baltic States and Ukraine, praised the community for organizing "an eminently successful" rally in Washington last October to commemorate the 1933 famine in Ukraine which cost an estimated eight million lives. The rally attracted nearly 15,000 people from across the US and Canada.

"People recognized what happened in Ukraine in those early years in the 1930's and they recognized who were the perpetrators of that heinous famine," Ritter said.

He said that recognition is as important today as it ever has because "we in the Congress and the Administration in the White House are dealing with those very same people, those heirs of Stalin in Afghanistan, in Central America, in South East Asia, in Eastern Europe, in Ukraine".

Ritter told the Ukrainians that their voices "are being heard". He said he will personally continue "my own powerful commitment to the cause of Ukrainian Americans and to the cause of 53 million people living under tyranny in Ukraine".

Another Congressman, Samuel Stratton, said the Ukrainian people have demonstrated their courage "in the cause of freedom". He said that by underscoring the 1933 famine in Ukraine "we actually underlined the basic nature of the communist state. . ."

Stratton, a member of the Armed Services Committee, praised the Ukrainians for having "a realistic approach to the Soviet Union." He expressed support for President Ronald Reagan's defence budget requests saying that if the American people want to preserve their freedom they must "catch-up" with the Soviet Union militarily.

Senator Charles Percy, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, told the Ukrainian Americans that their presence at the ceremony was a symbol that "freedom is the end objective". He said: "We are going to work and strive for it and fight for it until we get it".

Another Senator, Paul Sarbanes, said the cause of Ukrainian Americans has the support from both sides of the isle in congress — Republicans and Democrats. He said "this is a struggle that will prevail in large part because of your commitment and dedication".

A White House representative expressed "best wishes" to the Ukrainian Community and the people in Ukraine on behalf of President Reagan.

Earlier in the day, about 70 members of the community attended a briefing

at which State Department and White House officials briefly outlined the US policy objectives toward the Soviet Union.

Gary Matthews, deputy assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, said that since Soviet President and Party Secretary Yuri Andropov came to power "there has been a distinct pattern across the board of a crackdown" against Ukrainians and others in the Soviet Union.

He noted that members of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church have come under particularly severe pressure "because Moscow fears the Ukrainian national sentiment".

William Stearman, former member of the National Security Council and currently its consultant, said the present state in US-Soviet relations "is rather normal". He said: "We are seeing a relationship the way it is in reality as opposed to the way we would like to see it and the way people falsely perceived it during periods of detente".

Roger Robinson, Senior Director of International Economic Affairs with the National Security Council, defended the US Administration's decision to lift the grain embargo. He said the Soviet Union can get grain from many other sources and said an embargo just takes the US out of the market.

Robinson, however, said the US is making progress in stemming the flow of technology to the Soviet Union which, he said, it cannot readily get elsewhere.

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ANDREI SHEPTYTS'KYI

TORONTO, ONTARIO. November 1984 will mark the 40th anniversary of the death of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi. In connection with that occasion, a three-day scholarly conference on his life and activity will be held under the auspices of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto on November 22-24, 1984.

Twenty-one scholars from seven countries will present papers on various aspects of Sheptyts'kyi's long and influential career. Among the topics to be considered are Sheptyts'kyi's influence on political life; his role during World War II; his religious thought and activity; his impact on education, the arts, and society; and his relations with Eastern-rite Catholics abroad.

Andrei Sheptyts'kyi was born in 1865 in the old Hapsburg province of Galicia into a Polish noble family of Ukrainian origin. In 1899, he was appointed metropolitan of the Greek (Ukrainian) Catholic Church in Galicia, a post he held until his death in 1944. Sheptyts'kyi was not simply a religious leader, he also had an enormous impact on the political, social, and national developments in western Ukrainian lands during the first half of the twentieth century. In fact, he is considered by many to be one of the greatest figures in twentieth-century Ukrainian history.

His long career spanned several political changes in the western Ukraine — Austrian Hapsburg rule until 1918; tsarist Russian occupation during World War I; the independent Western Ukrainian People's Republic 1918-1919; Polish rule 1919-1939; Soviet rule 1939-1941; and German occupation 1941-1944. Throughout these turbulent decades, Sheptyts'kyi always acted as a force for moderation in an atmosphere that was generally dominated by fascism, Soviet dictatorship, anti-Semitism and misguided factionalism. Sheptyts'kyi's memory continues to touch the lives of many, as

Catholics in the West work on behalf of his beatification to sainthood while some Jews in Israel campaign to have him recognized as one of the non-Jewish righteous of the nations.

The proceedings of the November 1984 conference will be published as the first scholarly book in English to analyze the many aspects of Sheptyts'kyi's distinguished career. The conference organized by the Chair of Ukrainian Studies, will be part of the decade long celebrations marking the millennium of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine.

GEORGE ORWELL'S UKRAINIAN CONNECTION

Now that 1984 is finally upon us and anything which is in any way related to George Orwell on his best-known book *1984* is being painstakingly dissected by the popular press, it is worth noting one of the "Ukrainian connections" in Orwell's work.

Apart from *1984* Orwell's most famous book is his biting satire upon dictatorship entitled *Animal Farm*. Orwell finished writing *Animal Farm* by the end of February 1944 and soon after submitted the manuscript to several British publishers. However, because of British reluctance to damage their country's "good relations" with the Soviet Union, most of these publishers rejected the manuscript. One publisher gave the following explanation:

"I mentioned the reaction that I had from an important official in the British Ministry of Information with regard to *Animal Farm*. I must confess that this expression of opinion has given me seriously to think. My reading of the manuscript gave me considerable personal enjoyment and satisfaction, but I can see now that it might be regarded as something which was highly ill-advised to publish at the present time. If the fable were addressed generally to dictators and dictatorships at large then publication would be all right, but the fable does follow, as I see now, so completely the progress and development of the Russian Soviets and their two dictatorships, that it can apply only to Russia, to the exclusion of other dictatorships. Another thing: it would be less offensive if the predominant caste in the fable were not pigs. I think the choice of pigs as the ruling caste will no doubt give offence to many people, and particularly to anyone who is a bit touchy, as undoubtedly the Russians are. . . I think it is best to send back to you the typescript of *Animal Farm* and let the matter lie on the table as far as we are concerned. . ."

Eventually, however, the book was published (in August 1945) and achieved almost immediate success. Although it is unclear how *Animal Farm* first came to the attention of Ukrainian refugees in the DP (Displaced Persons) camps, in 1947 a Ukrainian version of the book (entitled *Kolhosp Tvaryn*, translated by Ivan Cherniatynsky) was published in Munich. In fact Orwell, who had a great deal of sympathy for the plight of refugees from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, wrote a special preface for the Ukrainian version of *Animal Farm*, in which he described the experiences which caused him to write the book. . .

Some additional information about Orwell's attitudes towards the DPs and the circumstances in which the Ukrainian version of *Animal Farm* was published is contained in an interesting letter which Orwell wrote to Arthur Koestler on 20 September 1947:

DEAR ARTHUR,

I think a Ukrainian refugee named Ihor Ševčenko may have written to you — he told me that he had written and that you had not yet answered.

What he wanted to know was whether they could translate some of your stuff into Ukrainian, without payment of course, for distribution among the Ukrainian DPs who now seem to have printing outfits of their own in the American Zone and in Belgium. I told him I thought you would be delighted to have your stuff disseminated among Soviet citizens and would not press for payment, which in any case these people could not make. They made a Ukrainian translation of *Animal Farm* which appeared recently, reasonably well printed and got up, and, so far as I could judge by my correspondence with Ševčenko, well translated. I have just heard from them that the American authorities seized 1,500 copies of it and handed them over to the Soviet repatriation people, but it appears about 2,000 copies got distributed among the DPs first. If you decide to let them have some of your stuff, I think it is well to treat it as a matter of confidence and not tell too many people this end, as the whole thing is more or less illicit. Ševčenko asked me simultaneously whether he thought Laski would agree to let them have some of his stuff (they are apparently trying to get hold of representative samples of western thought). I told him to have nothing to do with Laski and by no means let a person of that type know that illicit printing in Soviet languages is going on in the allied zones, but I told him you were a person to be trusted. I am sure we ought to help these people all we can, and I have been saying ever since 1945 that the DPs were a godsent opportunity for breaking down the wall between Russia and the West. If our government won't see this, one must do what one can privately."

(Student, January 1984 Toronto, Canada)

RUDENKO NOMINATED FOR "NOBEL PEACE PRIZE"

Mykola Rudenko, the 63-year-old imprisoned poet who has led the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring group since its founding in 1976 has been nominated along with three other Helsinki monitors for the 1984 Nobel peace prize. The nomination was submitted to the Nobel committee by the United States Commission on Security and Co-operation in Europe chaired by Florida congressman Dante Fascell.

Nominated with Rudenko were Soviet Jewish activist Anatoly Shcharansky, Lithuanian Helsinki Monitor Viktoras Petkus and former leader of the Moscow Helsinki Group Yuri Orlov. All four are serving lengthy terms of imprisonment and exile for their leading roles in demanding Soviet compliance with the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords.

Both Rudenko and Orlov were scheduled to begin a five-year term of internal exile this month following seven years in Soviet labour camps for their alleged crimes of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". Both were recently reported to be in poor health following their imprisonment. Anatoly Shcharansky who was also a founding member of the Moscow Helsinki Group has conducted a series of

prolonged hunger strikes and is said to be in a critical condition. Viktoras Petkus recently joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group as a sign of solidarity between Ukrainian and Lithuanian freedom activists.

Citing the precedents of nuclear physicist Andrei Sakharov and Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa as recipients of the Nobel peace prize, the US Congressional commission commended the four nominees for "their peaceful public advocacy of the human rights provisions of the Helsinki Accords" and their exposure of Soviet violations of "political, national, civil, ethnic, economic and religious rights". The commission quoted from Lech Walesa's 1983 Nobel acceptance speech: "In many parts of the world, people are searching for a solution which would link the two basic values — peace and justice; the two are like bread and salt for mankind".

It is not clear whether the Nobel Institute has formally accepted the joint nomination of the four. Other nominees who have received attention are former Canadian P.M. P. E. Trudeau, Indian M.P. Indira Ghandi and the International Olympic Committee.

THE AGONY OF A NATION

The Great Man-made Famine in Ukraine

by *Stephen Oleskiw*

with a Foreword by *Malcolm Muggeridge*,

Cover design by *Rostyslav Hluvko*.

A concise analysis of the circumstances which led to this terrible holocaust in recent Ukrainian history and its aftermath with much illustrative material, eyewitness accounts and bibliography.

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IN HONOUR OF OUR UKRAINIAN COMPATRIOTS

On Saturday 7th January 1984, my wife and I were present in Albert Square, Manchester, to participate in the carol service of the Ukrainians.

The banners proclaimed our solidarity with Ukrainians throughout the 'free' world and those under the Bolshevik yoke in Ukraine itself.

Across the Square in the Town Hall, an exhibition was taking place — the tour operators were publishing their holiday offers. It was ironic to reflect that many of our Ukrainian friends would be at risk were they to take a holiday in some Black Sea resort or tour their homeland.

Whether under the Julian or the Gregorian Calendar we had celebrated Christmas as had our fellow christians throughout the free world.

How this contrasts with the threat to those millions under the Soviet yoke who go in peril of practicing their faith to the full of indulging in political activity which is interpreted as 'anti-Soviet' activity. It is at Christmas time that we think most of our family and friends, the more so when they are not free to move about their country at will or to leave to take a holiday in the free world.

What a human tragedy it is that such vast numbers in the world suffer this persecution. But how much richer have been our lives in Britain and the free world by the influence of our Ukrainian friends and other displaced peoples from wartime Europe.

It has been a great inspiration to me that I have enjoyed the friendship of many Ukrainians for over 25 years. I first met and worked with them in Australia and since 1958 when my wife (Agnes) and I came to live in Bolton, we have, on so many memorable occasions, had the honour to be guests at ceremonial and cultural functions. The folk dancing is a joy to behold, the male voice choir an inspiration, (it has been truly said that it is perhaps the finest choir in Europe). During these years I have had the honour of addressing your assemblies and of meeting the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko and Mrs. Slava Stetsko, other dignitaries, and your vocalist, Hanna Kolesnyk.

It is perhaps the greatest tribute to the qualities of the Ukrainian people that, exiled from their homeland to diverse parts of the world, they have preserved their language, their culture and customs. By ensuring the good training of their children they have sustained their national identity and enriched our lives in the host countries.

One may reflect that before the Race Relations organization were conceived, Ukrainians and other European expatriates forged their own destiny, made no demands upon their host country, preserved their identity and independence and became renowned for their industriousness. They have been model citizens and the question of 'integration' has never been an issue.

My personal tribute to Ukrainians is their patriotism and loyalty to this country, though sadly many of the earlier generation do not have the vote. Nevertheless, a number have entered public life as councillors and magistrates,

but the most notable of all has been my dear friend Stephan Terlezki who as a successful businessman in Cardiff, became involved in the social and political affairs of the City, won a seat for the Conservative Party in a Labour stronghold, fought Parliamentary elections and ultimately made history in June 1983 when he became the first Ukrainian to be elected to Parliament for Cardiff West. What a wonderful achievement this is and what an honour for his fellow Ukrainians throughout Britain and indeed the world.

A number of my Conservative Party colleagues and friends have been conscious of the fact that there has not been sufficient opportunity for political involvement of Ukrainians to the mutual benefit of themselves and the Conservative Party. Hence the formation of a Society "Conservative Friends of the Free Ukraine" of which it has been my privilege to be a founder Patron. I could have wished for no greater fulfilment of my aspirations for my Ukrainian friends in Britain than the unique occasion of the launching of our Society at the Conservative Party Conference in Blackpool on 13 October 1983, when I took the chair for the Inaugural Address by Stephan Terlezki, M.P.

We all honour our Ukrainian friends in Britain and throughout the world, we share their aspirations of nationhood and desire for freedom from the Soviet oppressors since their short lived independence in 1919. We revere the sacred memory of the seven million souls who perished in the Soviet inflicted famine of 1933 and we who have been privileged to count Ukrainians among our closest friends in our lives pray that succeeding generations will uphold that tradition.

Long live free Ukraine.

Brian Hugh Tetlow

County Councillor Greater Manchester.

Patron Conservative Friends of the Free Ukraine.

January 1984

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by Bernadine Bailly

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Book Reviews

MEMORIES WITH A MESSAGE

West of Moscow, Memories of World War II and German Prisoner of War Camps. By Dmytro Chub. Lastivka Press, New port, Australia, 1983, 110 pp.

Of the Red Army it has been said that they will fight to the last Ukrainian.

During the recent War almost 20 per cent of the Red Army were Ukrainian conscripts, forced, as others of their compatriots are today in Afghanistan, to fight for the Soviet regime they hated.

Few of the unfortunate conscripts live to tell their tale; many are killed by soldiers fighting a cause the Ukrainians would have gladly fought.

Others who live are dispirited, disillusioned, or lack the desire to write of their experiences. Some are afraid to write; others think that writing can do no good. Some too are unable to put their tortured stories into print.

Fortunately for us Dmytro Chub has crystallised the experiences of many of his contemporaries.

Dmytro Chub is well qualified to write. He has an extraordinary command of the Ukrainian language, and in English too, he writes with skill and power. The book, *West of Moscow*, makes enthralling reading. And it is true from start to finish.

Many Ukrainians I know personally verbally recount their wartime experiences to listeners wrapped in wonder, alternately shuddering with horror, and smiling with joy, thrilled with the heroism of ordinary men and women, and even children, of those days.

Time is running out. The people of those years are now mostly pensioners. Their stories should be told, because unless people know such facts of history, many more will become victims of new Hitlers and Stalins.

This book will have served a noble purpose if it makes more and more people aware of the cruelty of Communism, and such dictatorships.

If it inspires and encourages others to recount similarly their wartime experiences, it will make more Australians glad that they opened their doors and welcomed here people the war displaced, and it will fill a tremendous gap in the average person's knowledge of the plight of nations subjected and oppressed to the present day.

The author is most reliable. he speaks of what he endured and saw and recorded in his diary.

Moreover he analyses carefully and competently. He does not leave us petrified with fear at the numbers and might of the Red Army so full of forcefully enrolled conscripts from the nations subject to Russia, but makes us aware of the great inner weakness of the juggernaut, which is not united by nationality, religion or any common aim.

John QUILL

NEW EDITION OF FAMINE MONOGRAPH

Harvard University's Ukrainian Studies Fund has recently published Olexa Woropay's "Ninth Circle" a monograph on the Great Famine in Ukraine (1932-33) which was first published in London in 1954, by the Association of Ukrainians in Gt. Britain.

The introduction to the Harvard edition was written by Dr. James Mace, who described Mr. Woropay's account of the horrors of the famine, which killed some 7 million Ukrainians, as depicting "a world gone mad on the blood of human beings sacrificed on the altar of political expediency".

Dr. Mace, a post-doctoral fellow at the Harvard Ukrainian Research Institute, is currently doing research for Dr. Robert Conquest's forthcoming book on the famine.

Mr. Woropay's story of the famine is based on personal experiences and accounts gleaned from eyewitnesses. The name of the book was taken from Dante's descriptions of hell in the "Divine Comedy," which the author cites in his introduction: "When I awoke/ before the dawn, amid their sleep I heard/My sons (for they were with me) weep and ask/ For bread..."

In his introduction, Mr. Woropay wrote that the Kremlin's aim in organizing the famine in Ukraine "was to bring defiant Ukraine to her knees by means of this punishment, unheard of in its cruelty, and thus to make her an obedient colony"

In the first chapter of the book, entitled "What I Saw with My Own Eyes," Mr. Woropay provided a first-hand account of his experiences as an agronomist near the town of Vinnytsia in 1933, when he was 20 years old.

He describes a drunken political cadre scheming to lay a trap for those pilfering food by poisoning apples and leaving them unguarded, giving a young starving boy some bread only to find him dead by the roadside later that day, finding a baby clutching its dead mother's breast, hungry peasant women attacking a political chief on a collective farm.

Travelling to Kyiv, he recounts village train stations swarming with tattered and starving peasants, railroad crews robbing the meagre possessions of those fleeing the famine, long bread lines in the Ukrainian capital and the government's efforts to blame the lack of food on rebellious peasants and "kulaks".

In chapter 2, Mr. Woropay turns his attention to eyewitness accounts, rife with tales of cannibalism, madness brought on by hunger, infanticide and suicide. There are stories of people being buried alive along with famine victims, of whole villages starving to death, of men being sentenced to long prison terms for stealing one ear of corn to feed their families, of mothers eating their children in order to survive.

Mr. Woropay also recorded instances where pro-Soviet activists, many of whom supported collectivization efforts and took part in the persecution of "kulaks" themselves died of starvation during the famine.

The author closes his book with a chapter entitled "The Bosses are Satisfied," which provides excerpts from statements made by Communist Party officials praising the campaign of 1933.

Stanislav Kossior, general secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR, boasted that the events of 1933 marked a successful struggle against counter-revolutionary elements and "nationalist deviations." Others, including the official party newspaper Pravda, echoed his sentiments.

"The Ninth Circle" may be ordered by sending \$5 to: The Ukrainian Studies Fund, 1581-83 Massachusetts, Ave., Cambridge, Mass. 02138. Orders of 10 may be purchased at a discount rate of \$40.

AWARD-WINNING BOOK ON UKRAINIAN GALICIA PUBLISHED

Toronto, Ontario. The University of Toronto Press has just published an important scholarly volume entitled *Galicia: A Historical and Bibliographic Guide*, by Dr. Paul R. Magocsi, associate professor, Chair of Ukrainian Studies. This seventh and latest book by Dr. Magocsi provides a historical survey and a discussion of writings about all aspects of Ukrainian Galicia from earliest times to the present.

The massive amount of literature and documentation about Galicia that has appeared since the early nineteenth century — and in fourteen languages — has been brought together for the first time. The book emphasizes political, socio-economic, literary, linguistic, and archaeological developments in the region. It contains more than 3000 references, 1000 notes, a detailed thematic and name index, and six maps which trace the historic development of Galicia.

The book has already won praise in North American scholarly circles and was awarded Harvard University's Cenko Prize for the best work in Ukrainian bibliography. In the words of Professor Ivan L. Rudnytsky: "My overall impression of Dr. Magocsi's *Bibliographic Guide* is most positive. The amount of labour invested in this work is impressive. There is no doubt that Magocsi's *Guide* represents an extremely valuable research tool, and that it will be used by scholars for decades to come."

Ukrainians in Great Britain, Canada and the United States will be particularly interested in this survey of Galicia, because it is in that western Ukrainian land where the vast majority of their ancestors were born. With this book, they will be able to find out how to learn more about Galicia's past whether about the introduction of Christianity in the region; the achievements of the glorious medieval King Danylo; the contributions of Jews; the Orthodox cultural revival of the sixteenth century; or more recently about the national renaissance under Franko, Hrushevs'kyi, and the Shevchenko Scientific Society in the late nineteenth century; the role of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi in the Twentieth century; the struggle for independence led by the Ukrainian Galician Army after World War I; and the heroic stand of the UPA after World War II.

Galicia: A Historical Survey and Bibliographic Guide, by Paul R. Magocsi, contains 319 pages and may be obtained for only \$19.50 from the University of Toronto Press, 5201 Dufferin Street, Downsview, Ontario M3H 5T8.

THE UKRAINIAN CANADIANS: A History

by M. H. Marunchak. Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences (UVAN), Winnipeg — Ottawa. 1982. 970 pages. Price: Can. \$40.00.

This volume encompasses the history of ninety years of Ukrainian settlement (1891-1981) in Canada. It is based on vast documentary material, the research conducted by the author in various places in Canada, memoirs, and personal interviews. But if reason is to play any part in the historical development in human settlement, and if we are to understand the social and cultural forces that patterned Ukrainian settlement in Canada, Marunchak's work deserves close attention.

The book has an encyclopedic character and represents a serious source of information about the Ukrainians in Canada. It is made of three parts ("The Pioneer Era", "The Era of Developmental Processes", and "The Era of Consummation") corresponding to the three phases of Ukrainian immigration to Canada and a section entitled

“Decade of Multiculturalism”. The first part portrays the reasons for the immigration and its very beginnings to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. The author discusses here social, religious and educational problems which he views with a special emphasis on community identification. One might suspect that the only *a priori* categories broad enough to encompass the totality of the early immigration would be space and time, but in Marunchak’s portrayal one sees more than that. There is a factor of independence namely that the Ukrainian immigrants existed as individuals and have been easily distinguished from other newcomers. There is also a factor of self-sufficiency that is quite indicative because the newcomers tried to appear as individuals whose demands were sometimes decisive in their judgments and in the over all expression. The second part of the book covers the period between World Wars I and II and here the stress is laid primarily on organization in order to preserve the national substance of the immigrants, especially their identity, language, and religious expression. In the third part the author analyzes Ukrainian achievements in Canada and points to the Ukrainian integration into Canadian life and society. The section “Decade of Multiculturalism” is something by itself because of its nature and the aftermath it created. The proclamation of multiculturalism in Canada by Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau on October 8, 1971 was “historically the last nail driven into the coffin of colonial Canada”, and therefore a “new epoch was being born which basically was altogether different from the previous one”

In all three parts of the work the author puts a great stress on the teaching of the native language, press, literature, organizational life, politics, military service and participation in administrative judicial and legislative, bodies as well as representation in all segments of organized life in general.

Probabilistic interpretations are in this work excluded, and the author operates exclusively with facts logically compatible and serving importance of his deliberations. After all, he is writing about contribution to the history of Canada in general and about the Ukrainian ethnic group in particular. Therefore the most significant point to emerge from this treatment is the interpretation, dependent upon author’s immediate sources. But here comes the disappointment, because what we find in the work are descriptions of facts and sources without analysis and the necessary conclusions. We understand that the act of saying something with a certain sense and reference is always somewhat restricted and does not show all the components needed for the entity to be self-sufficient and provided with a decisive understanding and judgement. This applies primarily to parts one and two because part three already shows the new distinction which concerns the author’s judgment and provides information about the value of Ukrainian achievements in Canada. The author’s premises here are explicit because he focusses on the proper subject which he judges not only as true or false, but from the estimation of its importance to the total Canadian scene. Thus Marunchak builds a strong argument in which parts can be judged independently of their relationship to the whole. He shows much devotion to the simplicity and coherence, his objectivity is strengthened and his commentary on the problems becomes valuable because it offers a good perspective from which one can learn about the facts and their interpretation.

Moreover, each part contains much material that ties the Ukrainian Canadian community with Ukraine, Throughout their ninety years in Canada, Ukrainians often have demonstrated their affection for their homeland but continued to view Canada in terms of their cultural upbringing.

Despite the fact that human variability is significant in the discussion of historical events, the author succeeds in presenting the history of Ukrainian settlement as an unbroken chain and as a continuous development from the immigrant mentality to the

mentality of the responsible citizens within the frame of Canadian statehood. At the same time he is able to show the limitations that often occur among men of different mentality who strive for reconciliation by pleading, arguing, and explaining. This is most visible in the section "Decade of Multiculturalism"

A large portion of the book is dedicated to the church and to religious matters as well as to cultural development. The author extensively dwells on the achievements of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Ukrainian Greek Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Evangelical Alliance and the Ukrainian Evangelical Baptist Alliance. Very close to author's heart are cultural affairs which he treats meticulously, supplying a good description of Ukrainian literary output. Much material is devoted to the Ukrainian press and the teaching of the Ukrainian language in public schools and universities. There is also a special chapter on radio, television and film in which the author describes their importance for the community and their role in developing the Ukrainian mentality in Canada.

Much useful material is provided also in Marunchak's appendices, and there is an unusually full index of all the names and subjects mentioned in the text or in the commentary, which in itself is a whole work of reference.

It might be of interest to mention at this point some facts from Michael H. Marunchak's life and scholarly activity. He was born in 1914 in the Western Ukraine. He studied at the universities of Lviv and Prague, where he obtained his LL. D. Marunchak spent three years in German concentration camps (1942-1945) and later served as President of the League of Ukrainian Political Prisoners in Europe. In Canada he became interested in the history of Ukrainian settlement in that country and wrote sixteen works covering its growth and development in the fields of social and religious life, cultural-educational work, and also in the field of pioneer settlers themselves. In 1961 Marunchak became the recipient of the Shevchenko Medal from the Ukrainian Canadian Committee and in 1967 the recipient of the Canadian Centennial Medal.

In conclusion one may well say after having published such a series of books and articles on Ukrainian Canadians, the author has now presented his *magnum opus*. While tracing Marunchak's intellectual development from its inception to its present state, we may say that he fulfills quite adequately the present-day demand for the relevance of history to the individual and vice versa. There can be no doubt, that *The Ukrainian Canadians: A History* is one of the most comprehensive and penetrating books in the field of ethnic studies and "deserves to be put on the shelves of universities and public libraries as a valuable contribution to the history of Canada in general, and as a reference book on the Ukrainian ethnic group"

The book has been published with assistance of a grant from the Ukrainian Canadian Foundation and subsidized by the Department of Multiculturalism in Ottawa.

Wolodymyr T. ZYLA

Texas Tech University

The
**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



II

1984

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine

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The forester's house on the slope of m. Vydilok in the Carpathian Mountains where on 11-15 July, 1944 a historic event took place — the Assembly of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). See following page. The picture is taken from Litopys UPA, Vol. 8, p. 274.

General Taras CHUPRYNKA

THE ORIGINS OF THE UKRAINIAN SUPREME LIBERATION COUNCIL

The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people in the years 1917-21 ended in failure.* After 1920 a large portion of members of the Ukrainian armed forces found themselves in the POW camps in Poland and the Czecho-Slovak Republic. Ukrainian political leaders, in particular those from the Eastern regions of Ukraine, who took active part in the renewal of the Ukrainian independent state and in the struggle for it, largely emigrated. The Ukrainian territories were partitioned among the USSR, Poland, Rumania and the CSR. The Ukrainian nation again found itself under foreign domination.

The liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people (1917-21) was represented by two governments — the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR) and the Government of the West Ukrainian National Republic (ZUNR). In 1918 this was caused by separate development of liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people within the framework of tsarist Russia on the one hand, and within the framework of the Austrian monarchy on the other. The unification of all Ukrainian lands into one Ukrainian National Republic, which was solemnly proclaimed by the historic Act of January 22, 1919 in Kyiv, only momentarily terminated the existence of the two separate governments. Because of specific external political conditions under which the Ukrainian people waged their liberation struggle in 1920-21, both governments continued to exist and to act independently.

After 1920 both governments were also forced to go into exile. The government of ZUNR, as a representation of West Ukraine, functioned in exile until the final settlement of the Halychyna [Galicia] question by the Council of Ambassadors on March 15, 1923. The government of UNR continued to exist further, even though after the liquidation of the Union for Ukraine's Liberation (SVU), i.e. after 1930, its influence in Ukraine was rather insignificant. Here, on Ukrainian territories, in 1921-39, under conditions, on the one hand, of intensified aggression against the Ukrainian people by the invaders, especially in view of the extremely hostile policy toward the Ukrainian people of the Russian-Bolshevik occupants, and, on the other hand, under conditions of a steady growth of the *revolutionary* liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people for national liberation, a *new order of national-political relations* began to

* General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych) was the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). He died in battle against the Russian Bolsheviks in March 1950. He also headed the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) which was formed in July 1944 in Ukraine on the initiative of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists in order to bring together the widest representation of Ukrainians in their struggle against the Soviet Russian occupiers. 1984 marks the 40th anniversary since the formation of UHVR. The following shortened translation of Gen. Taras Chuprynka's account of the origins of UHVR appeared first in *Ukrainian Review*, Spring 1970.

emerge. The government of the UNR which continued to uphold its political stand of 1918-21, in no way reflected the profound changes which were taking place in the national-political life of the Ukrainian people in Ukraine, either with regard to persons composing the leadership or its views — *and for this reason it could no longer be considered a representative of this new state of national-political relations in Ukraine.*

After 1920, the Ukrainian people, driven into the yoke of the occupying powers by force, did not cease their liberation struggle. They continued it with redoubled efforts in various forms and in various branches of their national life.

The most characteristic phenomenon of the Ukrainian national life in 1921-39 *was the rise and the continued growth of the underground, revolutionary* struggle of the Ukrainian people for the Ukrainian Independent United State. The most patriotic, the most idealistic and the most active Ukrainian elements found themselves in the vanguard of the underground struggle. The ideas of the Ukrainian nationalist movement became more deeply rooted in Ukraine. Wherever they reached they indivisibly captivated the Ukrainian popular masses and various Ukrainian national groupings. The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement became one of the most important factors in the Ukrainian national political life.

The outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 gave the Ukrainian people hope as to the possibility for the realization of their striving for independence.

In particular, the leading Ukrainian political circles decided to take advantage of the outbreak of the German-Russian war in 1941 to further the ideals of independence of the Ukrainian people. On the initiative of the Ukrainian nationalist circles on June 30, 1941, i.e., in the very first days of the German-Russian war an independent Ukrainian government was formed on Ukrainian territory called the Ukrainian State Government which proclaimed to the world the reestablishment of the Ukrainian Independent State.

In retaliation for the declaration of Ukraine's independence the Germans arrested the members of the Ukrainian State Government, numerous leaders of the Ukrainian underground movement and leading Ukrainian patriots.

The policy of terror and oppression employed by the German occupying forces in Ukraine, led, in consequence, only to the intensification and the expansion of the struggle of the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian liberation movement, while looking for new ways, fought and is still fighting to achieve one and the same goal — the reconstruction of the Ukrainian Independent United State.

The year 1942 in Ukraine, and in particular its second half, was marked by reinforced aggression of the Hitlerite conquerors against the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian population of the so-called "Reichskommissariat Ukraine" was particularly hard pressed. The Germans forcefully deported all able-bodied people to Germany to do slave labour, mercilessly plundered the population of the last food supplies, burned entire villages and murdered hundreds of innocent inhabitants, including large number of women and children for the least resistance to

their draconic laws, conducted mass arrests of the Ukrainian freedom-fighters and all Ukrainian patriots.

Besides the Hitlerite occupation forces, the Ukrainian popular masses, particularly the peasants, were terrorized and plundered by bands of Bolshevik partisans. These bands, moving south from Byelorussia, began to control the northern and north-western wooded areas of Ukraine. The whole "anti-German struggle" of the Bolshevik partisans boiled down to plundering the Ukrainian population of the last slice of bread, the last piece of clothing, to searches for, and reprisals against the Ukrainian patriots.

Active and militant elements of Polissia and North Volhynia, organized in the ranks of the OUN, with the aim to defend the Ukrainian masses against the terror of the Hitlerites and the Bolshevik partisans and, desiring to fight actively for the realization of the Ukrainian people's strivings for independence with arms in their hands, began to organize armed groups in the autumn of 1942. These groups were forced to fight simultaneously on three fronts: against Hitler's forces, against the Bolshevik partisans sent to Ukraine by the Kremlin, and against the Polish chauvinists. The latter, dreaming about the reestablishment of Polish domination in Ukraine, organized and armed by the Germans, themselves began to intimidate the Ukrainian people in various ways.

The armed guerrilla war against the enemies of the Ukrainian people was greeted with enthusiasm by the Ukrainian popular masses. The militant groups were reinforced more and more by the patriotic, predominantly young, fighting-age elements.

In February 1943, as the result of extremely acute German terror, the armed guerrilla struggle of the Ukrainian population against the Hitlerite occupation forces became a mass phenomenon.

Guerrilla detachments, which were formed after a mass crossing to the illegal positions by thousands of the Ukrainian young people, thousands of Ukrainian men and women, could no longer exist as military groups of the OUN since, besides the OUN members, they were joined by people who at times sympathized with other political grouping or in the past at times belonged to these groupings, as well as many Ukrainian patriots without affiliations. For these reasons it came to the reorganization of all armed detachments into an *all-national, above-party Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)*.

In a short time the newly organized UPA repulsed all German and Bolshevik attacks on the Ukrainian population of Volhynia and Polissia and confined German domination in these territories exclusively to larger towns, main highways and railroad lines. At the same time the UPA also narrowed the territories controlled by the Bolshevik partisans to individual, small wooded islands.

Thus considerable territories of Volhynia and Polissia found themselves under exclusive control of the UPA. The UPA could no longer limit itself to armed action, but had to establish order on the reconquered territories as well as to organize the government there. The administration of the area, the school system, land affairs, and the economic life in general required immediate atten-

tion and organization. All these matters were settled by appropriate decrees of the UPA-North Command.

In the summer of 1943 the UPA expanded into Halychyna and a large part of Right Bank [of the Dniro] Ukraine. A broad armed struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State against all forces occupying Ukraine clearly became a general expression of the aspirations to independence of the Ukrainian popular masses, the Ukrainian people as a whole. A new era was dawning in the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, a new era in the history of Ukraine.

The retreat of the German armies, the downfall of Germany, which was becoming more and more apparent, the progressive ideas of freedom of nations and individuals which were propagated by the UPA, drew many fugitives from the German POW camps and deserters from various auxiliary military formations, organized by the Germans from among the nations subjugated by Bolshevik Russia, into the ranks of the UPA. Many Georgians, Azerbaijanis, Byelorussians, Tatars and others found themselves in the ranks of UPA. All of them were organized into separate national detachments with their own command but affiliated to the UPA.

In order to give the struggle of the international elements in the ranks of UPA an appropriate political platform, a Conference of the Subjugated Peoples was called for November 1943 in Volhynia on the initiative of the UPA. The Conference defined common goals and methods of struggle of all the nations subjugated by Russia.

The military and political successes of UPA aroused the interest of Ukraine's neighbours and other foreign political circles in the problem of Ukraine. The representatives of governments of other states, wishing to conduct negotiations with official representatives of the Ukrainian people with the aim to regulate a whole series of political affairs, both current and future, began to establish contacts with the High Command of the UPA. Since no such-national representation of the Ukrainian people existed at that time — in the winter 1943-44 these negotiations were conducted by the High Command of the UPA. Representatives of other Ukrainian political independence groupings were also invited by the High Command to participate in these negotiations.

The massive expansion of armed struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State, which occurred as the result of deeply rooted ideas of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement among the broadest masses of the Ukrainian people; a definitely all-national character of this struggle; the control by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army of considerable territories of Ukraine; the approaching end of the war between the occupiers of Ukraine — Hitlerite Germany and Bolshevik Russia, and in this connection, the possibility of the existence of circumstances favourable to the cause of Ukraine's liberation; a considerable growth in importance of the Ukrainian problem as the result of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people — all these moments caused the High Command of UPA to initiate a campaign in the *direction of the creation of an all-national, all-Ukrainian political centre, which would assume the responsibility for the highest*

political leadership in the liberation struggle for the Ukrainian Independent United State and would represent this struggle on the outside.

It must be emphasized, that here the question was the creation of a *new* all-Ukrainian, generally national centre — a centre which would reflect the *new state of national-political affairs in Ukraine* — a state of the broadly expanded struggle and which would *satisfy all needs of such broadly expanded struggle and would be able to actively direct and appropriately represent such a struggle*. The government of the UNR, which formally continued to exist, could not be considered such a centre, since, as we mentioned above, from the thirties on it in no way reflected the deep political changes which were taking place in the Ukrainian people in Ukraine, and was completely detached from the revolutionary liberation struggle which sprang up in Ukraine in the thirties. The Ukrainian State Government which was formed in Ukraine in June 1941 also could not be such a centre for the simple reason that at that time almost all members of this Government were confined to German prisons and concentration camps.

To put the plan of creation of the all-Ukrainian, generally national political centre (this plan was born in the circle close to the High Command of UPA in the autumn of 1943) into effect, an Initiatory Committee was formed in the spring of 1944. This committee began intensive work in this direction.

At that very time, i.e. in March 1944, a large Bolshevik winter offensive came to a standstill on the line Kovel-Brody-Kolomyia. Thus, Ukraine, cut by the line of battle, was under two occupations: the greater part of Ukraine was already under new Russian-Bolshevik occupation, and a small part of West Ukraine — under Hitlerite. The defeat of Hitlerite Germany was completely evident, but the Germans did not capitulate, hoping for a miracle perhaps.

What was the political situation of Ukrainian territories which found themselves under new Russian-Bolshevik occupation, in particular East Ukraine?

Only a very insignificant part of the East Ukrainian population actively joined the system of the occupant: the former Bolshevik partisans, members of the Bolshevik party, former employees of the Bolshevik administration, etc. It must be emphasized that in recent times the least valuable and the most speculative element, whose life's motto was nothing more than personal gain, personal career, found itself in the Bolshevik party and the administration. No nation in the world is devoid of such element and it always fills the ranks of all sorts of secret services. It was this very element, which, in order to win favour for itself with the new regime, a few months, or even weeks, before the coming of the Bolsheviks into Ukraine joined the Bolshevik partisan detachments en masse. Bolshevik propaganda did not fail to advertise this as "widespread partisan movement in Ukraine".

The second, numerically the greatest, basic part of the Ukrainian population of East Ukraine, being formally loyal to the new occupation regime — hated these occupants from the depth of their soul.

The third, quite large, part of nationally conscious and active East Ukrainian

element, fearing Bolshevik reprisals and not wishing to serve the Bolshevik occupation forces, fled to the West, into exile.

The fourth part of East Ukrainian population, included and organized by the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, remained on native soil under Bolshevik occupation, in order to continue their liberation anti-Bolshevik struggle. Some of the East Ukrainian revolutionaries were in West Ukraine during the fighting, hoping to return immediately to the eastern regions of Ukraine after termination of the fighting. Some UPA detachments were also active in the eastern Ukrainian regions.

The political situation in Western and North-western Ukraine was somewhat different.

Apart from a small segment of the Ukrainian community, mainly the intelligentsia, which was either German-oriented or did not consider itself strong enough to take part in the active struggle against the Bolshevik occupants and therefore was ready to emigrate to the West — the greater majority of the Ukrainian population, being thoroughly hostile to the Bolshevik occupants, was ready to remain on native soil and to continue an active armed struggle against the Russian-Bolshevik conquerors for the Ukrainian Independent United State. The Ukrainian population of this part of Ukraine was completely under the influence of UPA and the revolutionary underground.

If one were to analyze the state and the make-up of the Ukrainian political forces in Ukraine in the early spring of 1944 and to abstract oneself from the so-called Communist party (Bolsheviks) of Ukraine, as a clearly non-Ukrainian agency and political force, then one has to admit that the only well-organized, serious and politically active force was solely the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The OUN was almost completely backed by the popular masses of West and North-west Ukraine, with the exception of some groups of city intelligentsia. It was the most active in every respect. All the political activities, which were conducted by UPA up to this time, were strongly influenced by OUN ideas. The OUN was intensively preparing to fight with Russian-Bolshevik occupation forces, and with this aim in mind, left almost all its cadres in Ukraine.

The Initiatory Committee decided to create the representation of the Ukrainian people on a democratic basis. A democratic platform made it possible for all honest and nationally worthy Ukrainian patriots, regardless of their political views, to participate in the direction of the liberation struggle.

The basic points of the political platform, which was to become a foundation for the formulation of a new political representation of the Ukrainian people, were: 1) to recognize without any reservations the idea of the Ukrainian Independent United State as the highest idea of the Ukrainian people; 2) to recognize the revolutionary methods of liberation struggle; 3) to make known their hostile attitude toward the Russian Bolsheviks and Germans as the occupying powers in Ukraine; 4) to recognize democracy as a principle upon which the representation is to be founded. Points 2 and 3 of the platform were called forth by the fact that the initiative for the creation of a general national representa-

tive organ came from UPA, which was conducting a revolutionary struggle against both the Bolsheviks and the Hitlerite occupation forces and that this organ was to head and to direct this type of struggle of the Ukrainian people against all forces occupying Ukraine.

Taking the democratic principle as the basis for the formation of a general national leadership of the Ukrainian people, the Initiatory Committee was trying to reflect in this temporary Ukrainian parliament as best and as fully as possible all the sound national political forces existing at that time in Ukraine. In particular, the Initiatory Committee devoted much attention to bring into planned representation representatives of the East Ukrainian community, which was opposed to the Bolshevik regime. Here particular emphasis was placed upon the inclusion in its representation of the young generation, brought up under conditions of the Bolshevik occupation, but nevertheless upholding the idea of independence.

The work of the Initiatory Committee was not easy. Of course, the greatest difficulty was caused by the need for very strict secrecy which had to be enforced with regard to this matter. This matter could be discussed only with very reliable and discreet people. Groups which openly collaborated with the Germans, which were hostile to UPA and which often used denunciation before the enemy as a method of the interparty struggle had to be excluded from this campaign. Aside from representatives from strictly political circles, the Initiatory Committee invited several prominent citizens to participate, who represented other non-political Ukrainian community circles. In June 1944 the work of the Initiatory Committee was finished.

On July 11, 1944, far from uninvited eyes, in the Carpathian Mountains, began the deliberations of the new Ukrainian Revolutionary Parliament. An UPA company guarded the meeting place against possible attack by the Germans or the Bolshevik partisans. Representatives of all Ukrainian territories assembled together, with a particularly large number representing East Ukrainian territories. People holding various political views came together. There were those who represented acting, organized political parties, as well as those who represented momentarily inactive political groupings which, however, could contribute something to the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people. There were also representatives of non-political Ukrainian circles.

The assembly solemnly proclaimed itself the *Temporary Ukrainian Parliament* and called itself the *Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR)*. *Rostyslav Voloshyn*, a well-known civic leader from Volhynia, was elected Chairman of the Great Assembly of UHVR.

The Great Assembly listened to an extensive political report about the international situation, a report about the military situation delivered by the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA and a report about the current relations of the High Command of UPA with representatives of other states.

A particularly lively discussion was called out by the report on the international situation. Representatives of the older political generation clashed in discussion with a younger revolutionary camp. Representatives of East Ukrai-

nian territories took an active part in the discussions. Inspired by the idea of the Ukrainian Independent United State, the Great UHVR Assembly managed to reconcile the ideas of the older and the younger generations.

No less important was the exchange of views on the relations of the High Command of UPA with representatives of other states and, in particular, the report on relations with the Polish liberation forces.

Further, the Great Assembly of the UHVR began the task of working out the Manifesto and the Platform of the UHVR. The socio-economic part of the Platform provided an opportunity for the participants, citizens of East Ukrainian territories, to express the opinion of the East Ukrainian community on all these problems. The Great Assembly paid close attention to these ideas and accepted the proposals of "Easterners" in the socio-economic field without reservations.

Next the Great Assembly worked out the Charter of the UHVR, which reflected the democratic principles shared by the participants of the Assembly. UHVR's Charter being strictly democratic on the one hand, gave a firm basis for the existence and activity of the UHVR organs, so very necessary under hard and everchanging revolutionary conditions, on the other hand. Taking into consideration the fact that in due course new political forces can arise within the Ukrainian people, as well as the fact that the existing political groups can change their attitude towards the UPA, the Great Assembly of UHVR accepted a resolution about the possibility of co-opting new members to the UHVR, who would be the spokesmen of these forces.

On the premises that national representation of any kind is a true spokesman of the will of the people as long as it works among the people and does not detach itself from them, the Great Assembly of the UHVR resolved that the seat of UHVR should be in Ukraine and only individual UHVR members with special assignments are to go abroad. This decision protects the UHVR against being transformed into an emigré representation, as was the case, for instance, with the Government of the one-time UNR, and in politics makes it completely independent from all outside forces.

On July 15th 1944, elections of the President, of the UHVR Presidium members of the UHVR Presidium, the Head of the General Secretariat of the UHVR, the Chief Justice of UHVR, and the Chief Controller of UHVR were held.

A solemn silence fell upon the deliberation hall when the President of the UHVR Presidium placed his hand upon the Ukrainian state emblem and began to repeat the oath of office. . . The President of Ukraine was taking his oath before the whole Ukrainian nation. . .

On that day the Great Assembly of UHVR adjourned and the delegates went home each to his place of work. The Ukrainian Parliament — the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and the Ukrainian Government — the General Secretariat of UHVR began to act.

Several months have not yet elapsed, when all Ukrainian territories again found themselves under Russian-Bolshevik occupation. The UHVR remained

in Ukraine — it remained with the people to share its good and ill fate, to lead it and to direct it in its holy liberation struggle.

The call of UHVR not to submit to the Russian-Bolshevik occupying forces as earlier they had not submitted to Hitlerite ones was answered by the Ukrainian people by a fierce, heroic struggle against the Bolshevik oppressors and exploiters of Ukraine. The Ukrainian people, guided by the UHVR, continue their liberation struggle to the present day, that is for four years, and are ready to carry on this struggle to its victorious end — to the establishment of the Ukrainian Independent State.

The liberation struggle which in recent years has been waged by the Ukrainian people under the leadership of the UHVR is the best confirmation of the fact that the whole Ukrainian nation, which is fighting against the Russian-Bolshevik occupying forces and their Ukrainian agents, *unreservedly recognizes the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and supports it wholeheartedly*

Particularly glaring and strong manifestation of the unity of the Ukrainian people on Ukrainian territories with the UHVR is a complete boycott of the so-called elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and likewise the election to the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR and the local soviets, which upon the request of the UHVR and in spite of the most brutal terror of the occupying forces was enforced by the Ukrainian people on February 10, 1946, and February 9, and December 21, 1947. By boycotting the Bolshevik elections, on the call from UHVR, the Ukrainian people not only unmasked the dictatorial, totalitarian, terroristic and basically undemocratic character of the Bolshevik regime, *but also conducted a mass plebiscite in favour of UHVR and its General Secretariat — their own Parliament and Government.*

UHVR's work in Russian-Bolshevik occupied Ukraine is going on clandestinely, unseen by the general public. The Ukrainian people hear about it very seldom, by reading its declarations, appeals, resolutions, and so forth. The fighters of UPA and the members of the armed underground hear about it when in the orders of the High Command of UPA they hear the words: "Upon the decision of the UHVR dated. . . the Gold Cross of Military Merit of the first class was awarded. . ." All these who have repeated the words of the UPA Oath composed at the Great Assembly of the UHVR know about it. And finally, all those find out about it who hear that besides the rank and file members of UPA also the members of the UHVR have fallen on the field of glory: the native of Volhynia, Rostyslav Voloshyn — the Chairman of the Great Assembly of UHVR and the native of East Ukraine — Yosyp Pozychaniuk. The remainder of political activity of UHVR for conspiratorial reasons must be hidden from the general public.

UHVR the all-national representation of the Ukrainian people exists and acts. The UHVR directs the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people, heads and represents it. The UHVR is leading the Ukrainian people through all the hurdles of struggle to the final victory — to the Ukrainian Independent United State.

[Ukraine, 1948]

SELF-DETERMINATION OF UKRAINIAN AND OTHER NON-RUSSIAN PEOPLES RAISED AT UNITED NATIONS

*Statement by Carl Gershman, United States Representative in the Third Committee, on Item 86, the Right of Peoples to Self-Determination, October 19, 1983 followed by the reply of the Ukrainian SSR Representative, Ivan Khmil**

Gershman: Mr Chairman, I will be speaking today to Agenda Item 86 dealing with self-determination, an issue that has a profound bearing on the nature of the international system and the norms governing relations among states.

While the Charter of the United Nations contains only two explicit references to self-determination, the meaning of the term in the context of the Charter is clear. It is mentioned in the first Article of the Charter, where the development of friendly relations among states based on respect for the principle of self-determination is listed as one of the "purposes" of the United Nations. It is also mentioned in the preambular paragraph of Article 55, which lists several goals the organization "shall promote", including universal respect for "human rights and fundamental freedoms".(. . .)

As defined here, self-determination is a democratic principle in the true sense of the term — meaning the right of individuals and peoples freely to determine their internal and external status and to pursue their political, economic, social, and cultural development in a manner that respects the right of other individuals and peoples to do likewise.(. . .)

Regrettably, the principle of self-determination is often distorted and misused to justify the actual denial of self-determination. For example, in a letter circulated under this agenda item and contained in document A/C.3/38/6, which reviews the same points raised by the Soviet delegate in his speech yesterday, the Permanent Representative of the Soviet Union claims that the peoples of the three Baltic Republics, formerly members of the League of Nations, enjoy the right of self-determination and that it is the United States that arrogates "to itself" the right to decide their destiny. We do no such thing, as he can clearly ascertain from reading document A/38/318, which claims only that the peoples of the Baltic states themselves should have the right freely to determine their own destiny. We simply cannot understand how any meaningful definition of self-determination can encompass the fate of the Baltic peoples, who were forcibly integrated into the Soviet Union as a result of the infamous

* Above is an exchange which took place on October 19th, 1983 at a session of the United Nations Third Committee (Social, Humanitarian and Cultural) between United States Representative Carl Gershman, and Ivan Khmil, Ukrainian SSR Representative. Ivan Khmil's reply could hardly be a better illustration of the colonial mentality imposed on Ukrainians and other non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, which the Soviet Russian masters attempt to foster with the aid of Marxist-Leninist ideology. How such a false analysis results in the distortion of known historical facts, is shown by the way the Soviet Ukrainian delegate attempts to deny the existence of an artificially-imposed famine in Ukraine (1932-33) and alleges this is nothing more than the 'fabrication of bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists'. However, the further reply of the American Representative is a fitting conclusion and drives the point home very well.

compact between Adolf Hitler and Josef Stalin which divided Eastern Europe into Nazi and Communist spheres of influence, after which the Soviet Union deported almost the entire intelligentsia to Siberia and continues to this day a policy of denationalization aimed at forcibly suppressing any trace of independent national, political, or religious expression. Indeed, at this very moment there are reports that Father Sigitas Tamkevicius, a Lithuanian Catholic priest active on behalf of religious freedom, has been sentenced to seven years in prison and five years of internal exile. Perhaps the distinguished Soviet delegate will be kind enough to tell us what definition of self-determination it is that corresponds to the fate of the Baltic peoples.

We were also struck by the reference in the letter of the Soviet Permanent Representative to the Soviet Union as “a completely voluntary union of free peoples”, with the right of secession guaranteed to each Republic under the Constitution. But there is a difference in the Soviet Union between constitutionally guaranteeing a right and respecting it in practice — a discrepancy that brings to mind anteing a right and respecting it in practice — a discrepancy that brings to mind the famous 1936 Constitution of Stalin which fully guaranteed the rights of the millions who perished in the Gulag at the time.

In the case of the right of secession mentioned by the Soviet Permanent Representative, it is worth noting that there is not a single legislative act defining the procedure for separation of a union republic from the Soviet Union, the procedure for initiating discussion on that subject, or the procedure for adopting a decision. Mention of such procedures is missing even in the original treaty on the formation of the USSR.

In fact, it is not possible even to discuss the question of secession of a union republic. Persons who have attempted to do so are subjected to criminal punishment on the charge of engaging in anti-Soviet propaganda, incitement to national hatred, or even treason to the Motherland.

Individuals have suffered repression even for speaking out for cultural and linguistic rights. For example, the Ukrainian historian Valentyn Moroz, who was released in 1979 in an exchange of prisoners, had been arrested in the course of defending church treasures and cultural monuments of Western Ukraine against the efforts of Soviet Central authorities to remove them. He was convicted of “anti-Soviet activities”, which is to say, of opposing Soviet attempts to russify Ukraine. Many other Ukrainian activists have also been imprisoned for their attempts to defend Ukrainian linguistic and national rights, including Petro Ruban, Vasyl Romaniuk, and Mykola Rudenko.

Indeed, it is noteworthy that this year is the 50th anniversary of the forced famine in Ukraine — a disaster that claimed some 5-7 million lives and was the direct consequence of Stalin’s effort to collectivize agriculture and crush the nationally conscious Ukrainian peasantry. It should be remembered that Ukraine was a conquered nation that had formed an independent government in 1918, only to be overrun the next year by the Red Army. In the effort to crush its continuing ardent nationalism, Stalin not only attacked the peasantry but also conducted a purge of the political elite who were accused of advocating “bourgeois nationalism”. One such Ukrainian victim of the Stalinist purge was

the prominent Bolshevik Kossior, who was accused of being a “Samostiynik”, a self-determinationist. Significantly, self-determination is such a chimera in the Soviet Union that even this Ukrainian word for an advocate of self-determination is used in a pejorative sense to accuse someone of treason.

The Stalinist purge also demonstrated the crushing of the self-determination of other nationalities in the Soviet Union. Among those who perished in the purge, for example, were the first secretary of the Uzbek Communist party, Faizullah Khojaev, and the first secretary of the party in Kazakhstan, Ryskulov, who were both accused of “bourgeois nationalism” and advocating secession.

The lack of real autonomy of the union republics is actually reflected in the programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Specifically, the programme adopted at the 22nd Party Congress in 1961, which is still officially valid, states that “The boundaries between the Union Republics are increasingly losing their significance” — which is to say that even in a formal sense, except in the case of the Soviet Permanent Representative’s letter, the principle of self-determination in the Soviet Union is losing its significance.

The Soviet Permanent Representative, in his letter, noted that “The crumbling of colonial empires was a watershed in the difficult struggle of peoples for their independence”. He neglects to note that all the empires crumbled but one. That is the Soviet Empire, which today encompasses not just the pre-revolutionary Russian Empire — which Marx once called a “prisonhouse of peoples” — but has extended into Eastern Europe and now also into the Third World.

It is sometimes said that issues regarding Soviet expansionism are East-West questions. But the people dying as a result of this expansionism today are not Western peoples but peoples of the Third World — the people of Afghanistan and Kampuchea, in Africa where the Soviet Union would like to impose a new colonialism, and in Central America which is today the target of an armed struggle that is endorsed and assisted by the Soviet Union and its proxies. The vast increase in the world’s refugee population over the last decade is attributable in large measure to this Soviet campaign to impose its will forcibly upon peoples of the Third World.

This campaign is not a new phenomenon but a continuation of a process that began after the 1917 revolution. The current invasion and occupation of Afghanistan by Soviet forces has a historical precedent in the entry of Soviet troops 60 years ago into two of Afghanistan’s neighbours, the Muslim states of Khiva and Bokhara. At the time, the Soviet Ambassador in Kabul sent a letter to the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs which is particularly relevant in light of the current situation in Afghanistan. I quote:

Concerning the question of the independent status of Khiva and Bokhara, this has been provided for in the treaty agreed to and signed by the two governments of Russia and Afghanistan. The Government which I represent has always recognized and respected the independence of the two Governments of Khiva and Bokhara. The presence of a limited

contingent of troops belonging to my Government is due to temporary requirements expressed and made known to us by the Bokharan Government. This arrangement has been agreed to with the provision that whenever the Bokharan Government so requests, not a single Russian soldier will remain on Bokharan soil. The extension of our friendly assistance in no way constitutes an interference against the independence of the sovereign State of Bokhara.

Today, more than 60 years later, the Soviet Union provides the same justification and the same assurances with respect to the invasion of Afghanistan. It is useful, therefore, to reflect upon the ultimate fate of Khiva and Bokhara. Two years after the Soviet Ambassador gave his assurance to the Government of Afghanistan, the Soviet Union annexed Khiva and Bokhara. Their languages, Turkish and Persian, were abolished and replaced by pseudolanguages fabricated by Soviet linguists. These languages, Uzbek and Tadzhik, were mere dialects of Turkish and Persian, but were transcribed into Latin and later Cyrillic script. Mosques were closed or changed into museums, and Koranic education abolished. The surviving members of the local factions the Soviets had supported with their invasion were executed on charges of “bourgeois nationalist deviationism” and replaced by young bureaucrats trained in new Soviet schools.

In the letter previously referred to that was circulated last week to the General Assembly under Item 86, the Soviet Permanent Representative notes that his government supports the right of peoples to self-determination “in accordance with the Leninist principles of its foreign policy”. The Soviets have never hidden what they mean by such principles. They regard the principles of self-determination and national sovereignty as subordinate to the so-called class struggle. Here is what Lenin had to say on the subject:

There is not a single Marxist who, without making a total break with the foundation of Marxism and socialism, could deny that the interests of socialism are above the interests of the right of nations to self-determination.

(From *Lenin Works*, Vol. 26, p. 408)

Here is what Stalin had to say on the subject:

There are cases when the right of self-determination conflicts with another higher right — the right of the working class that has come to power — to consolidate that power. In such cases — this must be said bluntly — the right of self-determination cannot and must not serve as an obstacle to the working class in exercising its right to dictatorship.

(From *Stalin Works*, Vol. 5, p. 270)

This notion of a “higher right” was central to the doctrine of “limited sovereignty”, otherwise known as the Brezhnev Doctrine, which was propounded 15 years ago in relation to the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia. In the article in *Pravda* (September 26, 1968) where this doctrine was set forth, the Soviet Union

claimed not only the right to invade any Soviet Bloc country that threatened to deviate from the path of absolute fealty to Moscow, but also claimed the right to intervene in the internal affairs of non-Soviet Bloc states on behalf of “progressive forces”, or at least forces the Soviet chooses to define as progressive.

The same article explained how the Soviet Union reconciles this doctrine of “limited sovereignty” for the rest of the world with the doctrine of absolute sovereignty for itself — a sovereignty so absolute that it justifies shooting down a civilian airliner that happens to stray over the “sacred borders” of the Soviet Union. Accordingly, the article states that “Laws and the norms of law are subordinated to the laws of the class struggle and the laws of social development. . . . The class approach to the matter cannot be discarded in the name of legalistic considerations. Whoever does so forfeits the only correct, class-oriented criterion for evaluating legal norms and begins to measure events with the yardsticks of bourgeois law”. In others words, there are two forms of law “bourgeois law”, which includes the Charter of the United Nations and the principle of self-determination as it is defined there, and the “laws of the class struggle”, to which the principle of self-determination is clearly subordinate in Soviet doctrine. This dual conception of international law accords to the Soviet Union absolute rights but no obligation to respect the rights of others while it accords to all other states no rights at all but absolute obligations to respect the rights of the Soviet Union.

How, one must ask, *how* is it possible to secure a world peace, in which the right of self-determination is universally respected, when a country as powerful as the Soviet Union upholds such a distorted and self-serving interpretation of international law? In point of fact, it is very difficult indeed.

It is in this sense the defence of the principle of self-determination for all peoples — genuine self-determination, that is — remains, as the Soviet Permanent Representative himself as aptly put it, “one of the urgent tasks confronting the United Nations”.

Khmil: In his statement the representative of the United States made a number of crude attacks against the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and its attitude towards other Soviet republics. Our delegation rejects these attacks as vile slander not in keeping with the facts of history and reality. They are one expression of the public diplomacy being carried out by the United States Administration. More specifically, they are a crusade against Communism aimed at discrediting socialism and justifying imperialism. The advocates of that approach attempt to interpret the history of other countries, especially of the socialist countries, by analogy with what was being done by imperialism and its racist, colonialist clients in the Middle East, southern Africa and Central America. It was by such analogies that the United States was attempting to present events in the Ukrainian SSR after the October Revolution. Just as the United States imperialists are currently interfering in the self-determination of peoples under racist and colonial yokes, so after the October Socialist Revolu-

tion they had attempted to prevent Ukrainian self-determination. Fourteen states had been united with the United States in an attempt to crush Soviet power. A document has been distributed in the Committee about the Soviet Baltic Republics. Before the United States had established diplomatic relations with Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, the Ukrainian SSR had already established links with those Soviet republics.

The representative of the United States has repeated fabrications about an alleged famine which was supposed to have occurred in the Ukrainian SSR 50 years previously. In that connection, I wish to point out that the slander has been perpetrated by Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists who had been unable to establish their domination over the Ukrainian people in the 1920's. These Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists had served Hitler during the Second World War. They had later moved to the United States and, in order to justify their presence in that country, had circulated the lie about the famine. In any case, there is famine in the United States. I refer, in that connection, to the *Congressional Record* for June 6, 1983, according to which Congressman Smith from California said that domestic famine was one of the most important issues facing the United States.

The representative of the United States made an unjustified use of the word "imperialism". The Ukrainian delegation had already pointed out that the apologists of imperialism were trying to distort the meaning of that word. The Ukrainian delegation defined imperialism as a system of inequality, discriminatory economic relations of dependency and exploitation by the more developed countries and their capital of the people and resources of the less developed countries. Such a system is alien to the socialist countries.

Gershman: It is, indeed, particularly strange and unseemly to hear from the Ukrainian representative on the subject of self-determination since the Ukrainian people, as I pointed out in our statement, are in fact the conquered people, conquered after they had established an independent government, and then saw their peasants and elite murdered in the terrible famine which I noted in my speech. I think it is highly significant that the Ukrainian representative denied the existence of this holocaust for the Ukrainian people, which scholarship has clearly demonstrated took between 4.5 and 7 million lives. To deny history in this way is remarkable. I think it parallels the fact that, except for a very brief period in Soviet history when Khrushchev noted the great purges of the 1930's, they are no longer recognized any more and, in fact, mention of the great purges in which millions died has now been expunged from the official Encyclopedia of Soviet history.

On the scale of crimes committed during this terrible century, a century of great crime — it's been called the century of totalitarianism — this surely ranks near the top. And the simple fact that the very existence of this holocaust can be denied, that it never took place from the point of view of this regime, says something about the nature of reality — the way reality is perceived by such a regime.

Stephen WEATHERBE

THE UKRAINIAN HOLOCAUST

First comes the gnawing, twisting pain in the stomach.* Then hallucinations which drive some mad. Then apathy, emaciation, swelling of the hands, feet and stomach. Then death. Starvation is grisly, and all the more so when it is *en masse*, the death from hunger of one-quarter of a nation. It is small wonder that few of the 100 or so survivors of the Ukrainian famine of 1932 and 1933 who live in Alberta today are willing to talk about the demise of almost seven million of their countrymen, their relatives and friends who died. "Survivor syndrome", says a sympathetic Bohdan Krawchenko, a University of Alberta professor who has been tracking down those who lived through the period, for this week's 50th anniversary famine commemoration. Survivors feel guilty that they lived while others didn't, and ashamed at the degradation of it all. Many fear reprisals against relatives still in Ukraine. The Soviet Union has steadfastly denied the famine for 50 years, Ukrainian Canadians claim, for the simple reason that the Soviets themselves caused the atrocity by stealing the harvest and exporting it to Europe to pay for new machinery.

It is painful for Yar Slavutych to remember too. He lost his grandparents and his five-month old baby sister. But the 65-year-old retired University of Alberta professor made an oath to his grandfather as he lay dying in Yar's arms to "tell the world how Moscow destroys the Ukrainian nation". Since then Yar Slavutych has written articles and books, in Ukrainian and English, about the horrors of his youth, along with others who escaped to Canada and the United States after the Second World War. It has taken the children of these post-war immigrants to learn the language and the ropes of their new culture well enough, not only to draw maximum media attention to their anniversary monument unveilings, but also to insure that the story makes it way into the hard history of textbooks and so into human memory.

Now a handful of Ukrainian-Canadian and American researchers, centred in Edmonton, Toronto and Harvard University in Massachusetts, are combing

* Readers of *Ukrainian Review* will remember that 1983 was an important year for Ukrainians, both at home and scattered around the world, because it marked 50 years since the events of the man-made famine of 1932-1933, planned by Stalin and his ruthless Russian Bolshevik henchmen. Ukrainians in the free world were able to put on record their feelings and thoughts about these horrific events in the form of various commemorative plaques, monuments unveiled in the places where they have now settled, by publishing books, brochures; by highlighting these crimes on special radio and television programmes, but, more importantly, in initiating the careful, scholarly study of these years so that what happened would not be ignored in the West as before, but held in a true and proper perspective. That this recent Ukrainian history needs to be seen in a more proper light, and that this in itself could bring about a reappraisal of events in Eastern Europe of the earlier part of this century when, in fact the Ukrainian nation once again showed its true aspirations for liberty and independence, is shown by the exchange at the United Nations between the United States and Soviet Ukrainian Representatives (see p. 12 of this issue of *Ukrainian Review*).

Of special note are articles which appeared in the *Alberta Report* magazine in Edmonton, Canada on October 31st, 1983, and in the *Daily Telegraph* on November 5th 1983, the latter written by Robert Conquest, the author of many studies on the Soviet Union, who is now completing a study of the man-made famine in Ukraine — Eds

non-classified and highly suspect Soviet statistics, British Foreign Office and US State Department records, and interviewing aging diplomats and survivors, to amass the annotated, footnoted, and bibliographized essays and books which impress historians. In the process, the Ukrainian famine is emerging as a man-made holocaust *on par* with the Nazi extermination of Europe's Jewry a decade later. What is also emerging is that the leaders of the "Free World", whom Yar Slavutych's grandfather trusted would intervene once they knew, were fully aware of the mass starvation in Ukraine, but preferred to keep silent.

Even now there are those, even outside the Soviet Union, who would prefer the famine buried in undocumented obscurity. A left-wing faction of Ukrainian Albertans views the matter as a propaganda ploy to discredit the Soviet Union and intensify the Cold War. Ukrainian communities across Canada have found the federal Liberal government loath to participate in their commemorative activities. An editorial in Edmonton's *Ukrainian News*, commenting on federal cabinet minister Roy MacLaren's ill-chosen remarks in Winnipeg last week at the Ukrainian Canadian Congress, asked "why the silence from the federal government? It appears to be part of a lay-off-the-Soviets mood the Prime Minister has gotten into lately".

The story of the great Ukrainian famine (smaller ones occurred in 1921 and '46) is the story of the stolen harvest of 1932. But it is also the story of the progress of Communism in Russia and Ukraine. And finally, it is the story of Yar Slavutych, born 1918 in the southern Ukrainian village of Blahodatne, near the city of Kryvyj Rih. There an ancestor had once wielded vast power as governor of the region in the last days of the Kozak (or Cossack) State, in the 17th century. It was then that Ukraine, nestled on the fertile steppes north of the Black Sea, ended its 850-year history as an independent principality buffeted and dismembered by Tartars from the east, Poles from the north and finally, in 1775, by Tsarist Russia. The Slavutyches continued as landlords around Blahodatne, with thousands of acres in what was known as the breadbasket of Europe, right up to the First World War. As Tsarist Russia reeled from the double blows of total war with Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and insurrection at home, Ukrainian nationalists and socialists seized their chance. In 1918 they declared Ukraine an Independent republic. Farmland was redistributed, with the number of family members being the sole determinant of acreage.

By the time the Red Army conquered Ukraine in 1920, Soviet leadership under Lenin had abandoned initial attempts to institute doctrinaire communism. Attempts to nationalize commerce and collectivize agriculture had collapsed in a predictable disaster which persuaded Lenin to bring in the New Economic Policy. This restored free enterprise in many sectors of the economy, and in agriculture the land was redistributed on the basis of the number in each household. In addition, the nationalistic Communists in power in Ukraine encouraged a renaissance in arts and letters. It was a kind of golden age, which drew many Ukrainians who had left under the Tsars back again, from as far away as Canada, to help build a socialist Ukraine.

For Yar Slavutych it was a happy time, and if his father and grandfather were

resentful of their loss in wealth and stature, he was oblivious to it. "Still we had some traditions", he says, as well as 30 acres of their old estate, four or five horses and four or five cows, a farmyard full of chickens and geese, a fruit orchard and a vegetable garden; plenty to support Yar's paternal grandparents, his parents and their six children.

But the Slavutyches were marked, along with a million other Ukrainian peasants, as enemies or potential enemies of collectivization. Lenin had died in 1924, before the Soviet economy could recover enough for another dose of doctrinaire socialism. His successors vied for leadership for another few years until Josef Stalin, a ruthless and cunning protege of Lenin's, emerged as the new ruler in 1927.

Stalin's first Five Year Plan, instituted in 1928, was intended to industrialize the Soviet Union. Technicians and heavy machinery would be imported from Western Europe and America, and paid for with exports of grain purchased from the peasantry. But when the State set the purchase price extortionately low, the farmers responded by boycotting the exchange, particularly in Ukraine, which customarily had the highest surpluses. Collectivization was introduced to force the centralization of harvesting and storage, and thus enable the State to extract the necessary grain for export. Resistance was fierce, often violent. Stalin responded with "dekulakization", or war against the rich peasants, whom he blamed for the nearly 50% drop in grain deliveries to the State, though they accounted for only 20% of production. In fact, says Bohdan Krawchenko, of the University of Alberta's Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies, dekulakization was intended as a handy category in which to lump all opponents to collectivization. Dr. Krawchenko estimates at least 200,000 Ukrainian households, or about a million people, were "liquidated" in this war: slain, deported to Northern Russia, imprisoned, or left to wander homeless and starving.

Drought hit in 1931, and combined with the disorganization and disincentive of gradual collectivization, caused grain production to fall by 20%, yet Stalin demanded the same grain quota from Ukraine, 7.7 million tons. Troops, deportations, and hunts for hidden caches, produced just seven million tons from the 1931 harvest. This, according to Dr. Krawchenko, left the average Ukrainian peasant household of five to six "whose main staple for centuries had been bread", with a mere 247 pounds of grain to live on for the year.

Ukrainian party officials lobbied successfully for a lower quota, 6.2 million, for 1932, but this was still too much. Collective farms were unable to pay their workers in produce. In August, to prevent pilfering from the fields, the death penalty was introduced for "theft of socialist property". In December villages which had to meet their quotas were prohibited from purchasing food from other villages. Ukrainians in border areas were stopped from crossing into Russia to buy food and, as the famine advanced, overtures of relief from abroad were rebuffed by Moscow, which denied a problem existed.

But there was a problem. The 1932 quotas had left the average peasant family with just 181 pounds of grain. "What is left", Yar Slavutych remembers his

father telling him “is not enough for the winter”. The quotas had also left the family with but one cow and horse. But the State was not finished. One night the farm was raided by Russian-led local Reds. Yar and his father were arrested and the rest of the family turned out with what possessions they could carry. The two prisoners were put aboard a train of cattle trucks loaded with others who had resisted collectivization, and shipped north to Russia. While his father would end up in a forestry work camp near Archangel on the Arctic Ocean, Yar Slavutych escaped as soon as the train crossed into Russia, and after a month riding the rails and walking, found his family living near their former home.

The situation was desperate. The vegetables had run out by November. By December, he recalls, people were dying. The oldest and youngest went first; his baby sister, and then his grandmother, who refused to eat the meagre soup of vegetable scraps. His mother went to Kryvyj Rih to work for food rations for herself and her younger children. Yar went to work at a State dairy farm. He too was paid in rations, a slice of black bread and two bowls of soup a day. He saved some of it for his grandfather, who was camped in a dugout back at their old farm, as well as milk from the cows. But these weekly trips to the old man proved insufficient, and dangerous. He became accustomed to seeing corpses on the roadside, but on one trip a ragged shape he took to be another dead man rose and chased him “for my food, or for myself”, says Yar Slavutych. But the man collapsed, and, as he died, the boy saw recognition light his eyes. It was one of his closest neighbours.

In May his grandfather was dying. “His legs were swollen four times larger than normal, but he was still conscious and he greeted me”. The old man took Yar’s offering, a piece of bread, put it to his lips in a kiss, and returned it to the boy. “You must eat it”, he said, “to survive and tell the world about Moscow’s destruction of the Ukrainian nation”. He made his grandson swear an oath, and in half an hour he died. The boy buried him in a shallow grave on his ancestral land. “He didn’t want to be buried in one of the mass graves”.

Mass graves found plenty of customers all the same. Many were in the cities, where the starving would beg small morsels, which would still be too much for their malnourished state.

But worse things happened in the countryside. The cities, after all, were still allowed food rations, because it was the independent peasantry, not the industrial worker, who was the target of the famine. Yar Slavutych talks of people walking, wraithlike, through the ditches for weeds, peeling bark off the trees, and roots from the fields. Dogs and cats went early. Cannibalism came later. Fresh corpses were dug up and boiled for stew. In a farm near their own, before the famine, lived a young girl Yar had accompanied to school in happier times. For this her mother had rewarded him with candies and apples, and there was joking talk of marriage. In January of 1933, Yar learned, the mother had lost her mind, looked out into the farmyard and seen a huge turkey. She rushed out, slew it with a knife, and put it in the cooking pot. After eating her fill of the resulting stew, she looked for her daughter to share what was left. “But all she could find was her daughter’s

cap, all bloody". Returning to her senses she realized she had killed her daughter. "She ran to the village in despair, cursing the Soviets, was arrested, and shot".

Yet, even as whole villages wasted away, the Soviets were unable to transport the huge volume of grain they had extracted. It lay rotting in huge piles by railway depots. One such near Kryvyj Rih proved tempting enough that Yar and a band of young men, with the aid of one of the guards, attacked one night, killing a second guard and chasing off a third. The raiders dragged away a wagon load of grain. Yar's 100-pound share was quickly divided up among relatives. When the army came to search, all the food had been eaten.

Before the spring of 1933 brought some relief in new growth, the peasants died at a rate of 25,000 a day, according to some estimates. Bodies were piled high in country roads and city streets, to be collected for mass burial.

The planting in the spring of 1933 proceeded at gunpoint to prevent theft of seed grain, which had to be imported from Russia. By the summer the peasantry had either been deported, moved to the cities, or to state or collective farms, where they could get government rations as they worked on the next harvest, or they were dead.

How many in all no one knows. Soviet census data puts the Ukrainian population in 1926 at 31,195,000 and in 1939 at 28,111,000, a decrease of three million. However, the growth rate in Ukraine up to the time of the famine, argues Bohdan Krawchenko, was such that the population should have stood at 37,374,000. The difference of 9,263,000 can be partially explained by assimilation into the Russian population and partially by children never born to potential parents prematurely dead. But most, at least six million and probably many more says Dr. Krawchenko, died in the famine itself. Yet the Soviet Union exported 1.5 million tons of grain in 1932, which a German agricultural official estimated at the time to be enough to save five million.

What was the world doing while all this was going on? Marco Carynnyk, 39, is a Toronto-based freelance writer and translator who five years ago embarked on single-handed research to document the holocaust. His work has revealed two reasons why the free world did not act: a press cover-up and government hard-heartedness.

For the most part, says Mr. Carynnyk, the Moscow press corps consisted of western journalists sympathetic to the cause of the Russian Revolution, inclined to believe what the Soviets told them. When word began leaking into Moscow from foreign engineers and technicians returning from Ukraine, their reports were discounted by most. There was a prohibition on travel, for another thing. For a third, in the spring of 1933 a group of British engineers working in Moscow had been put on trial for espionage. The story was top priority for the press corps, and the Soviets told them if they wrote about the famine they would not be allowed to cover the trial.

Some got the story in spite of all this. Malcolm Muggeridge had gone to Moscow for the *Manchester Guardian* as a Communist sympathizer, and indeed, was fully expecting to live the rest of his life in the USSR. Scion of a Fabian

Socialist family though he was, he was soon disillusioned by the atmosphere of fear he found and the stratification of society more severe even than Imperial India, with many privileges preserved for the Communist Party elite. When he heard of the famine, the embittered Mr. Muggeridge simply eluded the security net and hopped on a train to Ukraine. He saw for himself and sent his stories back to Britain by diplomatic pouch to avoid the censor. The *Guardian*, a pro-Soviet liberal paper, printed them in a much mutilated form, and Mr. Muggeridge returned home to find himself in great disfavour with the socialist elite, and unable to get a job.

On the other hand, another Moscow, correspondent, the *The New York Times'* Walter Duranty sent home slavishly pro-Soviet articles throughout a long career and even won a Pulitzer Prize. Mr. Muggeridge calls him "the greatest liar of any journalist that I have ever met in 50 years". He printed a series denying the famine which served as valuable ammunition for communist sympathizers when the Roosevelt administration considered re-opening diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

Western European governments knew too. The British government had word from nationals working in the countryside on heavy industrial sites, and from Ukrainians who had emigrated to Canada before the First World War and then returned to Ukraine during the previous decade. The Germans had three consulates in Ukraine, and the various embassies exchanged information freely.

But when Ukrainian immigrants to Canada and the United States lobbied their governments for a protest, none was forthcoming. Mr. Carynyk reasons that Stalin's Soviet Union was a new power in Europe no one wanted to offend. Her industrialization made her Europe's only new and unclaimed market and both Germany and Britain wanted it. With Hitler's rise to power in 1933, however, both France and Britain wanted the Soviets as allies just as much as Germany sought to prevent economic encirclement. Thus, a famine in Ukraine was an *internal* problem for the Soviet Union, not a matter for international relations. Without official recognition, with scanty press coverage and Soviet secrecy, the story of the famine temporarily died. It re-emerged only because of the vast dislocations of populations caused by the Second World War.

Yar Slavutych spent the war in the Ukrainian underground army. His partisan band attacked west-bound German trains carrying Ukrainian grain and young men and women as slave labour. As the Red Army advanced in 1944, he made his way in the confusion to Berlin, which was the best place to hide because millions of foreign workers were living there. Then he got forged papers which entitled him to rations, and with other Ukrainians went to Bavaria to wait for the Americans. In a post-war displaced persons camp he met his wife Elwira, and moved with her to the United States where he went to university and taught Ukrainian in an army language school. In 1960, he learned that the University of Alberta was looking for its first Ukrainian language instructor, and got the job. "It was a discovery that there were so many Ukrainians here",

he recalls with a smile. "The country, especially to the south of Calgary, is very much like Ukraine".

Through all these years, Professor Yar Slavutych kept up a steady stream of polemical literature. And it was just part of a river of such oddly typeset, poorly translated tracts which the Ukrainian and other eastern European expatriates to America churned out in hot profusion and which native Canadians and Americans generally ignored unless they needed Cold War ammunition.

Myrna Kostash, the third generation offspring of turn-of-the-century Ukrainian immigrants to Alberta, and an author of a book dealing with her parents' generation. *All of Baba's Children*, remembers the post-war immigrants as "odd people who spoke with heavy accents and felt passionately about things which didn't matter to us". Most of the new Ukrainians were from Polish dominated Western Ukraine. They were "urbanized, nationalist, educated, and appalled at the level of culture". For many Alberta Ukrainians, it was an experience in politicization.

But others had already been politicized, says Miss Kostash. During the Depression, when the mainline political parties offered no remedy, Albertans turned to Social Credit, the CCF, and, in the case of many Ukrainian immigrants, to the Communist Party of Canada, which spoke their language. This splinter group persists in Alberta today, with its own cultural associations opposing those of the Ukrainian Canadian Committees and churches in each city, and its pro-Soviet sentiments remain intact from the '30s. These old-left Ukrainians had no sympathy for the post-war Ukrainians and today they deny the famine. "It was no worse than here in Alberta", declared one oldster from Calgary's Ukrainian Cultural Centre last week. "And I know because I was in the hunger marches and got my head cracked by the police".

But even mainstream Ukrainian Canadians, says Miss Kostash, those who like her own parents had remained staunch eastern Orthodox churchmen, were non-plussed by the stories of the post-war immigrants. "I thought it was just more propaganda". Even now, she notes, the old-left types claim that the famine commemoration will simply be used as anti-Soviet ammunition. But Miss Kostash thinks that the whole 50th anniversary affair has been handled with restraint. And she is grateful that the story has at last been told. Bohdan Krawchenko agrees. "We didn't want this to become a political football game. Let the facts speak for themselves".

The facts are starting to do just that because of the efforts of the second generation of post-war immigrants, now in their 20s and 30s, who are Canadian-born, and English speaking, professionals and academics. No effort has been more crucial than that of Marco Carynyk, born in 1944 in a Berlin air-raid shelter to parents on the run from the advancing Red Army. The family moved to Canada in 1950 and Mr. Carynyk, after university, became a translator and author. Five years ago he was approached to translate a book by a Ukrainian American on the famine, and though he found the book a typically bad piece of writing he soon found the topic compelling.

The famine's victims had been commemorated by the Ukrainian communiti-

es in Canada and the United States on the 20th, 30th and 40th anniversaries, but with the 50th approaching, Mr. Carynnyk thought it was time to get the word out to the rest of the world. That meant doing real research and putting it in good English. Two years previously Edmonton's Ukrainian Professional and Businessmen's Association had successfully lobbied the University of Alberta to establish the Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies. Mr. Carynnyk lobbied it, won a grant and sparked the institute's interest. Now the centre also supports a newly arrived Russian émigré mathematician who has since adopted the pseudonym Maksudov, and who has embarked on an exploration of Soviet statistics to pin down a figure on the famine fatality count.

Harvard University also has a Ukrainian research centre and is working on a famine project. But so far Mr. Carynnyk has done the lion's share, interviewing over 100 witnesses: some survivors, some observers like Malcolm Muggeridge, and German diplomats. He has assembled over 4,000 separate documents relating to the famine, and plans to produce at least two books from his efforts. Now, he says, historians will have to notice.

So will the public. In Canada in particular, where Ukrainians have not been assimilated as in the United States but have concentrated in large enough numbers to survive culturally, the 50th anniversary is being masterfully handled. Newspaper articles, almost all depending on Mr. Carynnyk's researches, have appeared across the country. A videotape is being made to distribute in schools. A picture and text display produced by the Ukrainian Studies Institute and Edmonton Ukrainian Youth Association is touring Canada, and copies are being sent to Ukrainian population centres in the United States and Australia. In Edmonton, with its 63,000 Ukrainian Canadians, there have been church services, a ceremony at the Ukrainian Village, and, last weekend, a famine meal and the unveiling of a statue in front of city hall. Local newspapers have done features and Yar Slavutych has been interviewed often about his own experiences. And though he cannot sleep after such an interview he is happy. "At least now I have fulfilled my promise to my grandfather".

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confessions and went in the execution cellars or labour camps; and the independent Ukrainian Orthodox Church was similarly crushed.

Even on the inflated official Soviet figures of the faked 1939 census, there is a deficit of 10-11 million Ukrainians in this decade; and the actual deaths in the terror-famine, can be estimated with reasonable accuracy as about 7 million, of which 2-3 million were children under the age of seven.

Stalin's knowledge of what was going on has sometimes been questioned, just as there are those who hold that Hitler was unaware of the Final Solution. In fact, it is perfectly clear that he had accurate reports from a variety of sources: indeed in Khrushchev's time *Pravda* gave a clear account of such first hand reporting to him by a prominent Ukrainian Communist. His aim was to crush Ukraine, his method that practised by Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane, the "laying waste" of the refractory nation.

My Ukrainian friend refers to the period as the "forgotten Holocaust". It was well reported at the time in the West — by Malcolm Muggeridge, for instance — but Stalin simply denied that there was a famine, and took in a few distinguished visitors with show farms, so that progressive Westerners could dismiss, at any rate forget, these events, as George Orwell complained.

One reason for this lack of attention is, I think, ignorance in the West of the power of Ukrainian nationhood, the strength of Ukrainian national feeling. The country was only independent for a few precarious years, and we are inclined to think of it as always having been part of, even a national part of, the Russian Empire or the Soviet Union. But this is historically and emotionally false.

An important continuity between the Ukrainian holocaust and the airliner incident is provided by the fact that both were sponsored by the same regime and party, and that the present Kremlin leaders were young adults starting their political careers in the early thirties, just at the time when that party was throwing its younger and more brutalized elements into the struggle with the men, women and children they regarded as class enemies.

Mrs Thatcher's recent Washington Embassy speech about these characters produced a notable outpour of drivel — needless to say from Conservative "wets" as well as others. Her remarks (I was present and heard them) were clearly and firmly expressed, and absolutely true. Clear and firm expression is denounced as "rhetoric" and truth thought better unsaid. One Tory superwet, or megawet, even argued, first that though the Russians abuse us we should never answer back, and that if we both attacked each other verbally this would prevent negotiations. Of course this equates Mrs Thatcher's true remarks with their false ones; and the Kremlin will negotiate if it feels it to be in its interests whatever our speeches, as it happily did with a far more abusive Hitler.

More important, we can only negotiate realistically, if we know our adversary and if our leaders transmit that knowledge to the public, a procedure better done by an Iron Lady than a Jelly Gentleman. Meanwhile let us note, that in full accord with the Prime Minister's view of them, the Soviet leadership has never expressed

Robert CONQUEST

THE FORGOTTEN HOLOCAUST

A Ukrainian friend was remarking to me the other day that while the world was rightly deploring the killing of 269 innocent civilians in the Korean airliner incident, this might be put in profounder perspective by considering that the Russians would have to shoot down an airliner a day for 70 years to match the death roll of Stalin's terror-famine in Ukraine 50 years ago.*

The 1932-1933 famine had a number of special characteristics of which the most striking was that it was entirely man-made. The food was there, and was removed. At any moment reserves of grain could have been released, and millions spared.

Again, the famine was completely localized, affecting only Ukraine and the Ukrainian-speaking regions of the North Caucasus (with a few other lesser special targets such as the Volga Germans). Check points on the Ukrainian-Russian border sought to prevent Ukrainian peasants leaving, and those who succeeded in doing so and came back with bread had the bread confiscated.

This was no longer part of the attack on private farmers which had killed or deported several million, the regime's main enemies over the whole of Russia, in 1903-1932. By mid-1932 collectivization was virtually complete, and it was the poor, collectivized peasantry of Ukraine which was now attacked.

The campaign started with a decree issued in mid-1932 setting grain procurement targets which could not possibly be met. Vasily Grossman, the famous Stalin Prize Novelist, writes in his last, secret, book "Forever Flowing" that there has never been such a decree in all the long history of Russia. Not the Tsars, nor the Tartars, nor the German occupiers ever promulgated such a terrible decree. For the decree required that the peasants of Ukraine, the Don and the Kuban be put to death by starvation, put to death along with their children.

First all the grain was taken; then the seed grain; then the houses and yards were searched and dug up, and any store of bread seized. They lived on a few potatoes; then on birds and cats and dogs; then on acorns and nettles; and in early spring they died.

There is no doubt that it was a conscious act of terror against the Ukrainian peasantry. Stalin had called the peasants the crux of the question, and over this period the Ukrainian villages were persistently denounced for harbouring nationalists. At the same time, the other strong point of Ukrainian nationality, the country's educated elite, was attacked; the cultural institutions were purged and hundreds of leading writers and academics made public or private

* Prof. Robert Conquest, the eminent scholar on the years of Stalin's terror is currently completing a study on the Ukrainian famine. An insight into his approach was provided by the article below, published in the *Daily Telegraph*, Nov. 5, 1983.

repentance for, or even publicly admitted, the Ukrainian genocide operation, or many another of the massacres which mark their past.

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Nina STROKATA

PUNISHMENT BY HUNGER

Along with the generation which came into the world in the middle of the twenties of this century I preserve a memory — either conveyed from somewhere or (experienced) directly — about the famine tragedies of my people.* The conscious life of my contemporaries is full of observations and attempts to understand the possible dangers to the existence of my people, from whose roots we descend.

1933 should have become a memorable year for me, especially since this was the beginning of my school-life. But instead, I did not go to school then, and my memory began to be filled up with unchild-like subjects.

My parents all of a sudden began to recollect about a time when I had not yet come into the world — 1920-22. At first they spoke amongst themselves about the famine of that time and about the famine which already was noticeable in Odessa in the spring of 1933. A little later, the anxiety of my relatives grew to such a degree that they did not pay attention to my presence, and recalled how my grandmother narrowly escaped an attack by some starved people when she had set out from Odessa to the once-rich villages in the Odessa region, hoping she could barter something for bread and other food. Also, a little later I heard that my male cousin on my mother's side walked in 1921 about the villages in the steppe region of Ukraine with his under age son. Both returned to Odessa without food but with reminiscences which haunted them for the rest of their lives. These were reminiscences about man-eaters in the villages.

All through winter and spring of 1933 people knocked at doors of homes in the city asking for food. Only bread. My parents gave to some of them but to others replied: "God will give", because day in, day out the numbers of those who knocked grew. A sense of horror struck me from those helpless words: "God will give", but what if God does not give, what will those people eat?

My parents, obviously having understood that by saying "God will give", they might lose their parental authority, one day allowed into our home a boy who was hungry and cold. He was fed and warmed up. The next day the boy went along his way to ask for bread but I after a while came down with spotted fever. My mother wept over me and at the same time mourned that boy, having understood that he would be taken ill, because his clothes were infested with louse which spread this spotted fever. I became well again but the boy undoubtedly died, because a homeless person could not have recovered from a serious illness.

* Above is English translation of an address given by Nina Strokata-Karavansky in Ukrainian at a rally of Ukrainian Orthodox women in the United States. Mrs Nina Strokata-Karavansky by profession a micro-biologist, is a former political prisoner in the USSR. She was released with her husband, Sviatoslav Karavansky in 1979, and since lives in the United States.

For those for whom it may seem that the famine of 1933 was the result of crop failures I shall add that after the long illness I noticed that my mother had placed on our window-sill a bouquet which had not been in our house before. They were magnificent ears of corn from the fields of the Odessa region. My mother kept these ears of corn until the outbreak of war in 1941. If anybody wondered why this *didukh*** was standing in my parent's urban dwelling — in fact, not a *didukh*, but nevertheless, a bundle of wheat-ears, I heard the following explanation: such were the wheat-ears in the fields that year when the terrible famine came to Ukraine.

13 years later, in 1940, I was a student on the penultimate year of my course at the Odessa Medical Institute. Students were being sent to the villages of Ismail, Mykolaivsky and Kherson *oblasts* to struggle against 'dystrophy'. For tomorrow's doctors this scientific-like name defined the physical state of the people who suffer from protracted hunger.

1946 was the first post-war year. The restoration of collectivisation in the post-war period was taking place with the same result as at the time of the first collectivisation. The result was famine. Again, the hungry village-folk knocked at the door. Again, spotted fever broke out. And then there was drought in the south of Ukraine and in neighbouring Moldavia.

In 1946-47 I travelled about the villages to organise measures to stamp out the epidemic of spotted fever which had broken out amongst the hungry. But the authorities sent not only young inexperienced doctors to villages which were once again dying from hunger and illness. Special Party commissions and . . . procurators came to our dying villages. These commissions checked every inhabitant in the village whether he or she had fulfilled his or her yearly norm of working days. Those who had not fulfilled their norm, the procurator (at once, without a court hearing) assigned to be sent to Siberia. It became clear that hardly anybody had fulfilled their required norms. The reasons for this were the post-war devastation of agriculture, the decrease in numbers of male workers, the unscientific determination of the daily norm and, most importantly, the hunger of the collective-farm workers. Only the working class and officials received food according to a special coupon system. So the collective farm accountant, book-keeper, cleaners of the offices of *kolkhoz* chiefs received bread and some food in exchange for coupons. But the collective-farm worker — the producer of the bread — did not receive any coupons, because he is not working class or an official.

The absurdities of the socialist system of management conceal the real reason for the third famine which befell the Ukrainian nation. The reason for this was that the Ukrainians, having been tortured by rapacious collectivisation, by hunger and lawlessness, attempted to take advantage of the events of the Second World War in order to rid themselves of the regimes thrust upon them by the two occupations.

It is pertinent here that I remind (the reader) that I am narrating events which

** A sheaf of wheat or rye brought into the household usually by the father on Christmas Eve and put in a prominent position under icons.

took place by the Black Sea and the River Danube. In western Ukraine at the same time there still existed active resistance to the restoration of Soviet Russian rule. At the time of the restoration of the Russian occupation it was easy to create the conditions for a new famine and for new deportations.

The new retribution conducted against the farmers of Ukraine had not yet ceased when Stalin's regime announced that the coupon system would be abolished (the end of 1947). In the early days of food supplies without coupons people feared that this was only for the time being and for that reason attempted to build up stocks of bread. But after the abolition of the coupon system bread appeared on sale in the towns every day. Even the queues disappeared. And then the question arose in people's minds: where did the government find bread when in the regions of traditional wheat farming there was a drought and the norms of bread production had not been met? The government was silent and the people remained silent because they were already taught to be silent.

The history of the famine, the drought, the deportations does not finish in the post-war years with what was mentioned above.

In 1947 I had already obtained my doctor's diploma. And thus the party administrators from the health care service began to explain to us, young professionals ready to serve our people in any form, the results of the drought of 1946. The explanation ran thus: because the grain in 1946 had dried out at its roots, it was impossible to collect it and, for that reason, hoards of grain were left in the fields for mice. With overeating, the mice greatly multiplied and as the numbers of the mice population grew they began to catch a disease called 'tularemia'. Cats who devoured mice also began to catch this disease and die. And when there were no cats left, the numbers of mice grew further, and they spread this infection amongst people. And thus it was proposed that young doctors should join in the efforts to stamp out the tularemia epidemic.

I do not know to this day whether mice in fact began to be infected with this disease in southern Ukraine because they had a surplus of food and because there were no more cats who would have destroyed the mice. This story about 'grain', 'mice' and 'cats' seemed already at the time not very credible because the grain in the fields is devoured by field, and not domestic, mice, whereas cats have more to do with domestic mice. However, in any case, people were ill, and they needed help.

Direct contact with the population gave me the opportunity to find out that, as a result of the famine in the village of Zhubryiany (today's village of Prymors'ke, Odessa Oblast) 300 houses remained standing out of an earlier total of 800, that in the small town of Vylkovo people went hungry who had never done so in the past — the fishermen. (The fishermen were forbidden to catch fish by the Soviet border-guards in the very spot where there was most of it).

It was then that I heard young village children call after us, townspeople and after those of us who had less experience of bad times, in an unnatural voice: "And I ate carrion!"

Whether there was a crop failure or not, whether there was any spotted fever

or not, or some other epidemic, deportations lasted to the very death of Stalin. From the western lands of Ukraine those who were involved in the active resistance and those farmers from the subjugated and already collectivised steppe Ukraine who were unable to meet the irrational norms, were deported.

In 1954 the cry went out: "The thaw!" Around the world the scientific and technological revolution was progressing. Did this mean that with these two elements together that the spectre of famine would not return? For the answer we should look to the events of later times.

Over a decade passed, and in 1964 the shops of Odessa and of other towns became empty again. Coupons were not introduced but the most necessary food products could only be obtained at places of work 1-2 times a month. City people ordered through their friends when they travelled to Moscow the purchase of bread and other foods. At that time many people went out to meet the trains which came from Moscow. They were people who had friends in Moscow and hoped that they could pass on something through the train attendants.

People asked one another: "Where has the food vanished?" or "Have 'they' not schemed up another 1933?" (Under Soviet conditions such questions are asked in a half-hushed tone, though truth to tell, the events of Novocherkas'sk (see p. 79 of this issue of *Ukrainian Review*) had taken place.

People were still worrying about new shortages when on came the autumn of 1964 and with it the end of Khrushchev's rule. Almost the next day the people of Odessa saw white bread for sale, peeled grain and even buckwheat, and rice. People from the regional committees of the Communist Party suddenly came into the shops and checked whether there was a guaranteed choice of food. And people, listening to this, hid their sniggers which conveyed their unuttered questions: "Where were you with your talk about choice when it was empty everywhere?"

At anytime in the USSR there is a category of the population predestined to be hungry. They are the prisoners. The feeding of prisoners is a big topic which should be explained separately. Here I shall only mention something which proves the planned famishing by the lawmakers of the several million population of today's Gulag Archipelago.

I think it will be sufficient to mention the two daily norms of food for the prisoners: 1400 calories and 900 calories. These are punitive norms which the law apportions to those who do not fulfil their tasks whilst doing forced labour. Having received 1400 or 900 calories the prisoner must work. But will he be able to fulfil his norm on such feeding?

This is how the slave of the Gulag enters the vicious circle: non-fulfilment of the work norm — punitive feeding norm — non-fulfilment of the work norm.

The hunger-level norms of feeding of the prisoners is one of the proofs that hunger is planned in the USSR. Somebody will say that not all the population of the USSR is in the camps and prisons. For that reason let us briefly describe today's way of life of the 'free' population: it stands in queues for all that it needs and tries to get goods in short supply which cannot be obtained by standing in queues.

It is true that there is a group of the population which experiences no worry about food: the *nomenklatura*, that is the party elite.

Because a powerful totalitarian state has unsupervised stocks of food, in the USSR the conditions have been set for a black-market. This black-market seems to have been a help in the physical existence of the people, but as time passes, its degenerative influence becomes more apparent.

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News From Ukraine

STEPAN SAPELIAK MAY FACE NEW CHARGES

The KGB may be preparing fresh a case against former political prisoner Stepan Sapeliak, who spent five years in a labour camp in the early 1970's for raising the outlawed blue-and-gold Ukrainian national flag in his native village*

According to the Munich-based publication *USSR News Brief*, Mr. Sapeliak, who is 34 years old and a resident of Kharkiv, was taken away from his job by KGB officials on several occasions last November. He was accused of circulating type-written reviews of programmes beamed into the USSR by Western radio stations such as Radio Liberty.

During one such interrogation, the KGB reportedly told Mr. Sapeliak that they had found copies of his poetry as well as his address on a woman they claimed was caught trying to illegally cross the border. The woman was identified as a Ms. Zalyonaya.

Mr. Sapeliak has been warned that if any more incriminating material comes to light, he might be formally charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" under Article 62 of the Ukrainian Criminal Code.

It was in 1973 that Mr. Sapeliak was first arrested and charged under the statute for allegedly replacing the Soviet hammer-and-sickle flag with the Ukrainian national flag in Rosokhach, a small village in western Ukraine's Ternopil oblast, a region where Ukrainian nationalism is especially virulent. Mr. Sapeliak, who raised the Ukrainian flags to mark the 55th anniversary of the Ukrainian National Republic, was sentenced to five years in a labour camp and three years internal exile.

Details of the Sapeliak case began to appear in the underground *samvydav* in the mid-1970s, and they reveal both the degree of his personal courage and the deep-seated anti-Soviet and anti-Russian feelings that continue to simmer just below the surface in western Ukraine.

History of nationalism

Mr. Sapeliak's birthplace, Rosokhach, has had a long history of resisting foreign rule. A burial mound near the village was a legacy from the anti-Polish uprisings of the 1600s. It became a symbol for all those Ukrainians who died resisting Polish, Austrian, German and, later Soviet rule. When the Soviets eventually razed the mound around 1970, unknown persons blew up a monument to the unknown Red Army soldier outside the village. A note left at the

* A short account about Stepan Sapeliak's present circumstances appeared in *Ukrainian Review* No. 1, 1984, p.30.

scene said that the act was in direct retaliation for the destruction of the burial mound.

Such acts of defiance were far from uncommon in the region, where Ukrainian culture, traditions and nationalism have continued to resist the encroachment of Sovietization and Russification.

When Mr. Sapeliak and his colleagues replaced the Soviet flag with the Ukrainian on flagpoles all over the village, the action was greeted with unbridled enthusiasm.

According to *samvydav* sources, anti-Soviet and anti-Russian graffiti appeared in the town, with such slogans as “Russians get out”. When Soviet officials asked a local watchman stationed near a huge flagpole how someone had managed to take down the Soviet flag and replace it with another right under his nose, he reportedly answered, according to *samvydav* accounts: “At night when I looked at the flagpole, your flag was hanging there, but when I looked in the morning, ours was”.

There were also reports that when students at a nearby youth camp heard about the flag incident, they panicked at the thought that anti-Soviet nationalist guerrillas were loose in the region. Some, according to accounts later published in *samvydav*, asked to be transferred to another region.

But as the flag-raising episode reflected the village’s staunch nationalistic character, it also illuminated Mr. Sapeliak’s heroism. Moreover, it showed the commitment to a nationalist ideal exhibited by a member of a generation that did not live through the liberation struggle during and immediately after World War II.

Mr. Sapeliak’s ordeal

During his trial, Mr. Sapeliak was charged not only with hoisting the Ukrainian flag, but also with collecting pro-nationalist battle songs. He was initially sentenced to seven years in a labour camp and five years internal exile, but that was later reduced to five and three.

In 1974, Mr. Sapeliak was moved to labour camp No. 36 near Perm in the Urals, site of a vast Soviet penal complex where many political prisoners are sent.

Perhaps because of his age — Mr. Sapeliak was 24 at the time — or the nationalist character of his “offence” Mr. Sapeliak became the target of intense harassment and, eventually, increased pressure to recant his views. In June, he was severely beaten and placed in a labour-camp prison.

In the spring of 1975, according to *samvydav* accounts, Mr. Sapeliak was taken to Ukraine where the authorities tried to convince him to renounce his activities. They offered him his freedom, threatened him with severe reprisals and warned that he would be beaten, but he refused to recant. He was taken to Kyiv and Ternopil, where recreational trips to the beach were arranged. He was offered beautiful women. He was even taken to his native village and told that he could go home

if the next day he signed a recantation prepared by the KGB. Mr. Sapeliak refused to cooperate.

The KGB then tried another tack. In Ternopil, they demanded that Mr. Sapeliak tell a visitor from Canada that he was not a political prisoner and that he was being held somewhere near Lviv in western Ukraine and not in the Urals. The authorities also wanted him to swear that everything that had been written about his case in the underground *Chronicle of Current Events* was a complete fabrication. Once again, he refused to cooperate.

In the summer of 1975, Mr. Sapeliak was taken back to labour camp No. 36, after which one month did not go by without some type of punishment. In the early months of 1976, he was transferred for 30 days to a severe-regime camp prison, where he was strip-searched almost daily. He was also constantly threatened with physical violence and death. His health began to deteriorate quickly. *Samvydav* sources reported that in June 1976, his blood pressure had risen to an unhealthy 180 over 120. The camp doctor, however, refused to treat him.

In August 1976, Mr. Sapeliak was transferred to the notorious Vladimir Prison, ostensibly for violating camp regulations and for showing no signs of "rehabilitation".

Mr. Sapeliak completed his labour-camp term in 1978 and his exile sentence in 1981. He returned to Ukraine, and took up residence in Kharkiv. The latest reports concerning his activities indicate that a new case is being fabricated against him by the KGB. If he is arrested and convicted a second time of "anti-Soviet" agitprop, he could face 15 years of imprisonment.

RECENT EMIGRANTS REPORT ABOUT FERMENT IN UKRAINE

Recent emigrants from Ukraine interviewed by Radio Liberty Soviet Area Audience and Opinion Research have stated that anti-Soviet and anti-Russian feelings still run high in west Ukraine. A pensioner in his 60's from Ivano-Frankivsk said that:

"The blue and yellow Ukrainian national flag was making more and more frequent appearances in Ivano-Frankivsk. The flags were put on antennas, which meant they were harder to take down, and the whole city had plenty of time to enjoy them. Sometimes people would draw a trident on a wall, and it would be three days before they came to cover it up. In 1982 I saw the slogan "*Long Live Bandera*" chalked up in the railway station. I have also seen photos of Bandera in people's houses, hidden among the pictures of the family".

A locomotive driver from Lviv also reported the following:

"I saw anti-Russian slogans on the walls on at least two occasions. They said, "Ukraine For Ukrainians", and "Down With Russification". Ukrainians make a point of walking around in national dress and refuse to answer if addressed in Russian. I heard that a lecturer who tried to speak in Russian at a party meeting was greeted with cries of "We don't understand!" although everybody there knew Russian".

Lastly, a technician in his 20's from Uzhhorod in Carpathian Ukraine told of how he learnt about an uprising in a military zone:

"A friend of mine who works as a forester told me of an incident that occurred in the restricted military zone near Kalush in Ivano-Frankivsk *oblast* in the spring of 1983. He said he heard shooting going on for two days, as if there was a fight taking place. Since he knew the soldiers from the restricted zone, he started to question them. They told him that there had been an uprising among the prisoners and penal-battalion soldiers who worked in the uranium mine there. Those responsible were executed and the guards said they had been sent to bury the bodies when it was all over. New prisoners and soldiers were then brought in to continue working the mine".

IRYNA SENYK ENDS EXILE TERM

Iryna Senyk, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was released from internal exile late last year and has returned to Lviv, according to dissident sources.

The 57-year-old former member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists was sentenced in February 1973 to six years in a labour camp and five years' internal exile after being found guilty of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". She had been accused of writing "subversive poetry dealing with Ukrainian nationalism".

Ms. Senyk served her labour-camp term in camp No. 35 in the Mordovian ASSR. On November 15, 1978, she was exiled to Ush-Tobe in Kazakhstan, where she found work as a chambermaid in a hotel. She joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in 1979.

Ms. Senyk, who is a nurse by profession, is an invalid of the second category, the result of a serious spinal operation performed while she was serving a 10-year labour-camp term from 1944 to 1954 for her nationalist activities.

AUTHORITIES BRUTALIZE JAILED POET

Imprisoned poet Iryna Ratushynska recently had a bout of pneumonia after contracting the disease while in a punishment cell for her part in a hunger strike in the women's labour camp in Mordovia where she is being held.

Ms. Ratushynska, 29, was part of a group of women political prisoners who staged a lengthy hunger strike late last year to protest about camp conditions. Authorities finally decided to force-feed the inmates and Ms. Ratushynska was said to have suffered a concussion during the procedure.

She was placed in a punishment cell on December 7, 1983, and was not released until December 23. Earlier this year, she again was put in a punishment cell, where she caught pneumonia.

Ms. Ratushynska, a Ukrainian-born poet of Polish descent, was sentenced in March 1983 to seven years in a labour camp and five years' internal exile after being found guilty of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

After her trial, she was held for a time in a Kyiv prison, where authorities

confiscated exercise books in which she had copied works by Shevchenko, Pushkin and other writers. She had obtained the book from the prison library.

Ms. Ratushynska later received a letter from prison officials informing her that the poems she had copied had "an ideologically harmful, slanderous character".

Before her arrest in 1982, Ms. Ratushynska, a physicist, had her poetry published in *samydav*, Soviet underground publications, and her signature had appeared on numerous appeals on behalf of imprisoned human-rights activists.

YURIY SHUKHEVYCH IN INTERNAL EXILE

Yuriy Shukhevych's latest address has become known recently in the West:

Толіська обл.,	Tomskaya obl.
Шегарський р-н,	Shegarskiy r-n,
п/о Оськино,	п/о Oskino,
Інтернат «Лесная дача»,	Internat 'Lesnaya dacha',
СССР.	USSR.

This is an invalids' home where Yuriy Shukhevych has been sent to because of his complete disability. Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the C-in-C of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army Gen. Roman Shukhevych, in recent years has gone completely blind, a cataract has developed in one of his eyes and the retina in both eyes has become detached. He cannot see with his right eye for over two years now and with his left since the beginning of last year. On 7th January 1982 Yuriy Shukhevych underwent an operation to save the sight of his right eye but the attempt was unsuccessful (probably too late).

The Russian-language bulletin *Vesti iz SSR* (News from USSR) edited by Kronid Lyubarskyi gave detailed information about Yuriy Shukhevych's sentence at the end of June 1983.

A year after his last sentence, in March 1973 Yuriy Shukhevych was sentenced once again, to 10 years' imprisonment (strict regime) and 5 years' exile taking into account the part of his previous sentence which he had not served. He was accused of attempting to pass his memoirs to the West. So his imprisonment finished in March 1983 after which, according to his sentence, he had to undergo a five year term of exile.

On 1st August instruction No. 310 of the Ministry of internal affairs came into force according to which persons who had become invalids of category I or II during their imprisonment could be freed from further exile. In order to receive this exemption the disabled prisoner should appeal to the court from his place in prison or the camp. But whether Yuriy Shukhevych will be granted this exemption remains to be seen. Yuriy Shukhevych has been in prison for most of his time since the age of fourteen for merely being the son of Gen. Roman Shukhevych who fought both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks during World War Two. See photograph on p. 42 of this issue.

Nadia SVITLYCHNA

THE FAMILY IN TODAY'S UKRAINE

My story about the family in Ukraine unfortunately I cannot base neither on statistics, nor on any academic research but only on my observations.*

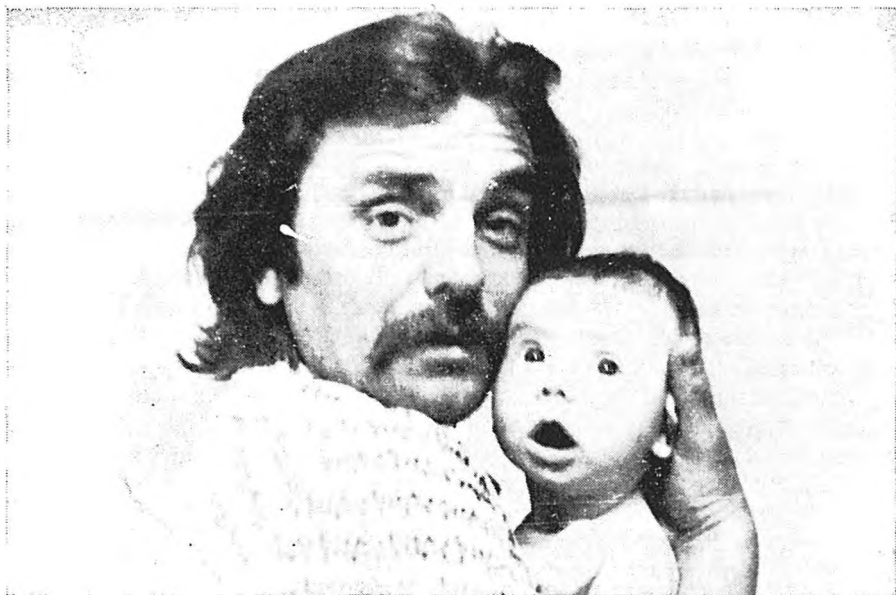
The marriage union in Ukraine, as in the rest of the Soviet Union, is legalized in special departments of executive committees. They are the so called *ZAHS* (the department of registration of acts of civil status). Officials in this department enter the birth, marriage and death of every citizen who has been registered, that is, he (or she) receives an entry in his or her passport to the effect that he or she has permission to live in the given district. Marriages, where such an entry does not appear in the passport, cannot be legalized. This procedure is followed with bureaucratic prosaicism although the executives at *ZAHS* ought to welcome the young couple with a standard phrase. In reality, this is an ordinary registration and this is what people call this event ('to register oneself' — *reyestruvatysia* or *rozpy-sastysia*).

About 15 or 20 years ago a decision was taken in the towns to make the procedure of registering marriage unions more solemn in order to counteract (or, perhaps, to draw closer to) the church wedding ceremony. 'Wedding palaces' were opened, scenarios were elaborated for wedding ceremonies, *zvizdyny* (or *zoryny*) which were supposed to replace the christening of children, and funerals. At present, young couples are being married in so called 'palaces of happiness' (*Palatsy shchastya*) leaving *ZAHS* for the registration of only those marriages where one or both of the couples have been married before.

The married couple receives a certificate, on the cover of which over the emblem of the Soviet Union are written like a slogan the words "A strong family — a strong state". The content of these words runs far deeper than at first apparent. The state which holds a monopoly over all spheres of economic and spiritual life takes upon itself to control the family life of all its citizens and its performs this complicated function with some success, taking advantage of a very elaborate network of agents, informers and by calling on one's obligation to the Party.

In the villages, where by tradition everybody knows about everybody, the centre for information for the higher authorities is the village council. In the cities with their characteristic sense of isolation, the role of the *seksots* (informers) are carried out by agents (in hostels, in student and worker collectives) and *kerbudy* (supervisors, janitors) in apartments who not only watch the people who live there and check whether all the residents are registered (in their passports) but also how they live and who visits whom. If the KGB, say, wanted to collect more detailed information, a strengthened 'web' of agents is positioned around the chosen vic-

* Nadia Svitlychna is a former political prisoner in the USSR. She was released in 1978. This is a translation from Ukrainian of an address given at the IV Congress of the World Federation of Ukrainian Womens' Organisations.



Mykola Horbal, a poet, composer and noted Ukrainian political prisoner with his son Andriy, pictured in September, 1978 in Kyiv. Mykola Horbal was sentenced in Kyiv on 21st, January, 1981, to 5 years' imprisonment. Already, in 1971, he had been sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment and 2 in internal exile for alleged anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda.

tim. For example, for a long period of time a special rota of agents with the appropriate apparatus were placed around a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Oksana Meshko. These agents continuously watched from a neighbouring empty building, not even bothering to conceal themselves, and noted those people who entered her home.

The janitor in the building where my brother lived (Ivan Svitlychnyi — Eds) was obliged at one time to examine the refuse from my brother's apartment and to remove any paper, even copying-paper. When my brother visited my mother in 1971 a group of KGB agents moved into a neighbour's house opposite pretending to be lodgers. But as I have already said that, according to tradition, everybody knows everything about everybody in the village, so this 'operation' did not remain a secret for long.

All kinds of technology is used in order to listen in to private conversations, but most frequently they listen through telephones or by fixing listening devices in neighbouring homes or attics. If anybody succeeds in revealing such eavesdropping, the authorities, especially the KGB, will deny this in all ways possible, although, it happens that this is done in such a clumsy way that one can see right through their villainous game.

For instance, in the summer of 1965, when a *pogrom* of the Ukrainian intelligentsia was being prepared, a miniature listening device was fitted in the cover of

an art album belonging to a writer Yevhen Kontsevych, struck with paralysis, from Zhytomyr, on an occasion when his friends gathered to celebrate his 30th birthday. Almost in all the homes of people who lived on the top floor of a building and were arrested in 1965 crevices were found for listening devices in their attics.

Vira Lisovyi, the wife of Vasyl Lisovyi, a Ukrainian political prisoner, was constantly being blackmailed throughout 1977-78 by secret searches when the residents were out. Vira was forced to go to the militia to request protection from such arbitrary conduct. The militia fitted in a signalling device which would operate if an outsider were to enter the apartment. Once, when the children were at home all alone and began to romp about they heard very clearly an unknown man's voice addressing itself at the children and then laughter. This made the children wake up at night long after the event frightened and restless.

Although it would seem that wonderful laws protect the private lives of Soviet citizens, in reality practically all people have been deprived of a private life. Correspondence, diaries, etc., are examined, especially belonging to citizens (thought to be unreliable) and such private letters or notes are used not only to blackmail suspects or the accused but also to create a conflict situation in their families. I could provide many such examples.

The life of the families of political prisoners deserves our special attention because here is revealed in a condensed form the relationship between family and state in general in the Soviet Union. Material hardships made worse by the loss of the main breadwinner of the family, the additional expenses for lawyers and costs connected with the trial; costs towards the long journey to the camp in hope of having a meeting (often a vain hope) — places the family in insufferable conditions. But probably the greatest burden for wives and mothers of political prisoners is the problem of bringing up the children. This is a problem even in 'reliable' families which will remain unsolved and acute until this hypocritical state retains a monopoly over its hypocritical education.

The propaganda of Soviet chauvinist ideology accompanies one from early childhood, children are being persuaded in nurseries, in schools, in films, on the radio and television that they have a truly happy childhood in the land of the Soviets, they are told that justice and fraternity are flourishing in the Soviet Union and that the children of their own age in the capitalist countries are finding life difficult. Communist propaganda mixes up all these concepts in such a way, not only in the eyes of the children but also of adults, that many of them naively believe that the Soviet regime — if not ideal — is at least better than others, but as far as there is so much filth, wickedness and hate in life at large — all these things are local shortcomings and the remnants of an older age or the destructive influence of the bourgeois West. Even now, when people have seen and heard a lot (at least from foreign broadcasts) and suffered on their own skins, you can still hear complaints about Czechs and Poles who are standing up for their dignity, as if to say, they do not know what they want and we have to feed them. Even when coffins arrive from Afghanistan with our boys they point an accusing finger and say: "We are liberating them".

The dislocation of moral principles is apparent in all parts including family life.



Roman and Iryna Trotsenko-Shukhevych, their father Yuriy Shukhevych is forced to remain in exile by the Soviet Russians. (See also p. 38 of this issue of Ukrainian Review.)

School education based on the 'heroic' example of Pavlyk Morozov who informed on his own father undermines children's respect and trust towards their parents, it gives birth to scepticism as the defining characteristic of contemporary youth.

The greatest difficulty arises for those parents who wish to give their children a religious education which is forbidden in the Soviet Union. Parents are openly persecuted for this and children are tormented everywhere, at school, in the street, in official establishments. The latest issue of *Materyaly Samizdata* (*Samizdat materials*) states that there are over 200 families wishing to emigrate (more correctly those who have been forced into such a position). Nearly one third of them are Ukrainians, for the most part Pentecostals. Also, families with many children have a threat hanging over them that the parents will be deprived of their parental rights for instilling religious feelings in their children. The same also applies to Baptist believers, about whom Pastor Georgi Vins constantly informs in the West.

It is very difficult for parents to educate tolerance in children, to teach goodness and love of one's neighbour when children are inculcated with hatred and suspicion for all that which is 'non-Soviet'. But more difficult still, is it for children of political prisoners to couple respect for their parents with the attitudes fed to them by propaganda. More so, if they even make it impossible to communicate with one's parent even through letters and visits.

At the conference organized by the Ukrainian National Women's League of America entitled 'A Woman in Two Worlds' I have already drawn attention to a

letter written by Svitliana Kyrychenko, the wife of political prisoner Yuriy Badzio. But I am not certain whether apart from publication in the Ukrainian press, this letter has received some response amongst women in the world. But because this letter is addressed to international women's organizations as well as to all the women in the world, that is to each of us, I will permit myself to recall once more Svitliana Kyrychenko's appeal to help her children to see their father and to save him from possible doom.

"The fourth year of Yuriy Badzio's captivity approaches; he was sentenced to 7 years in the concentration camps and 5 in exile only because he wrote, without showing it to his closest friends, an academic work about the source and essence of socialism. Soviet state security deeming its main enemy to be live thought, disclosed where Yuriy kept his unfinished book, seized the already completed chapters and just for an attempt to work out the essence of our life — only for that because Yuriy, I repeat, did not show his work (!) condemned him to 12 years' penal servitude.

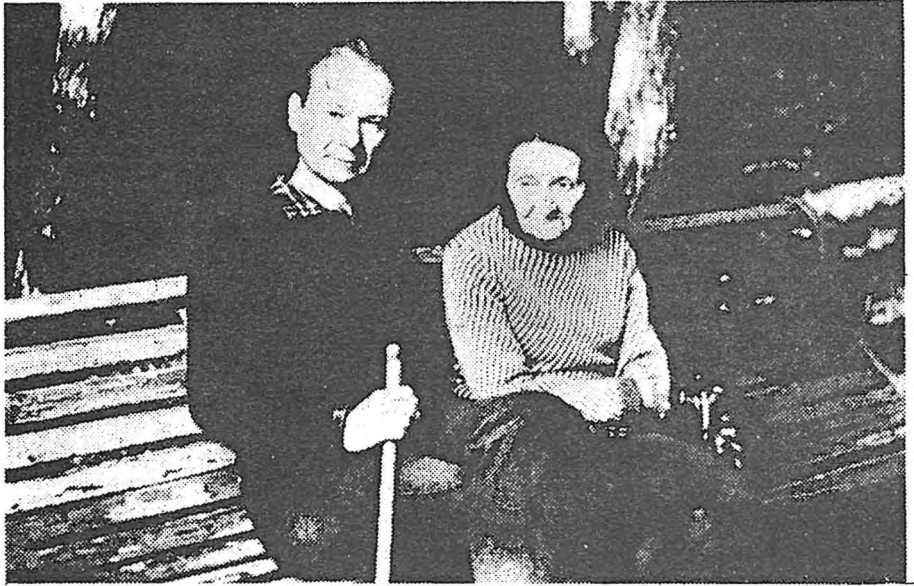
In over 3 years we were allowed one longer (from 1 to 3 whole days) visit just after my husband arrived at the camp, though in the Soviet corrective labour code it states that a prisoner has a right to have such a visit once every year. Just now they have denied us once again a longer (at best a whole three-day) visit until April 1983. Year in, year out my children cannot grow closer to their father, hold him by the hand, speak to him with trust, to ask about his health without the jailers being present, to talk about themselves. Only once in every half-year they give us a short (from 2 to 4 hours) visit at which a big table divides us in a half-lit room where we are closely watched and, as usual, three or four jailers listen in to our conversation in such a way that the simplest human words are forgotten, the throat dries up and the tongue grows stiff".

"My husband was driven into captivity for thoughts only confided to paper and, what is more, he intended to send his book after completion to the highest party-state organs, so they are denying him the smallest bit of justice which Soviet law reserves for prisoners. My husband said that so far, as a mark of protest against his being deprived of visits, he has announced short hunger-strikes and appealed to the USSR State Public Prosecutor, however if the situation remains as it is now, he shall *go on hunger-strike to the very end* and nothing will persuade him to change his decision.

I am afraid of this. I am afraid that in this way the authorities will achieve his demise. This forces me to turn to people of good will and, above all, to you, women of the world, to you who understand very well what family ties mean, what conjugal devotion and love for one's children mean".

I shall not read the whole letter because it is already known to most of you from the press, but even what has been quoted is sufficient for us not to remain indifferent.

From my story you could perhaps create an impression that today's Ukrainians walk around in black, that they do not smile and only weep. If I have created such an impression, you will not believe a word I have said when you travel to Ukraine as tourists for a visit. You will see that the youth likes to dress in fashionable clothes, is interested in modern music and entertains itself as it can. Tourists who arrive



Yuriy Shukhevych seated with his mother Mrs. Natalka Shukhevych in a photograph taken in September 1983. (See also p. 38 of this issue of Ukrainian Review)

for a few days and see the outward surface of life could create an impression that there is little there that is worse than here and maybe even better than here. This is the other extreme affected by superficiality and a feeling brought about by the tourist's status. To feel the burden of how the state weighs down you have to have the ill-fortune to live under it and to have no hope of escaping from under this pressure even for a short while. But this burden weighs down in all spheres of life including the family.

Taras KUZIO

THE UKRAINIAN MINORITY IN POST-WAR POLAND: BETWEEN THE HAMMER AND THE ANVIL

Prior to 1939, Poland was a country with a large number of national minorities, accounting for between 35-40% of the population. Ukrainians were the largest group, numbering close to six million. In 1944 an agreement was reached between the (Communist) Polish Committee for National Liberation and the Ukrainian SSR for an exchange of populations. In July, 1945 a meeting was held in Warsaw between representatives of the Polish (Communist) government and Ukrainian Lemko's.* The Lemko's stated that they wished to remain in Poland, and not be repatriated to the Soviet Union. The Polish authorities, in turn, replied that they would prefer that all Ukrainians leave Poland, in order for them not to be faced with the same problem, as regards the Ukrainian question, as the pre-war government had been. An agreement was reached that the Lemko's could remain within Poland, only as long as they resettled in the 'Recovered Territories' (as the former German territories within Poland were called).¹

In 1945 there were approximately one million Ukrainians within Poland's new frontiers. By 1946 upwards of 70% of these had been forcibly repatriated to the Soviet Union, leaving a figure of 300,000 Ukrainians by the following year. Meanwhile, in south-east Poland, within the Ukrainian ethnic territory of Lemkivschyna, a fierce struggle was taking place between the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and Polish and Soviet internal security troops. In 1947 the Communist authorities launched '*Akcja Wisła*' to liquidate the UPA and '*Akcja Przesiedlenie***' to resettle the Ukrainian population in the territories that had once belonged to Germany.

As Roman Szporluk states, the main goal of the operation was achieved and, "Ukrainians ceased to be a territorially compact national minority in Poland".² The ambush of a Polish Communist Unit, which was later found to include, General Swierczewski, the Polish Minister of Defence, in March 1947, also provided a ready made excuse for revenge, and the Ukrainians were subsequently deported from Lemkivschyna (as the Ukrainian ethnic territory of south-east Poland is called). If the activities of the UPA were the reason for the mass resettlement then why were all Ukrainians resettled, regardless of whether they had given their support to UPA? The Polish civilian population

* Ukrainian ethnic group living in westernmost Ukrainian ethnographic territories between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Today, after World War Two this territory is in communist Poland

** Literally 'Resettlement operation'. *Akcja Wisła* — operation Vistula. Vistula, being the name of a river in Poland.

was not deported from those areas where Polish anti-communist groups were active.

In an article in *Solidarity Weekly*, *Tygodnik Solidarnosc*, one Polish author described this settlement as the worst stain on recent Polish history. The author also feels that the UPA were merely used as a pretext for resettling the Ukrainians, the campaign being merely an “anti-Ukrainian pogrom” conducted, “when nationality problems were being resolved according to the ideas of the Genius of Linguistics”,³ (a sarcastic reference to Stalin). Stalin had, after all, undertaken exactly the same action against the Crimean Tartars within the USSR. The settlement was put into effect on the basis of a decree of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers dated April 17, 1947, which to this day remains unpublished — a factor indicating that the authorities have something to hide.

Ukrainians were resettled in the north and west of Poland, comprising not more than 10% of each village's inhabitants. In these villages there were already Polish settlers, who had been repatriated from the Soviet Union, and had been able to take the best farms left behind by the Germans. These Poles, who had been repatriated from the USSR, were hostile to Ukrainians, due to the fact that they had lived in those areas of pre-war Poland that had experienced the worst ethnic conflicts in pre-war Poland. Between 1947 and 1956 Ukrainians endured “ten years of non-existence”, as two authors called, it, without any cultural, educational or religious facilities to cater for their needs. The authorities hoped that these conditions would lead to assimilation of the Ukrainian minority.

In April 1952, the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (P.Z.P.R.) passed a resolution aimed at improving the lot of the Ukrainian minority. But, it was not until June 1955 that letters of instructions were issued from the Central Committee to lower party organs. From this date one can pinpoint the steady increase in Ukrainian educational and cultural activity on an organised level. Therefore, although the ascent to power of Gomulka helped the Ukrainians to consolidate to some extent their position, the grassroots pressure for Ukrainians to organise *hromady* had been building up for a number of years. Consequently, in June 1956 the Ukrainian Socio-Cultural Society (U.S.K.T.) was formed (5 months prior to the “Polish October”) under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of the Interior, a source of grievance to this day as this Ministry also runs the Police. U.S.K.T. has remained an organ of the Ministry of Interior, and the Party.

The “Polish October” did encourage Ukrainians, and other minorities, to begin voicing their complaints, as all periods of liberalisation in Poland have done. Two Polish authors, writing in the journal *Po Prostu*,⁴ listed a whole series of grievances: such as the official policy of assimilation, hostility towards the Ukrainian Churches and discrimination. They demanded the return of confiscated churches, insisted that Ukrainians be allowed to return to Lemkivshchyna, and that the authorities provides schools and time on radio programmes. In January 1957 a commission on national minorities within the Central

Committee of P.Z.P.R.* was formed, and in April it released a resolution officially allowing Ukrainians to return to their farms in the south-east of the country.

In May 1957 the authorities allowed the U.S.K.T. to begin publication of a weekly newspaper, *Nashe Siovo*, with two monthly supplements — *Svitanok* and *Nashe Kultura*. Since 1958 an annual Almanac has also been published. By 1958, therefore, a new policy *vis-à-vis* the Ukrainian minority had been formulated.⁵ Alexander Slaw described this new policy as a rejection of forced assimilation, a lessening of mutual hatreds and prejudices, coupled with the right to return to Lemkivschyna. But, the Party still regarded, as did Alexander Slaw, the resettlement of 1947 as correctly undertaken.

Although these new policies towards the Ukrainian minority were welcomed by all concerned, their situation has continued to remain ambiguous. The Polish constitution, unlike the Czechoslovak, makes no mention of national minorities. The educational reforms of 1971 modified the regulations allowing freedom of choice in the study of the mother tongue, and wiped out nearly all available courses in minority languages. This ambiguity is propounded by the fact that statistics on national minorities are not collected, and one's nationality is not registered in the census declaration. But, even if statistics on Ukrainians were collected in Poland they would be of doubtful accuracy as many Ukrainians hide their nationality.

Consequently, estimates as to the number of Ukrainians in Poland vary from 180,000 to half a million.⁶ Indeed, the mere existence of national minorities in Poland is unknown, because, "examples of direct contact and cooperation between the Polish and Ukrainian populations are not numerous".⁷ The negative stereotype many Poles have towards Ukrainians has been called by one author their "Ukrainian complex".⁸ One Polish emigre author has written that, "the authorities, and not only they, pass over in silence, minimise, and ignore the question of these nationalities".⁹ The existence of a Ukrainian minority within Poland seems to be largely unknown to Ukrainians within the Soviet Union as well.¹⁰

In 1976 the Plenum of the Central Committee of the P.Z.P.R. adopted a special resolution that Poland should be developed as an "ethnically homogenous state". In August 1977 the Ministry of Administration, Local Economy and Protection of the Environment, called for the polonization of Ukrainian geographical place names in south-eastern Poland. A campaign to return the place names to their original Ukrainian was supported by the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Polish Union of Writers and U.S.K.T.¹¹ In January 1981 Radio Warsaw reported that a Committee composed of historians, ethnographers and Polonists had met and decided to reinstate the original place names.

In Poland Ukrainians belong to either the Eastern Rite Catholic or Orthodox Churches. The Orthodox Church does not have a separate structure, but falls under the jurisdiction of the Polish autocephalous Orthodox Church, Ukrainians comprising 40% of her members. Since 1956 all Ukrainian priests

* Polish United Workers Party.

(of both denominations) have been under the jurisdiction of the Primate of Poland. Permission to build a church, for example, has to be sought from him. Until the late 1960's the monthly magazine *Tserkovnyi Viestnik* and the yearly *Pravoslavnyi Kalendar* were solely in Russian. Since then the yearly *Kalendar* has also been published in Ukrainian.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church, after the resettlement of 1947, lost over 35 church edifices. Many were destroyed, others were abandoned and the bulk of the remainder transferred to the Polish Latin rite. Serving the whole of the Ukrainian Community in Poland are 70 priests, half of whom are now drawing pensions. Mass is held in Latin-rite Churches, and Ukrainian priests fall under the jurisdiction of local Polish bishops.

Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, named in 1949 as "special delegate" in Poland for Ukrainian Catholics, refused to allow either a statute of rights or the creation of canonically established parishes. He also refused to meet any delegations sent by Ukrainians. The neglect of Ukrainian Churches in south-east Poland was brought to public attention in August 1981, when a young student of architecture, Ewa Zareba, held a photograph exhibition in Krakow under the heading "Requiem in the Bieszczady".¹²

In Poland there are only two Ukrainian schools serving the entire Ukrainian population. These schools are much the same as boarding schools and children are sent to them often at considerable financial cost. Often though, even in areas where Ukrainian schools exist, the children do not attend.¹³ In nearby Polish schools there are often up to 30 Ukrainian children in one grade. The lack of Ukrainian teachers is also a constant problem. The only source for these teachers is the Ukrainian Institute attached to Warsaw University, but, unfortunately, not all the students from there go and work in Ukrainian schools upon graduating. The number of students at the Ukrainian Institute is around 40 each year.

The circumspection with which historians have to treat sensitive issues concerning Polish-Ukrainian relations is a re-occurring problem encountered in Poland. Professor W. Serczyk, a Polish historian and author of a 500 page monograph on Ukrainian history, admitted during a speech in 1981 that if his book were then to be re-published he would write it differently and include previously taboo subjects. His conflicts with the censor over the contents of his *Historia Ukrainy* can be gauged by the fact that his introduction is dated 1975, whilst the book itself was not published until four years later.¹⁵ During this same speech, held in May 1981 in the U.S.K.T. premises in Krakow, Professor Serczyk went on to say that:

"the time has come to undertake the contemporary history of Ukrainians in Poland and not hide one's head in the sand making believe that national minorities do not exist in the Polish People's Republic. The fact that a large number of Ukrainians in Poland do not readily admit their nationality is humiliating not only to the Ukrainians but to the Poles among whom they live".¹⁶

Sensitive periods of Polish-Ukrainian history are either glossed over or

ignored in books, and in the classroom. Josef Lipski, a prominent Polish dissident and leading member of K.O.R. (Committee to Defend Workers) has argued that the xenophobia and megalomania many Poles exhibit, has made them believe that Poland, as a nation, never subjugated anybody, and that *they* were the principle sufferers.¹⁷ This is especially true in relation to inter-war Poland's history.

After 1939 the exposition of Polish-Ukrainian relations becomes a part of the official (Soviet) version of events, especially with regard to the UPA or Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) Although theoretically, hostility towards the UPA is based on ideological grounds, it often touches on the nationalistic and chauvinistic with *all* Ukrainians being classified as "bandyci", anti-Polish and "collaborators" with the Germans.¹⁸ A notable exception to this is the historian Ryszard Torzecki. Although Prof. Serczyk himself has been critical of Polish authors for their bias when treating Polish-Ukrainian relations, he too has fallen into that trap. Prof. Serczyk's article on 'Ukrainians' in the newspaper *Wiesci*, produced a very critical reply in *Nashe Slovo*.¹⁹

The difficult situation that the Ukrainian minority finds itself in within Poland has led to a number of petitions addressed to the authorities, and international bodies, in an attempt to redress grievances.²⁰ *Spotkania*, the unofficial Catholic youth journal, was very forthcoming in devoting attention to the plight of the Ukrainian minority on Poland.²¹ Another Ukrainian author discussed the Ukrainian predicament within Poland in two articles which appeared in *Tygodnik Powszechny*, an official Catholic weekly newspaper.²³ The author discusses the anti-Ukrainian feelings that permeate Polish society, and attempts to locate their origins.

The legal registration of Solidarity in the autumn of 1980 did not have an immediate effect on the Ukrainian minority within Poland.²³ Prof. Serczyk has commented that, "even after August 1980, little changed. Only in 1981 were articles that touched on the Ukrainian question allowed to be published in accessible and honest journals".²⁴ The emergence of Solidarity, and the renewal (*odnowa*) it ushered in, however, did raise expectations in many quarters that the lot of the Ukrainian minority would improve. An example of this was a petition sent by Ukrainians in Szczecin, to the Polish *Sejm*:

"We, citizens of Poland, of Ukrainian nationality, together with the entire Polish people, warmly greet the process of renewal in the political and social life of our country. We also have confidence that this process will alter the attitude of the government and the organs of the state administration to the social and cultural needs of the national minorities in Poland".²⁵

In October and November 1980 meetings were held between U.S.K.T. representatives and individuals from Party, Central Committee. At these meetings topics such as higher salaries for U.S.K.T. officials, more national exposure of Ukrainian culture and activities in the media, problems associated with the teaching of Ukrainian in the schools, and censorship were discussed. In a report of the meeting *Nashe Slovo* concluded with the following words, that,

“the days of stormy changes, which bring so much that is new in the content and form of social life in the country to the surface, clearly could not but affect our sphere as well”²⁶.

During the Solidarity period U.S.K.T., as an organisation, was deeply divided between those who wished it to remain a social, cultural and educational institution, and those who wanted it to assume a more political character. Although the latter view was defeated, the leadership felt, after heated discussions, that it had to outline the U.S.K.T.’s mandate to its members in the following manner:

“it became necessary again to emphasize bluntly and with complete clarity the character and framework of our organisation, to recognise the fact that all discussions about developing the activities of the society can only be continued on the basis of its existing platform, at the heart of which lies the principle of a cultural-educational organisation”.²⁷

U.S.K.T. remained a conservative institution throughout the (renewal) *odnowa*, its leadership being totally unrepresentative of the feelings of the mass of its members. U.S.K.T. authorities did complain however, that promises made by the authorities concerning improvements in the situation of the Ukrainian minority had been disregarded.²⁸ The leadership put forth its views on developments within the country in its declaration, dated July 4, 1981, in time for the upcoming Congress of the Party. The declaration stated:

“The unusually complicated situation requires the unification of all forces faithful to socialism to defend its achievements and to realize a genuine renewal in the state and party. It is well known that only a Leninist party is capable of guaranteeing developments in the spirit of socialist transformations”. The declaration also referred to the existence of, “anti-socialist forces that are attempting, by all sorts of means and methods, to discredit socialism”.²⁹

In August 1981 U.S.K.T. leaders attended a secret meeting with the Soviet ambassador, without the knowledge of the Polish authorities.³⁰ The ambassador promised to provide any “help” that they might need. What this “help” might consist of was never specified, but it created alarm within the power circles in Warsaw, amid calls by some of the existence of “fifth columnists” within Poland.³¹

Solidarity attempted to overcome the lack of information on national minorities in Poland by negotiating an agreement with the Ministry of Education for the re-writing of history school textbooks. It requested that the question of national minorities be included in the curriculum for the teaching of history in schools. That these textbooks were inadequate, was admitted by a Polish historian, Henryk Zieliński when he asked, “How is one to teach and what is one to do in order to remain in agreement with one’s conscience?”³²

Tim Garton Ash, an authoritative writer on recent Polish history, has pointed out the “vast majority of Solidarity members” were, “simply patriots — that is, their love of their country and desire to see it free from foreign occupation was

not mixed with intolerance, hatred of other peoples, or the desire to see other nations occupied".³³ Hence, at Solidarity's first and only congress held in September, 1981, a resolution was passed, stating that:

"Concerned about the development of Polish culture, which is open to the achievements of other nationalities, we wish to state that we are no less concerned that citizens of Poland belonging to other nationalities and ethnic groups — Byelorussians, Gypsies, Greeks, Lithuanians, Lemkos, Germans, Ukrainians, Tatars, Jews and other nationalities — find the conditions for free development of their culture and its bequest to future generations in a common fatherland with the Poles".³⁴

Although these were developments that were to be positively encouraged, Solidarity's *odnowa* did generate, quite independently, the rising spectacle of Polish nationalism, (tinted with a pre-war chauvinism). This was especially the case during the latter part of 1981, when support for the Confederation for an Independent Poland (K.P.N.) soared, and led to many non-Poles, both within and outside Poland, being lost as potential supporters. What one author has written about the reaction among Lithuanians in the USSR to developments in Poland, could also be the case for Ukrainians as well. The author states that, "Along with fascination with the spectacle of unravelling of the Communist system in Poland and envy of the freer Polish society, most of Lithuania's politically-conscious population were taken aback by a strong injection of Polish nationalism into the Solidarity movement. Fears of revanchist nationalism — whether independently perceived or possibly planted and exploited by the Soviet regime — seem to have dulled the enthusiasm of Lithuanians over Polish Developments after August 1980".³⁵ Another author concluded that the Soviet authorities succeeded in convincing the Ukrainians that the Poles were indeed "revanchists".³⁶

During the *odnowa* young Ukrainians became increasingly critical of the lack of opportunities provided for them within official Ukrainian establishment, the U.S.K.T. They also began thinking about forming their own independent student organisation after the Poles succeeded in registering the Independent Student Association (N.Z.S.). The first meeting to discuss this possibility occurred in February, 1981. After much heated discussion a statute and declaration were drawn up. The declaration was released on May 1, inviting students to join the newly created Association of Ukrainian Students in Poland (S.U.S.P.). The declaration states that, "The principle strength of the members of our organization is our moral and intellectual attitude. . . Our need for active and organised work arose primarily because until this moment in time it has not been possible to eradicate mutual prejudices and moral psychological barriers in the society in which we live. In beginning our work, we will attempt to take advantage of this fact, so that young people of both nationalities will not be burdened by the mistakes of the past, and will use the current situation in Ukrainian-Polish relations for a sincere and partnerlike dialogue".³⁸

The statute of S.U.S.P., which was drawn up with the help of Solidarity's

legal experts, and presented to the Ministry of Higher Education for registration on May 27, 1981, included the following main points:

- (1) S.U.S.P. operates in accordance with the constitution of the Polish People's Republic.
- (2) S.U.S.P. can establish contact with, and cooperate with, Ukrainian organisations in Poland, and abroad.
- (3) S.U.S.P. is independent of academic authorities, the organs of the state, and social and political organisations.
- (4) S.U.S.P. has the aim of promoting friendly relations between the Ukrainians and the Poles.³⁹

The Ministry of Education responded on July 19 with a letter stating that the proposed organisation was not necessary because its activities could be undertaken within the already existing student organizations, and that any Ukrainian activities could be undertaken within the U.S.K.T. S.U.S.P. replied that, "We see no possibility of realising our adopted aims and tasks within the confines of our socio-cultural societies. Their competence being systematically circumscribed, cannot allow at this point in time the satisfying of even a portion of the rising expectations of the national minorities".⁴⁰

On August 29, 1981, as a result of the authorities refusal to register any of the newly created national minority student organizations, a coordinating committee of representatives from each minority was established.⁴¹ The N.Z.S. also issued a statement supporting pluralism in student organizations and the registration of S.U.S.P.⁴²

With the imposition of martial law in December 1981, all organizations such as S.U.S.P. were outlawed. The majority of the original signatories of the declaration were called in for questioning, and up to fifty Ukrainians were interned for being active in Solidarity. Most have since been released. No S.U.S.P. activists were interned. The only student organization allowed to function by the authorities was a revamped version of the old Union of Socialist Students in Poland (S.Z.S.P.), now called the Union of Students in Poland. (Z.S.P.). At their November 1982 conference the former S.U.S.P. activists (and those from the Byelorussian and Lithuanian groups) presented themselves as the 'Initiative Group of National — Minority Students in the Polish People's Republic'.

The Initiative Group claimed that neither S.Z.S.P., nor N.Z.S., had shown any interest, or understanding of their needs as minority students. In the petition that was presented to the Z.S.P. conference, the Initiative Group stated the following:⁴³

"Why cannot Lithuanians, Byelorussians or Ukrainians be partners in a discussion about the directions that a future student organisation might take, especially when the pooling together of our communities would enrich and add to the cultural activity of our own academic environment".

"A new student organization is being established. There is talk in many places about open doors to it for all students and academic establish-

ments, about pluralism in views and about the desire to create equality of all citizens in our country”.

“An organisation is being established in which we can see favourable circumstances for the preservation of our own national identity and also for the defence of values which can unite us. . .”

“Your attitude towards our initiative will be proof of the honesty of this Declaration which you are putting together”.

“We also would like to express our desire to be included in the rebuilding of student culture and to add to the enrichment of its values”.

General Jaruzelski, in his first speech after martial law was imposed, in the *Sejm* went to great lengths to reassure the national minorities. He stated that there would be no room for any discrimination and chauvinism in Poland, and that national minorities have the fullest possible means to express themselves.⁴⁴ *Nashe Slovo*, like most other newspapers in Poland, was banned until March, 1982.* In one of the first commentaries about General Jaruzelski's speech, one author notes that after decades of silence on the national minorities the Party has finally placed the subject before the *Sejm*. This particular author was confident that deeds would follow words.⁴⁵ Yet it is very unlikely that this will occur. The situation will undoubtedly continue as before, and nothing much is likely to alter from that described by one Polish author as follows: (the national minorities in Poland) “are a difficult subject to write about, not only because of any lack of competence, not from the point of view of it being slightly fictitious, not quite real or “because it is a sensitive subject”. The information one can obtain out of necessity, and reconstruct from the few publications that exist, is in many instances dishonest, inaccurate, out of date, or useless; this has been especially the case during the last few years, when the truth has been ignored. The information is difficult to verify”.⁴⁶ Discrimination, therefore, looks set to continue.

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* As a postscript to this article we should add that as of the issue of 13th May, 1984 *Nashe Slovo* (Our Word) newspaper, which has served Ukrainians well in Poland through the years and has also aroused interest amongst Ukrainians in Ukraine, ceased to appear until further notice. the editors inserted the following brief statement in the last issue: “We inform that as a result of difficulties on the printing side of *Nashe Slovo* (the lack of linotype operators) the publication of our weekly with its supplements will cease until yet an undetermined date”.

What in fact lies behind this terse statement is difficult to determine. Whether this is evidence of a further crack-down on the Ukrainian community in which Moscow has called the tune is not yet proven but would be hardly surprising. Eds.

- nians in Poland. National minorities account for 1.5% of the population. The entry in *Ukrainska radianska entsyklopediia*, Vol 15 (Kyiv 1964), p. 122 gives the figure of "about 300,000". The figure of half a million is that normally given by Ukrainians living within Poland. See Vasyl Poltavch. "Descho u spravi natsionalnykh menhostyj v Polschi". *Journal of Ukrainian Studies*. 1980. vol. 5 (2) p. 18-19.
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Yuriy BOYKO-BLOKHYN

UKRAINIAN ROMANTICISM AS A SUBJECT OF RESEARCH

After the destruction of the Ukrainian State and of Ukrainian culture at the end of the 18th century and after the empire had bequeathed to the Ukrainian people a Russian-modelled serfdom, a deathly silence began to reign in Ukraine only to be occasionally broken by the suppressed groaning of the serfs.

Suddenly something occurred which scholars even today cannot sufficiently understand and which is more likely comparable to a miracle. In 1798 the three parts of Kotljarevskij's farcical travesty *Aeneid* appeared in print. The plot structure of Virgil's work was suddenly animated with the light colourful splendour of the Ukrainian Cossacks' way of life and with the full and resounding laughter of the founder of modern Ukrainian literature. Kotljarevskij mastered the Latin, French, and German languages and was familiar with the European tradition of the travesty of *Aeneid*. However, with all this knowledge he did not imitate either P. Scarron's cynical intellectualism or the cumbersome militancy of the anti-Catholic Johann Aloys Blumauer. Themes from Rabelais' *Gargantua* and *Pantagruel* are, however, perceived in his work and one feels the impetuous beauty of the language, the application of the wonderful puns and sound effects and the illustration of the richness of the Ukrainian vocabulary. The serenity of Kotljarevskij's humanism is clearly evident. The influence of the romantic element is apparent in the poet's love of his mother tongue. Who, except for literary scholars, today still reads Scarron or Blumauer? On the contrary, Kotljarevskij's *Aeneid* is published in large editions in Ukraine and still during the 1950's two different Russian translations appeared. Those who think that Kotljarevskij only created a travesty and farce with his *Aeneid* show little literary perception. The art of travesty spread like a wave in Ukraine at the beginning of the 19th century; this wave reminds me of the literary trend in France between 1648-1650 when even the maid-sevants at court practised the art of travesty. In Ukraine, however, this trend lasted considerably longer and may have contributed to the limited expansion and development of the romantic forms. However, a powerful current of genuine poetic folklore existed among the Ukrainian people from the end of the 18th century until well into the 19th century. This poetry expressed the overwhelming yearning for the lost sovereignty and for the social ideals of the Cossacks — an event for which there is hardly a parallel in the folklore of other cultures.

The researcher of Russian folklore Mark Azadovskij states that in the first half 19th century the Ukrainian people collected folk art to a far greater extent than the Russian folklorists. As a result, an immovable foundation of Ukrainian romanticism was already created in the 1820's.

Literature divides Ukrainian romanticism into 3 periods: the Kharkiv, the

Kyiv and the Petersburg period. The early Kharkiv romantic period begins in the late 1820's and ends between 1830-1840. This period emphasized the Ukrainian historical problem and pessimism and optimism confronted each other. Izmail Sreznjevskij, son of a Ukrainianized Russian professor from Kharkiv, was considered an optimist. His intelligent words on the richness and beauty of the Ukrainian language are comparable to original hymns, which invalidated any justification for the contempt in which the super power held the language of the oppressed people. Sreznjevskij's enthusiasm became apparent in his tireless collecting of Ukrainian songs and of the Cossacks' vocal epics (*Duma*). From this collection he published 6 volumes which inspired Hohol, Shevchenko and lastly all admirers of past eras. The suspicion that Sreznjevskij followed in the footsteps of Prosper Mérimée with his *La Guzla* and that he can be compared to Vaclav Hanka, who plagiarized the *Rukopis kralove dvorsky*, arose at the same time as there began to be talk about the unreliability of the Czech poet. However, the legend that Sreznjevskij was a plagiarizer gradually falls to pieces.

Amvrosij Metlynskyj, imbued with western romanticism, a pupil of Herder and professor at the Kharkiv University appears as an extreme pessimist. He considered the Ukrainian past — the Cossack life — the ideal picture of freedom for mankind and human dignity. He experienced the destruction of the Ukrainian State as a historical catastrophe. In his works even nature in her elementary strength shudders with horror. He even harboured the fear that the Ukrainian language, whose beauty he deeply admired, might die out. A universal tragic element is typical for all of his works. His literary pseudonym *Mohyla* (Grave) is significant although as a poet he was indeed capable of dynamically animating lifeless objects. "The most terrible cry is the silent cry in a deathly silence", this is what he said. Metlynskyj's suicide arose from motives comparable to Heinrich von Kleist's suicide.

The second period began in the 1840's around the University of Kyiv. It started light-heartedly and optimistically and ended in the spring of 1847 with the arrest of all of the writers, with imprisonment in the most terrible prison in Shlüsseburg, with exile, with forced induction without the right to write or paint. All of the writers of this period, the most important representatives being Kostomarov, Kulish and Shevchenko, were convinced romanticists. The central figure was Mykola Kostomarov who had participated in all 3 periods of Ukrainian romanticism. He was professor of Russian history twice, in Kyiv and in Petersburg, and both times he lost his professorship because of political reasons. Despite his personal indecision he was an ardent enthusiast, however, he lacked a profounder knowledge of the Ukrainian language in order to transpose this impetus poetically. Although he was partly Ukrainian and partly Russian from descent, he was never unfaithful to the Ukrainian ideal. Similar to Kulish and Metlynskyj he translated much of Western literature. Taking into account the evaluation of the primary sources and the accuracy in his working method, Kostomarov's studies in Ukrainian and Russian history fulfil the strictest scientific requirements. At the same time, with this research work, he

proved his talent as a romantic writer. Occasionally he interrupted his research studies and tried to project himself into the character which he was studying, as does an actor. Afterwards, he noted down his fantasies and compared them thoroughly with his documents. To his writing we owe the historical conception of the society of Ss. Cyril and Methodius in which Ukraine's mission within the Slavic peoples is outlined. Panteleimon Kulish (1819-97), a very productive romanticist, was psychologically characterized by profound contradictions. Sometimes he angrily unmasked Russian imperialism, sometimes he politically relied on the Poles, then on the Turks. On the one hand he rejected Russian citizenship, on the other hand, however, he highly praised Peter I and Catherine II. But he was always dominated by the love for his mother tongue and for Ukrainian literature and literary scholars still have not completely understood his complex nature. I don't know of any other European novel where characteristics of Byron's ideology are organically interwoven with the literary artistic features of Sir Walter Scott as in his *Chorna Rada* (*The Black Assembly*) which describes the turbulent era of the Ukrainian State in the 17th century. This novel will not forfeit its explosive power within European literature and finally should be translated into German, English and other European languages.

The poet Taras Hryhorovych Shevchenko is indeed mainly a romanticist, but his diversity goes beyond the limits of an era. His biography abounds in terrible experiences, suffering, degradation and yet still shines with extraordinary successes and achievements. At first a serf and finally an artist for whose paintings the Petersburg Academy of Science medal was awarded to him, a leading pioneer in the field of graphics in Eastern Europe, a political conspirator, Shevchenko always remained a man of strong character who possessed the capability to unfold his great poetic activity in spite of suppression and persecutions under the most tragic circumstances. Although the works of many Western romanticists were well-known to him, he did not imitate any of them; he was touched only generally by the experience of Western romantics and it awoke in him his own originality. The entire Ukrainian intellectual life was at his disposal: the songs, the *dumas*, the Cossack chronicles, the severe contours and the light colours of the old Ukrainian artists as well as the architecture of the Ukrainian cathedrals which seem to strive to the heavens. From all of this he developed the splendid construction of his own romanticism which connected the old with the new. Although less has not been written about Shevchenko than about Goethe, the crucial point for the comprehension of his work remained largely unnoticed: he, as a Cossack patrician, in the profoundest depth of his psyche was wholly formed by Cossack tradition. Shevchenko did indeed use his own metric verse form, a form derived from the Ukrainian folk songs, but he also adapted to his originality the iambic pentameter and other verse forms. His work *Velykyi lyokh* (*The Big Cellar*) is an early indication of symbolism and if one calls Maeterlinck a revolutionary, one can definitely compare his intuitionism with that of Shevchenko.

Is there anyone among the European poets who presents a national revolu-

tion with so much love for mankind as does Shevchenko in his *Haidamaky*, a work which describes the Ukrainian revolution of 1768 which, in his own words, was more terrible than St. Bartholomew's Night! Nevertheless, at the end the poem proclaims in strong accents the idea of reconciliation. The revolutionary character in Shevchenko's work has nothing in common with the Russian revolutionary movements. The deepest wish of the poet was the possible substitution of the sword of the revolution with the teaching of the Gospel. That the works of Claude Henri Saint-Simon were familiar to Shevchenko is a well-known fact, but the question arises whether he could not have been susceptible to the ideas of Hugues Félicité Robert Lammenais. Yes, definitely Lammenais and not David Friedrich Strauss, as Chyzevskij assumed, could have been congenial to him.

In literature there are indications, although not very clear, that with his analysis of the split personality Shevchenko can be considered Dostojevskij's predecessor. An examination whether this can be due to the influence of E.T.A. Hoffman remains to be hoped for. With his works *Johannes Hus*, *The Neophites*, *Maria* etc. Shevchenko continues the themes treated in world literature. In West Germany Shevchenko's genius remained practically unknown. In East Germany Erich Wejnert produced a partially successful translation of his poems. Here, however, it is different. The fundamental work on Shevchenko in German remains the book *Shevchenko, His Life and His Works* published by Prof. Koschmieder and myself in 1965.

The third period of Ukrainian romanticism began in the mid 1850's after the death of Nicholas I. At that time the government tolerated the publication of the works of Ukrainian authors even though severely censored. Intensity and great creative pleasure mark this period. Shevchenko's last creative period falls into this phase, Kulish's talent experiences a flourishing development and Kostomarov's most mature poems emerge. O. Storozhenko, the talented successor of Hohol's romanticism, joins them. Suddenly an overwhelming collection of stories by the well-known author Maria Markovych-Vilinska who wrote under the name Marko Vovchok, developed a lively activity within Ukrainian literature. She inspired also Russian writers not only with her beauty but also with her magical charm. Her short stories aesthetically treat the life of the Cossacks in solemn glorification: these are the romantic ones. Others are full of sympathy and dismay due to the extensive social suffering into which the rulers plunged Ukraine: these are realistic with a folkloristic-sentimental tendency. I. S. Turgenev translated these stories into Russian. However, in the translation they lost that specific glow which was endowed by the rich idiomaticism and singular rhythm of the Ukrainian language. The story *Marusia* was translated into French and adopted in France to such a degree that it was re-published in different readers still in the 20th century. This highly productive phase of Ukrainian romanticism ended between 1863-1864 with renewed dismissals of Ukrainians from office, with the deportation of writers and scientists. Typical was the remark by Valuev, who was then Minister of the Interior of Russia: "The Ukrainian language never existed, does not exist and cannot exist".

In the second half of the 19th century the creativity of the Ukrainian writers was by no means limited to sheer literary decadence. However, after the discovery of a Ukrainian military conspiracy in the Russian army, the extent of the persecutions increased considerably. In 1876 it was forbidden to perform Ukrainian songs, even love songs, in the concert halls. Ukrainian books were then chiefly printed outside of the borders of the Russian empire. Manuscripts were secretly sent to Geneva and Lviv. From here courageous smugglers untiringly brought the printed books back into the Ukrainian regions occupied by Russia. The cultural life in Ukraine matured and developed even more despite the constant presence of the police who imprisoned these daring patriots and who destroyed their books.

The great poet, Ivan Franko, active as a writer, critic, scholar and corresponding member of the Russian emperor's academy for science as well as a doctor h.c. at Kharkiv University and from whom in time 60 volumes of his Ukrainian works were printed, at first wrote under the influence of naturalism and realism. 43 years ago when I wrote my inaugural dissertation on Franko's work I realized with a shock that at the end of the 1880's Franko had developed into a pioneer of European neo-romanticism. Yes, with a shock, because I was not allowed to write about it. The instructions from the Central Committee of the Party were clearly definite to the literary scholars. This meant I had to interpret Franko as a realist and as a follower of Chernyshevskij, a Russian revolutionary democrat. In 1889 Franko wrote the poem *Cain's Death*. He formulated it stylistically as well as philosophically as a continuation of Byron's poem *Cain*. However, Franko could only establish his originality, his own way into neo-romanticism with the poem *Moses*. He interprets the biblical text as a profound tragedy in relation between an every-day and voidly-materialistic mass of people and its leader, imbued with a God-given mission, who loves, but makes no compromise with the unimportant reality of the nomads, whose thoughts are restricted to the size of their cattle herds. This sudden Ukrainian neo-romanticism shone with the beauty of its language, its images and its richness of ideas. Not even an encyclopaedically succinct style would here permit an enumeration of its achievements.

Some information about Lesja Ukrainka (the pseudonym of Larissa Kosach). In my book *Against the Current* I showed the leading role of this poet in the perfecting of aestheticism and the poetry of neo-romanticism. Bearing in mind the intensity and diversity of German neo-romanticism, Lesja Ukrainka also used neo-romantic sources from French and Italian literature. Her voluntarism cannot be compressed into a concise philosophical formula. This woman, who suffered from tuberculosis of the bones, did not only possess an extraordinary will to live, but, above all, she was extremely courageous in her creativity. Her poems, dramas, and dramatic poems treat the old oriental kingdoms, the Roman Empire, the European Middle Ages as well as the period of the French Revolution. Erudition, culture, profound philosophical contemplations, but, also passionate feelings and forceful presentation — which other European neo-romanticist unites all these qualities? The character of Cassan-

dra has been dramatically formed by both Paul Ernst and by Herbert Eulenberg; neither is able to move our senses nor our emotions. The play of this Ukrainian writer however, profoundly impresses us with its beauty and elegance of thought and with its novel treatment of the characters of Cassandra, Helena, and others.

The powerful figure of Mykola Khvylovyj, through his romantic vitality, arises from the background of Soviet reality of the 1920's. He is not only known for his novels which seem to be carried by musical tones and whose shimmering colours are comparable to softly glazed watercolours. At that time, when the Stalinists and the Trotskyites were waging an obstinate battle between themselves and at a time when Moscow could not allow the free development of Ukrainian literature it proceeded with great vigour to suppress Ukrainian patriots. Then Khvylovyj, an influential member of the Party, praised the character of the active Faustian being in the Soviet-Ukrainian press who wanted to solve the enigma of creation and to strive for omniscience. Khvylovyj completely unexpectedly exclaimed the direct slogan: "Away from Moscow, the centre of the narrow-mindedness of the Union!" It is understood that this exclamation was simply meant culturally. On a political level even a party member of enormous influence would not have dared to make such a statement. These are also Khvylovyj's words: "Closer to Europe, the source of immortal cultural values!" He did, indeed, agree with Oswald Spengler that decadency was already spreading in Europe but added the correction that the rebirth of Europe will take place on its way through Ukraine. Stalin took a polemic stand against this man. Khvylovyj was conscious of his impending fate and he wanted to prevent it. In 1933 he himself put an end to his life. After guarded allusions at a last lyrically-dramatic meeting with friends the sound of a pistol shot came from the next room..

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Valerjan PIDMOHYL'NYJ

Valerjan Pidmohyl'nyj was a prominent Ukrainian writer in the 1920's in Ukraine. An intellectual, his main interests were Western European Literature (especially French literature), psychology and philosophy. As a member of the literary group LANKA (later to become MARS) he organised demonstrations against Moscow's stranglehold on Ukrainian literature.

His writings examine the psychology of the person living during the Revolution. Pidmohyl'nyj also translated Anatole France, Balzac, Stendhal and Maupassant into Ukrainian. During the ten years of his active literary career he moved from ethnographic naturalism and impressionism to expressionism. He is the author of several novels, the best known are *Misto* (the City) and *Nevelychka Drama*, (A Little Drama), the latter has been translated into English.

Unfortunately his active protests against the occupying Soviet Russian regime and the cultural provincialism it had brought to Ukraine made him unpopular with the authorities. He was arrested in December 1934 and sent to North Russia where all trace of him was lost.

Below we publish a translation of a short story by Pidmohyl'nyj entitled "Ivan Bosyj" (Ivan Barefoot).

IVAN BOSYJ

People saw him often. He would appear unexpectedly on a road in the steppes either emerging from behind a burial mound or standing erect on a steep bank. He was tall, thick-set, had no protective clothing but was clad in rags covering his coarse flesh and chest which bristled with hair. His feet were bare, his complexion ruddy, he wore a shaggy beard and his dishevelled hair fell down onto his back and shoulders. In his hand he held a gnarled staff which he gripped and brandished.

He would stop carts in their tracks without saying a word by a mere gesture of his staff; those who saw him for the first time were struck dumb in amazement, those who had already seen him alighted from their carts and doffed their caps. He would approach them and with a sharp glance from his rusty beetle-brow raise his staff in the air and say in a slow, solemn voice,

"I am Ivan Bosyj, messenger of heaven, do you hear me? From on high God has put words into my mouth and has inflamed my soul. God has sharpened my sight and I have observed all the injustices, all the hatred, malice and fury which have flooded the land like a stormy sea. I have seen the souls of people without God in them, souls that were dissolute and wicked, where Satan sprawled as though on a throne. I have seen looted churches, torn

vestments, smashed chalices and icons riddled with bullet-holes. Nowhere have I heard the word of God or seen his holy image. And God said to me,

“The people have sinned grievously. They have pounced on each other like rabid wolves, forgetting that I have given unto each that which is necessary. They have received and placed in the seat of honour the children of Antichrist who incite them to lawlessness, promising them heaven on earth. They regard themselves as higher than God and in their blindness are building a new tower of Babel. Oh, insanity! I will punish them by drought as I once did by the flood. I will stop the rain and not a drop of water shall fall on the earth. Wells shall dry up, streams and the seas likewise; the corn shall wither in the steppes and people will eat each other because they all desired a sumptuous feast. Mothers shall tear apart their children like she-wolves, all wealth which people lay claim to shall be useless to them and the paradise they were promised by the children of Antichrist shall be their hell, damnation and death”.

“This is what God said. . . People look, look around you, you will see withered corn thirsting for dew, look at the meadows devoid of pasture, listen to the groaning earth which has nothing to drink, well, has not God’s punishment come to pass? Look into your unclean souls, well, do you not see damnation and death? Come to your senses people, begin to see clearly your offences and repent. Banish Satan from your hearts and the children of Antichrist from your company. Consecrate your swords and stand in defence of God. Drown your sins in the blood of those who have deceived you and make a late sacrifice in God’s name. Then rain will fall on your fields and God’s grace enter into your hearts. . .”

They listened to him, their heads bowed, not daring to meet his gaze to avoid being scorched by it. When he had finished he slowly went away without a second thought, neither did he look back. The people watched him go, full of doubt and fear.

When he talked about consecrating swords and the blood which had to be shed in sacrifice an angry fire blazed in his eyes, his fists would be clenched and his staff held high in the air. And the talk of blood pierced the listeners to the marrow, drenching their imagination with pictures of the evil and horror of the Civil War; they came face to face with sins each of them had committed because each one had taken someone else’s property and abandoned his former ways. Fear gripped their whole being and they wore prophetic looks and spoke like prophets on their way home.

Ivan Bosyj stopped anyone he met in the steppes where he spent his days, be it party workers sent to the villages, Soviet civil servants, peasant men and women. He would engrave his words and carve out his appeals and threats in their souls.

Everyone listened to him obediently because of his furious passion and frightening certainty. Those who laughed at him later nevertheless carried the sparkle of his eyes in the depths of their souls and his words continued to echo in their ears.

No one actually knew where he lived and how. He never entered a village and was only seen on the broad highways which led into the towns. Sometimes, in the space of one day he was seen in different places often more than ten versts¹ apart. People began to think that he was not alone, that many of his ilk inhabited the steppes and everywhere they appeared they were signs of God's anger and passing. The steppes and roads took on an air of mystery, they came to life, spirits dwelt there. The villagers rode out into the fields frightened of meeting Ivan Bosyj, meeting his gaze and hearing his appeals which never failed to stir their hearts; for there was no rain, the barley was burnt, the cattle had grown thin and life was becoming intolerably difficult with its mobilisations, requisitions and unjustified demands.

The old folk, men and women, whose hearts could not accept the present evil, who believed the acquisitions of the revolution were a curse, saw in the prophet's words an actual prophecy of punishment from heaven. They moaned and groaned spreading grief and faintheartedness. They mumbled about universal famine, death and the end of the world.

They called thunder down on the children of Antichrist, the communists who had led brother against brother. Such talk which was a feature of every household created tension and people began to anticipate outbursts of discontent.

Those who fled the steppes wanted to meet Ivan Bosyj urgently, to hear their fill of his words and grow resolute. Women wandered the pathways by night with their sick children waiting for miracles. For, so it was spread about, he had been seen at night apparently not alone. They said he was accompanied by an angel of God who brought him orders and food. People claimed that his body was bullet-proof, that the communists had sent troops against him but their rifles had buckled and the Red Army soldiers had prostrated themselves before him.

Legends quickly grew around his name and the steppes where he walked were covered with his fiery footprints and cracked open craving for blood.

And sure enough one day he visited a village. Evening was approaching and the sun was setting behind the orchards leaving a red streak in the sky resembling an open wound. The still air was moistened by a hazy, restful mirth.

He walked down the main street his staff digging into the dirt at regular intervals. He did not survey the surroundings, it was as if he did not notice the people or see the ground.

He was noticed immediately and the people hid in the hedgerows by the score. Even before his arrival news had come that he was on his way. Inquisitive children crowded out from the side-streets, old men and women jumped up half-undressed for bed, husbands and wives made their way along. Everyone gathered in a great crowd which flocked behind the prophet; making noises it grew, flooding the village. The houses stood empty and dogs howled in fright.

He, on the contrary made his way quietly to the church. In a similarly quiet fashion he entered the courtyard which the people filled almost at once, climbed the steps to the forecourt and came to a halt before the closed doors.

Everyone fell silent; the crowd stood in a deathly calm, only its tail-end which

¹ one verst = 3500 ft.

stretched far into the distance could be heard making muffled noises as the people swayed and murmured. An enraged priest came from one side and in a second was stuck in the throng. The breathless chairman of the village Soviet with two militiamen shoved his way anxiously towards the steps. Yet even they came to a standstill caught helplessly in the human forest. Everyone looked attentively at Ivan Bosyj whose figure eclipsed by the dusk grew into a gigantic form magnified by the fired imagination and the majestic way in which he raised his hands.

He stood like that for a moment or so, his arms stretched in the air and his head raised. Then, amid the silent throng wrapped in the gloom, he spoke.

“Almighty God, Lord God and Saviour. You who sent me. Open the doors of Your temple before me”.

He took a step forward; by a touch of his hand the iron lock fell apart and the doors of the church opened wide. The hail of a hundred voices like a cry of sudden pain sounded above the crowd and its echo rumbled through the village. . . The multitude poured into the church immediately filling it with moving bodies, overturning the candlesticks and banners, crushing each other, weeping, groaning and supplicating. And all at once everything was quiet like the extreme tension that precedes death.

Ivan Bosyj went through the holy gates to the altar and took the sacred chalice from its cupboard. After pouring wine into it he put it on the communion table and bowed down over it on his knees, and the whole crowd fell down senseless, pressing against each other, tearing their clothes and stifling outbursts of pain and animation. And not a moment had gone by when silence reigned again washed by silver moonlight which poured through the window gratings.

In the leaden silence heavy with the dampness of old walls he began to speak. His words like sharp knives struck the congregation to the quick.

“Almighty God, Lord God and Saviour! You who wrote commandments in blood. Omnipotent Father, change this wine into Your blood, pure blood. Cleanse and purify once more us sinners who kneel before you in prayer! God look down on us”!

He fell silent and stretched out his long arms over the chalice to bless it. The throng remained on the other side of the holy gates and trembled with fright sensing that God was bowing over the chalice and performing a miracle.

Ivan Bosyj stood up and holding the chalice climbed the pulpit. Everyone lay down closer to the ground to receive the ghastly communion.

“Scoundrels! he yelled. Scoundrels, sinners! Shame on you! You gorged yourselves on other peoples’ wealth, you plundered like thieves, forgetting God’s commandments! A harsh and interminable punishment has befallen you, you henchmen of the devil! The water will evaporate, the steppes will turn into wasteland and you will guzzle earth as you curse yourselves and and your children! Before it is too late turn to God, rise up against the sons of the devil, banish the shades of hell from your presence! Drown your crimes in unclean blood and cleanse your steppes with it. I bless your bloody task with God’s blood”.

He made a sign of the cross with the chalice above the crowd which sprawled at his feet in the semi-darkness and then pouring out a handful of wine from the chalice sprinkled it in front of him. And all at once a furious whirlwind blew up from underground. There was commotion, creaking, falling masonry and rumbling all round as the crowd began to wail. Weeping and crying out the people flung themselves at the prophet who quickly closed the holy gates and walked out into the open air via a small door by the altar-side.

The crowd was again heaving round him. People fell on their knees before him, snatched at his hands, kissed and tore to shreds the rags which covered his body. He pushed his way forward silently, treading on the people who fell in his way. His peasant overcoat was ripped down to the waist, his legs were bare at the knee and his torn shirt exposed his chest. He walked on gazing into the murky distance as if he perceived some mystery which only he could grasp and only he could understand.

This state of affairs continued until they arrived at the edge of the village and Ivan Bosyj came to a halt. He raised his staff and everyone fell silent as though it were a mace.²

“Go back to your homes, he said. Remember that God’s blood calls out for vengeance!”

He turned and walked quietly in the moonlight while the crowd slowly made its way back to the village, to the mournful wailing of solitary dogs.

There was unrest in the district. Unknown atamany³ appeared and the youth that had seized hold of hidden weapons formed into bands and hid in ravines. By night rails were uprooted and trains that were derailed at points would be plundered. A magic circle formed round the town which neither communist nor Soviet clerk could penetrate without being dispatched.

Life somehow became oppressive as if a cloud loomed in the sky above.

And so it dragged on until the rebellious district was overrun by detachments of troops who went round everywhere crushing any sign of rebellion.

There was some undisclosed connection between the insurgents and the man who called himself Ivan Bosyj. He played a secret role in the uprising. It was recounted that he visited the bands and blessed the bandits. Unexpectedly at night he appeared in the insurgents’ camp, woke them all up and poured his fervour into their heart. When they managed to surround him on one occasion he so bemused the Red Army soldiers with oratory that they not only released him but some of them even joined the insurgents.

All this finally compelled the party committee to deal separately with the matter of Ivan Bosyj. An appropriate decision was reached and the chief of the militia was ordered to implement it.

“You know it’s interesting”, he said, “I’ve never fought a saint before”.

Before long they were to meet when the chief of militia and a militia man were on their way back to the village on horseback after holding an inquiry into a theft.

² ‘bulava’ in Ukrainian, a symbol of office held by the Hetman or Chief Cossack.

³ ‘ataman’ — cossack chieftain.

The militiaman was the first to see Bosyj and stopping his horse anxiously said to chief,

“Tovarysh, look, there’s Bosyj. . .”

The chief looked in that direction and saw half in pursuit a tall man coming at them unhurriedly. He wore no hat and his feet were bare. He smiled, his hand touched his revolver which hung at his side, and turned his horse to meet Bosyj.

“I’ve got business with him”, he told the militiaman. “Look at the scarecrow! He ought to be on the melon patch scaring sparrows”!

The militiaman gave an uncertain smile.

A few steps from Bosyj the head of the militia brought his horse to a halt, drew his revolver and shouted,

“Who are you then”?

Ivan Bosyj also stopped, raised his head and cast a fiery glance at the chief militiaman.

“I am Ivan Bosyj, sent by Heaven to remove the motes from peoples’ eyes. The Almighty has strengthened my spirit and put words into my mouth. . .”

He made his customary speech when meeting people; he gazed continually into the eyes of the militia chief who was made to feel uncomfortable by the shrivelled countenance of the prophet and was annoyed by the certainty with which his words flowed.

“You know where you can put God!” he roared out laughing. “Where are your papers”?

Ivan Bosyj was silent for a moment and then walking up to the chief of militia suddenly raised his arms

“God is my authority and protection. His name is written on my brow”.

Their eyes finally met. Astonished, the chief stopped laughing. He saw that this was going to be a strange sort of confrontation the like of which he had never faced before. Their gazes crossed like rapiers and they looked intently into each others’ eyes! A moment later the chief of militia felt his gaze weaken and his spirit waver. He shuddered as if to fall. Darkness fell before him and he seemed to be drowning in the arid waves which were falling about his head like red-hot sand. Then, hiding his face and summoning all his strength he aimed his revolver at the prophet’s chest.

The trigger clicked but there was no shot.

The militiaman gave a cry of horror and took off heading straight for home, while the chief, pouring with sweat, let the revolver drop to the ground. Senseless he recoiled in his saddle.

Ivan Bosyj slowly lowered his arms and pointing the tip of his finger at the chief and said in an unshakeable composure,

“Curse be upon you who dared to raise a hand against the servant of the

Lord. May you be struck by thunder from the bright sky and may the earth discard your bones”.

He walked on prodding his way with his staff. The chief of militia shook in his saddle in disgust as if he wanted to shake himself free of something shameful. His whole being was disturbed and as he shook he could not regain consciousness or gather his thoughts.

“What could it be?” He whispered. “He who had hacked at people with his sword, who had taken part in mass executions, was frightened of an insane old man! What a disgrace!”

He was overcome by boiling rage, and surreptitiously jumping from his horse took off after Ivan Bosyj unshouldering his rifle as he went. Stopping within twenty or thirty feet of him the chief knelt down on one knee and taking aim, fired. The prophet swayed and fell.

In breathless joy and excitement the chief of militia ran up to Ivan Bosyj who was coughing blood and lying on the ground, his body writhing like an insect stuck on a pin. The chief of militia shot him again this time in the head while contemptuously kicking over his body so that it faced upwards. In enjoyment he began to examine the gory face and twisted limbs.

That, which had just been sparkling, was now a dunghheap.

Translated by Wolodymyr Slez.

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Theodore MACKIW Ph.D.

A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF MAZEPA: HETMAN OF UKRAINE AND PRINCE OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, 1639-1709

Almost all historians agree that Mazepa was ambitious and independently minded, nevertheless, he was loyal to the Tsar. The Hetman rejected several favourable offers from the Polish King Stanislaw Leszczynski.* For example, Whitworth remarked in his report of January 11, 1708, that "... General Mazepa has again given notice of the Turk's designing to break with this country and at the same time acquainted His Majesty that King Stanislaus was using all endeavours to draw the Cossacks on his side by great promises and several messengers, one whereof was fallen into the General's hands, that by this intrigue the chief officers of the Cossacks had been entirely gained. . . However, he would do his best to regain them by fair means and to keep all the rest firm in their duty."⁴⁰ Soon, however, Mazepa found good reasons to mistrust the Tsar.

In 1707 the Tsar ordered Mazepa to surrender that part of Ukraine which was on the right bank of the Dnipro River to those Polish magnates who supported his ally king Augustus II.⁴¹

Moreover, as mentioned above, Mazepa learned from the Tsar himself that he intended to abolish the autonomous status of the remainder of Ukraine and to absorb the Cossacks into the Russian Army.⁴² Furthermore, the Tsar refused Mazepa's request for military aid against a possible Swedish invasion of Ukraine. In fact, at the War Council in Zhovkva (near Lemberg), in April 1707, the Tsar expressed his refusal in these words: "... I can give you neither ten thousand nor even ten men. Defend yourself as well as you can. . ."⁴³ But many of Mazepa's regiments were engaged in the Tsar's service elsewhere. The remainder was insufficient for the defence of Ukraine. As the Ukrainian historian, Orest Subtelny, in his essay about Mazepa's relationship with Peter I, indicated, the Hetman considered himself as a vassal of the Tsar and expected necessary protection from him in the case of an emergency. Since the Tsar refused military aid against the Swedish invasion, Mazepa had no alternative but to negotiate for Swedish protection in order to avoid his land being invaded and plundered by the Swedes.⁴⁴ Another Ukrainian historian, Michael Hrushevsky, pointed out in his essay that this was "dura necessitas" for Mazepa to

* Continuation from issue No. 1, 1984 of *Ukrainian Review*

⁴⁰ *PRO, SP 91d, Vol. 5.*

⁴¹ *Kostomarov, op. cit.*, pp. 560-1.

⁴² Philip Johann von Strahlenberg, *Das Nord-und Oestliche Theil von Europa und Asia*, (Stockholm, 1730), pp. 251-2; *Kostomarov, op. cit.*, p. 550.

⁴³ *Kostomarov, op. cit.*, p. 567; *Solovjev, op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 1494.

⁴⁴ Subtelny, "Mazepa, Peter I and the Question of Treason", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. II, No 2, (1978), pp. 158-9.

conclude an alliance with the Swedish King.⁴⁵ In fact, Mazepa himself, justifying his alliance with Stanislaw Leszczynski, said "God himself and the whole world will know that necessity has forced us to this since we, a free and unconquered nation, seek the means to preserve ourselves."⁴⁶

Despite all precautions, in the Spring of 1708, two officers of his Staff, the General Judge Vasyk Kochubej and former Colonel Ivan Iskra, informed the Tsar of Mazepa's secret negotiations with the Swedish King. The Tsar, however ignored this denunciation, and both officers were condemned by Peter I to death.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, Mazepa, through a refugee Serbian or Bulgarian Arch bishop, completed a secret alliance with Charles XII either in the city of Smorgony between February 11, and March 18, 1708, or in the city of Radaszkowice between March 27, and June 17, 1708.⁴⁸ The original document was not preserved, because as the English historian, Ragnhild M. Hatton (London University), remarked in her excellent biography of Charles XII, the Swedish king ordered that all archives after the battle of Poltava were to be "burnt or sunk in the Dniro".⁴⁹

Although the original document was not preserved, the terms of the Mazepa-Charles XII-Stanislaw Leszczynski alliance were mentioned by an anonymous Swedish major in his memoirs, which were added to Gustave Adlerfelt's *Histoire Militaire de Charles XII, roi de Suède*.⁵⁰

The Alliance of 1708 raised the controversial question as to whether or not Mazepa invited the Swedish King into Ukraine and failed to give the help expected by him. For that Mazepa is blamed by some historians even today.

In fact, as the English envoy at the Swedish Field Headquarters, Captain James Jefferyes, remarked in his report of September 18, 1708, Charles XII "turned his march to the right, with intention, as is supposed, to make an incursion into Ukrain; . . . The invasion of this country will not only furnish His Majesty provision of his army, but give him occasion of bringing Gen:II Mazeppa, who commands the ennemyes Cossacks, and who has his estate in this country, to some reason."⁵¹ Furthermore, Jefferyes mentioned in his reliable report of October 7, 1708, that the Swedish king sent a messenger to Mazepa at his residence in Baturyn to indicate his desire for winter quarters in Ukraine. Thus the Swedes had hope, wrote Jefferyes, "of coming into a country flowing with milk and honey; that Count Loewenthaupt will soon reinforce our army with the addition of 11 or 12:m men and that General Mazeppa

45 Hrushevsky, "Shvedsko-ukrainskyj soyouz z 1708 r.", ZNTS, (1909), Vol. XCII, p. 12.

46 Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 567.

47 For details see: Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 587-8, 592-7; Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp.192-8.

48 For details see: M. Andrusiak, "Zviazky Mazepy z Stanislavom Leszczynskym i Karlom XII", ZNTS, (1933), Vol. CLII, pp. 35-61; B. Krupnytsky, "The Swedish-Ukrainian Treaties of Alliance 1708-1709", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol XII, No 1, (1956), pp. 47-57; C.J. Nordmann, *Charles XII et L'Ukraine de Mazepa*, (Dissertation), (Paris, 1958), p. 28; Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p.283-5.

49 R.M. Hatton, *Charles XII*, p. 238.

50 Adlerfelt, *Histoire Militaire de Charles XII, roi de Suède*, Vol. III, pp. 193-4. C. Nordmann also published the terms, *op. cit.*, pp.31-2. The full text of the agreement see Appendix No.1.

51 PRO, SP 95, Vol. 17; Cf., Hatton. *Historiskt Magasin*, p. 62. See the full text Appendix No. 2.

will declare for us.”⁵² Moreover, Mazepa’s positive reply to Charles XII’s request was taken for granted. However, according to the secret agreement with the Swedish King, Mazepa was supposed to deliver the fortress in Severia, supply the Swedish Army with food, and join Charles XII on his “march to Moscow”.⁵³ Mazepa did not expect the Swedish King to enter Ukraine.⁵⁴

Charles XII was warned by his advisor, Count Carl Piper, not to go into Ukraine. On the contrary, he urged his King to retreat in order to secure necessary military equipment and food for General Loewenhaupt’s Corps, which was on the way from Riga to join the Swedish Army.⁵⁵

As for the campaign against against Moscow, Charles XII already had his plan in Saxony. According to this plan, the Swedish Army was supposed to proceed as follows: From the North, General Lybecker would proceed in the direction of Ingria and Petersburg to pin down the Russian troops, while Charles XII himself, with the main Swedish Army, would proceed on the route Smolensk — Moscow. At the same time from the South, the Polish king, Stanislaw Leszczynski, with his army and Swedish Corps under the command of General Crassau would proceed to cut off the Russian Army from Ukraine.⁵⁶

As far as the Swedish King’s plan is concerned, there is some controversy in the historiography. Due to the lack of the Swedish Army documents of 1707-1708, which were destroyed at Charles XII’s order after the defeat of Poltava, it is difficult to establish with absolute certainty whether or not the Swedish King deviated from the “master plan”. However, the disclosure by the Soviet–Russian historian, Emile V. Tarle, that the Swedish propaganda leaflets prepared in advance (printed in Danzig) were distributed ahead of the city of Smolensk, which the Swedish Army never reached,⁵⁷ clearly indicated that Charles XII indeed selected the shortest route to Moscow through Smolensk.⁵⁸ Furthermore, it is unlikely that Charles XII changed his plan to go into Ukraine because of his agreement with Mazepa. As the Ukrainian historian, Bohdan Kentrschynskyj, has proven in his biography of Mazepa, the Swedish King did not enter into specific agreements with the Hetman of the Ukraine before starting his operations against the Tsar.⁵⁹ The lack of planning of Swedish propaganda material and the hasty improvisation of it in Ukraine,⁶⁰ also indicates that Charles XII was determined to proceed on the route Smolensk–Moscow.

52 PRO, SP 95, Vol. 17; (“ . . . certain it is that His Ma:ty has sent an express with letters to Battaryn that Gen:lls residence, to invite him to take own party and disire winter quarters in Ukrainia, but I am not yet assur’d whether he has compl’d”). cf., Hatton *Historiskt Magasin*, p. 63; Kentrschynskyj, *Mazepa*, p. 325; See full text Appendix No.3 Jefferyes obtained this information from his friend Josias Cederhielm, Secretary in the Chancery-in-field, R.M. Hatton *Charles XII of Sweden*, p. 275.

53 Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 194; Nordmann, *op. cit.*, p.32.

54 Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 615; Solovyev, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, p. 1496.

55 G.A. Nordberg, *Konung Karl XII’s Historia*, (Stockholm, 1740), 3 vols., I used the German translation: *Leben und Thaten Carl des XII. Koenigs von Schweden*, (Hamburg, 1745-5), Vol. II, pp. 87-8.

56 For details see: Hatton, *Charles XII*, pp. 244, 254, 250; Nordmann, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

57 E. Tarle, *Severnaya voyna i shvedskoye nastestiviye na Rossiyu*, (Moscow, 1958), p. 169.

58 Hatton, *Charles XII*, p. 242.

59 B. Kentrschynskyj, *Mazepa*, (Stockholm, 1962), pp. 287-9; cf., Hatton, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

60 B. Kentrschynskyj, “Propagandakrieket i Ukraine,” *Karolinska Forbundets Arsbok*, (1958), pp. 102-3; cf., Hatton, *Charles XII*, p. 242.

Although there are some “military historians of calibre”, writes Hatton, who still emphasize “that the move to Severia to use the Kaluga road, or to Ukraine to reach the same road over Novgorod Seversk, was, in all probability, a calculated move to the south to steal a march on the Tsar Peter after a feint directed towards Moscow”,⁶¹ in view of what is said above, their arguments are not really convincing.

The real reason that Charles XII gave the order on September 14, 1708, to march into Ukraine, was to save his army from famine. The situation of the Swedish Army in September 1708 was beginning to look grim, the food supplies were running low. In addition, the Russians set fire to all the villages in the country and Lewenthaupt was not likely to join the main army with his supply train for several weeks. Jefferyes described the situation in his report of September 1, 1708, as follows: the Russians “endeavour by surprises and by cutting of our provisions to moulder away our army, which is very practicable in this country, where the inhabitants having burried their provisions quitt their houses and the enemy burn whatever they come over. As yet we are in a tollerable condition as to necessaryes, but if the enemy pursues the same methods in his own country which he has begun in this, I verily believe he needs make use of no weapon against us, but that hunger and want will drive us out.”⁶²

In his report of September 12, 1708, Jefferyes wrote:

“ . . . the great vigilance of our enemys, who use all the methods of the most experienc’d soldiers to allarm us, and keep us for the most part both day and night with one foot in the stirup, these continual fatigues and the want of provision which begins more and more to press us has already occasion’d murmuring in the army, and will be of worse consequence if shortly there be not some alteration for the better: we are now forc’d to live of what we find burryed under ground and this is the way we propose to maintain in for a while, but should a suddain frost come and deprive us of that expedient, instead of a formidable army, I fear his Majesty would bring into Russia a parcell of starv’d beggars.”⁶³

On the border of Russia, between Tatarsk and Smolensk, the situation grew worse. Jefferyes in his report of September 18, 1708 (old style), wrote:

“ . . . we have been in a very desolate country sinse that time, half a mile from the boarders of Muscovy, where we found nothing but what was burnt and destroyed, and of large villages litle left but the bare names, we had also news of the like destruction as far as Smolensk.”⁶⁴ Smolensk was only seven Swedish miles away, Moscow forty.

The Swedish eyewitness, G. Adlerfelt, described the situation in the follow-

61 *Charles XII*, p. 242.

62 PRO, SP 95, Vol. 17; cf., Hatton, *Historiskt Magasin*, p. 59.

63 PRO, SP 95, Vol. 17; cf., Hatton, *Historiskt Magasin*, p. 61.

64 *Ibid.*, cf., Hatton, *Historiskt Magasin*, p. 62.

ing words: "The Russians laid all the towns and villages in ashes, destroying everything within a circumference of ten or twelve miles: so that nothing but fire was seen anywhere, and the air was so darkend with smoke that we could hardly see the sun".⁶⁵ The German eyewitness, Johann Wendel Bardili, similarly described the state of affairs of the Swedish Army at that time in his memoirs.⁶⁶

As the Swedish army neared to the Russian border, Mazepa ran into great difficulties. Proofs of his contacts with the enemy might have been known to the Tsar. There is reason to believe, writes Ohloblyn in his Mazepa biography, that Russian Fieldmarshal Vasilij Sheremetyev; a close friend of Mazepa, warned him in the autumn of 1708 about the Tsar's suspicion of his negotiations with the Swedish King.⁶⁷

In addition, the secretary of the French Embassy in Warsaw, Jean C. de Baluze, wrote in his report of August 19, 1708, to Paris that "here arrived rumours that there are connections between the Cossack Hetman and the Swedes".⁶⁸

These rumours were known in the circles of the Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army Adam Sieniawski, who was under the strict surveillance of the Russian resident in Poland, A. I. Dashkov. The latter reported this news to the Russian chancellor, G.I. Golovkin and later in December 1708 complained ". . . I warned about this sufficiently, but they did not want to believe me at that time."⁶⁹ In fact, Mazepa tried to persuade Sieniawski to go over to the Swedish side, as Orest Subtelny proved in his work.⁷⁰

In Moscow also rumours were spread about Mazepa's contacts with the enemy. For example, the Austrian envoy remarked in his report of November 28, 1707: "They say here that Sweden through the Polish King (Stanislaw Leszczynski) made the following offer to the Ukrainian Cossacks: If they break with Moscow, and return to Poland, and will fight against Moscow, they will get their previous privileges that they had under the Polish rule. Because of that there is great anxiety, because, as it is known, the Cossacks are deprived of many of their rights and therefore there is good reason to believe that they may accept this offer".⁷¹

The Tsar's suspicion was increased when a Polish nobleman, Jacob Ulashin, was captured by the Russian General Nicholas Inffland. Ulashin had a letter to Mazepa from the Polish General Stanislaw Poniatowski, a resident of the Polish King (Leszczynski) at the Swedish headquarters. In this letter Poniatowski asked the Hetman to release his brother, but under torture Ulashin admitted

65 Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 44-5.

66 Bardili, *Des Weyland Durchl. Printzens Maximilian Emanuels. . . Reisen und Campagnen. . .*, (Stuttgart, 1730), p. 401, (. . . Der Feind contunuirte noch immer. . . hinter sich alles abzubrennen, und nichts als blatte Land nbrig zu lassen, wodurch dann der Mangel bey der schwedischen Armeem immer vergrössert wurde").

67 Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-2.

68 *Ibid.*, p. 238.

69 Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

70 Subtelny, *On the Eve of Poltava*, pp. 24-5.

71 Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 361.

that his real mission was to transmit the request of the Polish General to the Hetman that he should join the Swedish King with all of his army as soon as the Swedes entered Ukraine.⁷²

Golovkin sent Mazepa a copy of Ulashin's confession (October 10, 1708) and the Hetman certainly was seriously disturbed by this event.⁷³ The Hetman tried to excuse himself because of serious illness and remained on the left bank of the Desna River in the vicinity of Borzna near his residence, but his excuses became difficult to sustain at the Tsar's headquarters.

When Mazepa realized that Charles XII was in Ukraine, he decided to cross the Desna River on October 25, 1708, to join him, having been driven to this step by information that Menshikov was on his way to Baturyn.⁷⁴

The Hetman took with him about 4,000 men⁷⁵ and left 3,000 men to defend his residence, the city of Baturyn, where a considerable amount of food, ammunition, and artillery was located. Mazepa gave orders to the commandant of Baturyn, Colonel Demetrius Chechel, to wait till he returned with the Swedes to defend it, if the Russians should attack.

Leaving Baturyn, the Cossacks believed that the Hetman was leading them against the Swedes. Before crossing the Desna River, Mazepa gave a speech in which he said: "The only solution for us is to rely on the compassion of the Swedish King. He has promised to respect our rights and liberties and to protect them from all those who would threaten them now or in the future. Brothers! Our time has come! Let us use this opportunity to avenge ourselves on the Muscovites for their longstanding oppression, for all injustices and cruelties they inflicted. Let us preserve for the future our liberty and our Cossack rights from their incursions".⁷⁶

The Ukrainian troops were not prepared for such a radical change, and they, as well as the Ukrainian people, were confused. Until his switch to the Swedish side Mazepa had ordered the Ukrainian Church to pray for a Russian victory, and now suddenly he advocated abandoning the Tsar and joining the Swedes.

At the Swedish headquarters Mazepa and his senior officers impressed the King and his generals. "He speaks very properly and there is much sense in all he says; he hath studied formerly and speaks the Latin tongue very well", remarked the Swedish eyewitness.⁷⁷

Mazepa's defection was a big shock for the Tsar but he quickly recovered from it and issued on October 27, 1708, a manifesto that "Hetman Mazepa got lost and nobody knows his whereabouts".⁷⁸ The next day, when it became clear that Mazepa had indeed joined the Swedes, the Tsar issued another manifesto

⁷² Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 618-9 Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁷³ Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 316.

⁷⁴ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 627; Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 316-320. Hatton, *op. cit.*, pp. 272-3.

⁷⁵ The number of troops Mazepa took to the Swedish camp is disputable. But the Swedish eyewitness J. Cederhielm, an official in the field-chancery, estimated it at 4,000; for details see: Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 328, Kentschynskyy, *Mazepa*, p. 328; Hatton, *Charles XII*, p. 277

⁷⁶ Subtelny, *The Mazepists*, p. 36; Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 627.

⁷⁷ Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 66-7; Nordberg, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 93; Bardili, *op. cit.*, p. 418, ("... Die Sprache, darinnen er gantz fertig war").

⁷⁸ Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, p. 320.

in which he informed the *starshyna* and the Ukrainian people that Mazepa had committed treason by joining the Swedish King in order “to force Ukrainians to become Catholics and return Ukraine under Polish rule”. He also appealed to the Ukrainian people to remain loyal to him, promising them “rights and liberties such as no other nation in the world had ever possessed”.⁷⁹

At the same time the Tsar ordered Menshikov to capture and destroy Mazepa’s residence, which he stormed on November 3, 1708, and as Whitworth noted in his memoirs, “the Residence Town of Baturyn was immediately taken and burnt, and above six thousand persons put to the sword without distinction of age or sex”.⁸⁰ The destruction of Baturyn and slaughter of its population has a fatal effect on the entire Ukrainian people. It was a misfortune for the Swedish Army, because supplies of food and ammunition were destroyed and artillery was taken by Menshikov.

In addition, the Tsar sent ten regiments into Ukraine and their commanders terrorized the population. Interrogations, confiscations of property, exile, and executions took place. While punishing Mazepa’s supporters, the Tsar pretended that he has no intention of abolishing the Hetmanstate. He ordered “to summon courteously as many Cossack Colonels and *starshyna* as possible. . . for the completely free election of a new hetman which will be conducted according to their ancient rights and privileges”.⁸¹ Only four of sixteen colonels and some officers arrived in the city of Hlukhiv at the beginning of November to elect a new hetman. Prior to the election, on November 5, 1708, the effigy of Mazepa was dragged to a scaffold. There Menshikov read the Hetman’s “crimes” and tore the sash of St. Andrew’s order from the effigy, which was then hanged. This execution *in absentia* was supposed to emphasize the importance of Mazepa’s “crime” against the Tsar. On November 11, 1708, the *starshyna* elected Ivan Skoropadskiy, Colonel of Starodub. Immediately after the election at the Tsar’s order, the Ukrainian bishops and prelates excommunicated Mazepa in the church in Hlukhiv, in Moscow and in other major churches in Ukraine.⁸² Thus the Tsar wanted to show to the people that Mazepa had not only committed a “crime”, but also had “sinned” against God. This excommunication (anathema), which was repeated every year during Lent till 1917,⁸³ had a great impact on the religious Ukrainian masses. By the destruction of Baturyn and cruel mass reprisals, the Tsar intended to prevent any further defection, and to crush the opposition. At his headquarters in the city of Lebydyn the Tsar ordered the interrogation of many Ukrainians known or suspected to have shared Mazepa’s policy. How these interrogations looked, is described by a

79 Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian History*, p. 376; Ohloblyn, *op. cit.*, pp. 320-1.

80 Whitworth, *An Account of Russia*. . . , p. 24.

81 *Pisma i bumagi* — , Vol. VIII, part 1, p. 237.

82 The election of Skoropadskiy as the new hetman and the hanging of Mazepa’s effigy, and the excommunication (anathema) was reported in West European press, e.g. the London *Daily Courant* of December 25, 1708, No. 2235, (on the first page); *Wienerisches Diarium* of December 25, 1708 No. 563; *Europaeische Fama*, Vol. 93, pp. 727-731d; Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 75; Nordberg, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 94-5.

83 About the legality of Mazepa’s excommunication see: O. Lotockyj, “Sprava pravosylnosti anatemuvannia hetmana Ivana Mazepy”, *PUNI*, Vol. 47, pp. 57-68.

contemporary chronicler: "Many Cossack officers and common Cossacks, suspected of being Mazepa's followers, or solely on account of not having appeared at the new hetman's election in Hlukhiv, were hunted down, brought into the Muscovite camp and tortured, broken on the wheel, quartered, or impaled. Plain hanging and simple beheading were mild punishment in comparison. People were forced under torture to confess to anything and were then punished for it".⁸⁴ The chronicler names 900 Cossack officers who were tortured to death in Lebedyn.

Mazepa was not able to mobilize the Ukrainian masses on his side. The fall of Baturyn and the executions in Hlukhiv and in Lebedyn intimidated the Ukrainian people. In fact, a split developed between those who favoured Mazepa and those who swore allegiance to Skoropadskyj. In addition, Mazepa had never been popular among the common Cossacks and the peasants. Rewards given to the Tsar's loyalists demoralized the Ukrainian population at that time and bore fruit for many years to come.

"Before, during and after the events in Hlukhiv, Peter I issued a series of manifestos denouncing Mazepa and his Swedish and Polish allies," writes Subtelny, who answered accordingly.⁸⁵ The "manifesto war" served to publicize the values that each side contended it stood for. But since almost the whole of Ukraine was occupied by Russian troops, the Ukrainians had no choice and were in favour of the status quo. In general, Ukraine, terrorized by the Russian troops, maintained a mostly passive attitude towards the Swedish army. However, Mazepa was successful in persuading the Zaporozhian Cossacks to join the Swedish King. The leader ("koshovyj") of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, Constantine Hordienko, brought on April 6, 1709 (N.S.), 8,000 men to join Mazepa.⁸⁶ They were a big asset to the Swedish army, because the Swedes had suffered great losses during the winter of 1708-9, which was extraordinarily severe. "The weather proved a more determined enemy than the Russians", remarked Hatton in her work.⁸⁷ Several thousand Swedish soldiers perished from the harsh winter, diminishing the already weakened Swedish forces.

The Zaporozhian Cossacks concluded two agreements: one with Mazepa, acknowledging him as their hetman, and one with the Swedish King in the village of Budyschi in April 1709 (N.S.), in which the purposes and the terms of the war against Russia were clarified.⁸⁸ According to this treaty the Swedish

⁸⁴ Doroshenko, *A Survey*, p. 377. For details about interrogations and torture of Ukrainians in Lebydyn see O. Hrushevskyj, "Hlukhiv i Lebydyn, 1708-1709", *ZNTS*, (1909), Vol. 92, pp. 21-55.

⁸⁵ For details see: Subtelny, *The Mazepists*, pp. 40-43; Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 650-1; Kentschynskyj. "The political struggle of Mazepa and Charles XII for Ukrainian Independence", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XV, No. 3, (1959), pp. 241-259. Kentschynskyj also published the Tsar's manifesto of October 28, 1708, in his Mazepa's biography, pp. 368-9, and the first page of Mazepa's Manifesto of 1709, Claude I. Nordmann also published Mazepa's Manifesto of 1709 in full with the French translation in his dissertation *Charles XII et l'Ukraine de Mazepa*, pp. 64-71.

⁸⁶ Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 104-5; Bardili, *op. cit.*, p. 130, Nordberg, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 130 (he mentioned 15,000 men, but it was 8,000).

⁸⁷ Hatton, *Charles XII*, p. 280.

⁸⁸ Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 627; Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 105-6; cf. For details see: "The Swedish-Ukrainian Treaties of Alliances, 1708-1709", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 1, (1959), pp. 47-57.

King promised not to make peace with the Tsar until full independence for Ukraine and the Zaporozhian Cossacks had been secured.

Through the participation of the Zaporozhian Cossacks, the position of Mazepa was changed from vassalage to one of equality among allies. Now, the Hetman became "Charles's banker: sixty thousand *Thaler* needed to pay the Valloche regiment and for other expenses was handed over against a Swedish bill", noted Hatton.⁸⁹

The presence of the Zaporozhian Cossacks on the Swedish side was also of strategic and diplomatic importance. They possessed a large flotilla of boats, which was capable of transporting 3,000 men at a time across broad rivers. The Swedish King needed to transport Leszczynski's army, Crassaw's corps and Swedish recruits over the Dniro at a location which the Russians would not expect. In addition, the Zaporozhian Cossacks secured not only portal communication with Poland, the Crimea and Turkey, but also opened the door for an alliance with the Ottomans. However, negotiations with the Turks advanced slowly; only the Crimean Khan was willing to join the Swedes against Russia. The Tsar realized the danger from the Tartars and sent his troops to the rear of the Zaporozhian Cossacks. By this manoeuvre he destroyed the Zaporozhian flotilla at Perevolochna on the Dniro and at the mouth of the Vorskla River. This, like the destruction of Baturyn, had fatal consequences later.

The objective of the Swedish King was to force the Tsar to accept a decisive battle and destroy his main force. Early in May 1709 he moved with his army southwards and besieged the city of Poltava on the river Vorskla. His plan was to use the siege of Poltava in order to induce the Tsar to offer the decisive battle. The battle took place on June 27, (July 9, n.s.) 1709. Mazepa and his men did not actively participate in the battle, but stood in the rear of the camp at the village of Pushkarivka, where they guarded the baggage.⁹⁰

Several hours after the battle, Charles XII, Mazepa, 1,000 Swedes, and 2,000 Cossacks were to escape and flee to Bender. During the flight "our Cossacks conducted us like Pilots in an open sea, and knew all the vales and rivulets, and all the morasse which lay in our way. Mazepa himself was not ignorant of any part of this desert".⁹¹ Subtelny rightly remarked that "had it not been for the aid of Mazepa and Zaporozhian Cossacks, the Swedish King would probably have been captured" by the Russians.⁹² After arriving at Bender, the aging Mazepa (70 years old) became very ill and on October 2 (n.s.), 1709, died in Varytsia, a suburb of Bender.⁹³ On March 18, 1710, his body was transferred and buried at St. George's Cathedral in the city of Galatz.⁹⁴

After Mazepa's death, his followers elected Philip Orlyk (sometimes spelled as "Orlick", 1762-1742), as their new Hetman (April 5, 1710) and did not give up their hope of liberating Ukraine with the aid of Sweden and the Porte. Charles

⁸⁹ Hatton, *Charles XII*, p. 284.

⁹⁰ S. Tomashivskij, "Iz zapysok Korolintsiv pro 1708-9 r.," *ZNTS*, Vol. 92, (1909), pp. 87-8.

⁹¹ Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 247; Cf. Bardili, *op. cit.*, pp. 468-7; Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 702-3; Hatton, *Charles XII*, pp. 309-310.

⁹² Subtelny, *The Mazepists*, p. 52.

⁹³ Krupnyckyj, "Miscellanea Mazepiana", *PUNI*, Vol. 47, pp. 90-92.

⁹⁴ Vozniak, "Benderska Komisja po smerty Mazepy", *PUNI*, Vol. 46, p. 107.

XII promised that he would not make peace with the Tsar until Ukraine was free. Turkey, fearful of Russian expansion, joined Sweden and on November 20, 1710, declared war on Russia. Initially, the united forces of the Ukrainian, the pro-Swedish Polish, and Tartar troops, (approximately 50,000 men), were quite successful, but then the whole campaign against Russia proved to be a failure, and all the troops were forced to retreat.

Most feasible but least popular among Mazepa's followers was the plan to establish a Ukrainian state on the Right-Bank-Ukraine under Ottoman protection. However, there were two reasons why this plan did not materialize. Firstly, the Swedish King objected to the idea of an Ottoman protectorate. In fact, he considered Hetman Orlyk to be his vassal and forbade him to negotiate with the Porte.⁹⁵ Secondly, "in Orlyk's view, the Turkish protectorate was more dangerous in the religious sense of letting the 'infidel' within the Christian fold than in purely political and military terms."⁹⁶

In summary, Orlyk's anti-Muslim prejudices, Ottoman's unwillingness to force the issue, and the stubborn opposition of Poles, repeatedly blocked the project of creating a Ukrainian state on the Right-Bank-Ukraine. The Cossacks were used by their allies for their own purposes, and when the Turks concluded a peace treaty with Poland on April 22, 1714, the fate of Ukraine and the Cossacks was sealed.⁹⁷

(To be continued)

⁹⁵ Subtelny, *The Mazepists*, p. 91, ("... The King argued that 'The Porte is hardly willing or able to liberate your fatherland from Muscovite yoke; it is evident that it can hardly force the Muscovites to fulfill the articles according to which it (Ukraine) would return to its ancient state'").

⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 95.

⁹⁷ For details see; Subtelny, *The Mazepists*, p. 119; Hatton, *Charles XII*, pp. 309-336; Massie, *Peter the Great*, pp. 529-566; O. Haintz, *König Karl XII von Schweden*, (Berlin, 1958), Vol. II, pp. 96-145.

THE MASSACRE OF WORKERS AT NOVOCHERKAS'K

A Chapter in the History of the Working Class in the USSR

In many quarters the Soviet Union is often thought of as the realisation of the worker's dream. The Soviet Union is said to be the workers' state. 'Workers unite' is after all the slogan which the Soviet press repeats to distraction in just about every issue of its publications. The workers of Novocherkas'k (a town just over the Ukrainian border, near Rostov-on-Don) did unite, for a few days albeit, in 1962 in defence of their rights, for a living wage, for better living conditions. The response of the Soviet Russian authorities was both violent and bloody. It ultimately shattered any minute hope anybody could have had of any justice for workers and the rest of the population of the Soviet Union.

Another vexing question which arose out of this tragic affair was that though snippets of news filtered to the West at the time, the press and the media were reluctant to check them and remained sceptical that anything on such a scale could happen under their very noses without them knowing about it. They chose to ignore rather than to investigate. This is evidence of how Moscow is able to conceal before the eyes of the world mass killings of innocent people who had put forward legitimate demands. But then, the same was true of the events of 1932-33. Though a deliberately planned famine raged in Ukraine political and economic interests rode over humanitarian ones. In today's world where human rights have been justly enshrined in international agreements surely these rights should be extended and enjoyed by all, including the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe, (amongst whom are the Ukrainians one of the largest nations in that part of Europe)!

The events at Novocherkas'k, during which several hundreds of workers, soldiers, women and children met their cruel deaths, took place in June 1962. The workers of the locomotive factory in Novocherkas'k and in the Donbas mining region rose in discontent because of a cut in their wages which was accompanied by a rise in the prices of basic food products. The workers expressed their protest by withdrawing their labour and going on strike. We now know that a peaceful demonstration which was mounted in the town of Novocherkas'k before the Party local headquarters was met in a most brutal fashion by units of the KGB who opened fire on the crowds. After this soldiers of the regular army stationed at Novocherkas'k who had refused to open fire on demonstrators, were dealt with summarily by military courts and some of them were executed. This story has become known through an account given by a former Soviet Army soldier, *Y. Yelin*, who was a witness of these events and who, whilst serving in the Soviet Army in East Germany, decided to cross to the West where he remained for a few years and then, after he came under pressure from Russian emigres living in the in the West and relatives, he 'returned' to the Soviet Union.

Yelin's 'return' took place in highly suspicious circumstances. Yelin quite freely entered the train which was heading for the German Democratic Republic but he was accompanied by some young people from the embassy and in the flat where he lived the lock was found to be forced and blood-stains were visible elsewhere. A few years later, some of the new arrivals from the Soviet Union who had completed their sentences and had been expelled, said that they had found Yelin in the labour camps completely demoralised and a broken man. He had been sentenced to ten years in the labour camps. (The following account has been translated from Ukrainian)

*

In the summer of 1962 I was undergoing an apprenticeship at the Budyonny electric locomotive factory in Novocherkas'k. Around 20.000 workers were employed there and many apprentices received their training there. Amongst them were boys from the technical school where I studied at the time.

Trepidation arose in Novocherkas'k for two reasons: first of all, it was announced that the price of meat and dairy products would go up. Secondly, at the same time production costs were cut at a series of enterprises. If we are to take into account that the life of many workers even without these measures was already difficult, for example, people could just about make ends meet, they lived in overcrowded flats so that simultaneous price-rises of food products and the reduction of tariff-levels at work (which means that a worker in order to receive his pay as before would have to finish more components in a particular unit of time — the components then became cheaper; this, in the USSR, is called 'reduction of tariff-levels' — *'znyzhennya roztsinok'*) could not have avoided provoking general dissatisfaction and protest. What is more, everybody knew about the despatch of these products to Cuba, India and Egypt.

Everything began during the dinner-break on 1st June at 2 a.m.. Across the factory radio-system it was announced that the tariff had been reduced for some components in the steel work-shop. Trepidation shook the workers. Then they switched on their radios to hear the latest news from Moscow. Amongst the news-items they heard about the price-rises of food products. This news spread through the factory and provoked general discontent. People could not understand: there they are raising food prices and here they are just reducing tariff-levels.

Because it was dinner-time the workers gathered in groups and, as time passed on, they began to talk more boldly and loudly about the 'news'. Voices began to reverberate: "Wages are low but prices have grown. How are we going to feed our children?" — "This is not correct!" — "What are the bosses thinking about?"

Many of the workers were, in fact, living very poorly and sometimes even in poverty. A good wage earned by a skilled worker was at the time 100-110 roubles a month; there were others who received 60-70 roubles, whereas single

parent mothers who worked as ancillary workers and cleaners received even less.

But let us return to the events of that day. When quite a large group of people gathered in the steel work-shop, they decided to send a delegation to the directors for an explanation. They instructed the delegates: find out everything in detail. If the news about price-rises is correct, then let them leave the old tariff-levels. The delegation went to the factory management but there was nobody there. Probably the director, chief engineer and party secretary had managed to escape. The flight of the administration plunged the workers into a new rage. At the time I worked in the smithy work-shop, this was hard work. The workers of my shop began to come out in groups onto the factory grounds and the street, joining up with workers of other shops. The crowd soon became larger, noise and shouts grew. At this moment suddenly the alarm hooters of the locomotives began to sound. With this came the strong howl of our factory hooter. It was as if the hooter had announced that a general factory strike had begun.

Alongside our factory which is situated nearly 6-7 km. outside Novocherkas'k, runs a railway line. When the unrest broke out at the factory, a passenger train was passing from Saratov to Rostov. The workers stood on the railway line and stopped the train. At first, the passengers sat quietly but when they saw the workers, they came off the train and asked what was the matter. This was explained to them. Some of them shook their hands and returned to their carriages but others supported the workers and also expressed their anger. Some of the workers approached the engine-driver and demanded that he give signals but when he refused they forced him off and began to signal themselves.

Another group of workers made for the factory basement from where the hooter was operated and where a watchman always sat, so that nobody could switch on at will the hooter-signal. At the request of the workers to switch on the hooter-signal, he began to refuse referring to his position in service. Then the workers tied him up and let the hooter off, leaving their own guards there.

By 13.00 hours a few thousand workers stood in the factory grounds, almost the whole of the first shift. At this time several cars arrived at the factory with the chiefs of the local garrison. A radio-transmitter was placed on one of the cars. Amongst the officers was a lieutenant colonel who addressed the workers with the proposition that they return to their work-places. He also appealed to them not to wreck any of the equipment and machines. But nobody was going to do this even without this reminder. The officer's speech provoked a reaction from the crowd which he did not expect. The people were alarmed at the sight of the military and the officer's empty speech. As a mark of protest, they overturned the cars and called upon the military to depart while they remained in one piece.

Seeing what turn matters had taken, the colonel agreed to leave but asked that the cars be put back on their wheels which the workers did, and then the cars went with the guests inside them.

After a while, the chief engineer came past the factory. The workers stopped the vehicle and requested that the management give a speech on the occasion of the cut in tariff-levels. Because the engineer did not want to come out of the car, he

was dragged out, and because there was no stand, he was put on a truck from where he could be seen well by all. He only repeated that it was not his concern and not his decision, for such questions are decided by the Party and the Party knows what it is doing. He was listened with dissatisfaction. Angry shouts rang out. One woman climbed onto the truck, pushed the engineer aside and with tears in her eyes began to talk about her life.

Until then the alarm had been sounding for nearly two hours and workers from other shifts and ordinary citizens from the town and the suburban villages began to gather near the factory. By 15.30 workers came for the second shift. Amongst them were many trainee apprentices who supported the mood of the workers and called upon everyone not to disperse but to demand a solution of their problems. When nearly ten thousand men gathered near the factory and, perhaps more, cars with militiamen drove up. The militiamen came out of their cars and approached the people who stood, one as a monolith. I do not know what plans they had. Did they hope that the people might panic upon seeing them and then flee, or did they intend to start agitating the workers, in any case, when the crowd saw how much militia had arrived and was advancing upon them, the people became extremely aroused. Shouting and cursing the whole crowd threw itself at the militia.

After the militia had fled new columns of soldiers arrived on armoured carriers. They came up to the very entrance of the factory, came out of their vehicles and falling into lines, some of them entered the doorway, whereas others surrounded the whole factory site. But the soldiers behaved very correctly and did not attempt to touch the workers.

By midday slogans had appeared. Along the railway line poles had been erected for an electric circuit (the route was being converted for electric traction). On these wires the workers and apprentices hung their slogans demanding a change in the ruling about price-rises, housing for the people, to improve supplies, etc. Somebody had written on the locomotive's tender: "Khrushchev for meat!" Nobody wiped out this call until the locomotive was withdrawn to the depot. In the factory grounds portraits of members of the CPSU Central Committee had been mounted. When the tumult had begun these portraits were torn down and trampled underfoot, whereas Khrushchev's portrait was torn to shreds.

When dusk fell an approaching noise was heard, these were tanks which were moving. They drove up to the factory very fast and began to enter the grounds. Then the youth, and even school boys, began to jump onto the armour and began to cover the viewing slits with grass and rags, so that the drivers could not see where they were going. One of the tanks with its viewing slits covered with a blanket slid into a ditch which had been dug for a high voltage cable, the muzzle of its cannon had stuck into the ground. However, despite the efforts of the youth, they could not prevent the tanks from getting into the factory.

That evening a train arrived at the factory with an army unit which was returning from training. These were older soldiers who had been taken for retraining. The military train was going through Novocherkas'k, so it was stopped here and diverted with its cannons and tanks up to the factory.

During the night I decided to go to the factory to see what was happening there and whether the third, that is the night shift, was working. I entered the grounds and my smithy work-shop without any hindrance. Nobody was starting work. Three workers approached me, one older one and two younger; they asked what I was doing here. I replied that I had come to see whether my work-shop was at work. Then the eldest said something quietly to the two younger ones and left. But the other two led me out of the work-shop and beat me up. This, as became clear, was a workers' patrol and they did not allow strike-breakers back to work. I was taken as a traitor and was forced out of the factory.

On the morning of 2nd June a great mass of people moved towards the town to the local Party headquarters. As the people went along their way, the soldiers did not stop them and let them pass on the road. A crowd of soldiers went past. I quickly dressed, sat on my bicycle and also rode there. But before the town patrols, tanks and tankettes were positioned on bridges and did not allow anybody into the town. I managed to draw away the attention of an officer and got through. In the centre of the town all the streets, the park, and soon the whole square became packed to the brim with people. Some people held appeals and placards with demands of an economic nature. I did not see political demands.

When I got through the crowd closer to the building of the town's Party Committee the first secretary of the Novocherkas'k Party Committee was addressing (the crowd). He stated that the Party cares for the needs of the people, that the increase in prices was needed for the people themselves. He was constantly interrupted by shouts and demands that he stop talking nonsense and to get off. They shouted "Enough of your promises! Stop lying to us!"

Tension was rising in the crowd, in the small park the flowers had been watered and the ground was soggy. The crowd began to throw this mud from the flowerbeds at him until he left the balcony. In front of the very building stood Russian soldiers and officers with automatic weapons but they did not stir. From their insignia it was clear they were KGB soldiers.

At this moment me and my friend with whom I was standing had run out of cigarettes. I went to the shop, bought some cigarettes and returning to my place, I heard in front of me a dry burst of fire and smoke.

The crowd fell silent. Everybody stuck their necks out and looked ahead to see what was happening there. New shots echoed. I did not hear the command. The people continued to stand and only looked at each other in amazement. Nobody believed that one's own soldiers would shoot at a crowd which consisted of many women, elderly people and children. But at that moment an automatic round of fire rang out. The crowd grew unsteady and looked as if it was beginning to split up and spread out. At the back it seemed they had not yet understood what had actually happened and continued to stand but those who were closer to the Party headquarters and the Party executive building began to struggle through the crowds shouting: "The're shooting! The're killing!" It was then that indiscriminate firing from automatic weapons commenced. People ran in all directions looking for hiding places and safety. I also ran and made for the shop where I had bought the cigarettes.

The shooting continued relatively not for very long. When everything fell quiet, I looked out of the window of the shop and saw that the square before the local Party headquarters was strewn with the wounded and dead. They were being dragged away. How many were dead, it was difficult to say. Lying in the square there were 200-250 people, but executions took place in other parts of the town. Witnesses later said that the soldiers of Novocherkas'k garrison had refused to carry out this criminal order and were later sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and even to be executed.

It was the military units of the KGB who fired at the crowd, amongst whom were local units and others who had been brought in by aeroplane.

That day my friend with whom I had been standing before the town's Party headquarters, was also shot down.

When the shots in the square had died out the people began to come out of their hiding-places. Then shots rang out near the militia station. Why — I do not know. It may have been that people had wanted to break into the premises of the militia station to get arms. The official version was that the militia supposedly shot at people who were taking advantage of the break-down in order and wanted to rob the neighbouring bank. But nobody believes this version. Also there was talk of how a part of the crowd went to the local prison to release its inmates. In that crowd there were many women, youths and children who went along hoping they would save their family from a prison sentence. They were met by shots from the prison. Some were killed, others wounded.

On the third day Mikoyan and Polians'kyi flew in (maybe more members of the CPSU Central Committee flew in, because witnesses spoke of Mikoyan and Kozlov, but not all surnames could be ascertained. It probably was a large commission because already in 1969 one of the professors of history of the CPSU at the Kyiv Institute of Civil Engineering told everybody about his own part in the commissions in Novocherkas'k and in Leningrad). They went to the factories and spoke to the workers, however, not in groups but one at a time. But when these highly placed people with their consort approached the worker and asked how he lived and does he have any complaints, the worker felt lost and replied that he does not complain about anything.

During the evening Mikoyan spoke on the local radio. He cynically stated that the greatest worry of the Party and the government was the well-being of the people. They are doing their utmost within their province so that the people would live better. But as far as prices are concerned, Mikoyan explained that this measure was very necessary because demand exceeds production and the purchase price in the collective and state farms needed to be raised. The money for this should come from the city population. About the unrest Mikoyan uttered not a word and nothing about the executions of workers. But he severely criticized the local authorities for poor supply and promised all errors would be corrected. And really, after Mikoyan's speech the shops were filled up with goods but at the new increased prices and the population all the same did not have the capability to purchase (goods).

After the bloody events in the town a curfew was announced. For a fortnight from 9 p.m. to 6 a.m. people were to sit at home. But the evenings were so wonderful that the young people, having nothing else to do, went out on the streets.

Then these boys and girls were seized and taken about 20-30 km. outside the town where they were confined in huts and empty barracks and kept there for three days without food or water.

At night, with the onset of the curfew, arrests took place. They were mass-arrests and it is difficult to ascertain some number. They seized people, first of all, those who had manifested themselves in any way during the unrest, who resisted pressure and spoke (at gatherings). During a whole month trials were held, both open and *in camera*, of those who took part in the events of Novocherkas'k. But the trials took place in small rooms where only two score or a little more could fit in. Managers were tried in open courts: they were accused of poorly supplying the town which apparently caused the unrest. Also there was persistent talk about court martials in the local garrison and in Rostov at which soldiers and officers were sentenced who had refused to shoot at the people.

That the soldiers of the local garrison did not shoot at the crowd was seen by all. The executions were carried out, as I have already related, by local KGB military units and by units brought from the outside, as well as by the militia, for which they are all especially hated by the people.

Stories were told about the commander of a subordinate tank unit who, when, he was ordered to open fire at the workers, got out of his tank, tore up his party membership card before the eyes of a crowd of a thousand people, then took out his revolver and shot himself. When women and young people, threw themselves under the tracks of tanks shouting: "Crush us, all the same, this is not life!" — many tank drivers stopped the tanks, switched off the engine and came out into the open.

After these events I had some trouble. Somebody noticed I was on the locomotive when the train was stopped. The KGB was informed about this and they summoned me there on a few occasions for questioning. The KGB men showed me many photographs and asked me to point out various people but I did not know these people and did not help them with anything. The last time I was summoned was over a year and a half later when I was in the army. A relative sent me the summons. This was one of the reasons which made me flee to the West.

It seems to me that the events at Novocherkas'k were not in vain. They showed that the Party and the government would take extreme measures in order to defend their authority. They showed that the people are disorganized, not aware and without experience of open action against the authorities.

I do not wish to be a prophet but such conditions could develop, a new conflict could arise which could provoke a new protest on a much wider scale than Novocherkas'k. Then that experience should not be lost. The main lessons are: being organized, swiftness, assuming the offensive, and to spread the action to other districts.

We do not need to be afraid of bloody vengeance against communists. This did not happen in Novocherkas'k, nor in Donetsk, nor Artemivsk.

A lot, obviously, will depend on the behaviour of those loyal to the regime. As far as I have gathered, such supporters will not be that many if all the people arise in defence of their rights and freedom.

Documents and Reports

D'AMATO INTRODUCES UKRAINIAN FAMINE RESOLUTION IN SENATE

Washington — UNIS: On March 30, Senator *Alfonse D'Amato* of New York introduced into the United States Senate a resolution commemorating the Ukrainian famine of 1933. The concurrent resolution, co-sponsored by Senators *Jesse Helms* (R-NC), *J. James Exon* (D-NEB), *Daniel Patrick Moynihan* (D-NY), *Don Nickles* (R-OK), *Bill Bradley* (D-NJ) and *John Heinz* (R-PA), is identical to House Concurrent Resolution 111, which passed the House of Representatives on November 17, 1983. H. Con. Res. 111, introduced by Representatives *Gerald Solomon* (R-NY) and *Hamilton Fish* (R-NY), had 84 other co-sponsors. Senator *D'Amato* is seeking co-sponsors for his resolution.

In his statement, addressed to the President, Senator *D'Amato* said, "Mr. President, 1983 marked the 50th anniversary of the Soviet-perpetuated famine which resulted in the senseless starvation of more than 7 million innocent men, women, and children in Ukraine. Unlike the famines which have been caused by natural disaster, the Ukrainian famine of 1932-33 was a deliberate and calculated effort by the Soviets, led by Stalin, to crush the Ukrainian people and break their independent spirit and strong sense of nationalism. . . We cannot, and must not, forget the sacrifice of more than 7 million. . . who perished."

The text of the Senate Resolution commemorating the Ukrainian famine is as follows:

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring),

To commemorate the Ukrainian famine of 1933.

Whereas over seven million Ukrainians in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which was created as the result of direct aggression by the Russian Communist military forces against the Ukrainian National Republic in 1918-1920, died of starvation during the years 1932-1933; and

Whereas the Soviet Russian Government, having full and complete control of the entire food supplies within the borders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, nevertheless failed to take relief measures to check the disastrous famine or to alleviate the catastrophic conditions arising from it, but on the contrary used the famine as a means of reducing the Ukrainian population and destroying Ukrainian national, political, cultural, and religious rights; and

Whereas the Soviet Russian Government targeted the Ukrainian people for destruction as a whole by directing special draconic decrees against Ukrainian intelligentsia as “bourgeois Ukrainian nationalists”, and against the Ukrainian Autocephalic Orthodox Church as “a remnant of the old prejudicial ‘opiate of the people’” — committed on a gigantic and unprecedented scale the heinous crime of genocide, as defined by the United Nations Genocide Convention; and

Whereas numerous appeals from prominent organizations and individuals throughout the world, such as the League of Nations, the International Red Cross, and several groups of parliamentarians from the United Kingdom, Switzerland, Belgium, and Holland who earnestly appealed to the Soviet Russian Government for appropriate steps to help the millions of starving Ukrainians, went unheeded by the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; and

Whereas intercessions have been made at various times by the United States during the course of its history on behalf of citizens of countries persecuted by their governments, indicating that it has been the traditional policy of the United States to take cognizance of such destruction of human beings as the famine holocaust in Ukraine, and

Whereas on May 28, 1934, some six months after the formal recognition of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics by the United States, Congressman Hamilton Fish, of New York, introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution (H. Res. 399. 73d Cong., 2d sess.) calling for international condemnation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for its genocidal and barbarous destruction of the Ukrainian people: Now, therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That it is the sense of Congress that the President of the United States shall take in the name of humanity immediate and determined steps to —

- (1) issue a proclamation in mournful commemoration of the great famine in Ukraine during the year 1933, which constituted a deliberate and imperialistic policy of the Soviet Russian Government to destroy the intellectual elite and large segments of the population of Ukraine and thus enhance its totalitarian communist rule over the conquered Ukrainian nation;

- (2) issue a warning that continued enslavement of the Ukrainian nation as well as other non-Russian nations within the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics constitutes a threat to world peace and normal relationships among the peoples of Europe and the world at large; and

- (3) manifest to the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics through an appropriate and official means the historic fact that the people of the United States share with them their aspirations for the recovery of their freedom and national independence.

CONGRESS CONDEMNS BANNING OF RFE/RL FROM WINTER OLYMPICS

Washington, — UNIS: On March 15 Congressman Ron Packard of California introduced a Resolution to protest the denial by the IOC of accreditation to Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty correspondents covering the 14th Winter Olympic Games at Sarajevo, Yugoslavia and to urge the International Olympic Committee to reassert its accreditation to correspondents covering future Olympic Games, including those that will be held in Los Angeles.

The people of the Soviet bloc depend upon RFE/RL for news of international events as well as for uncensored news out of their own countries. By silencing their coverage of the Olympic Games, the IOC has buckled under Soviet pressures to silence RFE/RL and restrict the free exchange of information.

The International Olympic Committee decision was described by Max Kampelman, U.S. Ambassador to the Helsinki Review Conference, as having “undermined the spirit of Helsinki”. It was also in violation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which states “everyone has the right of freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and *regardless of frontiers*”.

Unless this ruling is reversed “a major American tax-supported news organization will be denied the right to cover a major international sports event taking place on American soil”, said James Buckley, RFE/RL President.

Congressman Packard is seeking co-sponsors for House Concurrent Resolution 270.

DECONCINI QUESTIONS MEESE ON O.S.I. DURING CONFIRMATION HEARINGS

Washington — UNIS: During the confirmation hearings of Edwin Meese as Attorney General of the United States, Senator Dennis DeConcini of Arizona posed a question to Mr. Meese on the use of Soviet evidence by the Justice Department’s Office of Special Investigations (O.S.I.).

Mr Meese stated that although he was not very familiar with the subject, he intended to address this problem as Attorney General.

The dialogue during the hearing was as follows:

Senator DeConcini: . . . Now, Mr. Meese, I would like to ask you a question regarding the Office of Special Investigations. This was created by Congress in 1978 to find and prosecute naturalized US citizens who concealed their activities during World War II in order to enter the United States.

Recently, it has been reported that O.S.I. has collaborated closely with the Soviet government, particularly the KGB in obtaining evidence against alleged Nazi war criminals. In some cases these individuals have been outspoken critics of the Soviet government.

While I certainly approve of the purpose of the O.S.I. programme, I do have concerns about the close collaboration with the KGB and the possibility of the Soviet government manipulating these investigations for their own purposes. Do you have any comments on, first, the Office of the O.S.I. and its investigations.

Do you think it is proper for Justice Department prosecutors to rely heavily on the evidence obtained by the Soviet government?

Mr. Meese: Senator, I have not done an exhaustive search. I know of the existence of this department or this office within justice. I do not know what its experience has been. This is something that at your request I would be happy to look into, if I am confirmed, but I honestly do not know enough about it to give a judgment.

I would say that I think it is important that there would be an independent evaluation of the quality of the evidence in these particular cases because of the source that you mentioned.

Senator DeConcini: So, I can take it from that answer that if you are confirmed you intend to closely scrutinize the evidence that is before the O.S.I. on these cases and if indeed I am correct, that much of it comes from the Soviet government, you would reassess the use of that evidence. Is that correct? Is that a fair summary?

Mr. Meese: That is a fair summary.

Senator DeConcini: Thank you. . .

Senator DeConcini is the Co-Chairman of the Democratic Nationalities Council. Senator DeConcini, the other Co-Chairman Representative Marcy Kaptur of Ohio and the Democratic Nationalities Council were sent information on the O.S.I. issue by the Ukrainian Information Service. UNIS, directed by Kateryna Chumachenko, also wrote to every Senator on the Judiciary Committee, requesting that the issue of the use of Soviet evidence by the O.S.I. be brought up during the confirmation hearings.

EDWARD SCHREYER FELLOWSHIP IN UKRAINIAN STUDIES

Funds from the Chair of Ukrainian Studies Foundation provide a fellowship to be awarded to an outstanding post-doctoral candidate doing research that will result in published work on some aspect of Ukrainian studies — history, language, literature, art, political science, economics, sociology. A sum of \$5,000 will be awarded to the successful candidate.

Applicants must have a Ph.D. degree or have the equivalent in scholarly achievements. Awards may be made annually. The recipient is expected to have presented a plan for the completion of a work intended for publication and to inform the Chair of Ukrainian Studies on his or her progress. A seminar on the candidate's research should be presented during the academic year. Pre-

ference is given to candidates who will reside in the Toronto area during the academic year.

The deadline for applications is April 1st. The nominee for the fellowship will be announced within one month after the deadline. The applications will be reviewed and the nominee chosen by a faculty committee. Applications are available by request in writing to the Chair of Ukrainian Studies, University of Toronto, 100 St. George Street, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1.

SHEPTYTS'KYI CONFERENCE FINALIZED

Toronto, Ontario. The time and structure of the three-day international scholarly conference on the life of Metropolitan Andrei Sheptyts'kyi have been finalized. The conference will take place at the University of Toronto on November 22-24, which is forty years since the death of the influential Ukrainian religious leader.

Twenty-three papers will be delivered by noted scholars from seven countries in North America, Europe, and Israel. The papers will be organized into six sessions covering various aspects of the metropolitan's career: (1) Introduction and historiography; (2) Sheptyts'kyi and politics; (3) Sheptyts'kyi during world War II; (4) religious activity and ideology, (5) Sheptyts'kyi and society; (6) Sheptyts'kyi and Eastern Rite Catholics abroad.

To accompany the scholarly programme, there will be a display of Sheptytskyi's writings and works about him in the University of Toronto Robarts Library. Also an ecumenical religious service with participation by several Christian and Jewish clergy will take place in the exquisite chapel of the Anglican Trinity College on the University of Toronto campus. Evening banquets on Friday and Saturday will feature talks by a leading religious figure and a lay theologian.

The full texts of the papers will subsequently be published. The three-day scholarly conference on the life of Metropolitan Sheptyts'kyi is being organized by the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto as part of the millennium celebration of Christianity in Rus'-Ukraine.

UNVEILING OF MEMORIAL FOR UNKNOWN SOLDIERS OF UPA

A memorial dedicated to the unknown soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was unveiled on Sunday, April 29 at St. Andrew's Ukrainian Orthodox Cemetery in South Bound Brook, New Jersey in the United States, the memorial building committee recently announced.

The solemn observances began with a procession from St. Andrew's Memorial Ukrainian Orthodox Church to the site of the new monument, located in a section of St. Andrew's Cemetery specifically designated for UPA members. Metropolitan Mstyslav, head of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, and the Very Rev. Dr. Ivan Hrynioch, a Ukrainian Catholic priest who resides in West Germany, conducted the liturgical services including a *panakhyda*, (service of

remembrance) in honour of all those who gave their lives for Ukraine as soldiers in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The two spiritual leaders were joined by members of the clergy of both the Ukrainian Orthodox and the Ukrainian Catholic churches to bless the monument on *Providna Nedilia*, Seeing-Off Sunday, a day when Ukrainians come to the graves and share with them the riches of their blessed Easter baskets, the *paska* and the *pysanky*.

Members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, soldiers of other Ukrainian combat units, Ukrainian American war veterans, members of Ukrainian youth organizations as well as members of the Ukrainian community attended the unveiling ceremonies.

After the ceremonies at the monument, the clergy also blessed the gravestones of deceased UPA members Ivan Choma-Bohdan, Yuriy Lopatynsky-Kalyna and Petro Mykolenko.

The late Messrs, Lopatynsky-Kalyna, Ivan Choma-Bohdan and Mykhailo Ozymko-Zalizniak were among the initiators of the memorial project. Their ideas were carried out by a committee consisting of Lev Kotliar, chairman; Alexander Bilevych, Bohdan Mak and Volodymyr Yurkevych. Three other former UPA members joined this effort including Mykola Lebed, Ivan Dmytryk and Orest Mostovy.

The project was designed by artist Bohdan Domanyk, in cooperation with architect Bohdan Gerulak.

The memorial will serve as an everlasting reminder of the bravery of the young men who fought for freedom for Ukraine during World War II, according to committee members.

By 1942, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, organized by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, had established itself as the leading nationalist resistance force in Ukraine. As a guerrilla force and later as an underground formation the UPA continued operating until the early 1950s. During its strongest campaigns, it reportedly numbered close to 40,000 soldiers.

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Book Reviews

A TWO-VOLUME EDITION OF GERMAN DOCUMENTS ABOUT THE UPA

The *Litopys UPA* is the name chosen for a series of historical books in Ukrainian with an aim of publishing historical documents and relevant materials pertaining to the history of the *Ukrains'ka Povstans'ka Armiia* or UPA (the Ukrainian Insurgent Army) which fought both the Nazi Germans and Bolshevik Russians during World War II. Nine volumes of this series have appeared so far. Each volume relates to UPA's activities in a particular territory but within a certain time period, as for instance the UPA in Volyn' in Halychyna, or in Polish-occupied territories. The very first book of the *Litopys UPA* is devoted to Volyn' and Polissya, the region where in 1942 the first units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army were formed. This volume appeared in 1978.

More recently, Volumes 6 and 7 have published German documents about UPA. The *Litopys UPA* is also publishing the documents and materials of occupying regimes fought by the UPA because such publications are a valuable research tool: they illuminate what happened among the UPA's opponents, how they reacted to the UPA and the Ukrainian national-liberation struggle, what means they adopted for fighting the UPA, and to what extent they were in fact successful. These documents also contain much information about the UPA, oftentimes being the only existing source with respect to a certain event or matter. At present, it is possible to publish only German World War II documents, since many of them have already been put in order and therefore accessible to researchers.

We therefore recommend to the reader the first such collection — a two-volume edition of German documents from various higher-level institutions associated with events in Ukraine, such as the “Fermde Heere Ost” the “Sicherheitsdienst” (SD), various army staffs and corps, etc. In general, the collected documents characterize German policy toward the UPA and toward Ukraine. Because most of the documents deal with general issues, and only a few deal with specific regions and events, the collection has been given the title *The UPA in Light of German Documents*.

The documents included in the two-volume edition, *The UPA in Light of German Documents*, have been collected and compiled by Taras Hunczak. The original documents are published in the German language and excerpts of the document are printed in English. Here is the full text of the Preface to Volume Six.

The story of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (*Ukrainska Povstanska Armiia — UPA*), as seen through the documents in volume 6 and 7 of *Litopys UPA*, unfolds against the background of the ruthless German occupation of Ukraine during the Second World War. Through mass executions, imprisonment, deportations to Germany and numerous other acts of violence, the Germans created an objective set of conditions which favoured the development of a Ukrainian resistance movement.

The German attitude toward the Ukrainian nationalist movement was another factor in the development of the UPA. The proclamation by Ukrainian nationalists of the Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941, an act which attempted to present the Germans with a political *fait accompli*, and the German reaction to it, constituted a landmark in Ukrainian-German relations. By arresting Jaroslav Stetsko, the held of the newly

proclaimed government, and Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (*Orhanizatsiia Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv* — OUN), together with numerous other members of the OUN, the Germans made it clear that a Ukrainian state was not in their plans.

As a result of these arrests the OUN abandoned its semi-legal existence and went completely underground. Its clandestine operations concentrated on strengthening the organizational framework in Western Ukraine and on expanding into new areas of Eastern Ukraine. The man primarily responsible for recasting the conspiratorial activities of the OUN was Mykola Lebed, who, as the *de facto* leader of the Organization, was responsible for making it into a formidable political factor. The various German security agencies, particularly the Sicherheitsdienst, displayed their concern over the growing strength of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, referring to it in their various reports, as *Die ukrainische Widerstandsbewegung* (the Ukrainian resistance movement).

While the OUN was developing and strengthening its organizational structure in preparation for future military action against the Germans and the Soviets, other forces were also at work. German violence against the civilian population and mass deportations of Ukrainian youth for forced labour in German industry caused many young people to flee to the forests. Using these ready reserves, Taras Borovets, alias “Bulba”, a political activist not affiliated with the OUN, created the first Ukrainian partisan groups near the region of Sarny in Volyn’ (Volhynia).

Throughout 1942 there was a marked increase in the number of other Ukrainian partisan groups playing the role of local or regional protectors of the civilian population against the arbitrariness of German authorities. Although a great majority were an extension of the clandestine operations of the OUN, they were not yet a unified force.

During the autumn of 1942 the OUN began to organize the first units of the UPA.¹ The objective of the UPA was to serve as a basis for independent Ukrainian political force and to protect the civilian population against the German police as well as Soviet partisans.

The development of the UPA received a significant boost in March 1943 when thousands of Ukrainians serving in the German auxiliary police, deserted *en masse* and joined the UPA, bringing weapons and ammunition.² Of importance was not only the numerical increase in the ranks of the UPA, but also the fact that these were, for the most part, individuals who were well trained in the use of weapons, a crucial skill for a military organization.

While developing its organizational structure the UPA initiated several military operations against the Germans. Already on February 7, 1943, a company of the UPA under the command of Perehiiniak-“Korobka” attacked the town of Volodymyrets in Volyn’.³ From that time on UPA operations against the Germans increased in frequency and intensity. The UPA was clearly on the offensive during March, April and May 1943, increasing its control over most of the rural areas of Polissya (Polissia) and Volyn’.⁴ Only larger towns and cities remained under German control. These became strongholds from which the Germans conducted their punitive operations.

Besides the Germans the UPA also fought Soviet partisans whose activities in the

1. The name “UPA” began to appear in February-March 1943 in connection with the Ukrainian partisans in Polissya and Volyn’.

2. M. Lebed, *UPA* (1946), p. 22.

3. P. Mirchuk, *Ukrains’ka Povstans’ka Armiia 1942-1952* (Munich, 1953), p. 33.

4. See Col. M. Omelusiuk, “UPA na Volyni v 1943 rotsi” in *Litopys Ukrainins’koi Povstans’koi Armii*, vol 1. (Toronto: “Litopys UPA”, 1976). pp. 23-24.

Polissya-Volyn' region were directed principally against it. Col. Dimitri Medvedev, a commander of Soviet partisan forces in Volyn', recounts in his memoirs how his partisans masqueraded as UPA units in order to provoke the Nazis to engage in bloody reprisals against the Ukrainian population.⁵ Unfortunately, these provocative actions frequently proved successful and resulted in German mass executions of the Ukrainian civilian population, as well as members of the Ukrainian underground.⁶

The Ukrainian revolutionary movement faced a third front, the Polish-Ukrainian one. In order to regain their pre-1939 Ukrainian-inhabited territories, the Poles hoped to undermine the Ukrainian struggle by occasional collaboration with Soviet partisans against the Ukrainians,⁷ or by joining the ranks of the German auxiliary police.⁸ The resulting confrontation, which the Ukrainians despite several efforts were not able to prevent not only was unfortunate, but also caused considerable bloodshed for the two nations.

It was indeed ironic that Polissya and Volyn', provinces which displayed the lowest level of Ukrainian national consciousness before the Second World War, were to become the centre of a struggle in defence of Ukrainian national rights. The Ukrainian population was the source of the UPA's strength in the north-western corner of Ukraine, whose geography (marshes, forests and numerous waterways), also provided excellent terrain for partisan warfare.

While the UPA was developing with extraordinary speed in Polissya and Volyn', the OUN organized units which were charged with the responsibility of providing local self-defence in Halychyna (Galicia). At this stage of organization these units were appropriately named The Ukrainian People's Self-Defence (*Ukrains'ka Narodnia Samooborona — UNS*).⁹ Mykola Lebed explains that the reason for not using the popular term "UPA" in Halychyna was to confuse the Germans.¹⁰

The UNS units very quickly revealed their high fighting quality in engagements not only with Soviet partisans led by Gen. S. Kovpak, but also with the German troops seeking to eliminate the Soviets. Beginning in September 1943 the Germans, frequently enjoying superiority in numbers and armaments, made several efforts to destroy the Ukrainian partisans. But their efforts were to no avail — the Ukrainian units either emerged victorious from these engagements or eluded their pursuers.¹¹ Essentially, there emerged an extension of the UPA under a different name within the territory of Western Ukraine.

The UPA and UNS embraced in their ranks not only OUN members, but also people with differing ideologies as well as entire units composed of non-Ukrainians, for example Tatars, Uzbeks, Kirghiz and others.

By spring of 1943 the UPA was proclaimed to be a Ukrainian all-national army and the recruitment of the leadership of the UPA was begun on all levels in accordance with this principle. In August 1943 the rank of Commander-in-Chief of the UPA was created, and this post was assumed by Roman Shukhevych under the pseudonym of "Taras Chuprynka". He thus became the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, as well as of the UNS and other armed units that had adopted various names and operated in various areas of Ukraine. Shukhevych organized the Chief Military Staff of the UPA. All

5. Dm. Medvyedyev, *Silny dukhom*, 2nd rev. ed. (Moscow, 1957), pp. 397, 403 ff.

6. *Ibid.*, pp. 284-285.

7. See Josef Czerwiński, *Z wotyryskich lasów na berliński trakt* (Warsaw, 1972), pp. 7, 9-10.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 38, 80.

9. See I. Hutsul, *Rik borot'by UNS: UPA za opanuvannia Karpat*. The Archive of the ZP UHVR (New York), Doc. No. "B4-3".

10. Lebed, p. 49.

11. For details see Hutsul, pp. 2-5.

military units adopted the name of UPA, and their fields of operation were divided among individual territorial commands, which were as follows:

- 1) UPA-North — Volyn', Polissya and the province of Zhytomyr.
- 2) UPA-South — the provinces of Kamianets'-Podil's'k, Vinnytsia and territories to the south.
- 3) UPA-East — eastern Ukrainian lands.
- 4) UPA-West — encompassing Halychyna, Bukovyna, Trans-Carpathian Ukraine and the province of Kholm.¹²

During the UPA's dramatic growth in 1943 three important political gatherings took place which had a direct bearing on the entire resistance movement. The first of these was the Third Conference of the OUN which was held on February 17-23. Reiterating their unqualified opposition to German and Soviet imperialism, leaders of the OUN emphasized the importance of activities which promoted the growth and strengthening of "new centres of the nation's organized strength".¹³ This meant that, as far as the OUN was concerned, the preparatory work involving underground activity was completed and that now it was to be followed up with increased military operations.

The most important war-time gathering was the Third Extraordinary Congress of the OUN, held on August 21-25, 1943. The members of the congress considered the experience gained since the beginning of the war and articulated their future objectives.¹⁴ Most important, the congress not only approved the transition from clandestine to military operations, but also stated that "only a politically and militarily organized nation can save itself from Bolshevik annihilation and continue the struggle for its own state".¹⁵

The congress dealt with a whole range of ideological and programmatic questions which significantly affected Ukrainian revolutionary activities for years to come.¹⁶ Furthermore, it was at this congress that Roman Shukhevych succeeded Mykola Lebed. By this act the political and the military wings of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement were merged into one, since, shortly before the congress, Shukhevych was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the UPA.¹⁷

Reflecting the decisions of the congress the UPA issued its own platform entitled "What the UPA is Fighting For" in August 1943. The platform speaks of fighting against both Russian and German imperialism, while claiming the right of every nation to independence, territorial sovereignty, and to arrange its internal life according to its own needs.¹⁸

Ukrainian support of the principle of national self-determination brought into the ranks of the UPA an ever increasing number of units made up of Tatars, Azerbaijanis,

12. The first known orders issued by the new Supreme Command of the UPA, which also include the division of the UPA into territorial commands, date from the end of January 1944. See "Orders of the Supreme Command of the UPA" in *Litopys*. . . , vol. 1, pp. 157-184. Others state that this Supreme Command of the UPA was already in charge from the summer of 1943, i.e. see P. Mirchuk, *Roman Shukhevych (Gen. Taras Chuprynka): Komandyr Bezsmertnykh* (London, 1970), pp. 112-113.

13. See *OUN v svitli postanov Velykykh Zboriv, Konferentsii ta inshykh dokumentiv z borot'by 1929-1955 rr.* p. 86.

14. The cardinal tenet of the OUN which was restated at the congress was that the OUN was fighting for a sovereign and independent Ukrainian state, as well as for the right of every nation to establish its own independent state. *Ibid.*, p. 107.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 101.

16. For details see *Ibid.*, pp. 90-201.

17. There is a certain difficulty establishing the chronological sequence of events, i.e. did Shukhevych become Commander-in-Chief of the UPA before he was leader of the OUN — or vice versa. On the basis of my conversation with M. Lebed, it seems that the former was the case.

18. For details of the platform, see *Litopys*. . . , vol. 1. pp. 121.130.

Georgians, Uzbeks and other Central Asians. To encourage the anti-Bolshevik resistance movement among the various non-Russian nations of the USSR, the UPA called for a Conference of Captive Nations, which was held on November 1-22, 1943.

Reminiscent of the Congress of Nations which gathered in Kyiv in September 1917, when ninety-three representatives of various nationalities pondered the nature of the post-tsarist political structure,¹⁹ thirty-nine delegates, representing thirteen nationalities, met in order to draw up a statement of common objectives. The results of the conference were embodied in the resolutions of "The First Conference of Captive Nations of Eastern Europe and Asia", an official "Declaration", and a "Appeal".

The central theme in all the documents issued by the conference was condemnation of the imperialist nature of German and Soviet policies. The conference also asserted that only "a new international order which is based on the respect of the political rights of every nation will provide each nation with the means for its complete cultural and economic development".²⁰

Thus, amidst the tremendous upheavals of the Second World War, the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, as represented by the OUN and the UPA, made great strides during 1943. Indeed, by the end of the year the territorial as well as structural organization of the UPA was complete, and its leaders were able to undertake larger tactical operations of military and political significance. At the same time the UPA continued to defend the Ukrainian population against Soviet partisans, as well as against German military and police units. This role forced the UPA into numerous battles in which it displayed considerable operational dexterity.²¹

Besides engaging its enemies in their areas of operation, the UPA also sent larger units on missions, referred to as "raids", into those parts of Ukraine where national consciousness had not developed sufficiently for the OUN to be able to organize its underground network. The raids served to attain psychological and political objectives rather than to meet military needs.²² Sometimes, in order to prove to the population that a successful resistance was possible, these raids were conducted in territories terrorized by the Soviets. The UPA, by its own example, tried to encourage Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike to resist the German and later the Soviet occupation.

The sum total of all its activities, as defender of the Ukrainian population, as avenger for the wrongs committed against it and as champion of Ukrainian political aspirations, made the UPA a truly national military force. During the period of the UPA's greatest growth, from the fall of 1943 to the summer of 1944, numerous people who did not belong to the OUN joined the ranks of the UPA, thereby increasing the political diversity of its members.

The fact that the UPA had become an all-national military force and the changing military situation, in which the Germans were being driven out by the advancing Red Army, led the High Command of the UPA to take steps to create a new political centre which would direct the Ukrainian revolutionary struggle in Ukraine and represent it

19. For details of this remarkable congress see *Svobodnyi Soiuz* (Kyiv), October 1917. A more recent work on the subject see Wolodymyr Stojko, "Ziizd narodiv u Kyievi 1917 roku" in *Ukrains'ky Istoryk* (New York-Toronto-Munich). 3-4, 1977, pp. 14-25.

20. *Liopys*. . . vol.1. pp. 207-208. For full documentation see *Ibid.*, pp. 205-236.

21. For a partial listing of those battles for the years 1943-45 see *UPA v svitli dokumentiv z borot'by za Ukrainsku samostiinu Sobornu Derzhavu 1942-1950 rr.*, vol. 2, (1960), pp. 5-97; *Povstaniets'*, November 1944, pp. 12-15, *Povstaniets*, January 1945, pp. 13-14. *Povstaniets*, April-May 1945, pp. 15-17. The originals of *Povstaniets* are in the Archive of the ZP UHVR.

22. For a discussion of this problem see Mykola Vernyhora, "Pro reidy UPA" in *UPA v svitli dokumentiv*. . . vol. 1 (1957), pp. 67-75

abroad.²³ Toward that end a gathering of representatives from all parts of Ukraine was called in the Carpathian Mountains on July 11-15, 1944.²⁴

The representatives declared themselves to be the provisional parliament of Ukraine — The Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council (*Ukrains'ka Holovna Vyzvol'na Rada* — UHVR), elected a revolutionary government and adopted a political platform which defined the goals and responsibilities of the newly created government, as well as the ideological principles that were to guide the UHVR.²⁵ In its *Universal* (Appeal) to the Ukrainian people, the UHVR explained that it “is the largest and sole guiding body of the Ukrainian nation for the duration of its revolutionary struggle, until the creation of the government of the Independent and Sovereign Ukrainian State”.²⁶

The emergence of the UHVR as a revolutionary government based on democratic principles constituted the zenith of Ukrainian nationalist political activity during the Second World War. Now the Ukrainian resistance movement could legitimately claim to be led by a representative body that could act with the authority of a government.

The UPA immediately demonstrated its recognition of the UHVR as the revolutionary government by having its members swear a new oath of allegiance, issued as an order by UPA-Headquarters on July 19, 1944 and confirmed by the UHVR.²⁷ To explain the significance of the UHVR, the UPA's underground press published an article entitled “The Sole Political Leadership of United Ukraine”.²⁸

As the UHVR was drafting its organizational framework, the Ukrainian lands were being occupied by the rapidly advancing Red Army. As a result of these military developments, the UPA found itself confronted with its new and long-awaited enemy.

The first UPA units to find themselves under the Soviet regime in 1944 were located in north-eastern Volyn and Polissya. In its encounters with Soviet troops the UPA gave an excellent account of itself, displaying first rate maneuverability and fighting quality.²⁹ Thus, on March 20, 1944, during one of many ambushes against the Soviet military and the special security units in particular, members of an UPA unit mortally wounded the Commander of the First Ukrainian Front, Marshall M. F. Vatutin.³⁰

The picture that emerges from many documents in Volume 7 is that, as the war was nearing its end, the Soviet authorities found it increasingly difficult to deal with the situation in the western provinces of Ukraine. Enjoying the unqualified support of the population, the UPA kept the entire area in a state of war, thereby preventing the Soviets from effectively establishing their economic and political system for a number of years. It was only in the mid-1950's that the UPA's resistance was to be crushed completely.

23. See Taras Chuprynka, “Do genezy Ukrains'koi Holovnoi Vyzvol'noi Rady” in *Biuro informatsii Ukrains'koi Vyzvol'noi Rady*, 1, No. 2, August 1948, pp. 2-6. The originals of *Biuro informatsii* . . . are in the Archive of the ZP UHVR.

24. Anton B. Szczęśniak and Wiesław Z. Szota, *Droga do nikąd* (Warsaw, 1973), p. 190.

25. For details cf. *Litopys* . . . , vol. 8 (Toronto, 1980), pp. 27-38.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

27. For the original oath see *Povstanets*, November 1944, p. 1.

28. *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

29. See *Litopys* . . . , vol. 7, (Toronto, 1982), Doc. Nos. 10, 18, 21-22, 27-28, 34-35, 39, 41-42, 49, 51, 57.

30. Lev Shankovs'kyi, “Ukrains'ka Povstancha Armiiia” in *Istoriia Ukrains'koho Viis'ka* 2nd rev. ed. (Winnipeg: Ivan Tyktor, 1953), p. 718; *Bolshaiia sovetskaia entsiklopediia* 2nd ed. vol. 7 (Moscow, 1951), pp. 59-60.

The
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1984

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine

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PATRIARCH OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, CARDINAL JOSYF SLIPYJ, DIES

On September 7th, 1984, Patriarch Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, spiritual leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, died in Rome, aged 92.

Patriarch Slipyj was born in Zazdryst, Ukraine, on February 17th, 1892. He studied for the priesthood in Ukraine and Austria, and in 1917 was ordained. In 1925 he became rector of the Lviv seminary where he taught theology; in 1939 he was made bishop, and was appointed Archbishop of Lviv in 1944.

Archbishop Slipyj spent 18 years in Russian prisons and concentration camps after being arrested in 1945 by the Russians. In 1963 he was released as a result of contact between the Vatican and Moscow and allowed to leave for Rome, where he was created a Cardinal in 1965.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is a Uniate Church of the Byzantine Rite, but is in communion with Rome. During the Tsarist era the Church was persecuted in the Russian-dominated eastern part of Ukraine but it survived in western Ukraine, and when the latter was annexed by Moscow after the Second World War persecution of the Church intensified. Together with Archbishop Josyf Slipyj, ten other bishops were imprisoned in 1945, and in 1946 a synod of its clergy dissolved the Church following fierce intimidation by the Russians. Nevertheless, the Church has managed to maintain a secret existence within Ukraine, and has a large following among communities of Ukrainians in the free world. Due to the continued existence of the Church in Ukraine, Cardinal Slipyj assumed the title of Patriarch, with its implicit territorial jurisdiction, and was publicly critical of the Vatican at times, accusing it of failing to defend Ukrainian Catholics.

Patriarch Slipyj was buried in Rome on September 13th, 1984, in the crypt of the church of St. Sophia. Thirteen Vatican Cardinals, a large number of church dignitaries and more than 1,000 Ukrainians from the free world attended the funeral.

Very Rev. Dr. Hryhoryj UDOD

WHAT HAS CHRISTIANITY GIVEN UKRAINE IN THE FIRST MILLENNIUM

*An address delivered at the Fourth World Congress of Free Ukrainians, in
the City of Toronto, on Friday, December 3, 1983*

According to the agenda, the purpose of my address is to provide an answer to the question: "What has Christianity given Ukraine in the first millennium?" We find a short, but most felicitous answer to this question in "A Sermon On Law and Grace" by the Most Venerable Ilarion, the first Ukrainian to occupy the Seat of Metropolitan of Kyiv. This sermon was delivered at the solemn dedication of the Cathedral of St. Sophia, around the year 1050, in the presence of the Great Prince Yaroslav the Wise, members of his family and the government, as well as representatives of all the people of Rus-Ukraine of the day. In his sermon the Most Venerable Ilarion said, among other things:

"A sacred creed is spreading across the world and has come to us, the people of Ruś. Together with all Christian people we now worship the Holy Trinity and no longer call ourselves pagans, but Christians... We no longer build demonic pagan temples, but erect Houses of God, no longer offer one another in sacrifice to demons. Christ alone offers Himself in sacrifice for us all..."

Subsequently, while glorifying the noble deed of the baptizer of our nation, the Most Venerable Ilarion addressed the Great Prince Volodymyr with these words:

"Behold the city how glitters it with splendour. Behold the flourish of Churches, the spread of Christianity. Behold the city with holy icons alight and glittering, in incense enveloped and glorified in Praise Divine and Sacred Song. Then, after you have seen all this, rejoice and be merry, and praise the Good Lord for giving all of this life."

These words, spoken by the Venerable Metropolitan Ilarion, provide us with the answer to the question: "What has Christianity given Ukraine?" for these words help us to comprehend how the Ukrainian nation consummated its spiritual renaissance in less than three-quarters of a century after its official baptism, especially how Kyiv, the capital city of the Ukrainian nation just baptized, was regenerated in a spirit of exalted Christian culture. We perceive therein significant advances in Church construction, as well as

in such related areas as architecture, painting, Church chant, and literature. Such tremendous advances in the various branches of Ukrainian Christian culture were accompanied by a dissemination, among the Ukrainian people, on a much larger scale, of the principles of abundant Christian living — as a consequence of the Church sermon, by virtue of Christian state legislation and, most importantly, as a result of individual example of sacrifice and dedication of the governing class headed by its rulers, the Great Kyivan Princes.

In order to gain a proper understanding of the reason for such rapid development of all branches of political and religious life in the course of such a short period of time following the official baptism of the nation, it is of prime importance to turn our attention to the origins of Ukrainian Christian-life. Christianity came to Ukraine from Byzantium, at that time the most advanced country culturally and the most powerful which, at the time of Ukraine's baptism, was living through a regeneration in all areas of its political, cultural and religious life. Christianity, as is well known, came to Ukraine not because it was imposed upon the Ukrainian nation by foreign armed might, but because it was accepted by the people as a result of the unconstrained will of a free and sovereign nation following an extensive and exhaustive investigation of all the religious movements extant in those times about which Ukraine was knowledgeable.

Moreover, not only did the Ukrainian nation voluntarily choose Christianity over other religions of the world of those days, but under the leadership of its sovereign, Prince Volodymyr, waged an armed struggle to win Christianity for itself in such form as would be in keeping with the national character of the Ukrainian nation and most conducive to the nation's religious, cultural and political life. As a result of this struggle, Christianity came to Ukraine in a form most consonant with our nation, in content most essential and beneficial to our people. Let us bring back to memory the annalistic narrative about Prince Volodymyr's ten learned envoys who travelled through many countries, exhaustively studying the religions of their people. When at long last they found themselves in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Byzantium, they were deeply moved by the beauty of the Divine Service. Upon their return to Ukraine, they reported to the Prince Volodymyr that when they had ended that Divine Service with the Greeks, they were unable to tell whether they were on Earth, or in Heaven. The reason for this is that by their very nature Ukrainians had always been and remained sensitive to beauty, that is, to their aesthetic perception of the world.

The decision of the Great Prince and the State Council of Rus-Ukraine to accept Christianity from Byzantium was made voluntarily as a result of a successful armed struggle for the right to be a Christian nation in the truest sense possible in those days. This decision has had a tremendous impact upon all future history of the Ukrainian nation because the beauty of the

Divine Services, the unique nature of religious living and lofty Christian culture were accompanied into Ukraine by God's blessing for our nation in the form of a so-called symphony, or harmony — the most intimate co-operation of Church and State.

Ideally, this is as it should be in Christianity. As chronicled in the "Code" of Emperor Justinian I in the Fourth Century: "The Church and State constitute two divine gifts to mankind, both stemming from the same source: The Will of God which gave them life. In obedience to the Will of God these two gifts ought to be in perfect harmony (symphony) with each other. The Church concerns herself with matters spiritual, religious; the State with those of man, matters worldly. At the same time the State provides guarantees for religious education and respect for the clergy, in co-operation with the state directs all social life onto paths that please God."

Whereas in Byzantium such a symphony was a remote ideal for the reason that its government always did its utmost to impose its will upon the Church, and whereas in other Christian countries of the West the Church did everything in her power, on her part, to impose her will upon the State, the contrary was the case in Ukraine. There the ideal of symphony flourished in a most vigorous manner from the very first days following the nation's baptism right up to the present day. Prince Volodymyr always sought counsel of the Church Hierarchy and the Pastorate on all matters pertaining to Church and State; he never enacted a state law without the sanction of the Church and, in doing so, provided the Church with every possible moral and financial assistance in her development and activity. Prince Volodymyr came to exemplify the ideal Christian sovereign. On becoming a believer after his baptism, he donated the tenth part of his income to raise a most magnificent House of Worship — the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, known as the Tith Church. Following in the footsteps of the Great Prince, other Ukrainian princes and boyars (Ukrainian nobles) set about building churches and monasteries in all other cities of Rus-Ukraine.

Christianity came to Ukraine in the form of a Christian Church of the Ukrainian nation and, from the very first day of its existence, this Church came to be the dominant spiritual authority of the Ukrainian Principedom. Under the guidance of the Church and through her active support, the Ukrainian State was able, in a very short time, to bring about a complete regeneration in the life of its people and lead them down paths pleasing to God. Under the guidance of their Church the Ukrainian people have been treading these paths for a thousand years and weathering all historical storms. Through the Christian Church, Christianity spiritually united the many dis-united tribes of the vast Principedom which stretched from the Volga to the Carpathians and from the Baltic Sea to the Black (Rus) Sea by bringing

them together to form one nation and appear on the world scene in the realm of the most cultured and most powerful nations of the world of that age.

Through the Church, Christianity sowed the seeds of Ukrainian education. The first schools in Ukraine were established by Volodymyr the Great himself; in Kyiv, by special state decree, by virtue of which he made the princes and the boyars duty-bound to provide their children with an education. For this purpose Volodymyr did not hesitate to use force because he felt there was a dire need to make certain his Church had its own, native-born pastorate and scholarly workers in it. Out of the earliest institutions of learning founded by Volodymyr, education surged forward across the entire length and breadth of Rus-Ukraine like a vast torrent. We are all aware of the fact that even in the years that followed, when the Ukrainian people were stateless, the Church, through its brotherhood schools and colleges, continued to be the impelling force behind Ukrainian education, while institutions as the Ostroh and Kyivo-Mohylian Academies won worldwide acclaim. The work of the Ukrainian people's Christian Church in the field of education manifested itself most prominently in the Khmelnytsky era when illiteracy among the people was totally eradicated.

Even now the main weight of responsibility for education within Ukrainian society in the diaspora is borne by Ukrainian Church congregations and their associate organisations and institutions.

Blossoming forth along with education which was introduced to the Ukrainian people by Christianity in Church Slavonic, the prevailing language of that time, was the nation's intense awareness of national identity, coupled with the nation's pride in its chosen mission as Christianity's defender against the nomadic hordes of the East. This Ukrainian national and Christian awareness manifested itself in subsequent years in that the Ukrainian nation totally identified its religion with its nationality: "Rus Faith" and "Rus Nation" came to be synonymous concepts in times of Poland's usurpatory rule. The system of Church-State harmony in Ukraine facilitated a rapid and fundamental regeneration of Ukrainian social life in a spirit of Christian ideals. Even in our times equal rights for wives is still a far cry from the realm of possibility in many countries of the world. Under the influence of the Gospel and Christian state legislation, during the reign of Volodymyr the Great, Yaroslav the Wise and, in particular, of Volodymyr Monomakh, women in Ukraine enjoyed equal rights in all social matters. The striking example of the confessoresses of Ukrainian princesses who were marrying sovereigns of various European countries of those times, is undeniable proof of this.

Today, in the second half of the 20th century, the abolition of the death penalty is also a remote and unattainable ideal in many countries of the world, including Christian countries. Under the influence of the Gospel and

Church—State symphony, Ukraine abolished the death penalty a thousand years ago. This is by and large clearly annalized in “Lessons for Children” by Volodymyr Monomakh who, as is quite apparent from our history, was the ideal Christian sovereign. He wrote for his children and his descendants: “Punish not any person with death — neither the guilty nor the innocent.”

Under the influence of the Gospel, family relations were normalized: the sanction of family, respect for parents and elders in general and marital fidelity are indigenous to the Ukrainian nation in all phrases of its existence.

Under the influence of the Gospel, the system of symphony, the system of slavery was abolished and the attitude towards the outraged outcasts, so-called, was altered. Ukraine did have, as did other countries of the world of that period, a system of slavery. The slaves were captive aliens, people sold by other people into slavery, condemned for serious offences against society, or simply debts unable to meet their financial obligations. The plight of slaves was extremely difficult. Through its Scriptural Teachings about man being in the image of God, about equality for all people in Christ, Christianity very quickly and vitally influenced the abolition of slavery and impregnated the nation with an exalted sense of freedom—lovingness, so inherent in the Ukrainian people throughout the past millennium.

Moreover, the Christian Church and the Ukrainian State, functioning within a system of harmony, introduced a Christian system of social security into the life of the people. Practically the very next day following the official baptism of the nation, State officials, in compliance with a proclamation issued by the Great Prince, began distributing food and other necessities of life among all the hungry and the needy.

This was followed by construction, alongside Churches and Monasteries, of orphanages and homes for the aged and the infirm. The princes generously donated their wealth and their landed estates to Churches and Monasteries specifically for this kind of charitable work of the Church. This tradition was so religiously kept up in Ukraine throughout all periods of its political life that even today its effects are quite prominent in Ukrainian hospitality and preoccupation with the plight of the needy.

Christianity gave the Ukrainian nation a magnificent Christian culture in which our nation has been deservedly priding itself over a thousand years, generously sharing the various aspects of this culture with other nations. Even today we cultivate this culture — the people in Ukraine are enslaved by a Godless regime and a vast number of them are dispersed in a sea throughout a world of different tongues and different beliefs. In spite of centuries of subjugation, especially of unbridled destruction of the cultural treasures of our nation throughout the past century, the roots of our Ukrainian Christian culture are so indestructible that they return to life and flourish at the first flashes of our nation’s freedom and provide grounds for believing that

our descendants will cherish the treasures of this culture for millenniums to come.

The magnificent specimens of Ukrainian church architecture as exemplified by the Tithe Church, by the Cathedral of St. Sophia and by a great number of beautiful churches, are scattered right across the vast reaches of Ukrainian territory. Many of these churches have survived over the centuries. No less a marvel of Ukrainian church architecture can be found in hundreds of churches in our settlements in many countries of the world. They are creations of Ukrainian Christian culture, models of which came to Ukraine from Byzantium but, recreated by Ukrainian spirituelle and Ukrainian genius, have now become a part of world culture. Beautiful Ukrainian paintings, especially Ukrainian mosaic, the finest examples of which are to be found in Kyiv, include, for instance, the famous portrait of the Mother of God at the Altar of St. Sophia, known as Inviolable Wall.

Along with Christianity the art of the sermon came to Ukraine. Sixty years after the official baptism of Ukraine, the Christian world heard from the lips of the Most Venerable Ilarion, Metropolitan of Kyiv, the famous "Sermon on Law and Grace" which even today amazes researchers as much with its sage theological content as with its sublime style of discourse.

Along with Christianity, church music and church chant came to Ukraine. After a vigorous development upon a Ukrainian foundation, they became one of the foremost branches of Ukrainian spiritual culture, particularly as a result of the contribution made by such brilliant Ukrainian composers of the latter centuries as D. Bortnyansky, A. Vedel, M. Lysenko, M. Leontovych, K. Stetsenko, O. Koshetz and others.

Christianity gave our nation an original literature. Obviously, the first literary works were translations from the Greek, consummated by various Christian writers, but, under the influence of popular demand, original Ukrainian literary works began seeing the light of day. These literary gems bore little resemblance to Byzantine pessimism and asceticism, but they were replete with great expectations, with hope and with an intense love of country, works which cried out not only for the salvation of the soul, but also for the discharge of social obligations in one's native land. The finest examples of Ukrainian Christian literature can be found in the excellent "A Tale of Ihor's Host" which dates back to the days when the princes reigned, and in the Christian poetic genius of Taras Shevchenko.

Christianity laid the foundation for Ukrainian historical lore. Nowhere except in the caves of the Pechersky Monastery in Kyiv were the first Chronicles ever put down on paper and by none other than Ukrainian monks. These were followed by like chronicles in the other monasteries and centres of Ukrainian Christian life. To this day these Chronicles constitute an inex-

haustible source of information about the life of the Ukrainian people in any given period in their history.

In times of more amicable relations among the princes in Ukraine, the Christian Church with her metropolitans, bishops and priests constituted that authority which frequently interceded in their internecine fratricidal wars to restore harmony among the warring factions and forewarn them about the consequences of such fratricidal strife. A succession of annalistic entries are proof positive how the Kyivan Metropolitans cautioned the princes: "We were called by God to caution you, prince, that it is a sin you are committing when you spill Rus blood over the land of the Rus nation." And the princes, although not always and not each and every one of them, obeyed the authority of the Church and it is only because of this circumstance that the Princedom did not fall before the Tartar invasion. Following the Tartar invasion of Rus-Ukraine, the Ukrainian nation's Christian Church was the only centralizing and unifying force. It kept the nation united throughout the centuries when it was divided up among other sovereign states which found themselves occupying the ruins of the Princedom.

The system of Church and State harmony and subsequently of Church and the concept of national sovereignty was sustained in Ukraine even after the fall of the Ukrainian Princedom. Moreover, the fate of the Christian Church in Ukraine and the fate of the Ukrainian nation joined together to form one indivisible entity. The period of statelessness during national, social and religious persecution of the Ukrainian nation by foreign external forces was the most disastrous. During this period the Ukrainian people's Christian Church was divided and subjugated by the very forces that were keeping the Ukrainian nation in subjugation. Although Ukrainian Christianity has been divided from the year 1596 right up to the present, its purposefulness remains unaltered, that is, to be of service to its people through those ideals which it was destined to disseminate throughout this world.

During the great national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people under the leadership of Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, the Church and the nation once again joined together to form one mighty monolith and with the birth of the Ukrainian Cossack State, it is apparent, Ukraine returned to those blessed times that existed in the first centuries following her baptism. Unfortunately, the forces were unequal by far — in spite of all its determination, heroism and sacrifice, Ukraine was unable to defend its liberty in the struggle against four powerful forces surrounding it. The results are well known to all: the Ukrainian nation and its Church were disunited and subjugated, first by Poland and Moscovia and later by Moscovia and Austria. Once again the Ukrainian nation and its Church shared this woesome historical fate.

However, in times of the most tyrannical oppression, the Church continued to act as the bearer and custodian of national State traditions, so much so

that at the appropriate time it was able to pass them on to the people, thereby launching a triumphant process of national regeneration which has been in progress to this day. The Church of the Western wing of the Ukrainian nation gave Ukraine Markian Shashkevych; the Church in Eastern Ukraine gave the Ukrainian nation the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius — and Taras Shevchenko from whom, in fact, stems the national regeneration of the Ukrainian nation as a whole. In this regeneration the Church plays an exceptionally important part — it gives the nation its blessing and shows it the way to the pinnacles of national and Christian consciousness, along with the nation experiences all of its successes and failures, guides the process of regeneration onto paths pleasing to God, thereby assuring the Ukrainian nation of success in its efforts.

Today, the Ukrainian nation is faced with a threat of spiritual and physical annihilation as never before in all of its thousand-year history. Today, time and circumstances demand from the nation, particularly from its organised sector, as well as from its Church, efforts well out of the ordinary, as well as an extraordinary sense of responsibility. May the Church-State symphony of the early periods of Ukrainian Christianity's existence serve as a guide to joint effort of Church and organised Ukrainism. The Church, whatever name it may bear, is and ought to be, among Ukrainian people, a Christian Church and, as such, ought constantly to feel the pain of suffering of her people, ought to be and never stop being a national Church, given to our nation by Christ the Saviour to lead our nation to life everlasting and to give it the best possible assurance of life and development in its temporal, terrestrial existence.

The Church cannot be a Ukrainian Church if, for the sake of universalism, it renounces her national aspirations and obligations towards the nation within which it was predestinated to serve. The Christian Church of the Ukrainian people should pray, weep and show concern for every Ukrainian living soul — be it experiencing a physical death in Siberia, or a spiritual death in the free world as a result of assimilation and alienation from its nation. Fulfilling the holy mission of spiritual leader of the nation under today's extraordinary conditions, the Christian Church should also enjoy unlimited support of all Ukrainian national organisations in the free world, especially of such as the World Congress of Free Ukrainians. The Church has and should have the authority to mediate our internal disputes and guide the leaders of our nation towards the main goal of our efforts.

Concluding this short address I, humble servant of God in the Ukrainian Orthodox Church see, only in aspect, our national salvation becoming a reality as a consequence of these extraordinary circumstances in the life of our nation and its way to a splendrous future, namely, that in our present life through the conscious efforts of Ukrainian Church and lay organisations and

institutions, we may return in work and deed, to the fundamental principles of Ukrainian Christianity which are marked by the splendour of grandeur and glory in the field of both its political and religious life, to the days which the Most Venerable Ilarion so eloquently spoke of in his "Sermon on Law and Grace." The system of symphony, or harmony, between Church and nation in all areas, tried and tested over a millennium, can make this possible for us because if "infernial forces are not able to destroy the Christian Church within our nation, as witnesseth the Word of Christ the Saviour, neither will any kind of Satanic force be able to destroy the nation which lives and works in close harmony with the Christian Church, directing all of its efforts onto paths that please God." The millennial journey of the Ukrainian people in harmony with the Christian Church is the best proof and assurance of the verity of the words of the Divine Master.

*Translated from Ukrainian by:
Volodymyr Skorokhid*

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Ivan MIRTCHUK

HISTORY OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

(Part II)

The Visual Arts

Introduction

We know on the basis of archaeological findings that on Ukrainian territory during the Stone Age artistic sensibility was already in search of suitable forms of expression. Furthermore, it has been established that in historical times Greek colonies on the shore of the Black Sea had begun to exert an artistic influence on their northerly neighbours and stimulate their dormant creative powers. However, very interesting though these phenomena may be from the point of view of the general cultural process they were isolated occurrences. It is therefore possible only with difficulty to establish an organic link between them. Consequently, we must mark the 10th century as the beginning of the development of Ukrainian Art. At that time the existing Ukrainian state was able to provide the proper prerequisites for creative work carried out by the educated classes.

On the strength of available material we see that art in Ukraine passed through the same phases of development as art in the rest of Europe. The works and character of Ukrainian spirituality so clear and distinct in definition demonstrate indubitably that Ukrainian art has not merely copied European cultural models but is the product of a people oriented to the West. As a result of this spiritual affinity with Western Europe Ukrainian art despite its own individuality underwent the same stylistic transitions as its German, French or Italian counterparts, beginning with Byzantine and Romanesque and followed by Gothic, Renaissance, Baroque, Rococo, Classicism and Modernism. Any introduction or schematisation tends to be artificial or arbitrary; however, in this case we are able to show that the individual styles are not only names of different periods of historical development, they are also an integral part of them. The Byzantine period coincides with the formation of the Merovingian and Karolingian empires. Romanesque corresponds with the age of feudalism and liege lords at whose courts French troubadours, English minstrels and German minnesanger performed their songs in praise of the military exploits of the barons or the virtues of their wives. During the Gothic period the towns became the focal point of artistic creativity. The middle classes and their guilds emerged and took the initiative. The minnesanger were replaced by the meistersanger. The foremost poet of the

period was a shoemaker by profession while architects, painters and sculptors were masters in their guilds. Whereas previously proud castles, minsters and cathedrals bore testimony to the artistic preferences of the feudal lords, now town-halls, town gates and patrician houses became symbols of the new age. The Renaissance and its ensuing phases corresponded with the period of modern statehood, Baroque with the period of elected monarchy, and Rococo with the period of enlightened despotism. Classicism heralded the powerful popular movements and the revolutions of the end of the 18th century and first half of the 19th century. Eclecticism witnessed the flourishing of the European bourgeoisie in the second half of the 19th century. These political and social shifts were paralleled by the artistic preferences of the contemporary ruling classes.

These developments serve as guidelines in our study of the monuments of Ukrainian art whose development followed similar paths to Western Europe. However, in Eastern Europe the individual periods of development lagged behind the West.

I. Architecture

GREEK & BYZANTINE INFLUENCES

The oldest architectural remains in Ukraine date from 700-800 BC when numerous Greek colonies sprang up on the Black Sea coast, maintaining direct links with the indigenous population. Detailed examination of the scanty remains of this period shows that initially Ionian models mainly from Miletus were predominant. From the 5th century Athenian influences become evident while in the 1st and 2nd centuries Hellenic and Roman influences abounded. The uncovered foundations of various cities, the Temple of Apollo in Olbia and fragments of pillars and capitals demonstrate unequivocally that the architecture of the Black Sea colonies was not significantly inferior to that of the mother country and even possessed original traits as a result of contacts with native artists. During the Early Christian period the focal point of monumental architecture was Chersones situated in Crimea near present-day Sevastopol. Some relics of magnificent buildings, fortifications and temples which rose from the ruins of Greek settlements were still standing at the end of the 18th century.

In the 10th century with the advent of Christianity Byzantine artistic influences spread in the Kyiv State. The conversion of Ukraine due to its geopolitical situation had come from Constantinople as did the resulting dominant cultural influence of Kyiv. It is quite comprehensible why Ukrainian princes when they began building new churches *ad maiorem dei gloriam* and for their own glorification turned first to their Greek cousins and allies requesting them to send builders. Subsequently, the Greek artists followed their own tastes and the already proven and established art forms of their homeland, all the more so since there were no suitable artistic models in

newly christianized Ukraine. Thus in Kyiv in 1017-1035 during the reign of Grand Prince Jaroslav the Wise the monumental Cathedral of St. Sophia was built. At first the general view was that the Kyivan cathedral had been modelled on the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Later research showed that it was based on the Nea (New Church) built in Constantinople by Emperor Basil I in the 9th century. Nevertheless, many scholars feel that all the buildings erected during the early period of Ukrainian history were demolished, rebuilt, extended and modified so often that no stylistic analysis however precise can produce conclusive evidence. We are left with mere supposition. Nevertheless, it is an established fact that at the beginning of its history the Kyivan Empire was under the direct cultural influence of Byzantium and that the monuments of this period are copies or likenesses of Greek models with later additions of an indigenous nature.

Another style of architecture different from the Cathedral of St. Sophia is illustrated by the Church of the Pecherska Lavra in Kyiv founded by Prince Svjatoslav II in 1073. It became a model for a number of Kyivan monasteries. The following also belong to this group: the Monastery of St. Cyril in Kyiv (1140), the Church of the Vydubyckyj Monastery (1088), the well-preserved Cathedral of the Saviour in Cernyhiv (1024-36) and numerous other examples.

From the end of the 12th century building in the Kyiv State declined as a result of hostile invasions which laid waste the land. It was impossible to build costly buildings. In parallel with the shift of the political centre of gravity westwards in the 13th century cultural work also moved to Western Ukraine. In the Principality of Galicia as a result of the direct proximity of Poland and Hungary, Romanesque and Germanic cultural influences took deep root and, combined with the previously inherited Byzantine cultural influences produced a new, distinct model. Examples of the latter are unfortunately all too rare. The magnum opus of Galician architecture is the comparatively well-preserved Church of Saint Pantelejmon in Halyč built around 1200 and later converted into a Franciscan monastery.

GOTHIC & RENAISSANCE

The turbulent period of the 14th and 15th centuries, the Tartar raids and the new economic policy of the magnates: the settlement of Ukrainian territory by German colonists, also brought fundamental changes to architecture. Instead of churches and monasteries, fortifications were built for the protection of the city dwellers. Naturally, the German settlers introduced to their new home the Magdeburg Law as the basic principle of social organisation. At the same time they transplanted Western European artistic models. Thus Gothic style penetrated more vigorously the Western Ukrainian cities where the population, organised in guilds, was particularly disposed to German architectural influences. Undoubtedly, Lviv possessed the biggest number of Gothic buildings; however, some were destroyed by fire in 1527 while others

underwent a gradual change of style which altered considerably their original forms. Initially, these buildings excluding their dominant style still displayed Byzantine elements. Subsequently, the old tradition began to disappear, gradually giving way to Western models. Gothic style strongly allied to German colonisation came to Eastern Europe via three channels: Silesia, Western Carpathian Ukraine and Transylvania. It was consequently influenced almost exclusively by German masters.

Renaissance style was introduced to Ukraine by Italian masters mainly from Lombardy, and also from Switzerland. They travelled to Eastern Galicia by the great trade route through Hungary, Slovakia, Bartfeld and Priasiv. Again Lviv boasts the finest examples of Ukrainian Renaissance style, the foremost example being the Kornjakt Tower by di Barbona modelled on the Madonna dell'orto Tower in Venice erected in 1572-78. Other examples such as the Brotherhood Church (1591-1629) though based on Italian models were built by Ukrainian masters influenced by indigenous styles. Gothic and Renaissance styles were more evident in secular architecture, patrician houses, town-halls and fortifications in Western Ukrainian cities such as Lviv, Jaroslav, Peremyszl, Zamostia, Luck and others, rather than in church architecture.

NATIONAL STYLES: BAROQUE & ROCOCO

Both the initial Byzantine period and the second and third periods in the development of Ukrainian architecture with clear hints of Gothic and Renaissance style were in actual fact introductions from abroad. It was the 17th and 18th centuries that first produced worthy examples of an architecture permeated by the native spirit. This was the period of a truly national style: Ukrainian Baroque. Interestingly enough, the Baroque period in Ukraine coincided with a general cultural renaissance, which, under considerable threat from the Polish-Jesuit onslaught eastwards, revived former Byzantine cultural values, though in a new form suited to present conditions, and thus equipped with effective spiritual weapons, joined battle with the foe. The product of this synthesis of two worlds was a new nationally orientated culture, Ukrainian Baroque. Baroque, like Renaissance, came from Italy. It arrived via two routes: from Rome and from the old Genoese colonies in Crimea which, though conquered by the Tartars, eventually Italianized them. Consequently, we find two Baroque forms in Ukraine: Jesuit Baroque in Western Ukraine and Kozak Baroque in Central Ukraine, the latter a very original form suffused with national elements. This flourishing period in Ukrainian architecture was supported by both church dignitaries and the Kozak hierarchy. Mazepa alone built or renovated six large churches in Kyiv. The following are among the most important monuments of Ukrainian Baroque architecture: The St. Nicholas Military Cathedral (1690-94) built by Mazepa; the Church of the Epiphany belonging to the Kyiv Brotherhood (1695) also built by Mazepa; the Church of the Trinity in Cernyhiv (1679)

and the Church of the Mharskyj Monastery (1682-1694) established by Hetman Samojlovyc. Clearly, these and other secular monuments such as the "Mazepa House" in Cernyhiv and individual buildings in the Pecherska Lavra and the Zaborovskyj Gate in Kyiv, veritable architectural pearls, demonstrate that Baroque forms in Ukraine were not independent isolated phenomena but on the contrary, after grafting onto local styles, formed an original synthesis of two styles, Ukrainian Baroque.

Both Baroque forms in Western and Central Ukraine as in the rest of Europe in the 18th century gradually evolved to Rococo. Rococo also became imbued with Ukrainian national elements and can therefore, as in the case of its predecessor, justifiably be described as a native Ukrainian style.

However, national concerns during the Rococo period were not as marked as in the Baroque period, all the more so since new buildings were raised according to the designs of foreign architects such as the German Gottfried Schadel (+1752), the Italian Bartolomeo Francesco Rastrelli (1700-1771) and Vlamen de Witte. For this reason, to a great extent, native Ukrainian monuments and features are missing. The finest examples of the Rococo period in Ukraine are the Church of St. Andrew in Kyiv, the grand Cathedral of St. George in Lviv (1744-66) designed by Maretini, the Main Church at Počaiv and the imposing campanile of the Pecherska Lavra (1736-45) designed by Schadel. Almost 93m high it is renowned for its masterful composition, the logical austerity and simplicity of Classicism slowly supplanting the sublime elegance of Rococo. During revivals in Ukrainian art its proponents turn readily to the traditions of home-grown styles.

CLASSICISM & ECLECTICISM

Classicism which first appears at the beginning of the 18th century finds its consummation in the two magnificent palaces of the last Ukrainian hetman Kyrylo Rozumovskyj (1728-1803) in Baturyn built by the Englishman Charles Cameron (in 1799-1803) and at Počep built by the Ukrainian architect O. Janovskyj according to drawings by Vallen de la Motte, not to mention the other representative houses of the Ukrainian magnates. It is at this time that such imposing structures were erected as the theatre in Odessa (1803) built by the French architect Thomas de Thomon (1754-1813) and the Zavadovskyj Palace at Lalyci (1794-1795) built by the Italian master Giacomo Quarenghi (1744-1817).

Classicism which in Ukraine passed through three phases corresponding with the succession of Louis XVI, Empire and Biedermeier in fact marked the end of independent Ukrainian trends in architecture. In 1801, coinciding with the abolition of Ukrainian autonomy, it was forbidden to build Ukrainian-style churches in Ukraine. Instead ready plans were sent from St. Petersburg and Moscow on how building was to proceed henceforth.

In connection with Utilitarianism and Mercantilism prevalent throughout Europe and the ensuing practical approach to life, contemporary art came

under the influence of a movement based on various historically proven styles known as Eclecticism. If we consider more closely the general architectural view of Ukrainian cities such as Kyiv, Odessa, Kharkiv, Lviv and Černivtsi to name a few, we find that features of so-called Viennese Neo-Romanticism have, in spite of political frontiers, permeated even as far as Rostov-on-Don. The main examples of Eclecticism are the civic theatres of Kyiv, Lviv and Odessa. A general decline set in during the eclectic period, which is also attributable to the fact that the Russian government, after abolishing the guilds (fraternities), made no provisions for trade schools and soon there were no skilled technicians. Of course, this did not result directly in falling artistic standards; however, Ukrainian architects were without doubt severely handicapped in the fulfillment of their projects by the lack of skilled labour. Consequently, they left their homeland where the necessary prerequisites for their artistic work were lacking and, frequently against their will, went to Moscow or St. Petersburg, in other words to places which offered them much more scope for development. In the second half of the 19th century, under the influence of Romanticism, Western European Historicism made inroads in Eastern European Art. In architecture this produced a transition to a pseudo-Byzantine style. Introduced into Ukraine by force it was unable to bring an invigorating influence to bear on building.

At the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th century there were short periods when so-called Viennese Secession and French "Moderne" were influential. Major examples of these styles are the railway stations of Lviv, Zmerinka and Kharkiv.

Prior to the First World War there were attempts in Ukraine to revive the national Baroque style together with the ethnographically based national art of wooden architecture. The main proponents were the architects D. Diačenko, Serhij Tymosenko (1881-1950) and others.

More recently in Soviet Ukraine, Western European Constructivism and Functionalism gained the upper hand. Examples of these styles are the State Trust in Kharkiv (1925), the Planning Building (1924-30) also in Kharkiv; the power station (1926) and railway station in Kyiv; the textile works at Kremencuk and the Dniprelstan.

In 1932 these styles were officially discarded and replaced by a new style which combined elements from tsarist times with Constructivism and therefore may be termed Eclecticism. In the spirit of this peculiar synthesis there were built in Kyiv the building housing the Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Ukrainian government building, the Trade Institute and several sanatoria in Crimea. These changes were the result of an ideological struggle concerning the precepts of Socialist Realism. The Ukrainian architects O. Tacij and V. Ivčenko have endeavoured to introduce new, original, Ukrainian forms to architecture.

The rebuilding of Ukrainian cities destroyed during the Second World War has been the most urgent task set before Ukrainian master builders. During both the advance and retreat of the German armies numerous architectural

monuments were destroyed in the fighting. In order to accomplish this task, in 1945 a Ukrainian Academy of Architecture was established under the direction of V. Zabolotnyj, the architect known throughout the Soviet Union.

Our necessarily brief account of Ukrainian architecture would be even more incomplete if we failed to say at least something about the distinctly national form of Ukrainian wood architecture. Wood architecture, especially cottage building, can be traced back to the Neolithic Age. As D. Antonovych points out, by the advent of the age of the grand princes of Kyiv this type of architecture had evolved quite distinct forms. There is a quite varied selection of farm houses in different parts of the country depending on the climate and available building materials. The dwellings of the Hutsul, Bojko and Lemko peoples differ from those of the population of Poltava and Cernyhiv. The interior furnishings also demonstrate characteristic traits of the artistic creativity of the Ukrainian people as well as a whole array of forms of expression. The finest examples of this, however, are to be found in church architecture which, in Ukraine especially, achieved a particular originality of form. The oldest existing wooden churches of both eastern and western Ukraine date from the 16th and 17th centuries. The Zaporozhian Cathedral at Novoselycia on the Samara is a veritable masterpiece of this type of architecture brought to artistic perfection. It has nine steeples with cupolae, is 64m high and was built in 1773-75 by the architect J. Pohrebniak.

We can touch only briefly here on the diversity and architectural beauty of Ukrainian wooden churches. Suffice it to say that the exterior and interior architecture of these churches display a severity of line which coincides, however, with a fineness of motif and harmony of form the like of which can scarcely be found anywhere else in the world.

2. *Sculpture*

THE GREEK PERIOD & THE PERIOD OF THE GRAND PRINCES

Sculpture is of course related to architecture. In Ukraine its beginnings date back to the period of Greek colonisation, in any event no earlier than the 4th century BC. Several well preserved pieces such as the heads of Aphrodite, Zeus and Eros from Olbia and Chersones show hellenic influences. Other examples bear the distinct mark of Praxiteles. During the period of the grand princes of Kyiv, sculpture formed an integral part of the lively building programme at that time, although existing monuments are relatively scarce. Their analysis requires special study. We can only quote the opinion of the renowned expert M. Makarenko. As regards the first period of Ukrainian sculpture he underlines in particular the influences of Byzantium. At the same time he also points out the influences of the old-Bulgarian schools. As for the 11th and 12th centuries special mention should be given to the

bas-relief "The Holy Knights" at the Monastery of St. Michael; "Bacchus and the Panthers" in the catacombs of the Pecherska Lavra; and the sarcophagus of Grand Prince Jaroslav the Wise in the Cathedral of St. Sophia (all in Kyiv).

GOTHIC & RENAISSANCE

In the 14th and 15th centuries Western European influences penetrated Ukraine. They appear in bas-reliefs, superimposed on Byzantine iconographic traditions. Gothic influences were particularly prevalent in Ukraine at that time. However, they did not leave behind magnificent buildings as in Western Europe. Nevertheless, Gothic did predominate totally in more modest forms throughout the country down to the smallest provincial towns. It was most influential in Western Ukraine where creative work was possible. Due to major political upheavals Eastern Ukraine was unable to play a leading cultural role.

The existing works of art from the Renaissance period, mostly tombs, show lying or half-lying figures in armour in appropriate architectural frames resembling Venetian or North Italian sculpture. Interesting examples of this art are: the tomb of Prince Konstantin Ostrozskyj, "The Brave Champion and Defender of the Orthodox Faith" at the Pecherska Lavra in Kyiv dating from 1534; M. Herbut's tomb at the Lviv Cathedral, a work of the Nurnberg master P. Labenwolf (1492-1563) creator of the Gansemannchen Fountain in Nurnberg; K. Ramultova's tomb (1572) by the Lviv master S. Cesek; the tombs of the Syniavskyj family in Berezany by the German masters Johann Pfister (1573-1640) and Heinrich Horst (1574-1636) and others. The creators of these monuments were trained either in Germany (Nurnberg) or Italy. Renaissance influences are most evident in decorative sculpture mainly in iconostasis adornments of which there are still magnificent examples in Lviv and Rohatyn.

BAROQUE & CLASSICISM

During the Baroque period decorative sculpture continued to develop and strive for new forms of expression in church decor, tombs and iconostases carved in wood. The Baroque iconostases are intricately designed, often several tiers high and richly carved with magnificent ornamentation displaying genuine Ukrainian themes. They represent the zenith of the creative powers of the Ukrainian people in this branch of the plastic arts.

Some of the finest examples of this type of picture screen are the iconostases at Bohorodcany (Halychyna) dating from the 17th century (at the moment housed in the National museum in Lviv), the Pecherska Lavra in Kyiv, the Cathedral of St. Sophia (1747) and at St. Andrew's Church.

The political collapse of the Hetman State in the second half of the 18th century was also reflected in the negative aspects of cultural life in Ukraine.

Possible though it was during this period of subjugation to produce eminent artists, they were usually forced to work in the service of the foreign power and therefore were either partially or totally lost to their nation. Consequently, all the works of I. Martos (1754-1835) and M. Kozlovskij (1753-1802) belong to Russian Art in spite of the fact that they were exclusively a product of the Ukrainian milieu from whose source they drew their own classical themes. The more important of the two, Martos, a pupil of Cavona and later professor and rector of the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts created for Russian sculpture, enriching it and in addition training a number of eminent pupils. The same applies to Kozlovskij, although in his short life he was not able to fulfil his potential. The unlucky party in all of this was Ukrainian culture which, robbed of its most creative talents, had to play second fiddle and eventually lost its individual identity as regards cultural creativity.

NATIONALLY CONSCIOUS ARTISTS

The pioneers of Ukrainian sculpture were a number of nationally conscious sculptors and romanticists who stressed the originality of Ukrainian sculpture through historical themes. M. Mykesyn (1836-1896) creator of the Bohdan Chmelnyckyj Statue in Kyiv, the renowned illustrator of Shevchenko and Gogol is, technically speaking, somewhat wanting but compensates for this by the powerful tide of his artistic imagination. F. Kamenskij produced the first busts of Shevchenko. Like his contemporary, Zabala, eight years his senior, he emigrated to the United States and taught as professor of sculpture in Kansas, Florida and later in New York. P. Zabala (1830-1890) created a monument to Gogol in Nizyn, Shevchenko busts for Cernyhiv and busts of the Ukrainian painters Borovykovskij, Halan and others. L. Posen (1849-1921) is famous for the Kotljarevskij Monument in Poltava and the universally celebrated bas-relief representations of the literary works of the founder of modern Ukrainian literature. Special mention is reserved for V. Beklemisev (1861) reviver of academic tradition and creator of lofty forms; likewise F. Balavenskyj (1864) who skilfully blended classical tradition with folk elements and produced a number of monumental works such as the particularly impressive "Olympic Games" and the "Triumphal Procession of Phryne". His allegorical figures on the Ukrainian Red Cross Building in Kyiv, "Medicine", "Mercy", "Love" and "Life" are of considerable artistic merit. P. Vijtovyč (1862) worked in Halychyna at the same time as Balavenskyj. A pupil of Zumbusch in Vienna he sculpted the statues at the Lviv Opera House. The former are joined by M. Brynskyj (1883) with his monument to the "Victims of 17.IX.1911" in Vienna; and H. Kuznevyc (1872) who trained in Italy and later went to the United States where he enriched Cleveland, Pittsburg and Philadelphia with his monuments. M. Parascuk (1880) master of monumental commercial architecture also works outside Ukraine in Bulgaria. Finally we

mention the very talented late romanticist M. Havrylko (1882-1919), creator of the very popular designs for the Shevchenko Monument in Kyiv in which mastery of form blend harmoniously with fiery imagination and romantic penchant.

MODERN TIMES

Modern Ukrainian sculpture, by dint of its broad range of interest as well as its accomplishment, has reached a level of achievement which was bound to secure for it an appropriate place in general European development. Indeed, Ukrainian sculpture has not only been productive in its treatment of foreign themes but has also created its own forms and posited its own problems. Its strength lies mainly in the group of artists who took over from the Ukrainian monumentalists. B. Kratko (1884) is the classical embodiment of this movement. A professor at the Kyiv Academy of Arts he is noted for impressionism and a leaning towards neo-romanticism. He is joined in the same group by Nastja Pysarenko with her well-defined style. Her works became the foundation of a new school which emphasised strongly national elements and uncompromising style. In a class of his own we find the accomplished animal sculptor K. Stachovskyj (1882) living and teaching abroad. His sculptures of subjects at zoos in Berlin, Vienna and London have won universal acclaim. The neoromantics O. Laturynska (1902) and F. Jemec belong to a particular group of modern sculpture. Their sculptures, veritable poems in stone, display an appreciation of modern form. A special place in Ukrainian sculpture belongs to A. Archypenko¹ (1887) known far beyond the borders of his homeland. A special study prefaced by Prof. Hildebrand has been written about him. In 1923 when Archypenko emigrated to the United States he had already aroused the interest of artistic circles in Europe. Initially influenced by Cubism and Futurism he subsequently produced his own original works. Completely detached from the world of phenomena, Archypenko sought by means of his own new methods and through heightened dynamics to express their deeply hidden logic and psychological content. His masterly works are, however, not intrinsically Ukrainian, they have a somewhat eccentric, far-fetched quality which is completely out of harmony with the healthy sensibility of the earth-bound peasant folk.

The following are noted members of the Academic School: I. Severa (1891) and S. Lytvynenko (1899) Franko's gravestone in Lviv; L. Bloch (1881-1943), a pupil of Rodin, professor at the Institute of Art in Kharkiv, creator of the Korolenko Monument in Poltava and a bust of Shevchenko; S. Zuk (1885); the monumentalist A. Koverko; the realist V. Klymiv (decorative woodcut); V. Masjutyn (1884-1955) the engraver; H. Kruk (1910)— portraitist—sculptor; A. Pavlos (1905-1949) — statues; J. Sahajdacnyj (1896) —

1. Archypenko, a Ukrainian, is in some studies on art referred to mistakenly as a Russian. As Mirtschuk so painstakingly point out throughout his study this type of misconception whether deliberate or unintentional is disrespectful to Ukrainian Culture. (Translator's note).

wooden busts; B. Muchyn—dynamic sculpture; M. Ceresniovskyj and M. Dzyndra. The following are talented artists of the monumental and synthetic movement in Kharkiv and Jakovliv, and finally the monumentalists M. Panasiuk, H. Tenner (1889-1943), Z. Dindo and J. Kavaleridze (the Shevchenko Monument in Poltava).

SOCIALIST REALISM

In Soviet Ukraine sculpture follows the so-called “Socialist Realist” school which amounts to the mass turning out of monuments and statues mostly bereft of any individual creative expression. Typical examples of this art are the memorials “To the Heroes of Luhansk” by H. Neroda, the Scors Monument by P. Uljanov (1889) in Zytomir, the Shevchenko monument by H. Manizer in Kharkiv (1935) and Kyiv, and the works of B. Ivanov (1902-1941).

Particularly numerous and characteristic examples of this art are the works of M. Lysenko (1908) “Carpathian Raid” and his Shevchenko busts and L. Muravin’s (1906) “Heroes of October” amongst others. J. Bilostockyj, A. Strachiv, H. Petrasevyc (1903), J. Razba (1902) and K. Dydenko are also noted sculptors.

Apart from Archypenko and the socialist realists, the majority of the works of Ukrainian sculpture are characterised by their national character. In answer to the political situation of the Ukrainian people as a result of its loss of independence, Ukrainian artists strive in their work for national forms. This serves to underline their independence and their right to their own way of life at least in spiritual and cultural matters.

3. Painting

THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

The beginning of the history of Ukrainian Painting, as in the case of Ukrainian Art, can in general be traced back to documentarily authenticated political history when the Ukrainian State entered the world arena as a new power in Eastern Europe. The examples of Ukrainian painting dating from the period of the grand princes were of such excellence that they could easily compete with similar works of other European peoples at that time. This high standard was not a sudden and unexpected gift from the gods but the end product of the long developmental process of painting in Ukraine dating from earlier millenia. We refer here to the painted ceramics of the Trypillian Culture from the Neolithic Age, the frescos painted on the walls of the Greek and Roman tombs in Crimea, the magnificent Greek vases from Berezan and Olbia and the frescos and mosaics from early Christian churches in Chersones, Kerc and other cities which were in the orbit of Hellenic Culture. The frescos and mosaics whose splendid colours shone in the St. Sophia Cath-

edral and other monumental churches of the Kyiv State attest to the highly accomplished skill of their creators.

There were hardly any similar works to be found anywhere else in Europe at the time. We do not know who the master craftsmen were, however, we can assume quite justifiably that they were Greek artists whose work was then continued by their pupils. The best preserved example we have today is the series of famous mosaics in addition to the frescos *al secco* in the Cathedral of St. Sophia in Kyiv. Both in terms of content and arrangement, their composition shows strict order from the apex of the cathedral, the great dome above the main altar, to the main entrance including all the corners and adjacent spaces. High up in the large cupola, Christ the Pantokrator, the omnipotent God of the Christian Church, is enthroned. Underneath we find the four archangels and below them, between the cupola windows, the 12 apostles. In the triangles by which the cupola rests on the columns the four evangelists are represented. In strictly defined order, in keeping with the contemporary view of the Eastern Church, come the Holy Mother, a 5m high figure, her hands raised in prayer (the Oranta), a depiction of the Last Supper, symbol of mankind's union with God; they are followed by the Saints and various scenes from the Old and New Testament. Naturally, there is a portrayal of the Last Judgement. Beneath the frescos near the stairway to the choir loft there are depictions of interesting secular themes from the lives of the Byzantine emperors and the Kyivan grand princes in particular. Many scholars point out that the system of Byzantine iconography passed on to the Kyiv State was transplanted to Ukraine by a lengthy process. Consequently, the Ukrainian iconographers must have achieved a certain spiritual maturity even then to have received the new ideas with such a deep understanding and high degree of sensitivity. The fact that Kyiv also took an initiative in this process modifying the received models and methods of working to suit Ukrainian tastes and artistic concepts can be seen by comparing the mural decorations in the Cathedral of St. Sophia with the mosaics in the Monastery of St. Michael which was established in 1160-61. One can assume that Greek masters did not take part in the development of the monastery but that their Ukrainian pupils, albeit under Greek artistic influence, imbued the Greek models with their own spirit and creative imagination. The depiction of the Last Supper in both churches, apart from an overall likeness, differs markedly in individual detail. This marks the beginning of the same process of self-assertion which in Italy, likewise based on Greek teachings, led to the prodigious growth of national works of art in the 16th century.

The Ukrainian monk Olimpij (1134) is noted as an accomplished iconographer of the 12th century. After studying in Constantinople he painted the interior of the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin in the Pecherska Lavra in Kyiv. The Icon of the Mother of God which Prince Volodymyr Monomach donated to Rostov-on-Don is attributed to him. There are extant about 40 splendid icons from the Kyiv period. They include: the Smo-

lensk Mother of God originally owned by Prince Vsevolod Jaroslavyc of Cernyhiv, the Miraculous Icon of Our Lady in Czestochowa which was taken from Belz in 1382 by the Polish prince Wladyslaw Opolski and the Vladimir Icon carried off by the Suzdal prince Andrij Boholjubskyj in 1155 from Vys-horod near Kyiv.

GERMAN INFLUENCES AND THE RENAISSANCE

The 13th century brought Ukraine political catastrophes and hard strife. This laid waste the land, the cities, and severely hampered any further development or organic growth of national culture as a whole. Nevertheless, these events did not cause any appreciable disruption in Ukrainian painting. Indeed, in the 14th and 15th centuries it achieved such a reputation that Ukrainian painters were inundated with contracts from both Lithuania and Poland where they came up against competition from Western Europe. Polish kings such as Casimir the Great and Jagello commissioned Ukrainian artists for the complicated task of painting frescos in the churches of Sandomir, Gnesno and Lublin and at the royal castle at Wawel in Crackow. To name but an eminent example, there are the famous frescos of the Holy Trinity at the castle chapel in Lublin painted by master Andrij in 1415. An innovator, he founded an original style which relies neither on Byzantine nor Western European models and is particularly striking by virtue of its freedom of composition and harmony of colour. It is worth noting that the works of the Ukrainian painters reflect Byzantine traditions which are paralleled by distinct vestiges of native Ukrainian artistic sensibility and Gothic influences. Western stylistic influences on the East came from far and wide. The nearest source was Nurnberg whose artists either made their way to Galicia in person or sent their works there. We know that Veit Stoss, Hans Kulmbach and Durer's brother worked in Crackow where Ukrainian artists were also working. This enabled direct contacts and an exchange of ideas. The painting of the Resurrection of Christ in the Lviv National Museum is stongly reminiscent of a similar work by the Nurnberg master Wohlgemuth and perhaps even an earlier work by his teacher Durer at the Pinakothek in Munich.

Gothic traditions in painting in Ukraine persisted for a long time. Indeed, the conservative masters still preferred the customary Gothic forms in the second half of the 16th century and in the first half of the 17th century, at a time when the younger generation was preoccupied with Renaissance Art. In this way, alongside modern Renaissance painting, Gothic influences were preserved which, in the meantime, had become acclimatized so that a synthesis had taken place with Ukrainian Byzantine elements. Even the powerful influence of Baroque in Ukraine which had eventually developed into the Ukrainian national style was unable to remove all traces of Gothic style which have remained in iconographic art up to the present day. Undoubtedly the leading role in painting in the second half of the 16th century was assumed by the Renaissance painters who, at that time, in addition to paintings with religious themes, also painted portraits which, by virtue

of their simplicity and refinement, are very reminiscent of Dutch portraits of the period. Notwithstanding, Italian influences are also evident. Their main representative in Ukraine was the most gifted painter of the Renaissance period, Fedusko of Sambir, whose "Annunciatioñ" (1579) was exhibited in the Church and Archaeology Museum in Zytomyr (Volhyn). This period with its receptiveness to foreign influences formed by virtue of its manifoldness the basis for the penetration of Byzantine and Western European currents in Ukrainian art which reached its zenith.

BAROQUE

Baroque came to Ukraine from Italy. In Ukraine at that time a new political force, the Kozaks, had taken the helm. Baroque style, as practiced mainly by the Jesuits working in Poland, could only become established in the anti-Catholic, anti-Polish Ukraine of the Kozaks if in the new circumstances it also assumed native, national elements and took account of the tastes and disposition of the ruling Ukrainian circles. Thus, out of Jesuit Baroque there grew in Ukraine, Kozak Baroque, one of the most interesting and graceful phenomena in Ukrainian art.

As we have already indicated, Gothic and Renaissance influences are apparent in Ukrainian painting; however, the old Byzantine traditions, methods and principles continued to hold their own. During this period it was simply impossible to subordinate the modern currents and achievements to the old order or even for both to run in parallel. It came to a sharp conflict between the traditions of Greek iconography and the tenets of the Western European spirit. This conflict, however, was not restricted merely to painting or art. It developed in parallel with the major altercation between adherents of the Orthodox Church and their Greek-Old Slav Culture on the one hand and the heralds of the new, progressive ideas flowing in from the West. And, just as in the domain of spiritual culture this resulted eventually in a synthesis of the two worlds, art also had to take the same road of fusion and synthesis of former antitheses. The product of this process was Ukrainian Baroque: the complete metamorphosis of conflicting ideas, the withdrawal of the strict rules of iconography and its abstract, stylised composition and the advance of a free, naturalistic description of figures and scenery according to Western European models. The change was gradual. Each phase lasted a certain time, leaving behind, of course, its own monuments, so that we can trace the entire process of development through all its phases.

Portrait-painting was a major step in the move toward Realism. From materially confined iconography on the way to secularisation and emancipation from medieval traditions it grew into new forms. While the portraits of earlier periods are distinguished by simplicity and psychological depth, the modern portraitists of church dignitaries or hetmans concentrated on externals such as depicting might.

In the Baroque period, the 17th and 18th centuries, Ukrainian painting produced numerous important painters who congregated mainly round the Mohyla Academy and the Pecherska Lavra in Kyiv. At the Lavra school of painting; "art books" (Ukrainian: Kuzbuschky) were used which contained drawings serving as examples for the students. Some of the surviving art books show us that among the drawings there were copies of famous contemporary Western masters and that Ukrainian painters with a close knowledge of the achievements of European Art strove to educate their pupils in a similar spirit. In spite of the considerable distances and difficulties in communications at that time, leading Ukrainian circles were particularly concerned about fostering an organic link between the centres of Ukrainian culture and Western Europe. A direct result of this was the special place of Kyiv and Lviv and other Ukrainian cities in the spiritual life of Eastern Europe. Here for example, one should draw attention to the importance of the Kyiv Academy which not only served science but was concerned primarily with education. The great champions and defenders of the Orthodox Church who on the one hand protected the Eastern Faith against the onslaught of the Polish clergy and on the other hand were to fulfil major organisational services in spiritual life in the Muscovite Empire abroad, enjoyed within its walls a comprehensive and thorough education. Lviv played a less important role in this field, though one that should not be underestimated. As a result of its geographical situation, it was destined to receive first hand, Western, or more exactly German, ideas and transmit them to the East. The upsurge of spiritual energy was not restricted to only one branch of cultural life. Art too flourished and achieved, by Eastern European standards, notable success. Some masters also found recognition abroad where the works of Ukrainian painters were even exhibited in galleries. Thus, the portrait of the Polish King Sobieski by the Ukrainian painter Vasyl of Lviv hangs in the Uffizi Gallery in Florence.

ROCOCO AND CLASSICISM

During the Rococo period of the 18th and 19th centuries the two worlds, which in the previous period had permeated one another, became complete and reached a higher synthesis, again came into sharp conflict. Each wished to follow its own course. The old path, confined mainly to iconography, sealed itself hermetically against anything new. It thus became set in its own formalism. With just a few exceptions it was unable either in the 18th or in the 19th centuries to awaken any appreciable interest among the people. Modern painting, on the contrary, turned away from religious themes preferring secular, historical portraiture. It reached such a high state of development that foreign researchers compare Ukrainian painters with the best British and French painters at the turn of the 18th century.

It was at this time that three important Ukrainian painters became estab-

lished: Dmytro Levyckyj (1735-1822), Antin Losenko (1737-1773) and Volodymyr Borovykovskyj (1757-1825). In terms of style they already belonged to the classical period. They were at the zenith and at the same time the conclusion of the development of Ukrainian painting whose traditions could still find new modes of expression in the Baroque period, but reached their culmination in the Rococo period. The above painters fixed in the traditions of the past again brought the artistic legacy of Kyiv School to full fruition.

However, they too could not work in their native land. They had to go north to enrich a culture which was foreign to them and, as teachers, educate new generations of Russian artists. Losenko was rector of the St. Petersburg Academy of Art and Levyckyj a member and professor. Borovykovskyj founded a school for portraitists which produced M. Buhajevskyj-Blahorodnyj. K. Holovacevskyj (1735-1823) and I. Sablukov (1735-1777), founders of the Kharkiv Academy of Arts, also worked in St. Petersburg. Other Ukrainian artists such as S. Zaruckyj, I. Machovskij, I. Polonskyj, V. Puzarevskyj, A. Zvyotkevyc and others worked in Moscow.

This systematic policy of exploitation of Ukraine conducted by St. Petersburg was bound in time to lead to the impoverishment of Ukrainian art. It also led to its uprooting, since artists transplanted into a foreign environment, without a direct organic link with their own people, were unable to foster national traditions or nurture future generations on their own soil. Their personal achievements mainly in the field of portraiture were considerable, their contribution to the Europeanisation of Russia important; however, Ukrainian art enjoyed hardly any or very little benefit as a result.

PERIOD OF INERTIA

The next fifty years failed to produce any eminent artists, with the exception of Shevchenko. A gifted painter, his works in the sphere of the visual arts nevertheless are pushed way into the background by his mission as poet and prophet of his people. Shevchenko drew pictures of the life of the Ukrainian people and was the first to depict the way of life of political opponents exiled to Siberia by the Russian government. He was joined by the following painters, his friend V. Sternberg (1818-1845), L. Zemcuznikov (1828-1912) and K. Trutovskij (1826-1923) who preferred ethnographic themes. The academic school exerted a stronger influence. It was represented by D. Bezpercyj (1825-1913), K. Kostandi (1853-1921) and others who are known mainly as portraitists and who, in addition, treated historical and scenic themes. In Western Ukraine at the same time there were many masters of the brush who had trained in Vienna, Munich and Cracow. Of these we mention M. Ivasiuk (1865) who became renowned for his painting "Chmelnickyj's entry into Kyiv" reproductions of which can be found in almost every house of the Ukrainian intelligentsia. Realism in Galicia is represented by A.

Manastyrskij (1878) and O. Kurylas (1870-1943). 1898 was an important year in the spiritual life of Ukraine, since at this time in Lviv the first society for research into Ukrainian art was founded. In the first years of its existence it organised two public art exhibitions.

NEW LIFE IN UKRAINIAN PAINTING

The danger of uprooting and denationalisation, occasioned by the migration northwards, was, however, averted by Ukrainian art. In time Ukrainian artists realised that their talent and work could only prosper on native soil. The most important and profound among them, Mykola Ge (1831-1894), painter, philosopher and personal friend of Tolstoj, during his heyday turned his back on St. Petersburg, returned to Ukraine for good, and thus saved his considerable talent from ruin. On examining his legacy we find no "Ukrainian themes". This is typical of many Ukrainian artists in the Russian capital who no longer think of returning to their homeland, though in an attempt to express their patriotism employ Ukrainian themes in their art.

Ge, steeped in the spirit of Ukrainian worldly wisdom, refrains from the sometimes banal depiction of national folk dances or scenes of Kozak life, turning his attention to matters of global import. In his last work "The Crucifixion", banned by the Russian censor on account of its "ungodliness", he attempts from a higher standpoint and by a new method to portray this universal tragedy. The picture juxtaposes two worlds, two truths, whose struggle in one of his other compositions "Christ before Pilate" is shown more vividly and with greater expression. One world represents the Roman governor, a product of the antique over-culture of the West; before him stands Christ, herald of a new world view; his face full of unshakeable faith convinces us that in this struggle the philosophically inclined Epicurean Pilate must succumb.

The renowned future artist generally regarded as Russian, Ilja Repiin (1844-1928) also worked in St. Petersburg. Other celebrities of Russian painting are I. Ajvazovskij (1817-1900) a painter of the sea, born in Ukraine, I. Kramskij (1838-1887) and O. Lytovcenko. The landscape painter of half-Polish extraction, Jan Stanislawski (1860-1940) worked as professor at the Crackow Academy of Arts. His pupil I. Trus (1869-1940) was a refined artist whose works, ignoring Ukrainian landscapes, prefer foreign exotic themes. M. Buracek (1831-1942) was also a pupil of Stanislawski. A master of colour, he possessed the gift of conjuring on canvas entire symphonies of colour in the subtlest of nuances.

At the turn of the century, under the leadership of M. Samokysa (1860-1944) and S. Vasylykivskij (1854-1917), a group of Ukrainian artists was formed with the task of researching the relics of the glorious past and Old-Ukrainian Art. They produced the collection "Ukrainian Antiquities" containing twenty depictions of characters from Ukrainian history and folklore, in addition to "Themes of Ukrainian Ornament from the 17th—18th century".

The group which comprised also I. Izakevyc (1863), O. Slastijon (1855-1937), M. Pymonenko (1862-1912), P. Martynovyc (1856-1906) and A. Zdacha, specialised exclusively in Ukrainian themes. The young generation, however, under the influence of new ideas from Western Europe and the national upturn in their own society, went a step further and proceeded to treat the Ukrainian themes in an original formal manner.

THE 20TH CENTURY

This period produces a whole array of prominent artists: O. Murasko (1875-1919) who, after considerable successes in Paris, Munich and Vienna wished to return home and amid the national life form a centre of art and thus to secure the position of Ukrainian art in the cultural life of Europe. The same aims were pursued by F. and V. Krycevsyj; indeed, the latter strove to establish a Ukrainian style in all branches of art, his work finding recognition in Germany, England and America. The founding of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts in Kyiv in December 1917 was a special event in the cultural life of Ukraine. The academy was headed by the famous illustrators J. Narbut, M. Bojcuk, O. Murasko, M. Buracek and the Krycevsyj brothers.

The so-called "Neo-Byzantine School" was a completely original phenomenon. Contrary to the then predominant Realism, it advocated a return to old Byzantine-Ukrainian traditions. The proponent of this idea, M. Bojcuk (1882-1937) who found a pioneer in M. Sosenko (1875-1920), "a monumentalist on Byzantine foundations" discovered himself and his own style after lengthy work in Paris and later in Kyiv, where he not only gathered a number of admirers round him but, by his educational work, trained a whole series of young talents. Typical representatives of this school are I. Padalka, M. Ossincuk (1890), V. Sedlar (1893) — all artists who worked in all areas of the plastic arts, graphics, sculpture and particularly applied art. The Ukrainian Impressionist painters consisted initially of the afore-mentioned O. Murasko, I. Trus, M. Buracek, M. Zuk (1876), I. Severyn (1881) and O. Novakivskyj (1872-1935), a pupil at the Crackow Academy, whose Polish teachers Matejko, Wyspianski and Malczewski left indelible traces in his sensitive soul. Under the influence of the experiences of the war, Impressionism became symbolic Expressionism, resembling the Swiss master F. Hodler. Expressionism is also a feature of the works of I. Pochytoniv (1850-1921), A. Kuindzi (1842-1910), F. Krasycykj (1883) and O. Boksaj. On the borders of Impressionism we find the decorative pictures of O. Kulcycka and the symbolist works of J. Mychajliv (1885-1926). The characteristic feature of Ukrainian Impressionism is the preponderance of graphic elements over colour and the inclination to pure graphic art.

Expressionism was cultivated by V. Kryzanivskyj (1891-1926) and V. Palmov (1888-1929) who strive for typical colour effect and characteristic form. Of the other modern trends Futurism and Cubism were also apparent,

although they did not leave any appreciable legacy. Neoclassicism had a worthy representative in M. Hluscenko (1900) who made a name for himself in Berlin and Paris. A personality *sui generis*, P. Cholodnyj (1876-1930) does not fit into any set framework. It was only when he emigrated abroad that he dedicated himself completely to his art. In the last ten years of his life he produced a series of pictures which are an eloquent testimony to his untrammelled will and considerable ability.

THE 1917 REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH

After the loss of independence, the development of the plastic arts in Ukraine was at first left unscathed by the influence of political events. In spite of the considerable obstacles placed in the path of Ukrainian culture as a whole by the Bolshevik powers of occupation, the process of maturation and branching out of Ukrainian art continued unabated. Numerous organisations came into being such as "The Association of Revolutionary Art in Ukraine" (1925), "The Union of Contemporary Artists of Ukraine" (1927), "The Union of Young Artists of Ukraine" and others. All these associations fought vigorous, though at the same time fruitful, campaigns. In the competition between the various groups the Bojczuk brothers, V. Sedlar and I. Padalka stood out in particular. However, on account of "counterrevolutionary Traditionalism" they were unable to excel. Then, in April 1932, the Central Committee of the Communist Party passed a decision on "the transformation of literary and artistic organisations".

The above associations and unions were dissolved and their members collected in the official Moscow-directed "Union of Soviet Artists of Ukraine". The members of the Union were to follow "Socialist Realism", a singular combination of the photographic reproduction of reality with pseudo-academic pomp, its task being to glorify the Bolshevik leaders and to emphasise "the happy life of the Soviet people". The art exhibitions in Soviet Ukraine especially in 1937 ran under the motto: "The Blossoming Ukraine". They were to be visible proof of the victory of "Socialist Realism" in the fight against Naturalism and Nationalism.

PAINTING IN WESTERN UKRAINE

In Western Ukraine, which in the period between the two world wars had been annexed by Poland, conditions for the development of Ukrainian art were considerably more favourable. In cooperation with artists who had fled from the eastern zones many organisations sprang up. One of these, ANUM, (Association of Independent Ukrainian Artists), was particularly active, organising a series of exhibitions in Lviv. From here it was possible to make contacts abroad, though mainly with Ukrainian artists living and working in Paris, Prague, Berlin and Rome.

During the Second World War, West Ukrainian and East Ukrainian artists

worked together productively in Lviv. In the relatively short period of 1941-44, in the difficult circumstances of war and the proximity of the front, in the Galician capital alone five exhibitions were organised. When, however, the Red Army began its victorious march west, almost the entire Ukrainian intelligentsia fled, and on its way into an unknown future, the majority settled mainly in West Germany. It used the time of its involuntary stay to familiarise the western world, primarily the German public, with the achievements of Ukrainian culture. The artists too followed this example and organised in all the major cities of West Germany exhibitions, the one held in Munich on the occasion of Ukrainian Culture Week in 1947 being particularly prominent.

Nevertheless, this period of respite was but brief. Migration continued overseas to the USA, Canada, Australia, Argentina, Venezuela and other countries in the search for a new life.

It is not possible within the framework of a brief outline to touch on all the developments and issues of Ukrainian painting in only a few words. Consequently, even valuable information has had to be omitted. Let us say, in conclusion, that the edifice of Ukrainian painting rests mainly on foundations laid by the achievements of Western European spiritual life which it utilised in its own way, bringing into play national Ukrainian elements which are anchored in historical tradition and modern popular perception.

The graphic arts

11th-18th CENTURY

The Graphic Arts were introduced into Ukraine at the same time as writing. The oldest existing examples of graphic art, the miniatures of the Ostromyr Gospel (1056), the Chrystynopil Epistle (12th century) and the Cholm Gospel (13th century) attest to the Byzantine influence on their development during the period of the grand princes in the 11th—14th centuries.

In the 14th—15th centuries we can already discern Gothic influences, for example the Story of Borys and Hlib (14th century; available copies date from the end of the 15th century). Impregnation from the West, however, first becomes more evident in Ukrainian Graphic Art in the 16th century when, with the introduction of the art of printing, it assumed the role of mediator and disseminator of style innovations from Western Europe. In the first Cyrillic print in 1491, produced by the German printer Schweipold Fiol in Cracow and used widely throughout Ukraine, the representation of the "crucifixion" is very reminiscent of the Nurnberg model in the Gothic style. Without breaking with old traditions, graphic art modernised the time-honoured forms by introducing new elements firstly to ornamentation and subsequently also to exhibited material. Thus, we find in the first Ukrainian print of the Lviv "Epistle" of 1573-74 that the Evangelist Luke is still depicted in the old Byzantine-Ukrainian style, although the frame is done now in

the style of the Nurnberg engraver E. Schon. We can make the same observation on the evidence of the publications of the Pecherska lavra, where there was also a great upsurge in graphic art in the first half of the 17th century. Subjects are expanded considerably by historical representations, portraits, folklore and city maps, though themes from ecclesiastical and religious life are predominant. It often happened, however, that the religious themes induced the artist to paint pictures of life full of vigour and animation. On the whole we can say that Ukrainian graphic art constantly strove to absorb foreign stimuli and process them accordingly. This purpose was served particularly well by the collection of Western European graphic art initiated by Metropolitan Mohyla and continually supplemented. It was made available to Ukrainian masters.

Notoriety in the domain of graphic art towards the end of the 17th century was achieved by O. Tarasevyc (he worked over the period 1672-1720). He was a pupil of the Kilian brothers of Augsburg, who were the most eminent exponents of engraving in all Eastern Europe. They produced both illustrations, book embellishments and excellent likenesses of contemporaries. The 18th century remained under the tutelage of Kyiv, although there were other centres of the art of engraving such as Lviv, Ostroh, Pocajiv and Cernyhiv whose output was prolific. The most gifted and eminent exponent at that time was, without doubt, H. Levyckyj (1695-1768) who, after completing his studies at the Kyiv Academy went abroad and, following the old custom of Ukrainian youth, honed his talent in Germany. He stayed a while in Breslau, mastered the new methods of working in engraving and returned home with an extensive knowledge. Levyckyj, from whose legacy we retain forty works, was by far the most prominent figure both in the Rococo period and throughout Ukrainian graphic art, up to the 20th century. In the period after, this branch of art became more and more of a profession whose main tasks lie more in the material domain.

THE UPSURGE IN THE 19TH AND 20TH CENTURIES

A turning point in development came towards the middle of the 19th century with the publication of the album "Ukraine in Pictures" which was begun by the brilliant Ukrainian poet, painter and, last but not least, engraver Shevchenko. The original idea was to produce a comprehensive collection of prints. However, for understandable reasons Shevchenko had to restrict himself to six landscape engravings. The distribution of light and shade in these prints shows considerable talent. The particular worth of this publication lies mainly in the fact that here, for the first time, we have before us themes from Ukrainian history, folklore and landscape produced by the hand of a national hero. The towering figure of Shevchenko brings to an end the period of Classicism in Ukrainian graphic art. However, at the same time it provides the prerequisites for the further development of this art form in the following epoch. Shevchenko's work was continued by another artist, L. Zemczukov

(1828-1912) who published a considerable quantity of his own work in the same vein as his contemporaries.

In the general process of rebirth in book art, there was a renewal in Ukrainian graphic art at the beginning of the 20th century in the form of book engraving, after it had again turned to its old traditions. V. Krycevs'kyj was a pioneer in book art. An excellent painter of landscapes with lucid colour effects, he was also a brilliant illustrator who, working closely with the historian M. Hrusyev's'kyj, took a deep interest in the traditions of the old art of book embellishment during the Kozak period. He analysed the former and on this basis produced new forms of national artistic sensibility. M. Bojczuk followed in Krycevs'kyj's footsteps. He founded a new school of painting attended by many aspiring engravers. Their work is marked by its popular nature and the national accent of its composition. The appearance of G. Narbut (1886-1920), an exceptionally gifted artist, opened up new paths for Ukrainian graphics. The rich legacy of this artist, who died so young, enables us to see his many-sided talent. Since his childhood he had had a special liking for the old models of Ukrainian script from bygone centuries. He was later to become himself an exponent and master in this field. A skilful drawer, he developed his talent at the Holosy studio in Munich so that before the outbreak of the First World War he was the best drawer and engraver in St. Petersburg. The estrangement from native Ukrainian soil, however, made it difficult for the young artist to fulfil his boundless potential. It was only after returning to Kyiv in 1917 and becoming acquainted with V. Krycevs'kyj, M. Bojczuk and Ukrainian art which the latter had enriched, that he was able to unfold his prodigious talent completely. Without doubt his works were enriched by Krycevs'kyj's sharp definition and cool distinction, as they were by Bojczuk's democratic, national timbre. While blending Krycevs'kyj's sharpness together with his own ebullient imagination and sparkling temperament, during his Kyiv period he developed all his abundance of talent. However, as a meteor suddenly flares up and then fades, he died tragically in 1920 in Moscow.

These three great artists, Krycevs'kyj, Bojczuk and Narbut form a triad in the firmament of Ukrainian graphic art determining its character and fate for the present. Anything of note in this field is either a product of their school or in some way inspired by it.

Narbut's pupils are R. Lisov's'kyj (1894) who completed his studies in Germany, taught later in Prague and today works in London, L. Lozov's'kyj (1901-1922) and perhaps the most gifted M. Kirnars'kyj (1893). Bojczuk's group consists of his wife S. Nalepyn's'ka, O. Sachnov's'ka (1902), I. Padalka, O. Ruban, a master of miniature wood-carving and V. Kassian who trained in Prague (1896) and portrayed scenes from the lives of workers and farmers in monumental form. V. Krycevs'kyj is closely followed by M. Aleksijiv and I. Mozalevs'kyj (1890) an artist of high order in terms of engraving technique and ivory miniature.

P. Kovzun (1896-1939) a versatile and productive artist and also prominent

artistic entrepreneur worked in Western Ukraine as did P. Cholodnyj (father) (1876-1930) and M. Butovyc (1895) student at the Leipzig Academy. N. Guerkin-Russova worked in Bucharest, V. Cymbal in Buenos Aires, Zubryckyj in New York, in Paris P. Omelcenko, S. Zarycka a talented fresco painter and the already mentioned engraver and water-colour painter Hluscenko and V. Masjutyn (1884-1955) who worked for many years in Berlin, a versatile, erudite artist whose historical portraits of the hetmans Chmelynyckyj, Mazepa and Skoropadskyj, together with other outstanding works, are veritable revelations in Ukrainian graphic art. Thus, Masjutyn stepped into Narbut's place after his death. At the same time it should not be forgotten that Masjutyn was not only an engraver but also a brilliant technician whose drawing was outstanding as was his composition, while his control of material was masterful. The exhibition of Ukrainian graphic art organised by the Ukrainian Scientific Institute in Berlin on 5th-26th February, 1933 was consummate proof of the high level of this branch of art in Ukraine. It aroused great interest among the German press as well as competent professional circles and received unreserved acclaim.

In Soviet Ukraine the following graphic artists are well-known: M. Derehuz (1903), V. Myronenko (1910), H. Bondarenko (1892), O. Dowhal and others whose work cannot come to full fruition since all activity in this and all related fields is directed and superintended by the "Union of Artists of Soviet Ukraine". National themes and forms are forbidden while the only permissible line is that of "Socialist Realism".

From Ivan Mirtschuk's "Geschichte der Ukrainischen Kultur", published by Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Instituts, München, Herausgeber Hans Koch, 1957. Isar Verlag München.

Translated by Wolodymyr Slez.

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METROPOLITAN'S WARNING AGAINST COMMUNISM

One year before the appearance on March 19, 1937, of the remarkable Papal Bull of Pope Pius XI, entitled *Divini Redemptoris* ("Divine Saviour"), in which the Holy Father warned and advised people to stand on their guard against communism and nazism, Metropolitan Andrij Sheptyckyj published in his semi-official newspaper, "Lviv Archiepiscopal News" (Lviv, July-Sept. 1936) his renowned anti-bolshevik epistle which today is totally ignored by the rulers in the USSR.

As a reminder of the important contents, we are re-printing this epistle which holds just as much significance and urgency today, as it did in 1936.

ANDRIJ SHEPTYCKYJ

By God's Grace and Blessing of the Holy See Metropolitan of Halychyna, Archbishop of Lviv, Bishop of Kamyanetz Podilskyj:

To the very reverend clergy and faithful, peace be with you and my archiepiscopal blessing.

The danger of current events forces me, my dear people, to turn to you with the following words of warning.

Anyone who supports the communists in their work, even if it is purely political, betrays the Church. All the faithful and, indeed, the entire Ukrainian community has to be reminded of this truth even more so today, when the communists, in order to disorientate and deceive all faithful Christians, pretend to be believers and sacrilegiously receive the Holy Sacraments, on Moscow's orders.

Anyone who assists in the execution of communist plans within the so-called 'national' or 'people's' front and collaborates with the socialists and radicals, betrays his own people. This truth cannot be over-emphasised to the entire Ukrainian community at a time when the communists in Moscow, having subjugated our people, thought up the travesty of a 'national front', in order to select from those radicals and socialists ignorant accomplices to help them destroy the Ukrainian nation and, if possible, wipe it off the face of the earth.

Anyone who aids the communists in any way, but especially in the organising of the so-called 'national' or 'people's' front, betrays the poor, the weak and the suffering, not only in their homeland, but in the whole world. This obvious truth should be constantly stressed to the entire Ukrainian community at a time when the Russians, having decimated the population of Central Ukraine by mass starvation, initiate the annihilation of the poor, the

weak and the suffering amongst our unfortunate people throughout Ukrainian lands under Polish rule.

I

From the beginnings of Christianity there has never been any sect, religion or political party in the world, which has shown such an enormous enmity towards God's Revelation and to any religion, but especially towards the religion of Jesus Christ and His Holy Church. The Russians' upmost purpose in life is to destroy the Church. To this end they attempt a revolution during which they burn churches down, murder priests and faithful Christians, and destroy the human spirit and people's belief in God and in His Holy Revelation.

The communists are atheists, and there is nothing in their Party programme which states more clearly or is more emphatic than this one fact: the struggle against God. The Russians are not trustworthy, on the contrary, their whole system is fundamentally based on total and incessant lies. Therefore, it is almost impossible to imagine how Bolshevism will develop someday. Bolshevism is gradually turning into a religion, into a kind of materialistic and pagan religion, which considers Lenin and those like him as some sort of demi-god, and the lies, deception, violence, terror, oppression of the poor, demoralisation of children, degradation of women, destruction of families, peasants and the impoverishment of the entire population are considered its governing principles. even though these principles are disguised by deceitful, totally contradictory terms. It is difficult to understand what exactly the communists hope to eventually achieve, because from what we have seen in the last 19 years (article written in 1936 — ed.) it is crystal clear that whenever the Russians speak of freedom, they mean slavery; when they speak of prosperity, they mean hunger; when they speak of Councils, the Soviets understand by this a system, in which no one is allowed to express their thoughts; when they speak of peasant rule, they mean a system in which a peasant is forced to work without pay, and does not even earn a sufficient piece of stale bread. Furthermore, when they speak of proletarian rule, by proletarian they mean a caste which bleeds its own people dry.

Whoever keeps the slightest track of the work of the Bolsheviks knows that there have been thousands of eye-witness reports confirming that what I say is true. There is only one thing in which the Bolsheviks are credible, and that is when they express their hatred of God and of religion, and when they boast of the fact that in a few years there will not be a church left standing in the whole of the Soviet Union and especially in Ukraine. It is evident that the savage persecution of Christians in the USSR, in which tens of thousands and possibly even hundreds of thousands of Christians perished — including many bishops and priests — this, in the Soviet Union is called freedom of conscience and tolerance of religious creed. But behind this great lie, as seen in all aspects of their work and intentions, there is one obvious and honest truth: the hatred of God and of religion.

In their aim to destroy Christian religion, the Russians close churches. Sometimes under the pretext of "the explicit wish of the people", but more frequently without even using this pretext, churches are transformed into cinemas, and in places where the people are more strongly inclined to hold on to their church and parish priest, the authorities demand taxes which are so high that they make the maintenance of the church impossible.

Priests are allowed to teach children the catechism, but the youth are corrupted by the truly diabolical system of deprivation which demoralises young children from an early age. The whole method of communist teaching and education leads to only one thing: the corruption of children, teaching them how to lie, to be dishonest, to rebel against their parents, to spy on their parents and to report them to the police, and finally to brainwash them into believing that there is no God, and religion is evil.

That such a policy has to be connected with the principles of Bolshevism, i.e. lies, is seen when the communists boast of the fact that, while they are in power, education, schools, universities, literature all flourish incredibly well. And to show just how tolerant they are, the Soviet Government constantly endeavours to turn one Church or sect against another in such a way that it will always look as if a Church is not only tolerated, but also protected.

Such are the bolsheviks in Soviet Russia and in captive Ukraine. They also show themselves as such in their actions abroad. Wherever they succeed in creating any kind of disturbance and revolution, then the whole communist programme, long since carried out in Moscow, is made manifest here. The same happened and is still happening today in Mexico and in Spain. Wherever bolshevik-communists appear, then churches immediately begin to burn down and innocent blood begins to flow in streams. Communist tracks are always marked with the blood of innocent people. Is it not obvious, then, that to serve and help these enemies of Christ, means to betray Him and His Church? That is why this truth must be constantly repeated. There are still many people who allow themselves to be misled, who believe the bolsheviks and think that they are right in serving them without having committed a great sin. There has even been talk of the creation of a certain Christian-communist sect, whose aim was to unite communist principles together with those principles stated in the Gospel.

It is no wonder that the Universal Church together with the Holy Father condemned this sect as heretical. Apparently, these so-called 'Christian-communists' were just another bolshevik lie. They wanted to attract Christians, but were afraid that once the Christians acquainted themselves with the minimum bare essentials of their doctrine, they would then turn from them like the plague. To prevent this from happening, they thought up an appalling and truly diabolical trick. An order was issued from Moscow instructing communists the world over who had been christened to act as if they were the most pious of Christians. They were to go to confession, take Holy Communion, push their way into the Brotherhoods and into all societies and institu-

tions wherever Christians worked, pretending to be pious Christians at all times, and thereby more successfully deceive and confuse true and loyal Christians. Suddenly the priests begin to notice that people, who long since stopped going to confession and Holy Communion, have started to do so now. Even those, who are suspected or in fact known to be communists have started to go to confession, although, of course, their sins cannot be absolved unless they publicly renounce bolshevism and correct their evil deeds. In order to deceive Christians, the bolsheviks are known to use even greater lies to achieve their goal, as, for example, when the people are piously told by these henchmen of the Soviet system: "I am prepared to suffer for your sakes, I am prepared to die for my country, my people, for you". And such a lie can bear its fruit. In these uncertain times, you must observe not only who goes to confession or takes Holy Communion, but also observe how a person lives and what he says. Here is a rule for you: if someone admits to being a communist, praises it, defends it, there is no way he could be a Christian, but only pretends to be one. **A communist and a Christian are like fire and water, they can never co-exist together.**

II

Anyone who assists communists in any way whatsoever is a traitor to his country. People have to be reminded of this truth more so in our time, when the communists, having invented the so-called 'national' or 'people's' front, successfully deceive and ensnare people who truly do love their country.

At the same time, with the changing tactics of the communists with regard to faith and the Holy Sacrament, Moscow has thought up another way of concealing its own aims of successfully expanding its influence over all the captive nations. All of a sudden, orders are issued from Moscow that the communists must change their attitude towards other political party oppositions in all other European countries. Hitherto they had regarded their old friends, the social democrats and social radicals, with such harsh contempt, slandering them and accusing them of having always been the greatest opponents of communism. From the first moments of unrest, the bolsheviks in the USSR began to destroy socialists and radicals, no matter what they called themselves, almost to the same extent as they destroyed conservative parties, monarchists, tsarist or bourgeois groups. The bolsheviks treated the socialists and radicals in other European countries in the same way. Now, Moscow has thought up a truly brilliant plan of how to take over all the opposition parties. This plan includes the creation of the so-called 'national' or 'people's' fronts, whereby the communists openly become moderate, and patiently start to build friendships among people who are dissatisfied with the current state of affairs so that they join various fractions of opposition parties. To justify the need of unity among all the opposition parties, the communists portray and then exaggerate what they call the 'danger of fascism'. Even though

Mussolini and the fascists were the first to sign an agreement with the communists, fascism is still presented by the communists as the greatest enemy of national well-being, progress, freedom etc. Even where fascism does not exist, as for example, in France, Spain, CSSR, the bolsheviks begin to proclaim the dangers of fascism and the need for all the dissatisfied people to unite against this mirage of captivity — fascism — which is like a black cloud threatening the nations of Europe.

The communists use the word 'fascist' when they refer to the national parties and nationalists in all the republics. They do not use the term 'nationalist' mainly because they are not accustomed to calling something by a name which everyone else uses. Their system of lies forced them to call something by a different name. **If they called their opponents nationalists, they would never have anyone to side with them in their fight against nationalism.** When they call nationalists, or all national parties, including Christians, their Church and Church authorities, fascists, then they are able to attract all the dissatisfied people and together stand up against such a common enemy. This is exactly what they want; they hope that this group of dissatisfied people will be led by none other than the communists themselves. And there are certainly plenty of dissatisfied people in every country, especially after a war. Heavy taxes burden people, the authorities often become unjust and act monstrously and wrongly, the general economic crisis heavily burdens and oppresses Europe and the world, and there is an increasing number of dissatisfied people everywhere. When these dissatisfied people are told that the reason for all this misfortune is fascism, then this is a brilliant way of organising all these people into one powerful party, which will, in effect, just be another party for the communists to manipulate. Naturally, such a party has to be joined by social-democrats and social-radicals. They have the same theoretical programme as the communists. They are all disciples of Marx. They all repudiate private ownership, and they want to make the means of production the property of the people or the State. Yet there is one basic difference; the socialists and radicals are marxists, who are to a certain extent inclined to democratic concepts, which were prevalent in Europe before the war. Therefore, these two parties aim to a coup d'etat, but through legal channels — by working in parliament; by introducing new laws; by the gradual evolution of society from a capitalist system to a socialist one. But as soon as the bolsheviks appeared on the scene, the socialists felt threatened and started losing their ground. To date, they had been the most left-wing party and had become used to the idea that there was nothing farther to the left. They had been the most extreme opponents of the government, of the social order, of all the wealthy and ruling classes, and this method of opposition attracted the masses to them and was necessary to keep the masses fully convinced that the only hope for the future was in socialism.

When the bolsheviks appeared on the scene with their policies of revolution, terror, intolerance, ban on any discussion and the execution of a coup d'etat through the most extremist means, the socialist-mensheviks must have

felt very threatened. They began to fear. Already, with the emergence of communism, the socialists were beginning to lose their monopoly in the defence of the oppressed. They were losing the monopoly of being the only extreme left-wing party. How could they bear it that some other left-wing party accused them — socialists — of being opportunists? In addition, the policy of terror, aggression, and intolerance contradicted their democratic views and caused them to become increasingly timid. At a time when rallies, talks, discussions, campaigns, a parliament were needed, the bolsheviks appeared instead, and with their policy of 'this must be so', they forced their will upon the people without any debate. Publicly, however, they keep up the prestige of the peasant and worker's councils. In any case, revolution was somewhat of a socialist ideal, the very word sounded so pleasant, so nice, and all that is left to be added to the revolution is a democratic trait.

Whoever is not a democrat, he is then a retrograde, aristocrat, cleric — in short, beyond democracy there is no truly human policy. The socialists realised immediately that they would not get very far with communists in the same party. When the communists raised the flag of unity of all the dissatisfied people, how could they refuse to be part of this 'national' or 'people's' front? How could the socialists say that they were content? When they did, then they were immediately accused of being bourgeois. Even when the French achieved the right to rule and were able to introduce the reforms they wanted, they were still dissatisfied. And one must admit, they had every right to be, for they were outmanoeuvred by the communists.

There is only one thing which can save our socialists and radicals from being completely absorbed by the communists, and that is any nationalist feelings that they may yet hold. They are afraid of joining up with people whose hands are covered with the still-warm blood of millions of our fellow-countrymen in Central Ukraine. Even though they are social-democrats or radicals, something in them does not allow them to forget that their parents were Ukrainians. Foreseeing such patriotic feelings, Moscow called its programme the 'national' or 'people's' front, although a more suitable name should have been 'anti-national front', for its aim is to enslave the people by orders from the bloodhounds in the Kremlin. There is no doubt whatsoever that the communists have no desire to offer the people prosperity or freedom; their sole aim is to force their own will on the people. Past experience in France and Spain has shown that the ruling power in the 'national fronts' is always Moscow, and wherever such a 'national' or 'people's' front is set up, then you can be sure that the communists will always manage to force their will onto it. They invite all the dissatisfied people to join the 'national front', including socialists and radicals, and all others who are dissatisfied with the current situation; they promise them that by belonging to this organisation their fate will soon change for the better. They also invite our youth in the villages to join these 'national' or 'people's' fronts. One must admit that it is rare for our boys to be politically aware of the current situation in Europe, to be able to resist the temptation of a 'national front'.

They see the most generous and wonderful offers in this 'front', and through their own past experiences and those of their parents', they see enough injustice and misery to give them more than enough reason to be dissatisfied with the present situation. There is no better direct way of reaching out to their souls than to speak to them as one would speak to a discontented people. This method is very successful for communist propaganda. The propaganda of the 'national front' is the same as communist propaganda, even when this propaganda lies in the hands of people who elsewhere have nothing in common with the communists. The 'national' or 'people's' fronts are communist organisations and their sole aim is to serve communism, and that means collaborating in enslaving innocent people. Whenever the bolsheviks call anything a 'national' or 'people's' front, then this is a clear indication that it is an 'antinational' front.

It would seem that in the organised "national fronts", the sheer numbers would have the majority and our boys are of the opinion that if they have the majority of votes, then they are in the position to give the "front" the direction and character desired.

This would be possible if the world still kept to the democratic system of holding elections and accepting the majority rule etc. The communists have eliminated this concept and have managed to create a state in which a large majority is held in brutal suppression by a small minority. The communists were the ones who taught the countries of Europe that a few, or several, well-organised people can easily manipulate several thousand. It is they who have shown people that with lies, brute force, terror and, if necessary, starvation, they can turn people into such meek lambs that they no longer have any capacity or desire to oppose them.

Any number of dissatisfied people can join the "national front". They will be organised by those members of the front who have joined with a ready devised plan and a set goal, and they will heedlessly and aggressively implement their own ideas — ideas which come directly from Moscow. They are the initiators, they are the ones with the experience, and they set to work with their own fully intact organisation and totally integrated front. They will oppose any individual dissident who tries to join the "front", and from the very beginning they will take the position that they issue the orders, run the "front" and demand that their will be executed. They will never admit, however, that this will of theirs comes directly from blood-thirsty Moscow, but anyone who is still able to think for himself will observe immediately that in all the other republics, in all our villages and various regions, this very same course of direction, this very same method will always betray the common leadership. In France, people who are aware of what is going on have more than enough evidence at their disposal to prove that the leadership of the French "national front" receives its orders from Moscow. It will be difficult to detect in our villages whether this course of direction comes from Moscow. We must look at the whole situation generally and take in everything in order to understand that in Verchany, or in Nahuyevychy, or in

Lviv — there is only one aim and one method, and both come from the same leadership. And when we compare these events with those which are taking place in France, Spain, Mexico and Russia, we will find the work of one perpetrator only, one who betrays the leadership. We have enough evidence in Halychyna, which shows that the true leadership comes from Moscow, that the 'national' or 'people's' front, whether here in Halychyna, or in Volyn or Byelorussia, has exactly the same aim which the bolsheviks had in Central Ukraine when they murdered millions of Ukrainians through starvation. In these circumstances, one should constantly be reminded of the fact that the so-called 'national' or 'people's front' is in fact anti-national, and that anyone who helps and works with the communists in the organisation of this "national front" betrays his country and, by doing so, allows it to fall into the hands of the most repressive and most dangerous of its enemies.

Now I would specifically address the boys in our villages and towns. Beware of anyone attempting to involve you in certain kinds of organisations. Examine closely the "front" into which you are invited. You may well have honourable intentions, you may well desire the best for yourselves, your families, your villages, your country, but your youthful eye is not yet able to perceive your own betrayal at the enemies' hand. They will often deceive you, entice you with their words, make wonderful promises, but if you accept all this and go along with them, you will fall into captivity from which there will be no escape. In any case, you will become estranged from your own people and, moreover, you may even become traitors to them. You may not even notice at first glance that in what may seem a worthwhile organisation, you will begin serving the tyrants who, in turn, will use you to serve the aims of Moscow.

Often, all in good faith, you read socialist and communist publications. These publications are full of praise of the ideas and methods which will eventually lead you into communist subjugation. Beware of this, but first and foremost, retain you Christian faith. Try to retain your duty as a Christian of loving your neighbour, loving your country, your Church and God. By moving away from God, His Grace, His Holy Writ, you are well on the way to becoming prey to the atheists, for you become like them and stray from the straight and narrow path from where you can never be saved. If you have not yet lost your faith, then remember this very faith obliges you to obey the Church and you cannot believe in God while at the same time disobeying the Church. The Church is Christ's institution, which through God leads people, teaches them, warns them and serves them. But if you believe and want to obey the Church, you go to confession — and you can see for yourselves — the bolsheviks are fine examples of this. Seek advice of your priest and do as he tells you. His advice is not his own, but the advice of the Church. When he recommends that you leave an organisation or requests that you do not read a certain book or periodical, then you must understand that he is only acting on your own behalf. He asks this

of you because this is what the Church asks of him; he must do this, he can never give you absolution if you refuse to confess your sins to the Church. If you cannot understand this, then look around, read, talk and discuss with people, and you will then understand that what I have told you here is simply the truth. Therefore, you can be certain that you are causing great harm to yourselves and to our Ukrainian nation when, together with the communists, or working for them, you have anything whatsoever to do with the so-called "national" or "people's front."

III

Anyone who assists bolsheviks in the creation of 'national' or 'people's' fronts, betrays not only his Church and country, but also the poor, the weak and the suffering. The communists like to boast that they are the only ones who protect the weak and the suffering. This, just like everything else they say about themselves, is a lie. Not only do the communists have no regard at all for the weak and the suffering, but they are the source of their greatest grievances which force them into that eternal suffering.

If one was to ask a peasant from Central Ukraine, or even from Russia, what he understood by a commune or what he thought of bolshevism, he would probably reply that the bolsheviks are leeches, who suck the last drop of blood of our unfortunate nation. To be absolutely truthful, those who have been observing bolshevism for the past decade or so, have tried to understand it and have asked themselves what, in fact, is bolshevism, cannot give a better description or a better definition of what bolshevism stands for.

Communists boast primarily of their system's success, but in reality, that system is completely infiltrated by capitalism, together with all of its injustices. A fact, which no one can deny is that the bolsheviks support capitalism and, moreover, support the worst kind of capitalism — a capitalism which is monopolised. They have driven capitalism to its extremes and have increased manifold all the injustices of that economic or monetary system we call capitalism. There is no doubt that capitalism has its negative points and that it is the cause of a multitude of injustices and grievances which are inflicted on the poor and suffering.

What, in fact, is capital? In short, one can say that capital is a large sum of money. That is to say, not the small amount of money which one needs for small trades: buying or selling, but that large sum of money which can be the object of exchange, the buying and selling of large and valuable products. A system which revolves around such vast sums of money is such that the larger the capital, the more power it exerts over smaller capital, and this power or strength can easily swallow up and ruin the smaller capital. That is why capitalism is a system which creates injustices and harms all the smaller and weaker capitals. Capital creates those real and grievous injustices which are inflicted upon the whole nation when it dominates a certain branch of production to such an extent that it ends up by forcing its will

on everyone. Thus, in seeking more power, capitalists must increase their capital. Due to this increase in capital, they are then able to monopolise a certain branch of production. In America, these unions of capitalists, which are called trusts, have the most power in almost every area of production. Those at the top take the largest capital. That is why in America, terms such as steel barons, oil barons, cotton barons etc., are often used. Who, in fact, are these barons? They are capitalists who have managed to obtain almost complete monopoly over the steel, oil and cotton industries. Therefore the whole of production depends on them. They are the ones who decide on the price of the iron or cotton, and iron or cotton around the world must conform to their prices. In other words, if anyone wants to buy that product, he pays the tax for it. As a result of this an intolerable competition arises among them, for they are able to bring to ruin even the biggest of their competitors in a certain product. For example, if a small steel producer or cotton plantation owner wants to compete with a steel or cotton baron, all the baron has to do is to pay a certain sum of money which would more than suffice in ruining the small owner, ie. his competitor. How does he accomplish this? He will begin by selling his iron or cotton so cheaply, that his competitor will be unable to compete with him and will, therefore, have to sell his own product at a loss. The competitors are unable to meet these low prices because it costs more to produce the goods. Gradually, the competitor will lose so much money, that he will be forced to abandon his produce, sell it to the baron or even hand it over to him. Then this baron, as the sole owner of the goods, will raise the prices so high, that he will have increased the sum which he had lost in his struggle with the small producers tenfold. And so, here we have a fine example of how to hurt people, not only on an individual basis in America, but in all the countries and nations of the world. The price of that sickle, scythe or pick will depend solely on whatever the iron or cotton baron in America says, and everyone will have to pay that price.

But what do the bolsheviks do? They take the monopoly of production into their own hands in Russia, Ukraine and in all the other republics, which in theory are said to be independent, but in reality they groan beneath the yoke of Russian oppression. In this way, they can force people to pay them extortionate and secretly imposed taxes on every product they buy. In other countries the taxes are made public, even though they may be high. In the USSR, the taxes are as high as the prices one has to pay to the iron or cotton baron in America for their produce. In other words, the bolsheviks use capitalism in its worse form, for here capitalism lies in the monopoly of only one pair of hands. When the bolsheviks talk of their fight against capitalism, they mean the small and petty capital, but they swallow up the smaller capitals with their own large capital. They will take every bit of the tiny capital which any peasant will have saved. A peasant could earn, say, even 100 roubles, but these 100 roubles will find their way into the pockets of the bolsheviks in such a way that the poor peasant will not even realise

when and how. The bolsheviks fight against capitalism only for the sale of their own capitalism, that is, for the sake of their own pockets.

The monopoly with which they drain the blood of the whole nation is also used as a threat to other nations in exactly the same way as we saw with the iron or cotton baron, in the destruction and ruin of all his competitors. The bolsheviks produce all of their manufactured goods very cheaply because they have the monopoly and, in addition, because they use unpaid workers, prisoners and peasants, who even have to work on their own plots just so that the government can benefit from them, and they do not even receive a crust of stale bread to survive despite all their labour. Apart from this, there are hundreds of thousands of people in the USSR who are just forced to work without any pay. This is easily controlled by the government, for they can imprison anyone they want without trial at any time. As a result, if you have been imprisoned or exiled to the Isle of Solovky you are forced to use all of your energy in working without pay.

That is the reason why production is cheaper in the USSR than in other countries. In order to ruin production in these countries, the bolsheviks sell their products abroad at a price lower than it costs to manufacture them, ie, at a loss. They do this voluntarily in order to bring to ruin a certain factory or product. A factory or workshop cannot sell at a price lower than the actual cost of production. No one will then buy what the factory produces, but buy what the bolsheviks produce at a loss. This is well worth their while. Once they have ruined a competitor, that loss of theirs is reflected in the price. But this loss is not a waste of their money, for a closed down factory creates unemployment, and the bolsheviks, customarily, promise the unemployed anything in order to persuade them to strike. But they are not concerned with an actual strike, nor do they care whether a worker has a job or a pay rise. What they are most concerned with, through these strikes, is to weaken the production of a certain country, and with the disturbance and ferment among the unemployed and the strikers, to bring about a revolution. This is their aim. They have to create chaos, just as they do in the USSR, and then the experienced and trained communists will have the people in their power and, as in the USSR, so in Spain or France or wherever, they will drain the blood from these wretched people. All their efforts are directed towards this aim. They promise everyone anything: less taxes, more land, discharge from military service, in short, anything they believe that the people will want. They are prepared to promise two people two completely different things. They are not concerned with what they promise, but with sowing discord between the two, and, by such means, procuring the necessary people for a 'national front,' who, in turn, will become the essential integrant for a revolution.

In a wider sense, capital can also be regarded as the whole means of production, factories and land. The bolsheviks also use this to achieve their aims. They have managed to monopolise all of the land. The land belongs to the state, that is, to the bolsheviks. To accomplish this, they had to wage

a severe and terrible war with the peasants, for as everyone knows, every peasant must have a piece of his own land for agricultural farming. As soon as the bolsheviks came to power, they began this fierce struggle with the peasantry. In the last 18 years, there have been hundreds of attempts to destroy the whole of the peasant population and to bring them together into a united proletarian class — in other words, to turn them into subservient and senile old men. It is impossible to describe here all the phases of this struggle. The bolsheviks used every possible means; for example requisitions, as in wartime, which drove peasants to despair when all their possessions were taken from them and they were left with nothing for themselves or their families to live on just as winter was approaching. The taxes were extortionately high, so that many peasants were forced to leave their homes, settlements and livestock and flee because they had no other means of survival. Children were instructed to rebel against their parents, youth against their elders, the poor against the rich. Thus, a battle ground of hatred, disunity, quarrels, atheism, immorality, suspicion, trials, crimes, murders and any other sort of possible corruption was created. Positions of authority were naturally handed over to the worst elements, who were trained as informers, spies, in other words — chekists. The youth in villages were organised into the so-called komsomol and gradually turned into atheists. Such is the aim of the bolshevik government!

Finally, they began to set up so-called 'kolkhozes,' that is, collective farms, which meant that all the land belonging to the villages constituted one whole, the administrators of this land, by decree of written orders from Moscow, were bolshevik officials, and the peasants now have to listen and obey their orders. Just let these wretched people try to protest! The chekists surround the village and set fire to it, stopping anyone from escaping from their burning homes. If the bolsheviks start to fear that such a protest could reach the attention of any foreigners, Germans, French or other travellers at the time in the USSR, they then transport the protesting peasants to the Isle of Solovky where they are forced to labour without pay in the state forests. After a few years half of them die of starvation or ill health. Otherwise, if need be, any peasants who protest against orders set by the authorities are exiled to Siberia. There they are left in an uninhabitable area and climate, without food and left to fend for themselves.

If one adds to this that the village church is often closed, burnt down, turned into a warehouse or cinema, or that there is only one priest for every 10 — 12 villages, as all the other priests have been murdered or driven to such destitution that they have ended up by wandering round the world like beggars — then you have before you a partial setting of what is known as the 'bolshevik paradise.' Here you have the aim of a 'national' or 'people's front,' of all the government officials, communist newspapers, brochures and leaflets. This is what they desire to lead us to.

Whoever helps the bolsheviks in their work — whether it be by working for the 'national front' or by propagating and defending their principles —

ends up by helping them in nothing other than in the creation of such a 'paradise.' Therefore, it is right to regard anyone who helps the bolsheviks — as far as he is able to do so — as someone who hands over the poor, the suffering and the distressed into their grasp, so that the bolsheviks can then drain their blood, just as they drained and continue to drain the blood of the poor and the suffering in Russia and in Ukraine.

The number of volumes which could be written presenting the whole of the bolshevik system is inconceivable. Let me just mention one more thing. The bolsheviks have declared war on the family. Their aim is to make women and girls into common property. That is why they have turned marriage into a contract which is signed before a commissar and which can be broken by one party at any time. As a result, unfortunate mothers, who have been deserted by their husbands, often end up having abortions or killing their babies soon after they have been born. The killing of children has become so widespread, that even the authorities and government have become alarmed and are seeking a means of halting this terrible phenomenon.

To preserve purity among young girls and innocence among boys is, understandably, very difficult within such a system. It is frightening to think what will become of these youngsters who have never been told about God, who have never been taught how to overcome their weaknesses, who are allowed to do anything they want from the earliest age and who have been consciously corrupted. What will become of this youth without God?

In our Christian society only Christian virtues of justice and love of one's neighbour can protect people from harm, or make evil institutions or systems, as for example, capitalism, less harmful. Justice and love of one's neighbour causes people to be less, or not at all, inclined to make use of their economic advantage, either from feelings of conscience and propriety, or from love. In spite of human weaknesses, in family life and in the upbringing of children, Christianity finds its hold in consciousness of belief, through virtues of purity and faith, in affirmation, obligations, etc. How will this society look if it eliminates all these virtues? This will only become clear in the future. Already there is clear evidence of decay in this machinery of social life and how deep it has sunk. Wherever bolsheviks rule, a situation arises in which people become savages. Hundreds, thousands and tens of thousands of neglected children grow into savages. These masses of unprotected children then start to wander from place to place living, not surprisingly, on what they can rob, steal or find. Sickness is widespread among them and no one knows when and how these wretched children die; no one knows where they all come from; no one cares about them; no one educates them; and these youngsters grow up entirely surrounded by corruption with no opportunity to better themselves. Thousands of them die, but their numbers do not lessen, but probably grow. No one knows how many of them there are, but one can only estimate that they number approximately 100,000. Naturally, they are devoured by parasites and they themselves, alone, small and

wretched, are parasites of that society which is ruled by the bloodsuckers in Moscow.

Occasionally you may meet some of our somewhat older boys, who will tell you that they have been there themselves, they have seen and know that life is good there. Observe closely the lives of these people who tell you this. It is likely that they are being paid to say this. After all, it is a known fact that the bolsheviks take into their schools young people whom they teach communism and whom they indoctrinate with the ideologies of Lenin, Marx or Stalin. Such schools exist in Russia and also in Ukrainian towns. Such schools also probably exist in Transcarpathian Ukraine, in Prague etc. The bolsheviks send a well-trained agent or agitator to our youth in the villages who, obviously, praises the bolshevik system. If you ever come across one of these agents, look first at his hands to see if they are covered in the blood of our country, which they betray for money from Moscow. Seek out people who will be able to tell you from personal experience what they have seen and what they, themselves, have experienced. Even socialist and radical leaders will warn you, young people, to be on your guard against the so-called 'national' or 'people's front.' They know the bolsheviks well and that is why they warn you.

Is there any reason why you should not believe me? What could I hope to gain by giving you this warning if the bolsheviks really wanted the best for our people? The whole world knows that what I am telling you is the truth, for it has been confirmed by hundreds of Germans, French and Americans — especially the fact that more than 7 million people died from starvation during the artificially created famine, or that the bolsheviks declared war on the peasants, or that thousands and hundreds or thousands of our Ukrainian people are dying daily on the Isle of Solovky. No one denies these facts; they are published in the European and American press. The only people who deny these facts are those who allow themselves to be bought and betray our country for money, those who turn traitors to the Church and betray Christ just as Judas Iscariot did. They — you will tell me — go to Confession and partake of Holy Communion. They do this sacrilegiously. If the priest gives them absolution and Holy Communion, then he probably does not know who these people are. If the priest knew that they were communists, he would not be able to give them absolution or Holy Communion. Do not allow yourselves to be deceived and try wherever and whenever possible to recognise these communists, realise what they stand for and what bolshevism and communism have done to our unfortunate Ukraine.

Although it is not easy for young people, as well as for a wise and well-educated person, to perceive the truth which lies behind such universal matters, as for example, the 3rd International, the Comintern, or communism, I am convinced, nevertheless, that whoever of us begins by learning to recognise these matters, will eventually, with the help of Christian faith, be convinced that what I write here is really so. I am not asking you to have

faith in my words alone, for faith only belongs to the words of Our Lord Jesus Christ and of the Holy Church. Whenever I proclaim the teachings of Jesus Christ or preach the teachings of God's Revelation, then I ask you, in the name of Our Lord, to have faith in these teachings. What I am writing here today contains some of the teachings of Jesus Christ and the Church, but there is also much here which I know is not written in the Gospel, but comes from many years of personal experience. Many of these facts are known to me from conversations and the writings of trustworthy witnesses. At my old age, it is much easier for a person to judge from one's own experience and from the experiences of others, than it is for a younger person. That is why, although I do not ask you to believe in everything I am writing here today as you would believe in what is written in the Gospel. I ask you to believe me, not as your spiritual father, but as you would believe an experienced old man, someone who is only concerned with your well-being and who desires to be like a father to you. If you deny me this faith, then I will feel that you do me an injustice. However, let me add this: if you do not believe me, then seek out people who have experienced and seen what is going on, read books by people who have been there and suffered as a result, but do not believe everyone who praises the bolshevik system. For it is a known and proven fact what this system stands for, and that there are thousands of people on the payroll of the bolsheviks. Learn how to discern what they say from the actual truth. If you wish to learn the truth, then you must first ask Almighty God to help you discover this truth. Ask the Holy Spirit, ask for God's wisdom, ask for enlightenment, for the spirit of mind to be able to discern the truth from the lies. I do not doubt that Almighty God will help you and you will then be able to see the danger and will stop betraying Christ, your country, the poor and the suffering people.

I will pray for you. I began writing this epistle on the eve of the Holy Prophet Elijah and am ending it on the day after St. Elijah's. The Prophet Elijah found himself in a similar situation to what we find ourselves in today. The entire Jewish nation once listened to the false prophets of Wallah and bowed to this foreign god, renouncing the God of Jehovah. The Prophet, as you know from the story in the Holy Bible, miraculously enlightened His people. He told the prophets of Wallah to kill and sacrifice an ox, promising to do likewise afterwards. He told them that the God who will hear and answer the prayers of the priests will send down flames from heaven, and he will be the true God. They prayed and chanted for half a day and, as was their custom, the priests of Wallah pierced their bodies, but flames still did not appear from heaven. When it was time for the Prophet Elijah to bring His sacrifice, he told His people to dig a ditch around his offering and to pour water over it three times. Then they began to pray over the offering and flames appeared from heaven and burnt the offering, and all the people cried: "The true God is the God of Israel!" In such a way the Prophet Elijah disclosed before the people's eyes the false prophets of Wallah

and convinced them that the true God is the God of Abraham and Israel. May this Holy Prophet bring forth this light from heaven for you with which you will then be able to recognise the deceitful prophets who come to you with promises of paradise, but with words of deceit and hell. May he make you understand where the truth and the well-being of the people lie, who it is that should guide you and which paths you should take in life to secure a better future for yourselves. May Almighty God send His blessing to you all, may he protect you from deceit, from the teachings of false prophets, may he favour you in becoming the faithful sons of Jesus Christ and His Holy Church.

May the Blessing of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you.

Lviv, 1936

ANDRIJ SHEPTYCKYJ
Metropolitan

(Translated by I.K.)

HISTORY OF UKRAINE

by REV. ISYDORE NAHAYEWSKY, Ph.D.

The Second Edition of this important book, written in English, which comprises 368 pages, gives a concise historical account of Ukrainians from the time of their origin until the present day. . .

Richly illustrated with pictures of ancient artifacts, architecture and eminent personalities in Ukrainian history, hard bound, this HISTORY OF UKRAINE objectively underlines the fact of the separate ethnic origin and historic position of the Ukrainian people amongst the nations of the world

This enlarged Edition of the History of Ukraine in the English language ought to find its place in libraries and colleges as informative material for the enlightenment of all those interested in the history of Ukrainian people.

NEWS FROM UKRAINE

OLEKSA TYKHY, A FOUNDER OF UKRAINIAN HELSINKI GROUP, DIES



Oleksa Tykhy, one of the founders of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, a Group formed to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Accords, died in late April or early May, following stomach surgery at a labour camp in the Perm prison complex in the Ural Mountains. He was 57 years old.

Born in 1927, Tykhy attended a higher pedagogical institution and eventually became the director of a secondary school department. He was first arrested in 1957 and sentenced to 7 years of prison for demanding the expansion of Ukrainian schools in the Donbas region. After his release he was forced to work as a labourer, eventually finding a job as a fireman. In 1976, about a year after the USSR joined 34 other nations in signing the Helsinki Accords, Tykhy, along with nine other activists (seven of whom

are currently either under arrest or in exile), founded a citizens' group in Kyiv to monitor Soviet compliance with the human rights provisions of the Accords. The Ukrainian Helsinki Group, as it came to be known, became a symbol of lawful expression of Ukrainian public opinion concerning the national problem in Ukraine as well as the many violations of human rights by the regime.

Tykhy's further ordeal

In 1977 Tykhy was arrested and, in addition to belonging to the Kyiv Helsinki Group, was accused of being the author of a hand-written collection of essays on the problems of education and culture in Ukraine. In one of his essays concerning the status of the Ukrainian language in the Donbas region, Tykhy recommended that, among other things, government authorities see to it that all lower and higher school teachers could speak Ukrainian,

that all public signs be written in Ukrainian, that all communications media conduct their programmes in Ukrainian, and that Ukrainians and their language not be the butt of offensive and discriminatory actions and policies by local non-Ukrainian citizens. The reasons for the demise of the Ukrainian language in the Donbas region, Tykhy attributed to the remnants of a Stalinist cultural policy with its goal of an imposed single universal language, as well as to a conscious policy of russification on the part of Soviet authorities.

Following a closed trial — at which both Tykhy and Mykola Rudenko, another founder of the Group, were tried — Tykhy was sentenced to 10 years of special regime and 5 years of exile.

The sentencing of the two Helsinki Group members brought a worldwide response. "The Washington Post" editorialized that the case was an example of the profound nationalist sentiment at work in the USSR, and President Reagan, in one of his weekly radio commentaries, noted that Tykhy and Rudenko were examples of the "love of freedom" existing in Ukraine.

In the camps Tykhy took part in prisoners' protests and hunger strikes. In one such strike, taken to protest the cruel treatment of prisoners in the camps, Tykhy lost consciousness on the sixteenth day and underwent a stomach operation. He became seriously ill with ulcers, and was also reported to be suffering from tuberculosis, anaemia and liver disease. Camp authorities steadily refused to provide him with adequate medical treatment.

When seen by visitors about a month before his death, Tykhy weighed about ninety pounds and was severely malnourished.

V. MARCHENKO, UKRAINIAN WRITER, DIES

Reports have reached the West that Valeriy Marchenko, the Ukrainian writer, has died in a hospital in Leningrad.

Marchenko, well-known as a translator and journalist, was 37 years old. He was reportedly suffering from a serious kidney ailment.

Marchenko was arrested in Kyiv in October 1983 on charges of anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. He was sentenced in March 1984 to 10 years in a special-regime labour camp, to be followed by five years' internal exile. It was Marchenko's second conviction on such charges. At a trial in Kyiv in 1973 he was sentenced to six years in a labour camp and two years' internal exile.

The reports of his death were issued by human rights organizations in Frankfurt and Amsterdam. Western news reports had quoted Mrs. Marchenko, his mother, as saying in a message to sympathizers in the West that she feared her son was dying and had appealed for international help to save him. She said she had not been allowed by the Russian authorities to visit him in the hospital in Leningrad, where he had been transferred from a labour camp in Perm.

DEMAND FOR RECOGNITION OF UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH

Reaching the West early this year is the text of an appeal to the Ukrainian Internal Affairs Ministry from a group seeking the legalization of the out-

lawed Ukrainian Catholic Church. The appeal was written by the Initiative Group for the Defence of Believers and the Church, founded in 1982 by Yosyp Terelia, who has spent nearly 14 years in Soviet prisons and mental hospitals.

Demanding recognition of the Ukrainian Church, which was liquidated by Stalin in 1946, the group asks authorities to curtail anti-Catholic propaganda, to allow for the legal existence of the Church in Western Ukraine, and to release Terelia who was arrested shortly after the formation of the group and is currently serving a one year term for "parasitism".

APPEAL FROM MORDOVIAN CAMPS

An appeal from political prisoners in the Mordovian camps, this time from seven women prisoners, has been sent to the leaders of 35 world governments. It states that Soviet citizens are denied basic human rights such as freedom of speech, assembly, and press, as well as the right to move freely within their country.

One of the signers of the appeal is Iryna Ratushynska, poet, who was sentenced in March to 7 years in a labour camp and 5 years on internal exile for her poetry and for numerous appeals on behalf of political prisoners. Another co-signatory of the appeal is the wife of Mykola Rudenko, one of the founders of the Kyiv Helsinki Group and himself serving a 7-year labour camp term.

LABOUR DISTURBANCES IN UKRAINE

Reports from Ukraine tell of labour disturbances in a number of factories in Kharkiv in north-eastern Ukraine as workers protested unsatisfactory working conditions. Authorities blamed a group of visiting Polish workers for instigating the disturbances, and the Poles were promptly sent home. However, this action may have been a convenient way of suppressing the fact that Ukrainian workers were the cause of the disruptions.

BORYS ANTONENKO-DAVYDOVYCH DEAD

Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, a giant of modern Ukrainian literature, died at the age of 85 of a lung ailment at his home in Kyiv. Born on the 5th of August, 1899 in Poltavshchyna, he was banished to Siberia during Stalin's reign of terror in the 1930's, was rehabilitated in 1956 and became an active figure in the revival of Ukrainian art and literature in the 1960's. He signed numerous appeals and protests on behalf of arrested writers and intellectuals, and thereby fell out of official favour.

Documents and Reports

CONFERENCE IN HONOUR OF DMYTRO DONTSOV

A significant achievement of the newly-founded Taras Shevchenko Literary Society in Montreal was a conference which took place in Montreal to commemorate the 100th anniversary since the birth and the 10th anniversary since the death of one of the greatest Ukrainians of this century — Dmytro Dontsov, who spent the last 26 years of his life living in Montreal.

The main purpose of the conference was to examine the man and his work under the heading: "Dmytro Dontsov — ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism". Twelve speakers offered to participate in the conference — 5 from Montreal and seven from other cities (Toronto, New York and Paris). Out of 13 lectures only two were in English. Three speeches written by people living outside Montreal, who were unable to participate, were also read and discussed.

The conference took place in the auditorium of the Department of Education in McGill University on November 11th and 12th, 1983. The participants were people and students of all ages, in particular SUM and Plast members (Ukrainian youth organisations — ed.).

The conference was opened and chaired by Prof. Yarema Kelebay.

The various committees were headed by: Roman Hutsal, Radoslaw Zhuk, Yevhen Kaluzhnyj, Yarema Kelebay, Bohdan Lawruk, Orest Pavliw, Ihor Pryschliak, Roman Serbyn, Yevhen Choliy and Yaroslav Choliy.

The first lecture, "*Dontsov's Governmental Traditionalism*", was given by the former professor of Winnipeg University, linguist, Prof. Yaroslav Rudnytskyj. In his lecture, Prof. Rudnytskyj asserted that Dontsov's idea of governmental traditionalism was sovereignty, without federalism and colonialism.

The second lecture was, "*A biographical view of Dontsov's ideological world outlook to 1913 as published in 'Homin Ukrainy'*".

The next lecturer, librarian Myron Momryk was unable to attend the conference. His dissertation, "*Dontsov's archival collection in the Ottawa public archives*", was delivered by Y. Kelebay, in which an interesting commentary was given on the collection, which is soon to be organised.

On the second day of the conference, the first lecture was given by a guest speaker from New York, Osyp Roshka, entitled: "*An examination of Drahomanov's era in the writings of Dontsov*". The lecturer drew everyone's attention to the fact that Dontsov was the first to reveal the cosmopolitanism and russophilism of the federalist, Mychaylo Drahomanov.

The author of the next dissertation, "*Dontsov's opposition to any kind of internationalism, in particular marxism*", (librarian, Hryhoriy Oschypko), showed by numerous examples that internationalism, as such, never existed; nationalism or imperialism are always meant in this context. Dontsov called for Ukrainians to cherish the traditions of the princely and kozak eras and put Ukrainian nationalism above marxism and bolshevism.

The third lecture, entitled "*Between politics and ideology: D. Dontsov's 'Our political platform', and the present times*", was given by the historian, Marko Antonovych. In his lecture he referred to the impotence of Dontsov's work, 'Our political platform', in which Dontsov speaks of Ukrainians concentrating on their own strength and, in the fight against Russian domination, advising them to search for allies in the West.

The paper by A. Bedriy, who was not present, entitled "*D. Dontsov's influences on the formation of OUN*", was read by student, Bohdan Cholij.

The chairman of the conference, Y. Kelebay, read a chapter from his work in English, "*Towards a better understanding of Dontsov*". He refuted the accusation, that Dontsov was a fascist. Such an accusation, said the speaker, can only be made by those "who regard anyone who is not a marxist, to be a fascist".

Later two lectures were given by two guest-speakers and cultural workers from Toronto, Dr. & Mrs. Stebelskyj.

The first, by Ariadna Stebelska-Shum, teacher, artist and literary critic, was entitled "*Dmytro Dontsov's literary views*". She described Dontsov as a literary expert, who admired the literature of the princely and cossack eras, Shevchenko, Gogol and Storozhenko, and condemned the works of those writers who tried to suppress the nation.

Bohdan Stebelskyj, journalist, artist and specialist in literature, chairman of the Association of Ukrainian Culturists and the Shevchenko Literary Society in Canada, gave a lecture entitled "*Analogous world view points and the differences between concepts of nationalism of Dmytro Dontsov, Yuriy Lypa and Anton Kniazhynskyj*". In his lecture, Dr. Stebelskyj asserted that all three had a common concept about the nation, and all rejected the orientation on Moscow, but their methods varied: Dontsov stressed the freedom of the nation, Lypa — the biological element of the nation, and Kniazhynskyj — the spirit of the nation.

The editor of 'Homin Ukrainy', Oleh Romanyshyn, spoke on "*The causes of present world conflicts in light of the works of Dmytro Dontsov*", where he argued, that the main reason for the present arms conflict is Russia's historical messianism and its desire to destroy the Western World. Dontsov himself grasped this truth 70 years earlier and declared that Ukraine can only be saved by cherishing European ideals and Ukraine's secession from Russia.

Journalist and publicist Roman Oliynyk-Rachmannyj, gave a lecture on

what he called a "hotly debated" subject: *Dmytro Dontsov and Mykola Khvylovyj, 1923-1933*", in which he commented on the similarities and differences between Dontsov and Khvylovyj. Dontsov was interested in Khvylovyj's work, he had an influence on his views and on some of his works, and regarded his death as a deliberate criminal act by Moscow.

The concluding lecture of the conference was written by Wolodymyr Kosyk, a journalist living in France, entitled "*The Ukrainian individual and society in the philosophical world outlook of Dmytro Dontsov*". It was read by Prof. Kelebay. The author portrayed Dontsov as an eminent philosopher. Dontsov considered that the central reasons for Ukraine's defeat in the Liberation Struggle in the years 1917-1920, was the people's lack of will, an inferiority complex and the lack of faith in the righteousness of their cause. That is why Dontsov desired to aid in the education of a new type of Ukrainian, evoking in him attributes such as will, character and wisdom.

ATHLETES OF UKRAINIAN AND BALTIC DESCENT IN 1984 FREE OLYMPIAD

The flags of Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia and Ukraine flew once again at the second Free Olympiad, held between July 2-7, 1984 in Toronto, Canada. Over 400 U.S. and Canadian athletes of Ukrainian and Baltic descent competed on behalf of their compatriots in Soviet-occupied homelands.

First held in 1980, the Free Olympiad was organized to publicize the violation of Olympic ideals by the USSR and to encourage friendship and good sportsmanship among athletes.

Under the Soviet regime, athletes from Ukraine and the Baltic nations of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia are prohibited from competing under their ancestral flags. Ukraine was forcibly occupied by the Russians in 1920, while the Baltic nations were taken over in 1944 towards the end of World War II.

The Olympiad began with a Festival — a cultural programme of song and dance, on July 2nd. The honorary chairman was Leo Rautins, one of the best basketball players to emerge from Canada in recent years. During the festival four outstanding athletes were presented with awards for achievements in the international sports field: Juris Puce (Latvia) — discus; Arvydas Barkauskas (Lithuania) — shot put and discus; Cindy Ounpou (Estonia) — swimming; and Borys Chambul (Ukraine) — discus.

During the festival a torch was lit setting off a relay torch run among the Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian and Ukrainian cultural centres located across the Metropolitan Toronto area.

The Olympiad featured competitions in ice hockey, shooting, tennis, basketball, volleyball, track and field and swimming.

Dr. Ray Petrauskas, executive director of the Games, said that such Soviet-influenced nations such as Poland, Hungary, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia would not be represented because these countries still had their own identities in the Olympic Games. In his speech announcing the Free Olympiad, Mr. Rautins pointed out that, since the 1952 Games in Helsinki, which marked the USSR's return to the Olympics following its self-imposed exile after the 1917 Revolution, more than 300 medallists have come from Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, and Ukraine alone would have been placed third in the 1952 and 1968 overall Olympic standings had her medals not been appropriated by the USSR.

CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK, 1984

TEXT OF PRESIDENT REAGAN'S PROCLAMATION

Once each year, all Americans are asked to pause and to remember that their liberties and freedoms often taken for granted, are forbidden to many nations around the world. America continues to be dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. If we are to sustain our commitment to this principle, we must recognize that the peoples of the Captive Nations are endowed by the Creator with the same rights to give their consent as to who shall govern them as those of us who are privileged to live in freedom. For those captive and oppressed peoples, the United States of America stands as a symbol of hope and inspiration. This leadership requires faithfulness towards our own democratic principles as well as a commitment to speak out in defense of mankind's natural rights.

Though twenty-five years have passed since the original designation of Captive Nations Week, its significance has not diminished. Rather, it has undeniably increased — especially as other nations have fallen under Communist domination. During Captive Nations Week we must take time to remember both the countless victims and the lonely heroes; both the targets of carpet bombing in Afghanistan, *and individuals such as imprisoned Ukrainian patriot Yuriy Shukhevych*. We must draw strength from the actions of the millions of freedom fighters in Communist-occupied countries, such as the signers of petitions for religious rights in Lithuania, or the members of Solidarity, whose public protests require personal risk and sacrifice that is almost incomprehensible to the average citizen in the Free World. It is in their struggle for freedom that we can find the true path to genuine and lasting peace.

For those denied the benefits of liberty we shall continue to speak out for their freedom. On behalf of the unjustly persecuted and falsely impri-

soned, we shall continue to call for their speedy release and offer our prayers during their suffering. On behalf of the brave men and women who suffer persecution because of national origin, religious beliefs, and their desire for liberty, it is the duty and privilege of the United States of America to demand that the signatories of the United Nations Charter and the Helsinki Accords live up to their pledges and obligations and respect the principles and spirit of those international agreements and understandings.

During Captive Nations Week, we renew our efforts to encourage freedom, independence, and national self-determination for those countries struggling to free themselves from Communist ideology and totalitarian oppression, and to support those countries which today are standing face-to-face against Soviet expansionism. One cannot call for freedom and human rights for the people of Asia and Eastern Europe while ignoring the struggles of our own neighbors in this hemisphere. There is no difference between the weapons used to oppress the people of Laos and Czechoslovakia, and those sent to Nicaragua to terrorize its own people and threaten the peace and prosperity of its neighbors.

The Congress, by joint resolution approved July 17, 1959 (73 Stat. 212), has authorized and requested the President to designate the third week in July as "Captive Nations Week."

NOW, THEREFORE, I, RONALD REAGAN, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim the week beginning July 15, 1984, as Captive Nations Week. I invite the people of the United States to observe this week with appropriate ceremonies and activities to reaffirm their dedication to the international principles of justice and freedom, which unite us and inspire others.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this sixteenth day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and ninth.

RONALD REAGAN

PRESIDENT REAGAN DISTINGUISHES YURIY SHUKHEVYCH, UKRAINIAN FREEDOM FIGHTER

President Ronald Reagan in his "Captive Nations Week" proclamation at the White House on July 16, 1984, honoured YURIY SHUKHEVYCH who is presently the most prominent Ukrainian political prisoner in the Soviet Union, labelling him "the Ukrainian patriot."

In 1944, at the age of 11, Yuriy Shukhevych was exiled by the Russians from his enslaved Ukraine along with his mother to Siberia and was later

officially "tried" by the occupation regime for the uncompromising attitude in his strivings to achieve national independence of Ukraine from Russian domination. His father, the late General Roman Shukhevych, was Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, fought during the Second World War against the Nazi invaders and from 1944 continued to struggle against the Soviet-Russian invaders. The revolutionary Ukrainian liberation movement, the goal of which was, and is, the re-establishment of an independent and democratic Ukrainian national state, numbered in the 1940's a quarter of a million armed men. General Roman Shukhevych died in battle with Russian forces in 1950.

Since the incarceration of Yuriy Shukhevych 40 years ago, he has been continually tortured by the Russian occupiers who were determined, applying both medical and psychological methods, to pressure him into signing a declaration renouncing his late father's and his own ideals.

In recent years Yuriy Shukhevych has become blind, but the Russians are still banning his return to Ukraine. The case of Yuriy Shukhevych is a prime example of utter inhumanity and brutality on the part of his Russian captors.

UKRAINIAN FAMINE PROCLAMATION BY PRESIDENT REAGAN

This is the text of the proclamation on the Ukrainian
Famine issued on 31st October, 1984, by the White House.

The Ukrainian Famine of 1932-1933 was a tragic chapter in the history of the Ukraine, all the more so because it was not the result of disasters of nature, but was artificially induced as a deliberate policy.

The leaders of the Soviet Union, although fully aware of the famine in the Ukraine and having complete control of food supplies within its borders, nevertheless failed to take relief measures to check the famine or to alleviate the catastrophic conditions resulting from it. In complete disregard of international opinion, they ignored the appeals of international organizations and other nations.

More than seven million Ukrainians and millions of others, died as the consequence of this callous act, which was part of a deliberate policy aimed at crushing the political, cultural and human rights of the Ukrainian and other peoples by whatever means possible. The devastation of these years continues to leave its mark on the Ukrainian people and has retarded their economic, social, and political development to an enormous extent.

In making this a special day to honor those who were victims of this famine, we Americans are afforded as well another opportunity to honor our own system of government and the freedoms we enjoy and our commitment to the right to self-determination and liberty for all the peoples of the

world. In so doing, let us also reaffirm our faith in the spirit and resilience of the Ukrainian people and condemn the system that has caused them so much suffering over the years.

The Congress, by House Concurrent Resolution 111, has urged the President to issue a proclamation in mournful commemoration of the Great Famine in the Ukraine during 1933.

Now, therefore, I Ronald Reagan, President of the United States of America, do hereby designate Sunday, November 4, 1984, as a Day of Commemoration of the Great Famine in the Ukraine in 1933.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand this thirtieth day of October, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and eighty-four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and ninth.

RONALD REAGAN

UKRAINIAN FAMINE RESOLUTION PASSED BY SENATE

On September 12th, 1984, a Resolution on the Ukrainian Famine was approved by the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the full text of which printed in our previous issue (see Ukrainian Review II, 1984).

The Resolution was introduced into the U.S. Senate by Senator Alfonse d'Amato of New York to commemorate the Ukrainian famine of 1933, and was co-sponsored by Senators *Jesse Helms* (R-NC), *J. James Exon* (D-NEB), *Daniel Patrick Moynihan* (D-NY), *Don Nickles* (R-OK), *Bill Bradley* (D-NJ) and *John Heinz* (R-PA). It is identical to House Concurrent Resolution 111, which passed the House of Representatives on November 17, 1983.

UKRAINIAN ACTIVISTS AT LOS ANGELES OLYMPIC GAMES

It is a pity that the 55-million strong Ukrainian people with its fine athletes is unable to participate in the world Olympic Games. The reason is clear: Ukraine is colonially enslaved by Soviet-Russian imperialists, who do not permit its athletes to join the international competitions as a national team under their own blue and yellow flag.

With the aim to inform the world public and to try to improve the sad situation, the World Ukrainian Liberation Front established at Los Angeles, California, at the location of the XXIII Olympiad, an information office. The W.U.L.F. coordinates and represents scores of various organizations in eleven Western nations which have as its main goal to support the liberation

movement in Ukraine fighting for national independence with a democratic way of life and the destruction of the Soviet Russian colonial empire. The W.U.L.F. assists the main force of the freedom-fighters — The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, chaired by Yaroslav Stetsko, former Prime-Minister of independent Ukraine in 1941.

The preparatory work of the project of W.U.L.F. started many months sooner. The Ukrainian American Youth Association rented premises of the Ukrainian Cultural Centre at Los Angeles; additional telephones were installed, typewriters and cars rented.

An early project was held on July 22, 1984. This was a "Freedom Run" through Los Angeles, with a "Torch of Freedom", by the emigré youth of the various nations dominated by Russia. It was lit at the "Free Olympics" in Toronto, Canada, with the aim of transferring it to the freedom-loving Koreans, who will bring it to the XXIV Olympiad to be held in Seoul, 1988, as a reminder of the many enslaved nations. Young people from the Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Afghan, Latvian, Estonian, Vietnamese and other communities took part in the "Freedom Run". This terminated at the Los Angeles City Hall where a rally was held to expound the protest and demands concerning the admission of the athletes of the said nations, composed of teams residing in the Free World.

On July 25, 1984, the Ukrainian Central Information Service issued its press release. Enclosed were several documents including a leaflet of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, crowned with the United States and Ukrainian flags and the Ukrainian coat-of-arms. The OUN welcomed the athletes and spectators to the Olympiad at Los Angeles. The reasons of Russia's withdrawal from the Games were indicated as follows: 1) the Soviet team would have been unable to capture as many medals as necessary to claim success due to the "superiority" of the Russian totalitarian and colonialist system; 2) the free environment at Los Angeles would have induced many athletes of the enslaved nations on the Soviet team to defect and ask for political asylum in the United States; 3) the Government of the Soviet Russian empire feared that its athletes would be exposed to mass campaigns highlighting the subjugation by Russia of many nations: Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Turkestan, Armenia, Georgia, Azerbaijan as well as those outside the USSR: Afghanistan, Mongolia, Bulgaria, East Germany, Czechia, Slovakia, Cuba, Hungary, Poland and communist dominated Rumania, Croatia, Slovenia, Serbia, Albania, Vietnam, Campuchea, Laos, Angola, North Korea, Ethiopia, South Yemen and others. The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists urged the International Olympic Committee to allow the national blue and yellow flag of Ukraine and the flags of other nations enslaved by Russia to be flown at the Olympic Games as a gesture of the IOS's support for having in future all nations of the earth participating in this great

international event. On the reverse side of the OUN's leaflet was a short outline of OUN's past activities.

The Ukrainian Central Information Service distributed a 20-page colour folder with 32 pictures giving the essential information about the Ukrainian people, its history, culture and the most prominent figures.

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations prepared its own pamphlet in which it was explained that the USSR is a Russian colonial empire, and not a nation-state. The freedom-loving nations should therefore ban the USSR from participation in the Olympic Games and instead should allow athletes from the enslaved nations to participate under their own national flags. Without the successes of the athletes of the enslaved nations, Russia would have gained only a few medals at the last several Olympics.

In consequence of the press release, a reporter of "Voice of America" had an interview with a representative of the U.C.I.S. and with representatives of the World Jamboree of the Ukrainian Youth Association who were arriving from various countries.

On July 27th, a second press release was issued, this time by the World Ukrainian Liberation Front. It was widely distributed to the news media. The topic was President Reagan's distinction of Yuriy Shukhevych as "the Ukrainian patriot" with the President's conclusion: "We must draw strength from the actions of the millions of freedom-fighters in communist-occupied countries..." It has to be pointed out that the name "Shukhevych" is in itself significant because his father, the late General Roman Shukhevych, was the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the guerilla force of freedom-fighters combatting in 1942-1944 the Nazi German invaders and since 1944 — the communist Russian invaders.

On the day of the Opening of the XXIII Olympiad, UCIS issued another press release showing the true nature of "sport — Russian style". Sport to the Russians is a means of propaganda, advancing their aggressive goals. An example of this is the article "Games California-style" from a leading communist periodical "Sportova Gazeta", published in Kyiv. The article does not deal with sports activities by any means but is a slanderous attack on the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), which was holding its Third World Jamboree, August 3-12, 1984, in Los Angeles. This association was originally founded in the mid-1920's in Ukraine with the aim to regain national independence from Russian colonial invaders. But the Russian occupation regime destroyed SUM and killed many thousands of its members. After the Second World War, Ukrainians living in Western nations renewed amongst their youth the fine traditions of the association. Today, the Ukrainian Youth Association is active in the U.S.A., Canada, Great Britain, Australia, Argentina, Brazil, West Germany, Austria, France and Belgium.

Because of large numbers of Spanish speaking attendants at the Olympiad, the U.C.I.S. printed many thousands of copies of a Spanish edition of the leaflet of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. Also for distribution at hand was a list of athletes from Ukraine who won gold medals in previous Olympiads but were never recognized as belonging to the Ukrainian national Olympic team appearing under the Ukrainian national flag.

On July 30th, the fourth press release came out with information about the Third World Jamboree of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) to be held in Los Angeles August 3-12, with the participation of around 300 members from eight countries, representing over 12,000 members. These young idealists and patriots organized, together with the Ukrainian Student Association (TUSM) an exhibition of documents at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre in Los Angeles. These dealt with Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet Russian Empire, the Russian man-made artificial famine in Ukraine as a result of which 7-8 million inhabitants died, and the recent liberation struggle going on in Ukraine. Enclosed was another leaflet about Yuriy Shukhevych, the courageous Ukrainian patriot held in Russian incarceration. Another flier informed the French-speaking guests at the Olympiad about Ukraine.

On August 3, 1984, the Ukrainian Central Information Service released its next news item to the press. This concerned the tightening cooperation between Ukrainian freedom-fighters and Afghan freedom-fighters in combating the common enemy — Soviet Russian aggressors. Enclosed were several copies of various OUN leaflets, distributed in Afghanistan among the Soviet troops. Ukrainian nationalists were transmitting broadcasts to the occupation army, calling upon troops to stop fighting against the Afghan people and to turn their guns against their own Russian masters and oppressors.

The question of the Ukrainian freedom-fighters was expounded in two further pamphlets — a review of the situation in nations enslaved by Russia forty or more years — and an outline of the 40-year struggle of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations against Russian imperialists. This proposes a realistic alternative to nuclear war and to surrender to Russian imperialistic expansionism. It is necessary to nurture strong liberation movements in each enslaved nation, then all of them could attack the imperialist forces from inside the empire simultaneously. Appropriate external support should be forthcoming but not direct Western military involvement. Powerful broadcasting stations are an important tool of the liberation struggle.

The Ukrainian Youth Association organized during the Olympiad informational and educational activities with the aim of showing the public the sufferings of the Ukrainian people under the Russian colonial rule and the reason for the absence of Ukrainian athletes from the Olympic Games.

On August 9th, a movie was shown at the youth camp entitled "Courage

is Our Weapon". Its producer, Charles F. Fawcett, came personally to visit the Ukrainian youth. After the movie Mr. Fawcett answered many questions concerning the Afghan liberation struggle and the need to produce similar movies about the liberation struggle of Ukrainian freedom-fighters.

Close to the end of the World Youth Jamboree, its members organized an impromptu concert of Ukrainian song and dance held at the Ukrainian Cultural Centre in Los Angeles, attended by many local Ukrainians.

Altogether at least a dozen people dedicated their time and energy for many weeks to contribute to the success of this campaign, aimed at turning the attention of the world media to those nations which were unable to participate in the Olympiad due to Russian domination. Some results were evident, for many Americans confessed that only now have they learned the truth about Ukraine and its freedom-struggle directed against the Russian imperialists who occupy Ukraine and apply racist practices to its people. The majority of work was performed not by older emigrés, who remember Ukraine personally, but by young activists, born outside Ukraine, who are dedicated to the goal of helping Ukraine achieve its national independence from Russia and a democratic system of government.

U.S. CONGRESSMAN ASKS FOR BAN ON SLAVE LABOUR PRODUCTS

United States Congressman Eldon Rudd (Republican — Arizona) on March 21st, 1984, introduced legislation calling for the enforcement of a US law banning the importation of goods made with slave labour.

Though the law has been in existence since 1930, the Treasure Department has not approved implementation of the ban. Congressman Rudd is particularly interested in stopping the import of Soviet products known to be made with forced labour.

According to the Arizona Congressman, "Currently, through its purchase of over \$220 million of goods each year from the Soviet Union, the US is a de facto accomplice to a system of slave labour that is without equal in this world for brutality and indecency".

The State Department in the US, the Customs Service and the CIA have all reported on forced labour in the USSR, and the Customs Service has identified approximately three dozen products made with forced labour. These include chemicals, uranium, wood and wood products imported from the Soviet Union are believed to be subject to this law.

The Resolution (No.277) is co-sponsored by Representatives *Dante Fascell* (Democrat — Florida), *Thomas Bliley* (Republican — Virginia), *Tom Lantos*

(Democrat — California), *Philip Crane* (Republican — Illinois), *Bob Livingston* (Republican — Louisiana), *Mark Siljander* (Republican — Michigan), *Christopher Smith* (Republican — New Jersey) and *Gus Yatron* (Democrat — Pennsylvania).

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Bohdan NAHAYLO

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE REV. MICHAEL BOURDEAUX

Note: The Reverend Michael Bourdeaux is the founder and long-standing director of Keston College, the independent, British-based research centre that monitors the situation of religious communities in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Earlier this year, in recognition of his remarkable work on behalf of religious believers under Communist rule, he was awarded the prestigious Templeton Prize. During a recent visit to the headquarters of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty in Munich, the Reverend Michael Bourdeaux was interviewed by Bohdan Nahaylo of the Ukrainian Service of Radio Liberty. The following is an abridged record of the interview.

Question: How did you, an Anglican priest, first become involved in defending religious believers in Communist countries?

Answer: My thanks have to go out, strangely enough, to the Soviet authorities and to Nikita Khrushchev in person, who, back in 1959, organized with the British government an exchange of students. I was fortunate enough to be in the very first group of British students ever to spend a year at a Soviet university. I spent a whole academic year at Moscow State University, living, obviously, among Soviet students, the vast majority of whom were not believers. But I had relative freedom to move around the city of Moscow. As a Christian it was my pleasure and obligation to go to church each Sunday, and I visited Orthodox churches and the one Protestant church in Moscow. I made many Orthodox friends and indeed, later on, found that there were secret believers in the university as well. So I began to realise something of the complexity of religious life in Russia during my year there. During my time in Moscow and then on subsequent visits, I built up a great deal of trust with believers that I met. On one of my visits — I had by this time been ordained as a priest in the Anglican Church — I went to see the ruins of a church at which I had worshipped that had been bulldozed to the ground as part of Khrushchev's drive against religion. By the appalling ruins of the church I got talking to a group of believers. They said: "We need the world to know about this kind of thing. You can see the way we are suffering. You can see the way we are being treated. We need someone to speak for us, to tell the world what is happening here." That was my commission to do this work. They said: "Be our voice and speak for us." Interestingly enough, those believers with whom I spoke, although the incident took place in Moscow, were from Western Ukraine. They had come all the way to Moscow in order to meet a foreigner, any foreigner, to try to tell him about the situation in their own part of the Soviet Union. So my links not only with Russia, but also Ukraine, go right back to this early call to do this work.

Question: How did you set about becoming their “voice”?

Answer: It meant collecting material, documents, *samizdat*, reading the Soviet press, and finding every piece of information one could about the situation of believers and publishing this to the world.

Question: Recently you were awarded the Templeton Prize in recognition of your long years of dedicated work. But surely in the early years it must have been very difficult for you to stir Western public consciousness, when your voice was virtually one “crying in the wilderness”?

Answer: Thank you for your kind words. Perhaps I should point out as a matter of objective truth that, when my work began after this commission that I had received, there were no books published at that time on the situation of believers in the Soviet Union. The early work that I did, writing about the Russian Orthodox Church and the Baptists Church, was collecting together information that had never seen the light of day anywhere. But this was not so much my own personal contribution, it was being done by believers in the Soviet Union themselves. I was only the agent through which this information passed, but it was my tremendous privilege to be the agent. Yes, to answer your question, it was difficult. People in the world at large did not understand the problem because of the closed frontiers, language difficulties, and different historical traditions. People in Western Europe just do not know that much about the Christian faith in Eastern Europe. We in Britain know much more about what is happening in Africa than we do about what is happening in our near neighbours, such as East Germany, Czechoslovakia, or Ukraine. But gradually the information which I, and then our little group which became called Keston College, were putting across to the public became recognised as something important, and people began more and more to listen to what we were saying. Ten years ago we founded a journal — *Religion in Communist Lands* — and, eight years ago, a news service, which is reprinted, at least in part, by Christian newspapers all over the world.

Question: Where does Keston College go from here?

Answer: Our impact has been nothing like as much as we need. Let us not pretend that the Christian Church world-wide is now informed about the persecution of the faithful in the Soviet Union. We have made a start, but there is a long, long way to go. I do honestly believe that the situation in the Soviet Union could be transformed for the better if there was more caring, more informed opinion expressed through organisations like the World Council of Churches or the Lutheran World Federation currently meeting in Budapest — the first time that such a meeting has taken place in a Communist country. Even through the Vatican. Big international Christian bodies like these still do not discuss openly the persecution of the Church. And yet St. Paul said: “The Church is the body of Christ. If one limb of that body suffers, the whole body suffers.” So far this knowledge of the suffering Church is not anything like well known enough in internatio-

nal Christian opinion. We have made more than a beginning, and obviously the award of the Templeton Prize earlier this year was wonderful public recognition. And since then there have been wonderful new opportunities.

Question: And yet the recent visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation of American churchmen suggests that there are still enough Western believers who should know better but who allow themselves to be duped by the Soviet authorities.

Answer: Yes, in June, 1984, 266 Americans went on a visit to the USSR under the auspices of the National Council of Churches in New York. They were not sufficiently well briefed before they left. Even worse, they were not well led. A leader of the group, a certain Presbyterian minister, Dr. Bruce Rigdon, seems to make it a point to underplay the persecution of the Church, and all he is trying to do, apparently, is to demonstrate to Americans that religion is alive in the Soviet Union after sixty-seven years of communism. Well, it does not need Bruce Rigdon to prove that. What should happen when such a delegation travels to the USSR is that there should be low-level meetings. Not meetings among church leaders. We know what is going to be said in them. Let such delegations get into the congregations. Let them meet believers in their own homes. Then these people will come away knowing the truth. In fact, within those 266 there were some people who did that. For instance, I noticed *The Ukrainian Weekly* in New York published a marvellous interview with a woman of Lithuanian origin called Gintė Damušis¹. She met believers of all sorts. So it was not all bad that came out of that visit. The major newspapers pick up the sensational headlines, but behind the scenes some interesting things happen as well.

Question: How do you view the present situation of believers in the Soviet Union?

Answer: Unquestionably, it has got significantly worse over the last five years. Not worse in a public way. In other words, when a visitor goes to the Soviet Union, he is not confronted with a picture which is worse than in recent years. But behind the scenes all sorts of things have happened. The policy of the Soviet regime at the moment is to squeeze all believers into one mould, to make sure they all conform to the present policies of the Soviet government and to the view of the official church leaders that religion is getting along very well. Anyone who dissents is squeezed out. The pressure against Christian dissenters has been incredibly increased over the last few years, beginning in 1979 with the arrest and imprisonment of Fr. Gleb Yakunin, the founder of the Christian Committee for the Defence of Believers's Rights. Straightaway after that there was a round-up of leaders of all other kinds of groups that were campaigning for religious liberty: Baptists, Pentecostals, Seventh-Day Adventists, Lithuanian and Ukrainian Catholics. We have collected together the number of religious prisoners that we know by

1. Marta Kolomayets, "Reactions reflect ire at churchmen's assessment of USSR trip," *The Ukrainian Weekly*, July 1, 1984.

name, and there are around three hundred and fifty people on the list, every single one a leader in his own denomination.

Question: How serious a setback do you think these blows aimed at the nerve centre of dissenting religious activity in the USSR have been?

Answer: The late 1960's and early 1970's were a period of great importance. They followed the renewed persecution of the Church under Khrushchev. Because of that persecution the Church found its voice. That voice was expressed in a whole series of *samizdat* documents. Tens of thousands of pages poured out of the Soviet Union and informed us about all aspects of religious life. Not only about persecution — that maybe was not even the most important thing — but about the spiritual life, how the revival of religious life is affecting young people today in Moscow, Leningrad, Kyiv, and throughout the Soviet Union. These documents gave us abundant evidence about the formation of young people's discussion groups, etc. Now all this is being eradicated by the Soviet authorities under the present policy. But I do believe that it is being eradicated only in the short term. The campaign against religion under Khrushchev proved yet again that the harder you hit a nail the deeper it goes into the wood. And what has happened is that, as on numerous previous occasions in Soviet history, a campaign against the Church has simply driven it further underground. When the pressure eases off, what has been happening underground will come more to the surface. After almost seventy years in power, the Soviet authorities know perfectly well they cannot eradicate religion by force.

Question: Why do you think the Soviet authorities have permitted the Russian Orthodox Church greater prominence in recent years and now treat it in effect as the USSR's pseudo-established Church?

Answer: Part of the Soviet campaign against religion is to build up particular groups of people who are shown to be one-hundred-percent-loyal Soviet citizens and yet believers at the same time. The Soviet state in its present policy, say for the next ten years, is not trying to eradicate religion totally, but is trying to make it conform completely with the state's own ideals, so that it no longer poses a danger, an alternative way of thinking. Now the official leadership of the Russian Orthodox Church, the Moscow Patriarchate — I'm not talking about the average priest in the parish — is part of the repressive system. It is designed to show that, in order to be loyal to the Soviet state, you have to be Russian Orthodox. Even the leaders of the Protestant churches are not given as much freedom as their Russian Orthodox counterparts. For example, the Protestant churches do not have a theological seminary; in other words, their future is not guaranteed, because they cannot train their priesthood, whereas the Orthodox Church can. But it has to be *Russian* Orthodox. This obviously reflects general Soviet policy that Russian influence will remain strong, overstrung, throughout the republics. But if a Georgian, why not a Ukrainian Orthodox Church? But nothing that is specifically Ukrainian or specifically Byelorussian, for example, is allowed to exist within

the Russian Orthodox Church. Its leadership, therefore, reflects Soviet nationalities policy.

Question: How would you assess the impact of Pope John Paul II on religious believers in the Soviet Union?

Answer: There has been a very great impact, and I think we do not know outside how great that impact has been. I have seen it in a number of ways. Of course, one begins with the Roman Catholic Church in Lithuania. There were already signs of a religious revival among Lithuanian Catholics, but since the election of John Paul II they have become even more encouraged. There is tremendous religious activity in Lithuania, activity without compromise. You do not have the compromised leadership in the Lithuanian Church, and they look directly to Pope John Paul II for their spiritual guidance and counsel. They have invited him to Lithuania, and, even though he probably will not be able to go, this is something under active consideration, and Lithuanians hope he will be able to visit their country. As for members of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite, obviously the present pope is far more sympathetic to the reestablishment of their church than his predecessors were. The subject is coming back on the agenda. Therefore the three or four million Ukrainians who do have their own churches and are forced to become Russian Orthodox will receive a much more sympathetic ear in Rome than before. They know that, and it is increasing their underground religious activity. The scattered Catholic congregations in Siberia, Central Asia, and so on have also received tremendous heart. Pope John Paul II personally knows some priests who have been in exile in those areas, and he has encouraged some of them. One of them, a Polish priest now dead, Fr. Bukowski, wrote his memoirs because the Pope asked him to, and those memoirs are now available in Polish and English and are currently circulating². Then finally on the non-Catholic denominations, we received the other day a letter from some Pentecostals in Siberia addressed to "the Polish Pope", and we had to pass it on. I thought that was a marvellous moment: a persecuted Protestant looks to a Polish Catholic in Rome for help. And of course, morally, he will get that help. That is a tremendous moment for all believers in the Soviet Union: Orthodox, Catholic, and Protestant.

Question: A disproportionately large number of imprisoned and persecuted religious believers in the Soviet Union seem to be from Ukraine. Why do you think Ukraine has become such a catchment area for religious dissenters?

Answer: I think Ukraine is more than a catchment area. It is a real beacon of light — one of the areas in the world where religion is strongest. People generally know that the percentage of believers in Poland, nearly all Catholics, is something like 90 percent of the whole population. In Ukraine it is probably not as high as that, but it is nevertheless very high and far higher

2. Extracts from these memoirs, entitled, "The Life of a Polish Priest in Kazakhstan," appeared in *Religion in Communist Lands*, No. 1, 1984, pp. 98-106.

than in Russia proper. It is probably true, though one cannot prove it, that 50 percent of all Ukrainians are believers. That means that every single denomination — Orthodox, Catholics (mostly underground), and Protestants — are all strong in this republic. Therefore the Soviet regime has to take Ukraine into consideration in its antireligious policies. Because of the very high level of “religiosity” in Ukraine, to use the jargon word, it has been stepping up its campaign against Ukrainian believers in general. Obviously Soviet antireligious policy has had physical effects, like the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite, but morally — in the minds of the people — religion has not been eradicated. Consequently, one of the main thrusts of antireligious policy from the Kremlin will be into Ukraine. There are tremendous numbers of people — I saw the figure some time ago, it went into hundreds — actually working in the Ukrainian SSR for the Council on Religious Affairs. Antireligious activists have saturated Ukraine. Nevertheless, every single denomination remains strong in its own right. It is not very well known, for instance, that just about half of the Protestants in the Soviet Union, or at least half of the Baptists — who are the most active Protestant group in the USSR — are in Ukraine. The situation in Ukraine is indeed very complex and needs very special study. That is why we highlight this. Since our journal *Religion in Communist Lands* was founded, no single year has gone by without our publishing at least one major article on Ukraine, and no issue has passed without some mention of religious life there.

Question: A recent issue of *Religion in Communist Lands* contained an article dealing with the Ukrainian Orthodox question in the USSR. The author emphasized that, although an estimated 50 percent of the USSR’s functioning Orthodox churches are in Ukraine and Ukrainians provide a very large percentage of vocations, “all too often Ukrainian Orthodoxy. . . is forgotten in discussion of religious problems in the USSR.”³ Do you share this view?

Answer: Yes. Recently, Metropolitan Filaret of Kyiv was asked a public question on American television: “What is the significance of religious belief here, in your city of Kyiv?” He immediately answered: “The Russian Orthodox Church,” and so on. He did not mention the fact that they were on Ukrainian soil. Part of Soviet policy is to edit out, suppress, all specifically Ukrainian religious institutions. Now it is just as legitimate that there should be a Ukrainian Orthodox Church as that there should be a Ukrainian Catholic Church. Russian imperialism which has allied with communism and has suppressed the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, is just as serious in the life of the Orthodox world as the same thing happening to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Of course, many Ukrainian priests have been elevated within the

3. Frank E. Sysyn, “The Ukrainian Orthodox Question in the USSR.” *Religion in Communist Lands*, No. 3, 1983, p. 261. This special issue on Ukraine also contains an article by Ivan Hvat’ entitled “The Ukrainian Catholic Church, the Vatican and the Soviet Union during the Pontificate of Pope John Paul II” and various documents describing the current plight of Ukrainian Catholics in the USSR.

Russian Orthodox Church to the status of bishops. Some of these bishops, like Filaret, have become spokesmen to the outside world. It is difficult to see how much further this process can go. Undoubtedly, these people are very useful to the Kremlin in showing that the Ukrainian Orthodox Church does not exist. They are used for propagandistic purposes every time they open their mouths. At some stage in the future the Ukrainian Orthodox question will have to come up for discussion. Already there are probably millions of Orthodox believers in Ukraine who do not want simply to be labelled "members of the Russian Orthodox Church." It is going to be more difficult to make that label fit over the next three or four years, because in 1988 we have the millenium of the Christianization of Kyivan Rus'.

Question: The year 1988, then, is going to be crucial in more ways than one?

Answer: Yes. Already the Russian Church is preparing for the anniversary. The Moscow Patriarchate has already published in the West one volume of magnificent pictures but with a totally propagandistic text showing, allegedly, how free the Russian Orthodox Church is. The campaign of inviting visitors to the Soviet Union to observe religious life is being stepped up. It is obviously going to be a Russian Orthodox Church celebration. Now it is bound to be on the conscience of Ukrainian believers — and we in the outside world must reflect this — that religion in what is now the Soviet Union began historically on the territory of Ukraine — Kyivan Rus'. The historical significance of that has to be brought forward into the present. The history of Ukrainian civilization should come out as the history of Ukrainian civilization. To russify the whole of that is not being objective in history. Therefore, we in the outside, who can publish articles without censorship, intend to highlight the specifically Ukrainian elements that should be in this celebration.

August 2, 1984.

S. KARAVANSKY

EXPLOITATION OF SLAVE LABOUR IN THE NATIONAL ECONOMY OF THE USSR

(Eyewitness accounts)

INTRODUCTION

As a former long-term prisoner of the Soviet Russian Gulag, I am well aware of the fact that the work of prisoners is being exploited, on a large scale, in many different branches of the national economy of the Soviet Union. The following industries form these branches of Soviet industry: the Forestry Industry; the Mining Industry; the Heavy, the Chemical and the Cellulose Industries; the Light Industry; and the Food Industry.

Apart from my own personal observations, this paper makes use of the testimonies of other former prisoners of the Gulag, and also of materials from the Research Centre for Prisons, Psychprisons and Forced Labour Concentration Camps of the USSR, published in a book by Avraham Shyfrin, entitled "The First Guidebook to Prisons and Concentration Camps of the Soviet Union". Every definite account is backed by the relevant sources of information or else bears the name of the particular witness. All addresses, regardless of their sources, have been thoroughly checked and corrected for the publication of the "List of Political Prisoners in the USSR" (Edition No.5, 1.5.1983).

*

THE FORESTRY INDUSTRY

Throughout the last 60 years the Soviet forestry industry has widely exploited slave labour in the lumber industry and continues to do so today. I personally was involved in tree felling in the Irkutsk Region, in the following camps of the Ozerlag complex: camp 307 (Irkutsk Region, Bratsk District, village of Anzyoba, No.UK-272/307); camp 018 (Irkutsk Region, village of Vykhorevka, No.UK-272/018); and also camps 041 and 034.

From conversations with other prisoners I discovered that prisoners, engaged in the felling of trees in the Soviet Union, also work in camps of the Kitoylag complex (Irkutsk Region), the Ust'-Vymlag complex (Komi Autonomous SSR), in the Dubrovlag complex (Mordovian ASSR), the

Sevurallag and Ivdil'lag complexes (Sverdlovsk Region), the Viatlag complex (Kirov District), in the Kraslag complex (Krasnoyarsk Territory), and in the Oneglag, Kargopollag and the Sol'lag complexes (Archangel'sk Region).

From these areas the Soviet Union exports a large quantity of wood fibre to the free world.

There are literally dozens of eyewitness accounts about the existence of these camps. Here is, for example, one such account. A letter written by two prisoners, N. Akhmatov and V.M. Khalenko, dated September, 1978, which was published on pages 151 and 152 of "Kontinent" (The Continent), No.24, 1980, states the existence of camp No.016 of the Kraslag complex, which produces wood fibre for export, and gives the address as: Krasnoyarsk Territory, Uyarsk District, Gromydsk Station, No.UP-288/016.

Thus, a major part of the Soviet wood industry, including the furniture industry, the production of building materials, the paper industry, the cellulose industry and a large part of the chemical industry, and also the house-building industry, makes use of raw materials supplied by slave labour.

The wood products industry equally exploits slave labour. I personally worked in camp 019 of the Ozerlag complex, which served a large wood products factory (Irkutsk Region, Chunksk District, Chuna Station, No.UK-272/019), then in camp 025 of the Ozerlag complex (Irkutsk Region, Tays-hetsk District, town of Tayshet, No.UK-272/025), and also in a furniture factory in camp No. 011 of the Dubrovlag complex (Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Poliansk District, Yavas Settlement, No.ZhKh-385/011).

From information supplied by former prisoners in the Soviet Union, registered by the Research Centre for Prisons in the USSR, the following examples can be given:

South of Syktyvkar there is a camp called Kobra, with a population of 2000. Here prisoners manufacture plywood for export.

In camp 64/021, in Bekabad (Uzbek SSR), 1600 prisoners work in a wood products factory which manufactures planks. The address of this camp is: Uzbek SSR, Tashkent District, town of Bekabad, No.UYa-64/021.

There are also two camps, each housing some 2500 prisoners who provide the work force for a plywood and wood products factory situated in Vologda.

Witness from the Research Centre: *Avraham Shifrin* (Israel).

THE MINING INDUSTRY

The Soviet economy also exploits prisoners in the mining industry, especially in mines which extract coal, gold, uranium, copper, chrome, nickel, molybdenum and diamonds.

I myself worked in a gold mine named after Matrosov (Magadan Region,

Ten'kynsk Borough, Matrosov Settlement, No.261/01). This camp forms part of the Berlag complex, which consists of about 50 camps.

Apart from the Berlag complex, the Maglag, also consisting of 50 sites, concentrated on gold mining as well. The Matrosov mine extracted gold ore which was then enriched in a special factory also named after Matrosov. Presently the Matrosov mine does not exploit the labour of prisoners, but in the Magadn Region prisoners, still work in the gold mines of Yagoda, Susuman, Orotukan, Palatka, Vyetro, the Budenny and Timoshenko mines and also other places.

Witnesses: *Mysio* and *S. Karavansky* (USA).

Gold for the state treasury of the Soviet Union is extracted in Bodaybo (Irkutsk Region), where the prisoners who work in the gold mines are confined in three camps.

Witness: *A. Shifrin* (Israel).

Slave labour is also indispensable to the extraction of diamonds. In the main centre of diamond mining, the town of Myrno (Tyumen' Region), camps do not really exist. Instead, prisoners are burdened with the polishing of diamonds. In the town of Solekhard (Tyumen Region) there are two camps each housing 2500 prisoners who work on the polishing of diamonds designed for export to shops called "Russian Gems".

Witness: *A. Shifrin* (Israel).

The work of prisoners is also exploited in the molybdenum, manganese, chrome and nickel mines in Norilsk (Krasnoyarsk Territory) and the uranium mines situated in the vicinity of many towns, including Rakhov in Ukraine.

In the northern part of the Komi ASSR, in the Vorkutlag and Rechlag complexes (Inta), prisoners extract coal. The individual mines where the prisoners work are scattered throughout the whole Soviet Union. For example, according to details issued by the Research Centre for Prisons, in Chornogorsk (Krasnoyarsk Territory), 6000 prisoners work in the mines; in Temirtau (Kemerovo Region), 300 prisoners work in the mine. The address of this latter camp is as follows: Rostov Region, town of Shakhty, No.UCh-398/09. In Novoshakhtynsk (Rostov Region), 1500 prisoners work in the coal mines. Address: Rostov Region, town of Novoshakhtynsk, No.UCh-398/011.

According to the details provided by the Research Centre, prisoners work in the extraction of oil and gas in the following areas of the Soviet Union:

Apsheonsk, Khadyzhensk and Nefteorsk stations (Krasnoyarsk Territory); the villages of Negotka, Parabel' and Kolpashevo (Tyumen Region), together 4000 prisoners; the town of Serafimovich (Vogograd Region); the towns of Krasny Khudyk, Syeroglavovka and Dosang (Astrakhan' Region); the towns of Krasnodovsk, Cheleken, Nebit-Dag (Turkmen SSR); the towns

of Shchekino and Lypky (Tula Region), where 3000 prisoners work in the extraction of gas. In the town of Kitsany (Moldavian SSR), 1000 prisoners extract marble.

Witness: *A. Shifrin* (Israel).

THE HEAVY, THE CHEMICAL, AND THE CELLULOSE INDUSTRIES

In the Soviet economic system it is very convenient to exploit the work of prisoners to carry out manual labour in heavy industry. In this way, prisoners from camp 010 of the Dubrovlag complex (Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Poliansk Region, No.ZhKh-385/010) assemble car radiators for the "Moskvich" plant in Moscow.

Witness: *A. Shrifrin* (Israel).

Apart from this, I know of the fact that on Stryj Street in Lviv there exists camp No.048 (Lviv, No.VL-315/048), where prisoners manufacture motorised farming machines.

The Research Centre for Prisons in the USSR also holds information about the following camps: camp 62/04 (Gorky City, No.UZ-62/04), where prisoners work in the harmful conditions of an enamel workshop in a car plant; camp 62/012 (Gorky Region, town of Bor, No.UZ-62/012), where prisoners work in a factory which manufactures plastic and glass; camp 154/012 (Vologograd Region, town of Volzhsk, No.YaR-154/012), where 1200 prisoners work in a tractor plant; camp 15/02 (Byelorussian SSR, town of Bobruysk, No.UZh-15/02) where 1000 prisoners work in a car tyre factory; Minsk (Mohylivsk highway) —near the bus station "Severny Poselok" there is a new prison for women, who work in the Minsk car plant; camp 48/09 (Chelyabinsk Region, town of Bakal, No YaV-48/09), where 1800 prisoners manufacture metal workbenches; the town of Soroky (Moldavian SSR), where 1000 prisoners manufacture superphosphate; the town of Novaya Lialia (Sverdlovsk Region), where 1000 prisoners from camp USh-349/041 work in a paper manufacturing factory.

Witness: *A. Shifrin* (Israel).

THE LIGHT INDUSTRY

In light industry slave labour is exploited very readily for the manufacture of various goods of wide use. Personally I worked in camp 385/1 (Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Poliansk Region, Sosnovka station, No.ZhKh-385/01). In the area of the camp there was a polishing workshop where the glass parts of electric mirrors were polished. This used to be worked by political prisoners and exists to this day, but is presently worked by ordinary prisoners. I also worked in a furniture factory in camp 385/011 (Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Poliansk Region, Yavas station, No.ZhKh-385/011). This factory functions today as well, and is worked by prisoners. At the Yavas station I also worked

in a tailoring factory in camp 385/04 (Mordovian SSR, Yavas station, No.ZhKh-385/04). Presently, women prisoners work in this factory making uniforms for the militia, railwaymen and others.

In camp 385/03 designated for women political prisoners (Mordovian ASSR, Ten'gushevsk Region, Barashevo station, No.ZhKh-385/03), women make gloves which are later issued as specialised items of clothing throughout the whole Soviet Union.

Witness: *N. Strokata* (USA).

This same witness testifies to the existence of a women's camp in Rostov (Rostov Region, town of Rostov, Tunel'naya Street, No.UCh-398/190) where women work in a packing factory.

From conversations with other prisoners during rest stops I became aware of the fact that in camp 385/019 (Mordovian ASSR, Zubovo-Poliansk Region, Lesnoe settlement, No.ZhKh-385/019), prisoners manufacture and polish watch cases for the Serdobsky watch factory. The products of this factory are exported to England.

Witnesses: *Yu. Vudka* (Israel), *K. Lubarsky* (Munich), *M. Budulak-Sharygin* (England).

In the town of Vladimir in prison No.2 (Vladimir, No.Od-1/ST-02), prisoners used to work and still work in the cells where they eat and sleep, assembling triodes and resistors (radio components) for the Second Moscow radio factory. In addition, inmates of the same prison punch out zippers and electrical components.

Witness: *S. Karavansky* (USA).

From what different prisoners have told me I also know of the Chystopol' prison (422950, Tatar ASSR, town of Chystopol', No.UZ-148-ST-04). Here prisoners assemble wrist-watches and alarm clocks in their cells. A camp for women and children is situated at the Odessa prison (290059, Odessa-59, No. YuG-311/076). The women work in a textile factory and the children manufacture metal goods of everyday use. On Shevchenko Street in Lviv there is camp VL-315/030, in which 1500 prisoners work in a furniture factory.

From materials available at the Research Centre for Prisons in the USSR, we know that in Leningrad prisoners work in a cardboard factory which manufactures boxes for the shoe company "Skorokhod". The number of the prison is IZ-45/01.

In camp Metallostroy (Leningrad Region) prisoners manufacture locks and mattress springs. In camps Ulianovka and Volkhov 1200 men and 1500 women work in factories. Another camp with 3000 prisoners, who work in a furniture factory, stands near the bus stop "Protezny zavod" in Minsk. On Bokhovsk Street in Bobruysk (Byelorussia), there is a children's colony. The children confined there manufacture furniture and cardboard packing boxes. In Orsha (Byelorussia) there are two camps UZh-15/012 and UZh-15/06 where prisoners manufacture metal cutlery. At Irpin' (outside Kyiv), there

is a camp which is designated for the manufacture of radio components. Two thousand prisoners work there. At Korosten' (Ukraine), 2000 prisoners manufacture furniture and electrical tools. At Nyzhniy Tagil (Sverdlovsk Region), 800 prisoners manufacture items of everyday use, such as mattresses and locks, in camp UZh-349/013. At Beyuk Shor (Azerbaijdzhan SSR), in camp UA-38/06, 300 prisoners manufacture incrusted items, such as miniature cases for jewellery products and the salon game "mesh-besh", which are designed for export. In Achyns'k (Krasnoyarsk Territory), 1000 women prisoners work in a tailoring factory. In camp Yul-78/02 at Ulianovsk, 600 women manufacture ferrite discs for a computer factory. In Novy Oskol (Belgorod Region), 1000 women prisoners work in a textile factory in camp YuS-321/04. In addition, 1000 women from the camp at Novokuznetsk (Kemerovo Region), work in a knitting factory. In Garku (near Tallin, Estonia), 300 women prisoners manufacture buttons. And, finally, in Rzhev (Kalinin Region), 500 prisoners from the severe regime prison in the area, assemble electrical switches and knife-switches in the cells where they live.

Witness: *A. Shifrin* (Israel).

THE FOOD INDUSTRY

On the island of Shykotyn (Kuril Islands), 6000 women prisoners work in a canning factory which manufactures cans and packs red caviar.

Witness: *A. Shifrin* (Israel).

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REPRESSED UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

(Continued from the Ukrainian Review, No. 2, 1983)

358) MARKHOVYK Stepan, a member of the Baptist Church, arrested at the beginning of August 1972 in Chernihiv for preaching the Gospel, he was subsequently arrested and imprisoned.

359) MARCHENKO Oleksiy, born 1942, arrested in 1970 and sentenced under art. 64-70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 15 years in a labour camp.

360) MARCHUK, sentenced under art. 58-1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 25 years' imprisonment.

361) MASHTALIER Mykola, born 1925 in Lviv, sentenced in 1961 to 15 years' imprisonment for expressing support for the Ukrainian National Committee.

362) MASIUTKO Mykhailo, born on 18.11.1918 in the Kherson region, married, a teacher of the Ukrainian language and literature, a writer. In 1937 he was arrested after being unjustly informed upon for having allegedly taken part in 'contra-revolutionary activity' and was sentenced to 5 years' imprisonment.

He was arrested for the second time on 4.9.1961 and sentenced on 23.3.1966 in a closed session of the Lviv regional court to 6 years in a strict regime labour camp after being accused of anti-Soviet nationalist propaganda and agitation. In December 1966 he was confined in the camp prison for disseminating anti-Soviet documents in the camp.

363) MATALIUK Mykhailo, an active participant of the OUN-UPA liberation struggle in Ukraine. For this activity he was sent to the concentration camps. He was persecuted further, summoned for 'conversations' or specially organised meetings where his past was publicly condemned. Furthermore, members of his family were also subjected to harassment.

364) MATIYASH Mykola, born in 1938. In 1962 he was sentenced in Ternopil to 10 years' imprisonment. In 1969 he was sentenced under the article of the Criminal Code which pertains to 'betrayal of the Fatherland', to 15 years' deprivation of freedom which included a 5 year term in prison.

365) MATUSEVYCH Mykola I. Born in 1948, a historian, a member of the Helsinki Monitoring Group, repressed since 1973. Arrested on 23.4.1977 and sentenced to 7 years' strict regime concentration camp and 3 years' exile for allegedly 'committing an especially dangerous crime against the State' (art. 65 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR). His wife, Ol'ha, was arrested in 1980.

366) MATVIYUK Kuz'ma. In 1972 he was sentenced for political activity to 4 years' imprisonment. Released on 13.7.1976, but still subjected to harsh persecution on the part of the KGB.

367) MELASHCHENKO Ivan F., born 1942, married, the father of 3 children, arrested on 10.10.1972 and sentenced under art. 138-2 and 209 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years' imprisonment for membership of the Baptist Church.

368) MEL'NYCHUK Mykola, he was sentenced at a trial which took place on 16-23.12.1961 in Lviv to 10 years' imprisonment for belonging to the Ukrainian National Committee. He was tried under article 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR ('especially dangerous crimes against the State').

369) MEL'NYCHUK Taras, born in 1933, a poet, has one daughter, sentenced in 1972 under art. 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. Arrested for the second time in April 1979 in Ivano-Frankivs'ke under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 4 years' strict regime concentration camps.

370) MELNYK Mykhailo, born 1944, the father of 2 children and a community activist. Since 1970 he suffered repression on the part of the KGB. After his apartment was searched on 6.3.1979, he died from the effects of poison at home in suspicious circumstances.

371) MEL'NYK Vasyi, born 1923 in Volhynia, in 1952 he was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment. A former member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

372) MELYKH Mykola, born 1930, sentenced in 1961 in Lviv to life-imprisonment which was commuted to 15 years' in prison under article 64-70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, a member of the Ukrainian National Committee, a nationalist.

373) MELYN Myron, born in 1929, has a completed higher education, worked as a teacher, a former prisoner of Stalin's concentration camps. Arrested in the summer of 1967 and sentenced by the Lviv regional court under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 11 years' deprivation of freedom. He was accused of taking part in the underground group which named itself the 'Ukrainian National Front' and regarded itself as a continuator of the liberation struggle of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

374) MENDRUN Bohdan, a lecturer of music and singing from Lviv. He was preparing for the priesthood in the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church. Arrested and sentenced in 1974. His term of imprisonment is unknown. He was accused of 'propagating' the Uniate Church and of collecting 'nationalist' poetry.

375) MESHKO Oksana Y., born in 1905, she has one son, Oleksander. She has already been imprisoned during Stalin's time in power (1947-56). Since then she was rehabilitated. Oksana Meshko is a member of the Ukrainian Group to promote the implementation of the Helsinki Accords as of 9th November, 1976 and from then on continuously suffering repression, always under constant KGB surveillance. On 12th June, 1980 she was arrested and confined in the Kyiv psychiatric hospital for a two-month 'exami-

nation'. After the arrest of its leading members, Oksana Meshko was left with what was in fact the leadership of the Helsinki Group.

376) MINIAYLO Hryhoriy, a worker at the Kyiv Institute of Microinstruments. With the permission of the Central Committee of the League of Communist Youth (Komsomol), he organised a discussion club. Two or three discussions took place concerning socio-ethical problems. In connection with this, he lost his job.

377) MIRACH Stepan, born in the Rivne district of Volhynia, aged about 55, a participant of the liberation struggle of OUN-UPA, arrested in 1975 and sentenced on 21.5.1976 by the Rivne district court under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the USSR to death. The sentence was carried out.

378) MITSKEVYCH Bernard B., a Catholic priest, arrested at the end of 1973 and sentenced in August 1974 in Lviv to 5 years' imprisonment for pastoral work, the spreading of Christianity, especially helping to educate children according to Christian precepts.

379) MOISEYEV Ivan V., born in 1952, a member of the Baptist Church, he was beaten to death for refusing to deny his Christian faith.

380) MOLDOVAN Ivan, a member of the Baptist-Fifth Day Adventist Church, confined in an ordinary regime concentration camp.

381) MOLOSHENSKYYI Vasyl, a participant of the OUN-UPA liberation struggle, he was arrested in 1945 and sentenced to 25 years in a concentration camp.

382) MONKEVYCH Iryna, born in 1935, has a completed higher education, worked as an agriculturalist in the Ukrainian Academy of Agriculture in Kyiv. In 1972 she lost her job for Ukrainian patriotism.

383) MORDAN' Raissa H., born in 1939 in the Kyiv region, married, she lost her job as a music teacher in a children's kindergarden in Kyiv for teaching Ukrainian songs and for taking them to a concert (25.2.1971) which commemorated the anniversary of Lesya Ukrainka's death. At the concert a well-known Ukrainian choir, 'Homin', was taking part. She was told that 'Homin', in the eyes of the Soviet authorities, was seen as a 'nationalist' choir which sings songs thought to be hostile to the state. In connection with this she was accused of having established contacts with nationalists and for dragging young children along with her. She is continuously repressed.

384) MORKOVNYK - , in 1977 he was confined for political reasons in the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital.

385) MOTRIUK Mykola M., born on 20.2.1949 in the Ivano-Frankivsk region, has a completed secondary education, married, the father of one child, he was sentenced under articles 62, 64, 223, 140, 81, 222 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR for establishing in 1971 a secret organisation under the name the Association of Ukrainian Youth of Galicia (Soyuz Ukrainskoyi Molodi Halychyny) for anti-Soviet activity, the acquisition of arms, explosive materials, for demanding the secession of Ukraine from the USSR in order that Ukraine become an independent state. He was sentenced

to 4 years' imprisonment and is constantly being kept under surveillance and is persecuted.

386) MURZHENKO Oleksa H., a member of the Baptist Church, born 1942, married, with two daughters, from Kharkiv. Since 1956 he has spent 8 years of strict imprisonment and then 6 years in a concentration camp for political prisoners. Arrested for the second time in 1970 and sentenced at a Leningrad trial under art. 64 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 14 years' imprisonment. He was sentenced for trying to seize an airliner in Leningrad in order to escape across the border. He is due for release in 1984.

387) MUSHKETYK Yuriy M., born 21.3.1929, a writer, the chief editor of the literary journal 'Dnipro'. In September, 1972 he was removed from the editorial board of 'Dnipro' because articles had appeared in the journal which considered Ukrainian traditions and spirituality in a positive light. This the present occupant of Ukraine considers 'nationalist'.

388) MUZHITSIA Ivan, a member of the Baptist Church, a father with children. He is being threatened that if he persists in providing his children with a religious upbringing, the state will take them from him and he, on the other hand, will be put on trial.

389) MYKHAILENKO Volodymyr, sentenced for 'having the courage to think about freedom and defend his own opinions, his rights and democracy'.

390) MYKHAL'CHUK Omelian, expelled from Kyiv University for refusing to swear an army oath in Russian.

391) MYKOLAYENKO Mykola I., born in 1932, married, he has been sentenced to a term of 25 years' imprisonment.

392) MYKYTKO Yaromyr O., born in 1953 in the Lviv region, a student of the Lviv Forestry School. He co-edited with Zoryan Popadyuk "Postup" (Progress) a student magazine. He was arrested on 29.3.1973 in Lviv and sentenced under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR to 5 years' imprisonment and 3 years' exile.

393) MYN'KO Oleksa, sentenced on 22.1.1962 in Lviv to 10 years' deprivation of freedom for taking part in the activities of the Ukrainian National Committee.

394) MYRLAS Oleksander, sentenced in 1962 in Lviv to 5 years' deprivation of freedom.

395) MYRON Ivan V., sentenced in 1951 under art. 58-1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 25 years' imprisonment.

396) MYRONIUK Dmytro, born circa 1920, a former member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army for which he was sentenced to 25 years' imprisonment. He is still under the surveillance of the KGB.

Obituaries

VOLODYMYR HORBOVYJ, NATIONALIST LEADER DIES IN UKRAINE AT 85



Volodymyr Horbovyj, an outstanding figure in the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) since the 1930's, died on May 21, 1984, in his native village of Obolonia, Ukraine. He was 85 years old.

Horbovyj played an important role in the re-establishment of an independent Ukrainian state on June 30, 1941, together with Stepen Bandera and Yaroslav Stetsko.

In reporting the death of Horbovyj, the leadership of the OUN noted that he died under unusual circumstances. According to information received from Ukraine, Horbovyj was immediately buried and his son not given the opportunity to attend the service.

Horbovyj, who was born on January 30, 1899, became active in the Ukrainian nationalist movement while a law student in Czecho-Slovakia. He joined the underground Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and for a short period of time served as its acting national commander.

Upon receiving his degree, Horbovyj practised law in the town of Dolyna and he belonged to the bar association in Lviv.

Horbovyj was arrested for the first time on October 28, 1933. Polish authorities charged him with belonging to the Ukrainian Military Organisation and OUN and incarcerated Horbovyj in the notorious concentration camp in Berza Kartuska from July to December 1934.

Following his release, Horbovyj joined a group of Ukrainian lawyers who were defending the leadership and members of the OUN at a trial in Warsaw. The trial lasted from November 18, 1935 to January 13, 1936. The OUN members were accused of assassinating Polish Minister Bronislaw Pieracki.

Subsequently, Horbovyj served as the defence lawyer for Bandera and Stetsko at the Lviv trial from May to June 1936.

With the demise of the Polish government in September 1939, Horbovyj moved to Krakow, where he headed the Ukrainian Relief Committee for prisoners of war and refugees from Russian prisons. Horbovyj was closely aligned with the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera since 1940.

In April 1941 Horbovyj became head of the statehood planning commission of the OUN, which was to prepare the groundwork for the re-establishment of an independent Ukraine, which was proclaimed on June 30, 1941.

On June 22, 1941, Horbovyj replaced Gen. V. Petriv as head of the Ukrainian National Committee. This committee was responsible for issuing the 'Manifesto on the Eve of War.'

In it, its writers declared that the sole, legal ruler of Ukraine is the Ukrainian nation and it is entitled to its own independent, sovereign state.

For disseminating the manifesto, the Nazis arrested him and imprisoned him in the Polish Monte Lupich prison in Krakow on July 7, 1941. He was released on July 14, 1942, in very poor health.

He re-settled to Prague, where the local police arrested him in 1949 and turned Horbovyj over to the NKVD — Peoples Commissariat for Internal Affairs (forerunner of the KGB — ed.). Soviet Russian authorities sentenced him to 25 years of hard labour in a concentration camp.

Horbovyj soon earned the reputation of being the unofficial president of a fighting Ukraine. Together with the then Archbishop Josyf Slipyj and the late Mychaylo Soroka, Horbovyj was among the most outstanding Ukrainian political prisoners of the 1950s and 1960s.

Despite his poor health, Horbovyj survived the concentration camp and on August 1, 1972, he was allowed to return to his native village of Obolonia.

As further punishment, Soviet authorities denied him social welfare assistance and refused to let him go abroad for eye surgery.

In eulogizing Horbovyj, the OUN leadership said: "Despite suffering and persecution, the late Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj proudly defended his national and human dignity and the idea of rebuilding an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state. He died in the 85th year of his heroic life. He will assume a principal place in the pantheon of undaunted fighters and heroes of the Ukrainian national revolution. The Ukrainian nation will always pride itself with its great sons, such as the late Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj".

ISRAELI PATRIOTS PAY HOMAGE TO THE LATE VOLODYMYR HORBOVYJ

(UCIS) The Ukrainian Central Information Service recently received a "Eulogy in Honour of the late Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyj", one of the most prominent members of the revolutionary OUN and Deputy Head of the Ukrainian Government. This "Eulogy" came from the 'Research Centre of Prisons, Psychiatric Prisons and Concentration Camps

of Forced Labour in the USSR' in Israel, whose director is Avraham Shifrin, a well-known anti-communist activist and a good friend of Ukraine. The members of this Research Centre are former Jewish political prisoners, who spent long years of imprisonment together with Ukrainian political prisoners, with whom they shared the same fate and who, to this day, have remained loyal friends of Ukraine and sympathizers of Ukraine's strive to freedom and sovereignty.

* * *

"To my friends and to all those who hold dear a free Ukraine without communists!

I am addressing you after having just learnt of the death of one of your heroes and my good friend, Volodymyr Horbovyj.

I was not acquainted with Volodymyr Horbovyj at the time of his self-sacrificing political activity and struggle for an independent Ukraine, but first got to know him only after his arrest. Together we spent ten years in Soviet concentration camps in which we had been incarcerated by the communists.

In spite of the terrible conditions in the camps, Volodymyr Horbovyj was an exemplar in his behaviour to all the other political prisoners: honesty, care for others, even if it meant putting himself at risk, discretion, human dignity and courage — were all characteristic features of his behaviour. His authority was accepted among the thousands of Ukrainian prisoners for whom his views and words were law.

He made use of his own particular situation by doing all he could in keeping up the strength of Ukrainian fighters in their future struggle for a free Ukraine.

In the concentration camps, the KGB organs continuously conducted a policy of provocation, the result of which led to inflamed national hatred and set prisoners against one another — Russian prisoners against Ukrainian, and vice versa; Baltic prisoners against Chechens; Chechens against Ukrainians and Russians; and all of them together, against the Jewish prisoners.

It was in these conditions, when every such provocation always ended up in bloodshed and in the further execution of prisoners — 'agents provocateurs' that Volodymyr Horbovyj put in a great effort in explaining the necessity of and created a unity of friendship among all the political prisoners and a joint resistance to the KGB murderers, who were responsible for effectuating Soviet rule in the camps.

I observed Volodymyr Horbovyj's work and took part in it myself whenever possible.

I will never forget the Christmas and Easter gatherings of the Ukrainian prisoners to which Volodymyr Horbovyj always invited representatives from all of the other nationalities, who were also incarcerated in the camp; and we, in turn, following his example, invited him and other friends to our Jewish festivals.

When I was translating Uris's "Exodus" from English into Russian, for which I could have received an additional 10 years of imprisonment (being the strongest work at the time that instigated the Jews to a national uprising), Volodymyr Horbovyj immediately arranged for it to be translated into Ukrainian, telling me: "The struggle of the Jewish nation for the independence of their country should serve as an example to us, Ukrainians, in our own struggle for an independent Ukraine and that is why I wish for this book to be read by Ukrainians, too".

Volodymyr Horbovyj was always instructing Ukrainian freedom-fighters, who were being released from the camp, how to open up the eyes of the Ukrainian populace to the necessity of a struggle to achieve an independent Ukraine.

Today, we can see that under his leadership, this vital work has achieved positive results. The whole of Ukraine, today, is totally inspired by the ideas of a national liberation struggle; all strata of the population and moreover, the intelligentsia — the elite of the Ukrainian nation, — are fighting against Soviet Russian rule and against its policy of russification in Ukraine.

Volodymyr Horbovyj was a man of great courage and determination and was even prepared to escape from the camp in order to head the Ukrainian underground movement in exceptionally difficult conditions. In 1960, we both tried to escape. I, personally, noticed his hardiness and heroism. Here was a man, somewhat older in years and blind in one eye, taking a great risk in attempting to escape with men much younger than he.

The Soviet Russian authorities and the KGB often tried to break the tough spirit of Volodymyr Horbovyj. I can remember the years I spent together with him, hungry and cold, on the plank beds in the special prisons of extremely harsh conditions, namely, "Ozerlaha" and "Dubrovlaha".

His enemies, however, also tried to break the spirit of this fighter, using other means. For example, he was often taken from his place of imprisonment to Ukraine, where he was shown "Potomkin villages" and the "happy life in Ukraine" — a Ukraine, which had several times been destroyed by starvation, artificially created by the Soviet Russian authorities to be used as a weapon to subjugate the people.

On these trips, he was promised all the comforts of a quiet life, a professional career in Kyiv and full security. All that was asked of him was to sign an appeal to the Ukrainian people condemning the ideas of nationalism and the struggle for an independent Ukraine! However, Horbovyj invariably chose to return to the camp, rather than betray his country.

Volodymyr Horbovyj was a man of iron: unyielding and impossible to be forced to bow before his enemies.

That is why they finished him off: after 25 years of incarceration in concentration camps and prisons, he was exiled to a life of hunger, a life without the most basic means of human existence. He was also refused a visa to live with his son in Czecho-Slovakia.

And now he is no longer among us. His body lies buried, but his spirit calls out to Ukraine to rise and fight for freedom.

Therefore, let freedom come to Ukraine and may it remain an eternal monument to a valiant fighter who strove for its freedom — to Volodymyr Horbovyj!

Avraham Shifrin

Israel, 3.7.1984.

MAESTRO HRYHORIY KYTASTYJ DIES

The composer, artistic director and conductor of the “Taras Shevchenko Bandurist Ensemble” in Detroit, Hryhoriy Trochymovych Kytastyj, passed away on April 6th 1984 at the age of 77, after having devoted his whole life to the kobza and its artistic development.

The deceased was born into a poor family on 17.1.1907 in the Poltava region. In 1927 he entered the Poltava Music Academy to study vocal and choral music, where he also became acquainted with the opera and theatre and the works of various choral ensembles.

It was in Poltava that his burning desire to “become a kobza player and to spend his time with the bandura players” became inflamed. In 1935, he became a member of the Kyiv Bandurist Ensemble, which eventually joined up with the Poltava Ensemble.

The late H. Kytastyj managed to survive the terror of Stalin’s and Hitler’s era together with his Bandurist Ensemble. In 1942 the Germans deported the “T. Shevchenko Bandurist Ensemble” to a detention camp in Hamburg.

After the war, the Bandurist Ensemble developed an extensive musical activity in the diaspora thanks to the efforts and hard work of the late H. Kytastyj.

ANDRIY BANDERA DIES

On July 19, 1984, Andriy Bandera, son of the former leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), Stepan Bandera, died suddenly at the age of 37 in Toronto, Canada.

Andriy Bandera was born on May 16, 1946 in Munich. He was an active member of OUN, a prominent public and political activist, a leading member of the Ukrainian Liberation Front and the spirit and soul of mass demonstrations and actions in defence of Ukraine, especially in defence of political and religious prisoners. He was an indefatigable participant and organizer of hunger strikes, staged in solidarity with imprisoned political and cultural activists in Ukraine.

The deceased was an exceptionally kind-hearted man, always willing to help people in need or in trouble, and to assist in the success of his compatriots. He had a talent for external-political affairs and for external-political

activity in general. He was a talented journalist, especially in writing for the English-speaking public. He was editor of *Ukrainian Echo*, the English supplement to *Homin Ukrainy*. The deceased was a man of a firm and resolute character, and during hunger-strikes for the release of political prisoners, held out the longest, even at the risk of his own health.

The death of his father was a great shock to him and affected all of his later life. He always longed to come back to Europe, where his father lies buried. The death of his mother did not help in diminishing the grief of this sensitive and subtle man. He found peace in his altruistic help for others and for his three children and wife.

His sudden and unexpected death cut short all of his hopes and dreams. The Ukrainian community has lost yet another patriot and idealist, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist — a young fighter, his family — a father, husband and brother.

The funeral took place on July 23, 1984 in Toronto.

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ABN Correspondence

BULLETIN OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS

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Book Reviews

Joseph T. Fuhman, *Tsar Alexis. His Reign and his Russia*, Gulf Breeze, Florida: Academic International Press, 1981, viii, 250 pages. Illustrations, map, \$15.00.

Professor Fuhman, author of *The Origins of Capitalism in Russia, Industry and Progress in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Chicago, 1972) is very well acquainted with contemporary sources of the tsar Alexis period. The bibliography is impressive and although there are no footnotes, the author often refers to the sources in the text.

In his introduction, the author indicates that his book is "a biography of tsar Alexis (1645-1676) for people who like to read about interesting people." He covers the major events of the tsar's reign, such as his family life, the idea of Moscow as the "Third Rome", Nikon's reforms and his conflict with the tsar, the alliance with hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky and war with Poland, the reforms, Stenka Rasin's uprising, the struggle between the Miloslavskys and Naryshkins families.

Dr. Fuhman also provides many details of every day life in the seventeenth century in Russia. He describes not only interesting but also quite amusing customs in details using memoirs and reports of contemporary foreign eyewitnesses such as: Greek Deacon Paul of Alepo (1654-1656), the German diplomat Adam Olearius (1599-1671), the Scottish officer in Russian service, Patrick Gordon (1635-1699), Alexis' English physician, Samuel Collins (1659-1666), Johann van Horn, the tsar's representative in Lübeck, the Swedish diplomat in Moscow, Johann de Rodes, and others.

For example: according to Deacon Paul of Alepo, "...Russians of every class surpass even the saints in the number of their prayers," (p. 33). On the other hand, the same Russians could be cruel and crude. For instance, Olearius describes how Russians killed a secretary of the *Duma*, Nazary Christyi. He writes:

... The enraged people dragged Christyi from his hiding place and beat him mercilessly. In the words of the English translation of an anonymous Dutch eyewitness account, 'the man being halfe dead, they hauled him down the stayres by the heeles, dragged him like a dog over the whole court, and having stripped him, they flung him starck naked upon a dunghill, and there they put him quite to death.' Christyi's features were shattered beyond recognition . . . (pp. 19-20).

There are many examples of such cruel scenes.

Dr. Fuhman writes that in Alexis' time, the West European visitors were "amazed about public drunkenness, sexual looseness and the generally coarse tone of life." Quoting Olearius, the author writes:

... monks and priests as well as people of every class drank enormous quantities of vodka, and then sprawled drunkenly on streets and town squares. The people quarrelled constantly . . . on their tongue were such words as "dog," "Sob," and worse.

These expressions were used not only by old people but also by little children (p. 36).

About the "good manners" of Russians, Olearius observed, writes the author, that

even among the upper class "after a meal, they do not refrain, in the presence and hearing of all, from releasing what nature produces for and aft . . . Perhaps against their will, these good people fart and belch noisily. . ." (p. 36).

In the seventeenth century there was not a single university in Russia and "most priests could not even attend the few poor seminaries," writes Dr. Fuhrman (p. 37). (Even fifty years later, the English envoy to Moscow, Charles Lord Whitworth, (1704-1711), remarked in his memoirs that the Russian "parish Priests and Chaplains are very ignorant, their utmost education being to repeat the service with a musical Accent and to read a Chapter in the Bible . . . their Monks and dignified Clergy though, almost equally ignorant, except some educated at Coiff" (Kyiv), *An Account of Russia as it was in the Year 1710*, Strawberry Hill, 1758, pp. 40, 46). The author mentions that the Russians "imported" Ukrainian scholars from the Kyivan *Academia* founded (1632) by Petro Mohyla, Metropolitan of Ukraine. The *Academia* "was a true centre of higher learning" and ". . . Ukrainian scholars could then bring their learning to Moscow" (pp. 37-8).

Using the memoirs of Olearius, Dr. Fuhrman describes the attitude of Russians towards foreigners in Russian service as very hostile. Russians considered them as "unbaptized pagans" and treated them accordingly. This hostility was expressed in the Code of Law (*sobornoye oolozheniye*) of 1649. For example, the law forbade Russians to serve foreigners as domestics. In 1652 the Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church provided punishment for both foreigners and Russian domestics if caught serving them. For the first offence the offenders were beaten by sticks; whipping came for the second offence, and for the third one a stiffer lashing followed, after which both ears were cut off (p. 49). Foreign churches were forbidden in Moscow. Foreigners could worship in their churches built outside of Moscow (*Nemetskaya Sloboda*). Very often foreigners were forced to convert to the Russian Orthodox Church as was the case with Alexander Lesley, an elderly Scottish general in the Russian Service (p. 50), or "voluntarily" baptized in the Russian Orthodox Church as was the case with Lady Hamilton, a daughter of a Scottish officer in Russian Service, (p. 194-5). Furthermore, as the Swedish diplomat in Moscow, Johann de Rodes, reported in March 1652 "unbaptized foreigners were threatened with the loss of their estates" unless they agree to convert to the Russian Orthodox Church (p. 50). In October 1652 the tsar "decreed that all non-baptized foreigners were to vacate their houses in Moscow" and move to *Nemetskaya Sloboda*, (p. 51). In general, foreigners were "dressed in a distinctive way and most were removed from unnecessary contact with Russians," (p. 51).

During the Russo-Polish war, "the Russian troops customarily tortured their prisoners," and a Scottish officer by the name Butler was "hung on an iron hook for not fighting satisfactorily," (pp. 61-2). No wonder, as reported by de Rodes, most of the foreign officers at this point wanted to flee Russia," (p. 50). A short review cannot cover every detail, but these few examples speak for themselves.

The American reader of Ukrainian descent may be interested in the account of the uprising of the Ukrainian people against Poland under Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Hetman Commander-in-chief of the autonomous Ukrainian Cossack Republic or the Hetmanstate and his alliance with the tsar concluded in Pereyaslav 1654. The author however did not discuss this important agreement, which changed the map of Eastern Europe.

According to Dr. Fuhrman, Khmelnytsky purposely did not go to Moscow in order to avoid appearance before the tsar as a humble subject. The Hetman "secretly hoped somehow to gain independence for the Ukraine and Bielorussia" (p. 60).

Indeed, because Khmelnytsky was unable to drive the Poles from Ukraine, he was forced to seek alliance with Moscow. Moscow was eager to establish a protectorate over Ukraine and when Khmelnytsky was notified about the Russian decision, he designated the city of Pereyaslav, where he was met by the Russian delegation, which was supposed to administer an oath of loyalty. On January 18, 1654 the public ceremony took place. Khmelnytsky placed before the Cossack assembly the tsar's offer of protection which was received by acclamation. The head of the Russian delegation, Vassilii Buturlin handed the Hetman the charter from the tsar and asked that the whole assembly should take the solemn oath of allegiance to the tsar. When Khmelnytsky requested Buturlin to swear in the name of the tsar that Russia would not surrender Ukraine to Poland, would defend the country from its enemies and would respect the privileges and rights of all classes of the Ukrainian people, the Russian envoy refused to do it. He stated that the tsar was an autocrat, who ruled according to his own will and neither made pledges nor took oath to his subjects, because his word was sufficient. In order to avoid breaking off negotiations, the assembly took the oath of allegiance to the tsar. Some high ranking officers refused to take the oath altogether.

After Buturlin's departure, the Ukrainian Cossack Government elaborated a draft of the terms of the treaty and sent two envoys to Moscow, where after two weeks of negotiations it was accepted by the tsar. According to the terms of this treaty the tsar promised to guarantee that:

1. Ukrainian Army was to consist of 60,000 Cossacks.
2. The rights and liberties of the Ukrainian people were to be maintained and respected.
3. The state offices should be held by the Ukrainians.
4. The Hetman was to be elected by the Cossacks and only notify the tsar of his election.
5. The Hetman was to be permitted to carry on international diplomatic relations, except with Poland and the Ottomans.
6. All the Cossack judges were to be free to perform their duties without interference, (M. Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, New Haven: Yale University Press. 1941, pp. 294-6).

The text of the treaty of Pereyaslav (it actually should be called the treaty of Moscow) was so vague that the Russians and the Ukrainians interpreted it differently. The tsar "taking Ukraine under his high hand" turned the protectorate into an annexation to Russia. Khmelnytsky and his associates considered the tsar's protection as a temporary military alliance to win the war with Poland, (D. Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian History*, ed. by O.W. Gerus, Winnipeg, 1975, pp. 231-57; Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, pp. 293-7).

At that time protectorate status was a very common condition even for such countries as Holland under Spain, Prussia under Poland, Livonia and Estonia under Sweden, and the Balkan countries under Turkey. Although the Ukrainian Military Republic or the Hetmanstate was a protectorate, nevertheless, as the German historian Hans Schumann observed in his dissertation, the Hetmanstate had its own territory, people, specifically democratic system of government, and military forces, namely the Cossacks, so that the creator of this Ukrainian Military Republic, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, was *de facto* an independent ruler, (H. Schumann, *Der Hetmanstaat 1654-1764*, Breslau, 1936, p. 4. (The text of this dissertation is also published in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, (1936), Vol. I, pp. 499-548).

Since the Russian troops in the Ukraine were more reminiscent of a punitive ex-

pedition (for example, Russians soldiers pillaged the churches in the city of Mohyliv, p. 62), than of allied troops, consequently Khmelnytsky's successor, hetman Ivan Vyhovsky, decided to break with Moscow (1658) and the author for some reason considers this "treason," (p. 194).

In summary Professor Fuhrman has given a very good synthesis of historical developments of the tsar Alexis' reign, but does not provide new material in his book. In addition, one can find a somewhat one-sided picture of Alexis. There are also a few isolated inaccuracies: It is very doubtful that the Russian patriarch placing his hand on Alexis' bowed head would have said: ". . . Show him a scrupulous observer of the commandments of the Holy Catholic Church," (p. 11). Vassili Buturlin and not Artaman Matveyev (p. 60) was head of the Russian delegation to Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky in Pereyaslav. (A. Matveyev was one of the delegates, cf. M. Hrushevskij, *Istoria Ukrainy-Rusy*, Vol. IX, part 1, p. 649). The name of the wife of the False Demetrius was Marina Mniszek instead of Mniszech (p. 13) and the name of the patriarch of Moscow was Iow (Hiob) instead of Job (p. 40).

Finally, it should be said that Professor Fuhrman's book must be judged for what it is — a monography in which the author has been able to achieve both depth and interest for a professional as well as for a non professional reader.

Theodore Mackiw —
The University of Akron

THE UKRAJINOZNAVSTVO YEARBOOK 1983

The last *Ukrajinoznavstvo Yearbook* in German was published in 1983, through the efforts of the Executive Committee of the House of Science. Simultaneously, it is the 20th edition of *Reports* which were printed between 1965 and 1981, entitled *Mittelungen. Ukrajinosnavstvo Yearbook* is actually the most important source of information about Ukrainian matters in the German language. Every edition is sent to different libraries, universities, Slavic institutes and to individuals in 27 countries around the world.

An article, written by L. Vynar, on the occasion of the 65th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence by the Ukrainian National Republic, is included in the new Yearbook. This article discusses Mychajlo Hrushevskij's two autobiographies, honouring the founder of the UNR (Ukrainian National Republic) on the 50th anniversary of his death. In addition, there are articles by: A. Zhukovsky about the establishment of the Ukrainian Academy of Teaching in 1918; J. Kuchurovdkyj, about the Ukrainian insurgent struggle between 1918 and 1924; W. Kosyk about the "Artificial Famine" in Ukraine in 1933; G. Stadtmüller about V. Kubijovich's new publication — "Ethnic groups of Southwestern Ukraine (Halychyna) on 1.1.1939 with an Ethnographic Map; two studies — T. Matskiv about Ivan Mazepa and B. Tsiutsiura about Halychyna's Parliament.

Articles by I. Kachurovskij about Ukrainian Parnassism and Y. Slavutych about W. Stuś are included in the literature section. H. Waśkowycz writes about the educational system in Ukraine during the first decade of Soviet-Russian occupation. S. Hordynskij wrote an article on Ukrainian art about the sculptor and graphic artist, W. Wasiutko. The article is illustrated with Wasiutko's artistic medallions picturing

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**UKRAINIAN
REVIEW**



IV

1984

THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine

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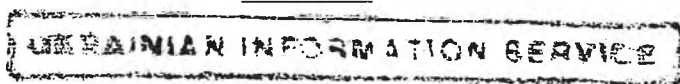
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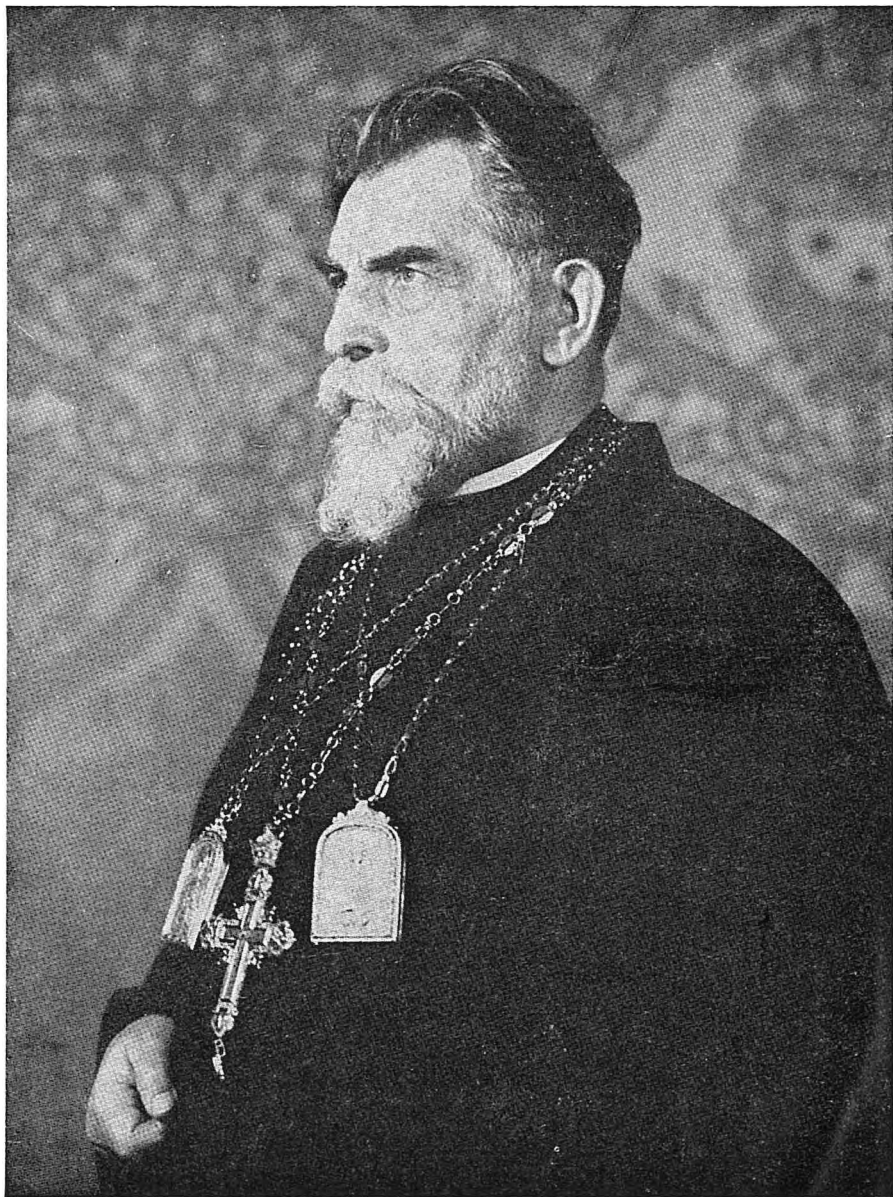
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His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf

Stephen OLESKIW

PATRIARCH JOSYF SLIPYJ

Confessor of the Faith

This year Ukrainians throughout the whole world have suffered a great loss. For on 7th September, 1984, His Beatitude Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, Head and Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, died in Rome, aged 92.

Patriarch Josyf was a man of strong character and unbending loyalty — a staunch defender of the faith. On account of this he suffered 18 years of imprisonment in Russian prison camps but continued, throughout his life, to fight undauntedly for the rights of his Church and nation. During his 21 years in freedom, Patriarch Josyf consistently strived for the establishment of a Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its formal recognition by the Vatican.

Josyf Slipyj was born on 17th February, 1892, in the village of Zazdrist in the Ternopil region of Ukraine.

After finishing primary education in his native village, he attended secondary school in Ternopil, which he finished with distinction. On passing the necessary examinations, Josyf Slipyj entered Theological studies in Lviv, where his exceptional abilities were recognised by Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, who then sent him to Innsbruck to study Philosophy and Theology.

On completion of his studies, Josyf Slipyj was ordained by Metropolitan Sheptytsky on 30th September, 1917. After his ordination he continued with further studies in Innsbruck and later in Rome.

When Rev. Josyf returned to Western Ukraine in 1922, he was appointed Professor of Theology at the Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in Lviv, where he was to lecture on dogma. It was while working at this post that he became one of the founding members of the Theological Academic Society. Rev. Slipyj also began to edit the theological journal *Bohoslovia* (Theology), which was later to become one of the most respectable academic publications.

During his 20 years or so as lecturer on dogma, Rev. Josyf himself became one of the most prominent academics in the whole world of Theology and an authority on questions of a difficult nature on the Holy Trinity.

In addition he published many theological works and also many research studies, lectures and reports, all of which appeared in *Bohoslovia* and several other important journals.

In 1926 Rev. Josyf Slipyj was appointed rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary, and at the same time became Dean of the Theological Faculty of the Academy of Theology, whose rector he became in 1929.

As rector, Rev. Slipyj raised the standard of study at the Academy and founded an academic research centre — the Theological Study Society.

For more than 20 years Rev. Slipyj worked hand-in-hand with Metropolitan Andrey as one of his closest associates. In May 1935 he was appointed a member of the *Krylos*¹ and Archdeacon of the Metropolitan's personal entourage, and very soon after as a *mitrat*².

On 25th November, 1939, Josyf Slipyj became Archbishop of Lviv with the right of succession to the primacy of the Lviv-Halych Metropolitanate. After the chirotony, Archbishop Slipyj became the most trusted assistant of Metropolitan Andrey, who was then already ill and unable to rule effectively over his wide archdiocese in the most difficult years of the Second World War.

Archbishop Josyf Slipyj participated, along with Metropolitan Sheptytsky, in the Proclamation of the Restoration of the Ukrainian State in 1941 and took part in the proceedings of the National Assembly as an official envoy of Metropolitan Sheptytsky. Afterwards he became a leading member of the Council of Seniors.

Upon the death of Metropolitan Sheptytsky on 1st November, 1944, immediately after the re-occupation of Lviv by the Russians, Josyf Slipyj became the Metropolitan of Lviv and Halych and thus the Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

But he was unable to carry out his new duties and responsibilities for very long, for soon the Russian attack against the Ukrainian Catholic Church began in earnest. After several provocatory articles were published in the Soviet press, Metropolitan Slipyj along with the entire Ukrainian Catholic episcopate was arrested on the night of 11th April, 1945.

Soon after their arrest, an initiatory group, headed by Rev. Hawryil Kostelnyk, was organised to prepare for the "union" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. As a reaction to the arrests and the formation of this group, about 300 Ukrainian Catholic priests demanded, in a letter of protest, the release of Metropolitan Slipyj and the other bishops. This the Russian authorities did not do. Instead, in

1) The advisory and administrative body of the Lviv-Halych Metropolitanate.

2) Archpriest entitled to wear a *mitra* or mitre.

Throughout his life in exile, Patriarch Josyf continuously struggled for the realisation of a Patriarchate for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The idea of a Ukrainian Patriarchate is not a new one. It goes back some 400 years in Ukrainian history to the late 16th century — the time of the Union with Rome. Historically, in the Eastern Churches neither popes nor Ecumenical Councils created patriarchates of the various particular churches. They were always the fruit of the Christian maturity of each particular church. In the Ukrainian Church, the Metropolitans of Kyiv had always ruled over the Church as if they were patriarchs, making full use of patriarchal powers and rights, although they did not bear the official title. These are strong historical precedents and, in fact, the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church has become a living reality with the acceptance of the title of Patriarch in 1975 by Josyf Cardinal Slipyj during the Holy Mass in the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome, at the request of the synods of Ukrainian bishops and the wishes of the Ukrainian clergy and faithful. The Ukrainian Catholic Church has ably demonstrated its profound Christian awareness and maturity over the years, as well as its deep faith in God, and thus even under these considerations it deserves, and is entitled to, a patriarchal crown to give it its full status.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is a Uniate Church of the Byzantine rite in communion with Rome. As such, since its creation, it has always, been a hindrance to the Patriarchate of Moscow and to the Russian authorities. Attempts have been made to destroy its existence not only by the Communist Russians but throughout the entire Tsarist period as well. It was, however, not until the final annexation of Western Ukraine by the Russians after the Second World War that its official open existence became terminated in 1945 and 1946 with the arrest of the then Metropolitan Slipyj and the entire Ukrainian episcopate, and the enforced “union” with the Russian Orthodox Church. The genuine Ukrainian Churches, both Catholic and Orthodox, were compelled to carry on their existence in the catacombs.

In times of crisis and danger leading Ukrainian personalities have always seen the importance of the patriarchate and its unifying value for the people. For instance, in the 17th century Metropolitans Mohyla and Rutsky tried to restore the unity of the Church and save it from destruction by uniting the whole people on the strong basis of a patriarchate.

Because of the secret existence in Ukraine and throughout the Soviet Union of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which is under constant threat of destruction, and also through the lack of a central governing body of the various dioceses and exarchates of the Church in the free world, there is a constant danger of complete disintegration and demise of the whole Ukrainian Catholic Church. Herein lies the great importance of the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the main reason for His Beatitude Josyf's consistent striving for its establishment.

He accepted the title of Patriarch to ensure the continued existence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church both in Ukraine and in the free world. But he accepted the title in expectation that it would soon be formally recognised by the Vatican. However, even though the churchmen of Rome have always realised the soundness and rightfulness of the idea of a Ukrainian patriarchate, they have consistently refused to grant Patriarch Josyf his wish and recognise it through purely political motives.

Pope Paul VI initiated a rapprochement and co-existence with the state-controlled Patriarchate of Moscow and with the Kremlin, as part of his policy to improve the lot of the Catholics in the Soviet Union by quiet diplomacy — the so-called *Ostpolitik*. Fearing Moscow's unfavourable reaction, the Ukrainian patriarchate was consistently refused by successive popes. Thus, the deal made by Pope John XXIII with Moscow to keep Patriarch Josyf in a low profile, if he was released, has been continued until this day, and the patriarchate, although it is in fact in existence through historical precedent of past practice, has been denied to the Ukrainian Catholic Church up till the death of Patriarch Josyf.

*

Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, Primate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, died in the late morning hours of Friday, 7th September, 1984. Hundreds of mourners from around the world immediately began to gather in Rome to pay their last respects as the remains of Patriarch Josyf lay in state in the Cathedral of St. Sofia. Among the mourners was Pope John Paul II, who arrived at the Cathedral to pay his last respects before his departure to Canada.

Services were continually conducted at the shrine throughout the week before the funeral by the many priests who had arrived in Rome from all over the world.

On Wednesday, 12th September, a funeral service was held with the participation of members of the Ukrainian Catholic hierarchy, led by Archbishop Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky, the designated Successor to the late Patriarch. Members of the hierarchy and clergy of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church as well as the Roman Catholic Church were also present. Following the service, a papal representative read a biographical outline of the Patriarch extolling his virtues and accomplishments. This document was then signed by all of the bishops present and placed in a capsule, which was subsequently laid in the coffin. The coffin was then sealed.

On Thursday, 13th September, a Solemn Pontifical Liturgy was celebrated in front of the Cathedral to allow all mourners, who numbered over a thousand, to participate. Present were many representatives of the many Ukrainian organisations, among them the Prime Minister of Free Ukraine and leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Yaroslav Stetsko;

the President of the Ukrainian National Council in exile, Mykola Livytsky; and the representatives of different political parties.

During the four-hour service, which involved the participation of more than 70 priests, the eulogy was delivered by the Patriarch's Successor, Archbishop Myroslav Lubachivsky. Archbishop Myroslav Marusyn, Secretary of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches, spoke in Italian. The Pontiff's personal representative, Cardinal Carlo Confalonieri also delivered an eulogy and later administered the final absolution.

At the end of the Service the coffin bearing the earthly remains of Patriarch Josyf was carried in a solemn procession around the cathedral and then into the crypt of St. Sofia where Patriarch Josyf Slipyj was laid to eternal rest.

Patriarch Josyf left a final pastoral Testament for the Ukrainian people in which he details his life-long struggle outlining the goals he had set for himself as well as for the entire Ukrainian nation. This historic document was written over a period of eleven years, beginning in 1970, and was finally signed by the Patriarch on the eve of the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Most Pure Virgin Mary in 1981. In a very moving moment this important document was read out by Very Rev. Ivan Choma during the Liturgy on 13th September.

*

May the memory of Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, a great spiritual and national leader, a great patriot, and a loving father of the whole Ukrainian nation, remain among us all in perpetuity!



*His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf Lying in state.
Cathedral of St. Sofia, Rome*

T E S T A M E N T

OF HIS BEATITUDE PATRIARCH JOSYF

J O S Y F
PATRIARCH OF KYIV, HALYCH AND OF THE WHOLE
OF RUS'

TO OUR CHILDREN IN CHRIST, TO THE BISHOPS, PRIESTS,
MEN AND WOMEN OF THE MONASTIC ORDERS, AND
TO ALL THE FAITHFUL OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC
CHURCH, PEACE IN THE LORD AND OUR PATRIARCHAL
BLESSING!

“In a little while the world will see me no longer...” (John 14, 19). “A little while, and you see me no more...” (John 16, 16). For “a time is coming when I shall no longer use figures of speech” (John 16, 25). Whilst leaving this world after a life of some 90 years or so, “sitting on the sleigh”¹, as our ancestors used to say, I pray for you, my spiritual flock, and for the whole Ukrainian nation, whose son I am and which I have tried to serve throughout my life, with the words of the farewell Archipastoral prayer of Our Lord Jesus Christ. For He is to us all and to the whole world “the way..., the truth... and life” (John 14, 6).

Therefore making my way to the eternal world, I beseech the Heavenly Father to glorify His Son among you so that you may come to perceive Him, “who alone is truly God, and Jesus Christ whom He has sent” (John 17, 3), and that He may “give you another to be your Advocate, who will be with you for ever — the Spirit of truth. The world cannot receive Him, because the world neither sees nor knows Him; but you know Him, because He dwells with you and is in you” (John 14, 16-17).

Together with my prayer saying farewell to this world and to all of you, my dear children in Christ, I leave you, as is commanded by our ancient holy Christian faith, with my fatherly pastoral Testament!

1) Taken from Volodymyr Monomakh, Grand Prince of Rus': “Instructions to the Children” (in *Polnoe Sobranie Ruskikh Letopesei*, Vol. I, St. Petersburg, 1910), and refers to the ancient tradition of Kyivan Rus' that the dead were borne to their place of burial on a sleigh.

“Guard yourself against the breakdown of your faith...” (compare with John 16, 1), and “set your troubled hearts at rest. Trust in God always...” (John 14, 1).

And this is my most important commandment to you: “Love one another...” (John 15, 12, 17), with a love over which there is no greater, “that a man should lay down his life for his friends...” (John 15, 13).

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It was this love for Christ, the love for the Holy Church, which is His Holy Sacrament, the love for my own Ukrainian Church, which is a valuable part of the ecumenical Christian Family, the love for my own Ukrainian nation, with its spiritual and material treasures of universal significance, that marked out the industrious path of my life, my thoughts and all my work both in freedom and in captivity.

Throughout my entire life I have been a servant of Christ, and so I remain upon leaving this world.

In the first place, I had already in my youth become His voluntary servant! For I was born and raised in a Ukrainian Christian and deeply-believing rural family. It handed down and instilled inside me a faith in Christ and a love for Him! Therefore today, when about to meet my family again in the next world “where there is neither pain nor sorrow, but everlasting life”, I pray for them with the gratitude of a son! For parents and a Christian family form the basis of a healthy society, a strong people and nation, and serve as the security of their growth and strength. And thus I command you to preserve in the Ukrainian nation the true Christian family, and where it has been shaken, to restore it as the inextinguishable hearth of the life and well-being of the Church and Nation!

I was also a voluntary servant of Christ when my love for Him drove me onto the path of study and research, and urged me to dedicate my life to academic work. I am indebted to God’s Work that He set this spark alight inside me in my childhood, and to my older brother Roman for becoming the instrument of God’s Work, for he began to educate me, then a boy of 5, and it was due to this that I was able to read and write even before I started to attend school, and it was that native school that kindled the spark of the love for learning. Through this love for knowledge and study I continued to be a voluntary servant of Christ when, having realised the call to the religious order, I made the decision to serve Christ.

The Christian family and our own native Ukrainian School are the necessary prerequisites for the proper upbringing of our future generations!

Therefore I command you to revive these institutions and save them from decay, both in Ukraine and in all countries where Ukrainian people have settled!

In my vocation to serve Christ through the ecclesiastical order I can clearly see the Hand of God. Being aware of the voice of the Lord in my summons to serve Him and all the while being supported by the Hand of the Lord, I rejoiced that, throughout the few decades of the best years of my life, I was able to work as a voluntary servant of Christ, both as an academician and in my research on the greatest revealed Sacrament — the Triple Existence of God, and especially the Third Person of God represented in the Holy Trinity — the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, the Consoler and the Giver of Life, who is present everywhere and who dwells invisibly both in us and in the Church of Christ².

Inspired by His grace, I served my native Church in the posts designated to me by the Head and Father of our Church, the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey, firstly as professor and rector of the Ecclesiastical Seminary and the Academy of Theology and most recently as the founder of the Ukrainian Catholic University here in Rome...

As one who became a voluntary servant of Christ, I served Ukrainian theological study, once so prominent, and tried to raise it from ruins and to restore it, in the awareness that knowledge is one of the corner-stones and pillars of the rebirth and strength of the people, and that theological study is the evangelical testament of Christ: "Go forth therefore and make all nations my disciples..." (Matthew 28, 19). Learning forms "the basis of the Church in our nation"; through its academic and training institutions, the Church is the "teacher of the people", for through it "the individual becomes the more enriched the more he becomes instilled with the concept which embraces both heaven and earth, time and eternity, history and the present, and both the heart and the mind..."³

Reflecting in this way on the meaning and value of knowledge, when about to face eternity which for certain draws ever nearer to me, I command you: Get to love learning, tender it lovingly and enrich it with your work and knowledge; become its servants and serve it well! Erect the shrines of learning, the hearths of the spiritual strength of our Church and People, and remember always that the full life of the Church and the People without our own native learning and study is impossible. Knowledge is their breath of life!

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When in 1939 the new time came for our Church to "bear the cross" and the great saint and highly-gifted scholar, the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey, called me to the post of Bishop by nominating me Exarch of Eastern "Great" Ukraine in October 1939, and in December of the same

2) Compare with the prayer Tsariu Nebesnyi (O Heavenly Father).

3) Compare with Josyf Slipyj's Address at the opening ceremony of the Academy of Theology on 6th October, 1929.

year, along with the Bishop's chirotony, nominating me his successor, I accepted these appointments as the calling of the mysterious voice of God, which, in the words of Christ, called out: "Follow me..." (John 1, 44).

During these harsh and stormy times which befell our Church, I also came to understand what it really meant to "follow Christ". For it was He who said: "Anyone who wishes to be a follower of mine must leave self behind; he must take up his cross, and come with me" (Mark 8, 34). The vocation to take up the duties of a pastor requires one to renounce oneself, to pick up the cross onto one's shoulders and to follow in the footsteps of Christ through love for Him, who also declared that "Whoever disowns me before men, I will disown him before my Father in heaven" (Matthew 10, 33).

And so, I stepped on the next thorny path of my life. And what was engraved on my pastoral coat-of-arms — "Per aspera ad astra", started to become reality. Before me, the successor of the Servant of God Andrey, and the inheritor of his spiritual heritage and legacy, now lay a long path of deprivations, bearing of the cross and testimony to Him "before men" "in this wicked and godless age..." (Mark 8, 38). God's mighty Hand guided me, a Prisoner for the sake of Christ, to testify before Christ as He had told His disciples and followers: "You will bear witness for me in Jerusalem, and all over Judea and Samaria, and away to the ends of the earth" (Acts 1, 8). But on the milestones of my life path there appeared different names. They were not Jerusalem, Judea, Samaria, but Lviv, Kyiv, Siberia, the Krasnoyarsk region, Yeniseysk, Polaria, Mordovia..., and literally on "to the ends of the earth".

I had to suffer imprisonment by night, secret court-rooms, endless interrogations and spying upon me, moral and physical maltreatment and humiliation, torture, and enforced starvation. In front of the evil interrogators and judges stood I, a helpless prisoner and "silent witness of the Church" who, wearied and both physically and psychologically exhausted, was giving testimony to his native Church, itself silent and doomed to die... And the convicted prisoner could see that ultimately he too was doomed to die once his path reached "the ends of the earth!"

As a prisoner for the sake of Christ I found strength throughout my own way of the cross in the realisation that my spiritual flock, my own native Ukrainian people, all the bishops, priests and faithful — both fathers and mothers, young children, the dedicated youth as well as the helpless old people, were walking beside me along the same path. I was not alone!

I received a superhuman endurance and some mysterious strength from the words of Christ, engraved upon my soul: "I send you out like sheep among wolves; be wary as serpents, innocent as doves.

And be on your guard, for men will hand you over to their courts, they will flog you in the synagogues, and you will be brought before governors

and kings, for my sake, to testify before them and the heathen. But when you are arrested, do not worry about what you are to say; when the time comes, the words you need will be given you; for it is not you who will be speaking: it will be the Spirit of your Father speaking in you.

Brother will betray brother to death, and the father his child; children will turn against their parents and send them to their death. All will hate you for your allegiance to me; but the man who holds out to the end will be saved..." (Matthew 10, 16-22).

As never before, the mystery of Christ's words "...you will bear witness for me..." (Acts 1, 8) revealed itself to me. To testify before Christ is to acknowledge Him before men (compare with Luke 12, 8), not to disown Him; to carry your own cross, and to suffer for Christ as well as with Him, to be prepared to face torture and even to be ready to give up your life for your friends, not fearing those who "kill the body" (Luke 12, 4), and remembering that "Whoever cares for his own safety is lost; but if a man will let himself be lost for my (Christ's) sake and for the Gospel, that man is safe. What does a man gain by winning the whole world at the cost of his true self?" (Mark 8, 35-36).

Today I thank our Lord God for granting me the favour of becoming the witness and confessor of Christ, as is commanded by Him! I thank the Lord God from the bottom of my heart that with His help I neither put to shame my country, nor my own native Church, nor myself, her humble servant and pastor...

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And so today, "sitting on the sleigh, having meditated in my soul and given praise to God, who has guided me up to this day..., sitting on the sleigh on my way into the far off distance, I say a prayer in a wearied voice"⁴ and command you, my children in Christ: Be the witnesses of Christ in Ukraine and on the territories of your free and enforced settlement, in all the countries you have come to live; in jails, prisons and concentration camps to the very ends of the earth and to the end of your earthly life! Bear witness on every continent of our unfortunate planet! Do not bring shame upon the lands of Ukraine — the land of our forefathers! Preserve in your souls the immaculate name of your Holy Church! Do not bring shame upon your own Ukrainian name, remembering the words of Christ: "I have set you an example: you are to do as I have done for you. In very truth I tell you, a servant is not greater than his master,... happy are you if you act upon it" (John 13, 15-17).

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With the help of biblical expressions and images, like in the parables, I have painted a picture of the path of my life — the path of a witness, a prisoner and a confessor, who found himself on the "edge of the earth"

4) A fuller reference to Monomakh: op. cit. (see Note 1 above).

and on the edge of his own life, face to face with death in the unbearable climatic conditions of Mordovia, in the most frightening death camp of all, where the end of my life was drawing near.

But the will of the Merciful and Almighty Providence of God was different! Unexpectedly my release was announced! Who was responsible and how this came about will perhaps one day be explained in the works of those studying the martyr's life of our Church. Whether it was the II Vatican Council with the prominent voice of our Episcopate in it, or whether it was the measures taken by Ukrainian and other sympathetic academic communities which stood up in my defence, or whether it was the momentary coming to the senses of those holding positions of power at that time, God only knows! All of those factors, however, were but tools of the Incomprehensible Work of God! Among them the petitions of the late Pope John XXIII, who was the personification of goodness, humanity, meekness and Christian love, held the most weight. Thus in filial gratitude I offer my prayers to the Lord for his glorification!

Although I was released, freedom was not granted to my own native Church! It was, therefore, my personal decision to remain on my native soil and to continue to bear the heavy cross together with my native Church as I had written while undergoing solitary confinement in Kyiv Prison: "Not even in my soul do I consider leaving Soviet Ukraine, but I just wish to attain the rights of the Greek-Catholic Church, which it already possessed in the Soviet Union until 1946, a right to which our Church is entitled on the basis of the Constitution, and one which is at present being trampled on!... I would like to stress again that I do not intend to leave at all, except perhaps under guard, as a silent witness of a silent Church".⁵

But the voice of the late Pope John XXIII called me to the Vatican Council. I regarded his voice as an order for in it I could sense the incomprehensible intention of God's Work. Was this not a call to give vivid evidence to our Church? Was this not a call to accomplish that which I could not achieve as a prisoner? And thus began the next new phase of my life, a path down which I have already wandered for about two decades. But even this path, as it quickly became clear, was not lit up by "astra" — bright stars. It was still the path trodden by a Prisoner for the sake of Christ, but this time a prisoner in a whimsical freedom...

Hoping for a swift return after the conclusion of the Vatican Council — for a return to my spiritual flock — and having done everything which my Archpastoral duties demanded of me for the security of the continuous apostolic succession in the Ukrainian Church, I arrived in Peter's capital physically exhausted but unbroken in my soul... My arrival in Rome, like

5) Extract from Writings in solitary confinement, Kyiv Prison, 33, Korolenko St., 14. 2. 1961.

my unexpected release, and the first weeks and months of my stay in Rome, initially inside the walls of the Greek monastery of the Basilian friars at Grottaferrata, and later in the Vatican, were accompanied by unexplained signs. The best description of this could be found in the speech made by Julius Andreotti, the President of the Italian Parliament, during the consecration of the Cathedral of St. Sofia on 28th September, 1969.

He said: "If the stars were meant to be proportional to the thorns which outlined your life as a priest and as Archbishop Major, then we should with certainty be able to foreknow the empirical regions as yet unknown and undescribed to us. When you arrived in Rome the wisdom, about which our descendants will speak, if it can really be called wisdom, wanted everything connected with your arrival to take place here before us, Roman Catholics, in a peculiar silence. Strange is this world of ours! For it is a world in which on many occasions people fear to give due respect to the persecuted, and in fact are driven by the desire to prevent it, lest the persecutor should take this as an urge to commit a greater evil than he has been committing up till now. We would have welcomed you with the kind of joy that the Christians of Rome welcomed St. Peter upon his release. We would have welcomed you as St. Peter, who had the presence of the Hand of God and the presence of angels about him, and who later on also established your presence here in Rome as a lasting mark..."

Julius Andreotti went on to say: "Your Eminence, in 1948 there was published a book... about the situation of Christianity in the Soviet Union. On page 282 of this book is written that 'On 11th April, 1945 several bishops were arrested: Metropolitan Slipyj, who was generally believed to be dead, was according to the latest information still alive'. And this present world which dared to accuse Pius XII of not discovering soon enough what was going on in secrecy inside the concentration camps, this very same world, after the end of the Second World War and the establishment of peace, in 1948 was still unable to know for sure whether, Your Eminence, you were already dead, or whether you were still alive. By good fortune, however, you are "dead" but one who talks, and not only one who talks, but one who creates..."

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While on my way to Rome via Vienna a pain in my soul perturbed me every time I thought of our Church and our People. All its achievements and a thousand years of effort of whole generations lay in ruins. I accepted this as God's will in deep belief that all historical achievements, including sufferings, are not in vain. I believed that our Church and our People will arise once more from the ruins. And with all my efforts I tried to find a way out of this, almost hopeless situation in order to lift up the Church and the Nation from ruin, and revive them. Once again I had to begin my work of revival from the very roots of the problem, from its basis. The basis I recognised to be learning, prayer, work and the pious Christian way of life.

As a silent and once again voluntary Prisoner for the sake of Christ, I rejoiced that with God's help, and thanks to the sacrifices of the whole Ukrainian people of God, especially the lay community, and my own humble effort, there arose the Ukrainian Catholic University — the hearth of learning, the Cathedral of St. Sofia — the mark and symbol of the indestructibility of God's shrine on earth, a place of prayer, the Monastery of the Studite Order — an eternally-burning flame and islet of Christian righteousness and the monasticism and piety of the Christians of the Eastern rite!

Therefore, having glanced upon these hearths, these marks and symbols, I once more command you:

Because atheism is now the official doctrine in Ukraine and in all countries of the Communist world, save the Ukrainian Catholic University, for it is the forge in which the new generations of priests and lay apostles of Christ, the fighters for truth and for learning free from coercion, have to study and be brought up!

Let the Ukrainian Catholic University, with its branches in the countries where you have settled, be an example for you, and an impulse to new and further research, academic and educational work! Remember always a nation which does not know, or which forgets, its past and the spiritual treasures which it holds, will die and disappear from the face of the earth. Native learning creates the wings on which a nation flies to the tops of maturity among the nations of the world!

And when you visit the Cathedral of St. Sofia on a pilgrimage as to your own native Temple, and look upon it and offer your prayers to God inside it, remember that I leave this Cathedral for you as a mark and symbol of the destroyed and desecrated shrines of God in Ukraine, among them the most important witnesses of our ancestral Christianity, the Cathedrals of St. Sofia in Kyiv and St. George in Lviv! Let this Cathedral of St. Sofia act for you as a symbol of the revival and the erection of new shrines on our native soil and an encouragement to raise shrines of God in the places of your abode! But, above all, let the Cathedral of St. Sofia be the leading symbol for you, and a witness of the Cathedral of the Living Ukrainian Souls, a holy place of prayer and liturgical Sacrifice for those already dead, for those living, and for those who are not yet born! I beseech God that He may protect the Cathedral of the Souls of the Future Ukrainian Generations!

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In his project to renew the piety of the eastern rite Christianity, the Servant of God Andrey laid the foundations for the revival and growth of monastic life on the basis of the Statutes of St. Theodore Studite. His own brother, the late Abbot Clement, suffering and meek confessor of the faith, worked untiringly in this field. I took over the heritage of both these pious brothers in order to carry out their pleas, made upon sensing the approach of death,

to save the Monastic Order of Studites. The Lord God helped me to fulfil their wishes. In Ukraine the Studite Order increased in size, despite the various blows made against it, and among the Alban Hills a Studite Monastery grew up with an Archimandrite at its head. And now even in far off lands the hearths of the Studite islets flicker.

The Studite Monastery and its daughter houses will gather in those who, having abandoned the worldly life through love for Christ and His Holy Church, go to serve the world in prayer and dedication, by renouncing it. They go to serve it not as selfish or weak-spirited fugitives of the world, but as untiring workers and those who pray for the whole world, for their own Church and for their own People... All who gather in the islands of monastic life become those who preserve and carve out their native Ukrainian Christian spirituality, which reveals itself in the Holy Liturgy, in the purity of the rite, in the eastern-rite Christian theological thought and monastic life on the model of the ancient eastern Christian piety. They also suffer together with those who stand in battle with the evil world, and by the life they lead they become an inspiration for ecclesiastical vocations to serve the native Church!

It was the wish of the Servant of God Andrey, and it is also my plea, as the inheritor of his legacy, that all our monastic Orders and Communities, whose significance and work for the good of the soul no one underestimates, should compete amongst themselves not for influence and power or to be revered by people, but to compete in the growth of their individual sanctity and in the earnest and honest service of Christ and our native Ukrainian Church. Therefore I beseech all the monks and nuns: Do not be ashamed of what is yours. Treasure your spiritual heritage! For our spiritual heritage is both so precious and so abundant! It does not deserve to be scorned! "Do not give dogs what is holy; do not feed your pearls to pigs: they will only trample on them, and turn and tear you to pieces (Matthew 7, 6). Let our spiritual heritage penetrate your souls and light a fire in your hearts to preserve and cultivate it! Upon this heritage consecrate your souls with the grace and gift of the Holy Ghost!

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At the time of my arrival in Rome the II Vatican Council was taking place. As in past centuries, from the time of the First Apostolic Council in Jerusalem, the Council is a convention of the Archipastors of Christ's Church, who bear witness of the faith and life of the Churches assigned to their teachings and pastoral services. The Fathers of the Council testify before the Church and before the entire world.

Aware of the prime importance of such a testimony, I spoke in my Speech to the Fathers of the Council on 11th October, 1963, not of my own testimony, which after all was already known, but of the Testimony of our Ukrainian Church. I spoke of the testimony of its faith in Christ and His One, Holy,

Universal and Apostolic Church; the testimony which was supported by the bloody seal of the fearless confession of faith, suffering and martyrdom, as well as by the mounds of our dead victims. In order to express before the whole world my gratitude and recognition, and especially to declare my co-suffering with those being persecuted and to give them moral support, I put forward a plea and proposition to raise the Metropolitanate of Kyiv, Halych and of the whole of Rus' to patriarchal status.

This was the first time in the whole history of our Church that the idea of its Patriarchate was raised so clearly in public and on such an international forum as the Ecumenical Council, although the idea itself was not new. The Kyivan Metropolitans had ruled over the Church as if they were actually patriarchs, making use of full patriarchal rights along the lines of other Eastern Churches, although they did not bear the official title of patriarch. They were aware that the Patriarchate of the Church is a visual sign of the maturity and selfhood of the particular Church, and a powerful factor in the life of the Church and the People.

It is not surprising therefore that in the most tragic period of decline and division in our Church, such serene figures in our history as Metropolitan Petro Mohyla and Metropolitan Josyf Venyamyn Rutsky took all possible steps to restore the unity of the Church and to save it from destruction by uniting everyone on the strong basis of the Patriarchate of Kyiv and of the whole of Rus'.

The rulers of the revived young Ukrainian state in the revolutionary years 1917-1920 also understood the importance of the Patriarchate, and stated their desire to see Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, recently released from a Tsarist Russian prison, as the first Patriarch of Kyiv, Halych and of the whole of Rus'. The ratified and proclaimed Constitution of the Ukrainian National Republic of 1920 clearly expresses this, and although this Constitution was later quashed, it testified to the immortal Idea of the Patriarchate of our Church.

As the history of the Christian Church on the territory of Eastern Europe shows, the Kyivan Patriarchate was meant to save, and would with certainty have saved, the unity of the Ecumenical Church of Christ, as well as our Ukrainian religious and national unity.

One should regard as historic shortsightedness, with its important consequences to this very day, the disregard of the great intentions of Metropolitans Mohyla and Rutsky by the contemporary ruling circles in the Apostolic See in Rome. Although these ruling circles did not object to the actual idea of the Patriarchate of our Church, an idea based on historical facts and the demands of religious life, they did, nevertheless, excuse their refusal to give formal consent to its accomplishment with motives of political "conjunctures". And although such motives do not pertain to God but are part of a purely human concern, they have, nevertheless, been repeated, used

as an excuse and put into practice in relation to our efforts to accomplish the full rights of our Church in the form of a Patriarchate to this very day. To the ancient Ukrainian concept of Truth, in which both Truth and Justice are intertwined, such purely human motives are and have always been alien!

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As a faithful Son of the Catholic Church, referring to the clear resolutions of the Vatican Council on the question of the creation or the establishment of patriarchates, and making full use of the fact that I belong to the so-called Papal Family thanks to the late Pope John XXIII who nominated me a cardinal "in pectore", which he wanted to announce on his deathbed, and which was later announced by Pope Paul VI on 25th January 1965, I repeat, as a faithful Son of the Catholic Church, I asked Pope Paul VI on many occasions, both in letters and in conversations, for a formal agreement to meet my plea and proposition which the Fathers of the Vatican Council had accepted without objection. I constantly explained to the late Pope Paul VI that in the Eastern Church neither popes nor even Ecumenical Councils have ever established patriarchates of the separate particular Churches. The crowning of these Churches with the patriarchal wreath had always been the fruit of the mature Christian consciousness of the people of God, and of all its composite groups, of the consciousness of the clergy and pastors, but especially the consciousness of the lay communities — that spiritual flock entrusted to their pastoral services — has played an important role in this matter. It was the mature knowledge of one's own cultural and historic acquisitions and valuables, one's own efforts and sacrifices, which also became the treasury of the whole Ecumenical Christian Church, that formed a strong basis for a Patriarchate! I explained all the time that the Church in the Kyiv-Halych Metropolitanate has given enough proof of this consciousness throughout its entire history. Why then not recognise patriarchal status for Kyiv, the Cradle of Christianity in Eastern Europe?

With filial humility and with patience, but with great clarity, I stated to the late Pope Paul VI: "If you do not approve it then your Successor will... For since we — our Ukrainian Church — exist, we can never renounce our Patriarchate...!"

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And I beseech you, my Beloved Children, never renounce the Patriarchate of your Suffering Church, for you are alive and you are her existing children! I strengthen my plea to you by repeating here my "Solemn Statement" written by my own hand in 1975:

"God created the human being and the family. Likewise He is the Creator of the kin, the tribe and the nation. The people and the nation are also entitled to the love and attachment with which every honest human being is tied to his family. Patriotism and zeal for the well-being of one's nation have always been regarded as God-given duties, and once in a while one has

to defend the well-being of a nation against various enemies, or even against certain internal elements, which otherwise would cause the neglect of the basic needs of the people. And the same principle also applies to the Church. There equally exists a God-given duty to positively look after the well-being of the Church, and a duty and right to defend it against anyone who might cause it any harm. Our ancestors tried throughout a thousand years to maintain ties with the Apostolic See in Rome, and in 1595 and 1596 they strengthened their unity with the Roman Catholic Church under certain conditions which the popes of Rome solemnly promised to observe. In the process of 4 centuries this unity has been verified by the great number of martyrs among Ukrainians, and even our own days are gloriously written down in the annals of the Church about the defence of the Holy Unity by our brothers.

In the 1970s the Apostolic See in Rome, under the influence and power of the officials of the Roman Curia, possibly even with good intentions, took a certain political line which dealt a very painful blow to our Church in Ukraine, and even more so to the section of our Church and People which found itself in the free world. The whole Christian world is a witness to the fact that our constant warnings and humble arguments, which we laid out before Pope Paul VI, were not taken into account”.

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Thus today, when the secret documents about the contact between the Holy See in Rome and the Moscow Patriarchy are known, documents which by their very nature pronounce the death sentence upon the Ukrainian Church and which humiliatingly affect the entire Ecumenical Church of Christ headed by the Successor of St. Peter the Apostle, I once more beseech, order and command you, my Spiritual flock :

“Live like men who are at home in daylight... Take no part in the barren deeds of darkness, but show them up for what they are. The things they do in secret it would be shameful even to mention...” (Ephesians 5, 9, 11-12). To the indifferent and the blind I call: “Awake, sleeper, rise from the dead, and Christ will shine upon you” (Ephesians 5, 14). Again and again I beseech you all to be: “the very seal of my apostolate” (I Corinthians 9, 2). “Be alert; stand firm in the faith; be valiant and strong...” (I Corinthians 16, 13), for although we are “hard-pressed on every side, we are never hemmed in; bewildered, we are never at our wits’ end; hunted, we are never abandoned to our fate; struck down, we are left to die” (II Corinthians 4, 8-9).

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“We stand irreversibly by the patriarchal order of our Church”, were my words in a speech at the conclusion of our Synod in 1969⁶.

6) See Blahovisnyk (*Litterae-Nuntiae*), Book 1-4, 1969, p. 120.

You, my Dear Brothers and Sisters, understood my words and like good children of your Church began to pray for your Patriarch both privately and during Divine Liturgy. With prayer you demonstrated your mature Christian consciousness, for prayer is, first of all, an expression of complete faith in God's help and unyielding belief that Almighty God will realise that which we continually ask of Him. Did not Christ command us both to ask and to pray? Did He not promise to fulfil our trusting requests? For He said: "Ask, and you will receive; seek, and you will find; knock, and the door will be opened" (Matthew 7, 7).

But the importance of prayer, especially liturgical prayer, lies also in the fact that in it the believing person expresses his faith in the revelation of the sacraments of the faith and his deep understanding of the very essentiality of the whole Christian Church itself, and with it also of his own native Church, as an inseparable and original part of the Christian Church, equal in rite, Liturgy, church administration, and spiritual heritage consecrated by tradition. In past centuries Liturgical prayer became the presage of the formulation of the basic verities of faith on the basis of the "Symbols and Confessions of Faith". Liturgical prayer forms a basis for the formulation of canon laws which concern the Church itself. Thus, I am grateful to you for showing your mature Christian faith, when you prayed and continue to pray for "His Beatitude the Patriarch of Kyiv, Halych and of the whole of Rus'" in your shrines of God, and also when you prayed for him at the tomb of the Apostle St. Peter in 1975, during Holy Year. You also demonstrated your faith in the attainment of the full status of your Church by praying for the Patriarch in song, just as our people pray in song and demonstrate their faithfulness to unity — "God, grant us unity", or their faith in the attainment of its efforts for the completeness of freedom, when it implores: "our people are in shackles and our land in captivity, the enemy does not even allow us to pray... Great God, grant our land freedom, grant it fate and happiness, strength and power..."⁷ The Patriarchate, the vision of your faithful souls, has become for you a living reality! And so it will remain for you in the future! For in a little while, the Patriarch for whom you now pray will cross the threshold of life on earth, and the visible symbol and personification of the Patriarchate in his person will no longer exist. But, in your consciousness and in your vision there will remain a real and living Ukrainian Church, crowned with a patriarchal wreath!

Therefore, I command you: Pray, as you did up till now, for the Patriarch of Kyiv, Halych and the whole of Rus', although as yet anonymous and unknown! The time will come when the Almighty Lord will send him for our Church and reveal his name! But we already have our Patriarchate!

7) From the Ukrainian church hymns: "O Lord, hear our supplication", and "O Great Lord".

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Together with the struggle for the completeness of the life of our Church on the basis of the patriarchal order, there is also closely tied to it the struggle for the religious unity of the Ukrainian people. I feel great joy in my soul when I see that, although not yet united in a single Church, the sons and daughters of the Ukrainian nation, with crosses on their backs, are already united in Christ, and in His sufferings they are moving closer together, so that they can welcome one another with the kiss of peace and embrace in brotherly love! Expressing this joy, I beseech you all, and let my plea be my Will:

“Let us embrace one another and call each other Brother!” Walk in the footsteps of the Servant of God Andrey, who became the herald and champion of the unity of the Christian Church and dedicated his whole life to the unity of Christians! Rise up all of you in defence of the rights of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, but also defend the rights of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, destroyed with equal cruelty by the violent deeds of the foreign invader! Defend also all the other Christian and religious communities on Ukrainian soil, for they are all deprived of the basic freedom of conscience and religion, and they all suffer for their belief in One God!

The closest to us in faith and blood are our orthodox brothers. We are united by the traditions of our native Christianity, common religious and national customs, and by a two-thousand year old culture! We are united by a common struggle for the originality of our native Church and for its full status of which the visible symbol will be a single Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Church!

All of us, both catholics and orthodox, are fighting for the raising up of our Church and for its spiritual strength in Ukraine and in all the countries where our faithful have settled. And all of us, while confessing Christ, are bearing our Lord's heavy cross⁸.

Therefore I command you all: Pray, work and fight for the preservation of the Christian soul of everyone who belongs to the Ukrainian people, and for the whole Ukrainian nation, and ask the Almighty God to help us fulfil our longing for unity and our struggles for Church unity in the accomplishment of the Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Church!

Feeling my end growing near, I cannot fail to express the bitter pain in my soul that accompanied me throughout my stay outside my native land. This pain I felt on account of the lack of unity among our Episcopal congregation outside the borders of Ukraine. This lack of unity is like the original sin which stole its way into the souls of those who, like the brightly-

8) Compare with the Decrees of the Synod, Blahovisnyk (Litterae-Nuntiae), Book 1-4, 1969, p. 127.

glowing stars at night, should be showing the way. This sin has crept, like a thief, from here also to our Suffering Church in our native land.

Our misfortune and our sempiternal sin is the lack of a sense and understanding of unity in the basic problems of the life of our Church and People.

I have pondered over this inconsolable phenomenon. It is, first of all, insufficient theological education, upbringing in foreign schools, the influence of a foreign environment, and a lack of knowledge about the past of our own Church which they have been summoned to serve at the highest levels... The rotten fruit of this is the disregard for everything that our grandfathers and great grandfathers achieved through their efforts and sacrifices, and a contempt for all that is our own, accompanied by the pursuit of honour and a lust for power, which remind one so much of the struggle for the vassal principalities at the time of the decline of the Kyivan state. It is also unsteadiness of character, the manifestation of which is subservience to foreigners and low bows before alien gods!

As the Head and Father of our Church I tried to teach and to remind. On more than one occasion, as a Father, I called for unity with beseeching words; on many occasions as the Head of our Church I gave advice with firm and decisive words whenever it was necessary to awaken the sleeping conscience and to point out the pastoral responsibility for the spiritual flock before God and the Church. For the Episcopate should be a model of unanimity in the administration of the Church and an example of unity in all aspects of religious and national life! All that I had to suffer because of this — the scorn, the mental wounds, in a word, all those “arrows fired at me by the evil one” — are well known to you. They were by no means easier than those in the prisons and deportations. And I endured them as painfully as I had suffered the tortures in prison in earlier years. But today I thank the Almighty that I was beaten both in the prisons and in freedom! I thank Him that I was beaten and not glorified by the slaves!

I forgive them all, for they too are only instruments in the Hands of the Almighty, who summoned me and gave me His Blessing to be a *Prisoner for the sake of Christ, both in captivity and in freedom!*

Our serene predecessor, the Servant of God Josyf Venyamyn Rutsky, in his testament implies the same sin, the same lack of unity in the ranks of the Episcopate. He also mentions quarrels, a pursuit of gain and negligence of pastoral duties, and as a result of which he calls all the bishops to spiritual harmony and earnest work. He beseeches them saying: “I ask only one thing of my Most highly reverend Fathers, Bishops of Rus’, that through the love of Christ they unite with one another and with their Metropolitan. Let them confirm by words and deeds that they recognise him as father...”

Having here expressed the bitter sorrow and pain which fill my heart, I do not in any way wish to reproach anyone. Therefore, my Eminent and Dear Brothers in Episcopal service, forgive me as I forgive you! When I express my bitter pain I wish in this way for the last time, as a father and as a pastor, to remind you and to call on you: United together, save our Church from destruction and ruin! Let your unity, the unity of the whole Episcopate of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, become a stimulus and an inspiration for all those Pastors, clergy and faithful, whose fathers and ancestors were born from the Mother Church, the Kyivan Metropolitanate. In the process of history they have become scattered in different countries, among various peoples, and have forgotten the mother, who bore them. Help them to rediscover this Mother once more!



“Sitting on the sleigh...” my thoughts extend to all my brothers and sisters in Ukraine and the vast expanses of the whole Soviet Union, to those who suffer in freedom and to those who languish in jails, prisons, hard labour camps or death camps... In their midst I can see new ranks of fighters, scientists, writers, artists, farm workers and labourers. I can see among them those who search for truth and those who defend justice. I can hear their voices raised in defence of the basic human rights of the individual and of society. I watch them with wonder and see how they defend our native Ukrainian word, how they enrich our native Ukrainian culture, and how with the full power of their minds and hearts they save the Ukrainian soul. And I suffer alongside them, for they are persecuted for this as common criminals.

I pray for you, my Brothers, and ask God to grant you strength to carry on defending the natural and Divine rights of every individual human being and of the whole society. I extend my blessings to you as the Head of the Ukrainian Church, as a Son of the Ukrainian nation, as your brother, your fellow prisoner and your co-sufferer!



“Sitting on the sleigh...”, here on the hill of the Vatican, as if on the rocks of the island of Patmos, where St. John the Theologian, a forced refugee from his native land, was in deep contemplation of his visions and revelations...

I listen to the voice of the Lord which says: “I am the Alpha and the Omega, who is and who was and who is to come, the Sovereign Lord of all” (Revelation 1, 8). I also as once did John, “our brother, who shares with us in the suffering and the Sovereignty and the endurance which is ours in

Jesus” (compare with Revelation 1, 9), do prophesy to you the mystery of what I see and what is to come.

I can see the Daughter Churches of our Ukrainian Church in the various continents of the world. One moment they shine brightly like the stars, the next they flicker like will-o'-the-wisps... Therefore my words are aimed at them.

To the Daughter Church nearest the frosty Polar region⁹ I call out: “I know all your ways; you are neither hot nor cold. How I wish you were either hot or cold!... You say, ‘How rich I am! And how well I have done! I have everything I want in the world.’... *Be on your mettle therefore and repent*” (Revelation 3, 15-17, 19).

Before my eyes now appears in the neighbourhood the Daughter Church in the country which welcomes strangers with a monument — the symbol of liberty, and which calls the place, where this liberty was born and where it grew, “Brotherly love”¹⁰. Here also can be found the place where the first Daughter of the Ukrainian Mother Church was born and raised. I beseech you with the voice of the Lord which says: Christ gave you “the key of David — the symbol of power and authority (compare with Isaiah 22, 22-25 and Revelation 3, 7), the keys of death and Hades” (Revelation 1, 18). It goes on “I know all your ways...” and they shall know that you are my beloved people. If you keep “my commands and hold fast I will also keep you from the ordeal that is to fall upon the whole world and test its inhabitants...” (compare with Revelation 3, 8-10). Therefore avoid all temptation and be the defender of the oppressed and the suffering members of Your Mother Church! Be the live witness of brotherly love!

With the eyes of my soul I can see in the south a Daughter Church that is still young. It lies on the continent blessed by Christ the Saviour from a mountain by the side of the sea¹¹. I too extend my blessings to you my Daughter Church, as humble as your Mother Church! Listen to the voice of the Lord which is directed towards you: “I know how hard pressed you are, and poor — and yet you are rich... Be faithful till death, and I will give you the crown of life” (Revelation 2, 9-10).

With gratitude I think of the Daughter Church in the land of the antipodes¹² and in my prayers I offer it the voice of the Lord: “I know all your ways, your love and your faithfulness, your good service and your fortitude...” (Revelation 2, 19).

Although you are situated so far away beyond the seas, yet you are tied so very closely in your soul and in your heart to the Mother Church! I

9) Ukrainian Catholic Church in Canada.

10) Ukrainian Catholic Church in the U.S.A.

11) Ukrainian Catholic Churches in South America.

12) Ukrainian Catholic Church in Australia.

extend my blessings upon you and implore you to endure in the faith of your fathers, in the love for your brothers, and in the service of your Mother Church! And let your reward be “the morning star” (Revelation 2, 28), which the Lord will give to you.

With pain in my heart I watch the Daughter Church in the Albion¹³. I will not speak to you any more for I can see my end is near. But since my voice, the voice of the Head of the Ukrainian Church, did not reach your upper strata and did not stir their conscience, then listen to the voice of One “who has the sharp two-edged sword: I know where you live; it is the place where Satan has his throne. And yet you are holding fast to my cause. You did not deny your faith in me... But I have a few matters to bring against you: you have... some that hold to the teaching of Balaam, who taught Balak to put temptation in the way of the Israelites... So repent...” (Revelation 2, 12-14, 16).

From my hilltop, as if from the rocks of Patmos, I also cast my glance upon the Daughter Church in the countries around me, on the old continent¹⁴. I offer my prayers for it, ploughed up by frontiers and divided by curtains, and the voice of the Lord speaks to it, saying: “I know all your ways; that though you have a name for being alive, you are dead. Wake up, and put some strength into what is left, which must otherwise die! For I have not found any work of yours completed in the eyes of my God. So remember the teaching you received; observe it, and repent” (Revelation 3, 1-3).

*

And among these visions which appear before my eyes, I can see Kyiv, the City of the Throne in my own native land. In farewell I speak to it with the words of the Revelation: “I know all your ways, your toil and your fortitude. I know you cannot endure evil men; you have put to the proof those who claim to be apostles but are not, and have found them false. Fortitude you have; you have borne up in my cause and never flagged” (Revelation 2, 2-3). So the voice of the Lord reveals to you: “I shall raise up your guide light...” (Revelation 2, 5). And I, your Son, bid you farewell. “Shine on”, our own Jerusalem, and you shall rise again in your former glory!

*

This my vision, my Dear spiritual flock, I retell you and offer it to you as a Guidance in your pilgrimages!

13) Ukrainian Catholic Church in the United Kingdom

14) Ukrainian Catholic Churches on the continent of Europe.

*

I would not be a loving father or a good pastor if I were to forget my closest toilers. They are the ecclesiastical fathers, monks and nuns, who throughout my stay on this Roman island formed my spiritual family. They listened to me like to a father, they worked alongside me and they served me, their Pastor, with their knowledge and with their untiring work. They prayed for me and with me, and they embraced me with their love. They helped me and cared for me when I lost my strength in old age. They shared their happiness and their pain with me and they helped me to carry the heavy cross of a Prisoner for the sake of Christ! With the sincere heart of a father I thank you and give my blessing to you with my infirm hand! And I ask the Almighty God, united in the Holy Trinity, that the Holy Spirit may consecrate, enlighten, preserve and encourage you in your faithful service to your own native Ukrainian Church!

*

Bury me in our Patriarchal Cathedral of St. Sofia, and when our vision shall turn into reality and our Holy Church and our Ukrainian nation shall rise once again in freedom, carry the coffin in which I shall come to rest to my native land and place it in the shrine of St. George in Lviv, near the tomb of the Servant of God Andrey. I die and pass away from this world as the one whom the Servant of God Metropolitan Andrey, the Head of our Church, summoned to serve as the Exarch of Eastern "Great" Ukraine. If such is the will of God and the wish of the Ukrainian people of God, then lay my coffin in the vaults of the restored Cathedral of St. Sofia. I was made to suffer for many long years in the vaults of Kyiv Prison, when I was still among the living, but I would like to rest in peace in the underground crypt of the restored Cathedral of St. Sofia, once my body has ceased to live!

*

Bury me, my Brothers and Children, and "find your strength in the Lord, in His mighty power. Put on all the armour which God provides, so that you may be able to stand firm against the devices of the devil. For our fight is not against human foes, but against cosmic powers, against the authorities and potentates of this dark world, against the superhuman forces of evil in the heavens. Therefore, take up God's armour; then you will be able to stand your ground when things are at their worst, to complete every task and still to stand. Stand firm, I say. Buckle on the belt of truth; for coat of mail put on integrity; let the shoes on your feet be the gospel of peace, to give you firm footing; and, with all these, take up the great shield of faith, with which you will be able to quench all the flaming arrows of the evil one.

Take salvation for helmet; for sword, take that which the Spirit gives you — the words that come from God!" (Ephesians 6, 10-17).

*

"Sitting on the sleigh and on my way into the far off distance..." I say a prayer to our Heavenly Protector and Queen, the Ever-Virgin Mother of God: Take our Ukrainian Church and our Ukrainian People under your Powerful Protection!

May the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God the Father, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all! Amen!

† *JOSYF*,
God's Humble Servant,
Patriarch and Cardinal.

In prayer and in deep thought I started to write this document in 1970, and completed and signed it on the eve of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the most pure Virgin Mary in 1981.

Translation from Ukrainian and notes by Stephen Oleskiw, M.A.



Cathedral of St. Sofia, Rome

AN ADDRESS BY POPE JOHN PAUL II

**Delivered in Ukrainian during his visit to the Ukrainian community
in Winnipeg, 16. 9. 1984.**

(Translated from Ukrainian)

Dear Brothers and Sisters,

It is a joy to be with you today in the Metropolitan Cathedral of Saints Vladimir and Olga in Winnipeg. I greet you, Archbishop Hermaniuk, my other Brothers in the Episcopate, and all of you assembled in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. With joy I note the representations of the Eparchies of Edmonton, Toronto, New Westminster and Saskatoon. Through you I extend cordial greetings to all the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Byzantine Rite and to all the Ukrainian people of Canada. I greet you as a fellow Slav, sharing to a large degree in your spirit and heritage. I am especially happy to be with you as we draw near to the solemn celebration of the First Millennium of Christianity in Ukraine. In you I embrace in the charity of Christ all the people of your homeland, together with their history, culture, and the heroism with which they have lived their faith. SLAVA ISUSU KHRYSTU!*

*

Being here among you, I cannot fail to remember a great man, the Confessor of the Faith, Archbishop Major, Cardinal Josyf Slipyj, whom the Lord has only recently summoned to eternal life, and whose death has enveloped us all with great sorrow.

Cardinal Slipyj became the worthy successor of the pious Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. But, bitter times soon befell the Ukrainian Catholic Church and once again he had to bear his cross through his own endurance and suffering, similar to that of Christ on Golgotha. Cardinal Slipyj was unable to continue in his office for he was sentenced to 18 years of suffering and exile. However, during his ordeal he did not break down, but endured with dignity till the very end like a true hero.

When he was finally released from captivity he did not lead a life of rest in freedom, but worked with great dedication for the good of the church and his people.

The Archbishop Major visited Ukrainian Catholic communities all over the world and put great care into learning and knowledge. He founded the University of St. Clement and also himself published many documents and academic works.

* Glory to Jesus Christ.

Therefore, in our prayers let us invoke the Lord to reward him accordingly for his sufferings, for his dedicated service to the church, and for all his work.

May his memory live eternally.

*

As Ukrainian Byzantine Catholics, you have inherited a *great spiritual tradition*, extending back a thousand years to the time of Saint Olha and her grandson Saint Volodymyr. Who could have known then, how that faith would grow so organically with your culture, and how it would have such a major impact on your history as it brought the grace of the Redemption into the lives of your ancestors? So much could be said about this history, which not infrequently was linked with that of my own native land, but since time presses on, I must limit myself to recalling only a few important moments of your difficult yet noble past.

Events of every time and place are directed by the loving plan of God, for God is the Lord of history. In a special way *God's Providence has guided your development in Canada*. The Archeparchy of Winnipeg, which is only the third Metropolitan See in the history of the Ukrainian people, was erected in 1956, just forty-four years after you were given your first Bishop. This ecclesiastical province, like that small mustard seed of the Gospel, has quickly grown and flourished. When Ukrainian immigrants first came to this land, they brought with them *a strong Catholic faith and a firm attachment to their religious and cultural traditions*. They placed a high priority on the construction of their churches and schools, desiring to preserve this precious heritage and pass it on to their children. They sank deep roots into Canadian soil and quickly became productive and loyal citizens.

At the same time, a number of generous people greatly assisted the new immigrants. As soon as it was possible, the Metropolitan of Lviv, the servant of God Andrey Sheptycky, sent zealous priests to minister to their needs. He himself came on a visit in 1910 and prepared the way for the appointment of Bishop Budka, the first of your many zealous Bishops in this land. It is important, too, to remember the contributions made by many local Latin Rite Bishops and priests, some of whom dedicated as much attention and care to Ukrainians as to the faithful of their own rite. The presence here today of the Latin Rite Bishops is a sign of continuing harmony and collaboration. "Behold, how good it is, and how pleasant, when brethren dwell at one" (Ps. 133).

Your own Byzantine clergy, together with your men and women religious, contributed greatly to your adjustment and growth in this land. Religious communities such as the Basilian, Redemptorist and Studite Fathers, and the Sisters Servants of Mary Immaculate have staffed parishes, hospitals, schools and many other institutions. All of these have served to protect and strengthen family life, offer assistance to the sick and needy, and contribute to the betterment of society.

Our meeting today, taking place as it does on the threshold of the solemn celebration of the Millennium of Christianity in Kyiv and the entire Ukraine, carries our minds and hearts back through the centuries of *your glorious history of faith*. We feel deep gratitude to God, in a special way, for *the grace of fidelity to the Catholic Church and loyalty to the Successor of Saint Peter* which was bestowed on your forebears. As Archbishop of Krakow I came to know and appreciate this precious heritage of the Ukrainian people, as seen particularly in the martyrs of Cholm and Pidlassia who followed the example of Saint Josaphat, a great apostle of unity, and as seen also in the pastoral zeal of so many of your Bishops, down to the present day.

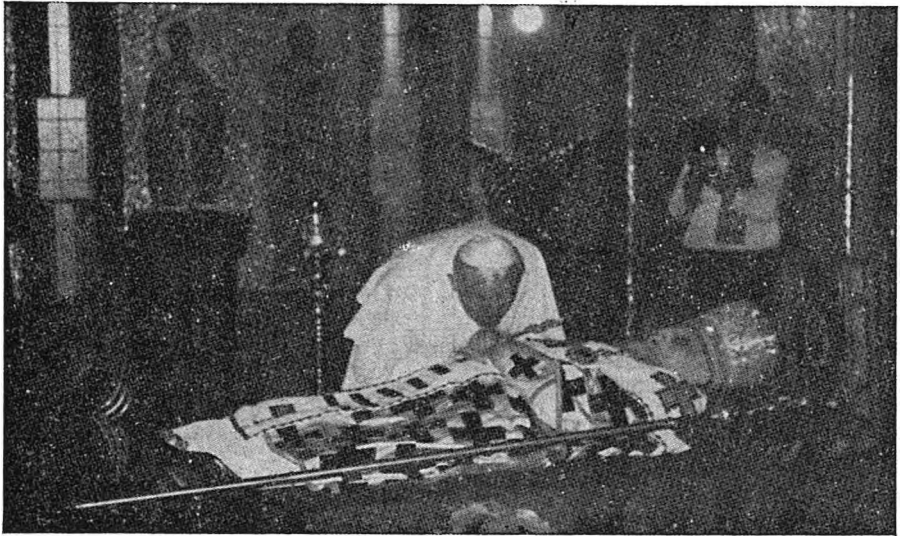
These great men and women of Ukrainian history encourage you today to live your Catholic faith with equal fervour and zeal. They inspire you, too, to work and pray without easing for the *unity of all Christians*. In the many and varied ecumenical efforts of the Church, members of the Byzantine Rite like yourselves have a special role to play in regard to the Eastern Christians who are not in full communion with the See of Peter.

You are in a privileged position to fulfil that request of the Second Vatican Council which is expressed in the Decree on Ecumenism, namely: "Everyone should realize that it is of supreme importance to understand, venerate, preserve and foster the rich liturgical and spiritual heritage of the Eastern Churches in order faithfully to preserve the fullness of Christian tradition, and to bring about reconciliation between Eastern and Western Christians" (*Unitatis Redintegration*, 15). Your Ukrainian heritage and your Byzantine spirituality, theology and liturgy prepare you well for this important task of *fostering reconciliation and full communion*. May the hearts of all Bishops, priests, religious and laity be filled with a burning desire that the prayer of Christ be realized: "May they all be one. Father, may they be one in us, as you are in me and I am in you, so that the world may believe it was you who sent me" (Jn. 17:21).

But this desire for unity will only be realized if it goes hand in hand with *a sincere fraternal love towards all*, a love like that of Christ which is without limit or exception. Such Christian love will open our hearts to the light of divine truth. It will help to clarify the differences which still divide Christians, foster constructive dialogue and mutual understanding, and thereby further the salvation of souls and the unity of all in Christ. And we must remember that this Christian love is nurtured by prayer and penance.

Dear brothers and sisters: it is good to be with you today. I rejoice to see your children dressed in your beautiful national costumes, and to know that your young people are growing up with a *grateful awareness of their ethnic origins and religious roots*. I join you in thanking God for the many institutions and traditions which aid and strengthen the bonds of your families, which are the foundation of the Church and society. May you always

preserve with fitting pride the heritage of faith and culture which is yours. I place this intention, together with all your prayers, before the Immaculate Virgin Mary, Queen of the Ukraine, asking her to protect you with her motherly love and lead you ever closer to her divine Son, Jesus Christ the Redeemer of the world. Beloved friends: in the words of the Apostle Peter: "Peace to all of you who are in Christ" (I Pt. 5:14).



*Pope John Paul II paying his last respects
to the late Patriarch Josyf,
St. Sofia, 8. 9. 1984*

SERMON OF Fr. WERENFRIED VAN STRATEN
DURING THE MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR THE LATE PATRIARCH
JOSYF SLIPYJ ON THE 40TH DAY OF HIS DEATH, AT THE
CHURCH OF ST. MICHAEL IN MUNICH, ON 21ST OCTOBER, 1984.

According to an ancient legend, Andrew the apostle blessed the hills around Kyiv and prophesied victory for Christianity in Ukraine. We know for certain that St. Clement, the third successor of St. Peter was banished by the Emperor Trajan to Crimea, where he died a martyr and exercised an indelible influence on the Church in Ukraine. Five hundred years later, the banished Pope Martin I died a martyr's death on the coast of Ukraine for the unity of the Church.

Martyrdom for Christian unity has remained ever since the glorious characteristic of the Ukrainian Church. It was the first of the Eastern Churches to renew the union with Rome following the Great Schism with the orient and it has repeatedly sealed its loyalty to the Apostolic See with rivers of blood and mountains of corpses.

This witness of the faith through blood reached its zenith after the Second World War, when Stalin and the Patriarch of Moscow forcibly integrated the Ukrainians united with Rome into the Orthodox Church. Countless faithful, hundreds of priests and practically every bishop lost their lives through this unecumenical use of force, which those responsible in the Moscow Patriarchate still regard as a glorious page in the history of the Orthodox Church.

Archbishop Josyf Slipyj survived these atrocities. But, he did not do so through compromise but through maintaining unswerving loyalty. Even when he was offered the Patriarchal Seat in Moscow on condition that he renounce the union with Rome and the primacy of the Pope, he remained faithful and continued on his way of the cross which was to last 18 years.

At the beginning of the Second Vatican Council his seat remained empty, while the representatives of Patriarch Alexey, who was in part responsible for the persecution, were present. This raised a storm of protest.

Pope John XXIII intervened personally and the unbending witness of the faith was set free on February 9th, 1963. From that day on he led his

Church, both in the catacombs and in exile, from Rome until September 7th of this year when he died at the age of 92 in the shadow of the Cathedral of St. Sofia which he had built.

When the then Archbishop, Metropolitan of Lviv and sole survivor of the Ukrainian bishops (ten of them had been murdered or had died prematurely in Soviet gaols), was freed after an unjust, inhuman and arbitrarily prolonged imprisonment of 18 years, and exiled to Rome, he received me straight away. From that moment on I became his admirer, his helper, his comrade-in-arms and his friend.

He was a prince of the Church with an iron character. His shattered and weakened body concealed an unbroken spirit. He was a brilliant theologian, a born scholar, and amongst all the Uniates perhaps the most persistent and the most able protector of the pure Byzantine Rite. This made him a bridge to the Orthodox Church and the predestined leader of all the oriental Churches united with Rome. But, he was also a wholehearted spiritual leader, who had left behind him the beneficial traces of his activity as a priest in countless camps all over the Soviet Union. Each time the authorities realised the extent of his influence he was moved to another penal camp. Thus he had also become a well-known symbol in the regions outside catholic Western Ukraine throughout the whole Soviet Union, not only for the scattered Catholics but also for the real Orthodox Church, not represented by the prelates of the Moscow Patriarchate, but one which exists in the catacombs and concentration camps of Siberia. Because there exists alongside this holy Orthodox Church an unholy, Soviet-dominated Orthodox Church, he finally also became an involuntary obstacle to an ecumenical rapprochement with Moscow's official Church because it will never be possible for Rome to buy peace with the Russian Orthodox Church by betraying 5 million martyrs and faithful belonging to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Cardinal Slipyj worked as a giant during his final 21 years in exile and subsequent generations will rightly come to honour and appreciate what he achieved in all aspects for his exiled Church in the free world. I personally can testify to the way in which he again and again begged, pressed and requested me and the entire "Aid to the Church in Need" to provide every conceivable and possible assistance for his persecuted, bloodied and martyred Church in his homeland. He lived and died for his Ukrainian Church, in the East and in the West.

To assure the continuation of this Church and only for that reason he accepted the title of Patriarch in 1975 at the request of the Ukrainian synod of bishops and in expectation of legal confirmation by the Pope. As a faithful son of the Church who suffered more and longer than anyone else this century for unity with the Apostolic See, he repeatedly sought this formal confirmation both in letters and in discussions and in the end with the utmost

stress in his spiritual testament. He constantly explained to the ecclesiastical diplomats, who were afraid of the atheists' reaction, that in the Eastern Church neither popes nor even Ecumenical Councils had ever created patriarchs of the individual particular Churches. He tirelessly drew attention to the fact that endowing such particular Churches with a patriarchal crown was always the fruit of mature Christian consciousness in God's people. Many, however, failed to understand this and the martyr even on his death-bed was not granted his wish, although it was not for his personal glory but for the continued existence of his Church that he sought it.

May what he wrote in his spiritual testament about this central problem remain forever in your thoughts:

"The Patriarchate, the vision of your faithful souls, has become for you a living reality! And so it will remain for you in the future! For in a little while, the Patriarch for whom you now pray will cross the threshold of life on earth, and the visible symbol and personification of the Patriarchate in his person will no longer exist. But, in your consciousness and in your vision there will remain a real and living Ukrainian Church, crowned with a patriarchal wreath!

Therefore, I command you: Pray, as you did up till now, for the Patriarch of Kyiv, Halych and the whole of Rus', although as yet anonymous and unknown! The time will come when the Almighty Lord will send him for our Church and reveal his name! But we already have our Patriarchate!"

As we today sound out our "fiat" at the passing away of our beloved Patriarch, we would like to believe that the precious seed of Ukrainian wheat, which fell in Roman soil forty days ago, will not go to waste but will yield fruit in great abundance. For it is written that "the soul of this just man is in God's hands. He tried him and found him worthy".

God sent him trials. He was led along a way of the cross, the like of which hardly any Cardinal before him had to follow. He did so with exemplary loyalty, without hate towards his persecutors, but also without evading the consequences in instances where compromise or escape could have made his life easier. He followed the Lord faithfully. For where Christ was, there also His servant should be.

He suffered unspeakably while a witness of Christ as a prisoner in the Soviet Union, just as the Lord had prophesied: "And you shall be my witness in Jerusalem and in all Judea and Samaria and to the end of the earth" (Acts 1, 8). But there were other names on the signposts along his path, not Jerusalem or Judea, but Lviv, Kyiv, Siberia, the Krasnoyar region, Yeniseysk, Polaria, Mordovia... and they did indeed reach "to the end of the earth". He had to be a witness for his silent Church, condemned to death, a man robbed of all physical and mental strength and who had

realised that his path "to the end of the earth" had been a death sentence (cf. spiritual testament). It was only in the eyes of fools that he appeared to be dead'.

He suffered greatly from having his shining figure so systematically obscured by the half light of deceit and slander in the interest of peaceful co-existence, to the extent that Christ's accusation, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem you murder the prophets and stone those who were sent to you", could also apply to the present day Church equally well. "In this way he lost his life in this world, but kept it for eternity".

He suffered even more under the cross which was perhaps the greatest in his life when he was freed but his Church had no freedom. This happened against his will as he expressly intimated in writing while in solitary confinement in Kyiv. He was prevented from continuing to bear the heavy cross along with his Church (cf. spiritual testament). "God tried him and found him worthy".

He suffered terribly in Rome, more so than in Siberia, as he told me, when he learnt how much his persecuted priests in Ukraine were in despair on account of the Orthodox synod which had taken place in Moscow in June 1971. There the delegate from the Vatican had learnt of the triumphant declaration which nullified the centuries old union between Rome and the Uniate Ukrainian Church without uttering a single word of protest. "God tested him like gold in a melting pot, and God accepted him like a burnt offering".

His bitter fate reminds us all that all our efforts to save the threatened Church would remain unfruitful, if we did not possess the additional stream of grace attributable to anonymous prayer and to the crosses of hidden saints carried in silence. The Church draws its strength from such people as these. Looked at in this light, the Patriarch's fate will at some stage come to represent the victory of the blessed cross. That could be the only reason why God allowed it to happen.

Christ's obedience up to His death on the cross cannot be comprehended by reason alone. But we have, nevertheless, to submit to this wisdom which reason regards as being foolish.

Jesus Christ and all the martyrs who shared His fate have preceded your Patriarch along the hard path which he chose freely. It is the path trodden by the saints of every age. They were deprived of their rights just like God's own Son who assumed the role of a slave and remained obedient up to His death on the cross. This cross of obedience is the basic law of Christianity. Despite all the praiseworthy and necessary efforts at giving human rights more weight within the Church, we should not be under any illusions and never forget that we must endeavour to be defenceless disciples of the One who died without rights and who seeks to continue not only His life but also

His death in each one of us. For such a giant in the history of the Church as Josyf Slipyj to submit to this law is a sign of holiness and an example for all those who walk bent under the heavy and sometimes incomprehensible burden of obedience to the Church.

As we wait in hope for the signs and miracles, which we trust God will work through him very soon to save the Ukrainian Church, we can already dare to say, "Corona aurea super caput eius!" "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are you when men revile you and persecute you and utter all kinds of evil against you falsely on my account... Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is great in heaven" (Matthew 5, 10-12).

Therefore listen to your Patriarch with respect and the obedience of a child. He is not dead. His soul is in God's hands and no further suffering can affect him. For the time has come when he will be glorified along with the Son of Man. For a voice was heard from the heavens saying: "I have glorified and will continue to glorify". Your Patriarch shines like a bright light. He passes judgement on the pagans and rules over the nations.

Yes indeed, listen to him because he continues to preach in his testament, that magnificent and at the same time most moving document which he has left behind for you as his final legacy. If this legacy is not repeatedly read, weighed up, taken to heart, acquiesced to, carried out and lived by every Ukrainian family, by every Ukrainian priest and by every Ukrainian bishop, then I fear that the Ukrainian Church has not been worthy of such a pastor. Do not let this become true. Therefore you, the orphaned flock of Josyf Slipyj, listen to his voice, trust in his intercession, carry out his legacy and above all preserve your Christian family life, your language and your beautiful liturgy.

I experienced your liturgy as never before on September 12th and 13th, when I took part deeply moved in the Parastas, the liturgia and Panachyda for your Patriarch. Under the golden mosaic of the Cathedral which he himself had built like a hymn in stone at God's feet, I felt as if I were in heaven. We were not alone. The many saints who had protected the Patriarch throughout his life glinted on the iconostasis, on the vaulted ceiling and on the walls. Clothed in scarlet cloaks and wearing shining mitres with a touch of God's splendour about them, metropolitans, cardinals, bishops, archimandrites, priests and monks stood around the mortal remains of the iron-hard martyr who was permitted to outlive Stalin and his weak servant Alexey, so as to build up through God's power everything which they had destroyed in the service of Satan.

The pain felt by the thousand-strong congregation finds an outlet in the sombre *Alyluyas* and in the heart-rending laments of the cantors who repeatedly break out into the *Hospody pomyluy* with voices full of tears. The wood of shame which the deceased carried for so long for his Church

and his nation and on which he died victorious is revered a hundredfold everytime when the celebrants and the congregation profess their belief in the Blessed Trinity and the victory of Jesus Christ by making the threefold sign of the cross with expansive gestures. Incense rises around the martyred body as a belated tribute to this man so deeply permeated by God who all through his long life carried with him and radiated the divine grace which he had received at baptism and at ordination.

Occasionally the tempo and the rhythm of the singing increase and the pitch rises. No longer is it a suppliant beseeching, it has become a crying out and a demand for God's mercy. No longer is it intercession for the soul of the Patriarch, but rather the soul of an oppressed and betrayed people despairingly seeking help. It sounds like a last appeal to the pastoral care of the dead martyr who is already in the presence of God. Protect your unfortunate nation, endow our priests with holiness and strength, awaken in our bishops the willingness to preserve your legacy and to defend it, provide the diplomats with supernatural sobriety, and prevent them from further exchanging truth and justice for an illusory gain. And enlighten your Slav friend, the Pope from Poland, so that he may find a way of finally leading us all to peace, justice and freedom...

When the final *Hospody pomyluy* has died away, silence reigns in the golden cathedral. Now that the powerful voice of the Patriarch is forever silent, may God grant that silence not reign in the One, Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church. God grant that sufficient faithful disciples may be found who would continually repeat his teachings, just as once Moses used to instill into his people as far as the borders of the promised land, till these teachings become ineradicable from the hearts of the Ukrainian people.

Then the Almighty will hasten the day which his faithful servant Josyf Slipyj was not permitted to see, the day when justice will reign. Then your strong and courageous Patriarch will bless your Ukrainian nation from heaven, just as once upon a time Andrew the Apostle blessed your homeland from the hills around Kyiv. For the Lord speaks thus: "I myself will seek out my sheep and look after them... I will pick you out of all races and collect you together from all countries and bring you back to your homeland... Then you will live in the country I have given you and be my people and I will be your God".

*Werenfried van Straaten**

* Fr. Werenfried van Straaten is the founder and spiritual leader of the Aid to the Church in Need, a great benefactor of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and a personal friend of the late Patriarch Josyf.

UKRAINE'S REPRESENTATIVE BEFORE GOD

**A last farewell by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko at the open coffin of His Beatitude
Patriarch Josyf Slipyj at the Cathedral of St. Sofia in Rome
on Wednesday, September 12, 1984.**

Your Beatitude, Patriarch Josyf, Pater Patriae, Father of our Country!

The Ukrainian people, struggling Ukraine, Ukrainians throughout the world from the tundra and taiga of the remote regions of Siberia and the Polar Circles, across our homeland and as far away as the vast lands of Brazil and Australia are filled with profound grief as they send their last farewell today to you. Your Beatitude, as their spiritual Father, as the Saint of Ukraine — Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, the greatest Ukrainian of our era.

Our hearts are filled with grief, but we are proud that the lands of Ukraine brought forth an Emissary of God into a world of bolshevik evils, raging atheism, national repression and captivity, a world of indifference to the eternal values of God and Nation, so that you, Our Father, were able to affirm during years of torture and suffering the Truth of Christ and Ukraine.

In Ukraine, the land of Saint Andriy Pervozvany — the Disciple of Christ, Saint Olha and Saint Volodymyr the Great, you also appeared as a Disciple of Christ. You suffered your hard fate for almost twenty years, Patriarch of Ukraine — the fruition of the very best qualities and values inherent in the Ukrainian nation. It was in your eternal spirit, your heroic morals and noble ideals that our nation recognised itself and achieved self-awareness. "Be yourselves" — that was your motto. You appealed to the greatness of our Christian nation in order to awake within us self-respect, dignity and a feeling of self-esteem to enable us to stand up for our rights against the powerful of this world. You, our Patriarch, steadfastly held onto the glorious eras of our history, and the inherent values of our religious-Church and national political life. You, Your Beatitude, taught us how to unite the idea of Christianity with that of patriotism and nationalism. The idea of a Christian independent state was part of your national religious teachings. However, Father, you suffered equally for both the ideas of Christ and of Ukraine. For you, these ideas were inseparable, for only within a Ukrainian Christian state are human liberties and human rights and the flourishing of our Churches possible. For you, the Cathedral of St. Sofia and St. George

were symbols of our heroic Christian faith and culture which are proof of our inherent sovereignty and especially our spiritual sovereignty. Christian Kyiv and atheist Moscow were the symbols for Your Beatitude of two opposing worlds. Aware of the threat posed by anti-national, atheistic Russian messianism to Ukraine and the whole world, its culture and civilization, you not only constantly strove for complete separation from it, but also for the independent development of all aspects of life and creativity of a nation. A Patriarchate was for you a spiritual state, as it is for all our people. You fought for it, not for yourself, but for our Church and nation, for the benefit of all Christianity, for the benefit of the whole ecumenical movement and, in particular, for the elevation and honouring of the Church of the Catacombs, acknowledging its specific God-given mission throughout Christendom. This idea of a Patriarchate has already become an intrinsic part of Ukrainians, and not only Ukrainians, but among Christian movements in the world. This idea is invincible.

You, Patriarch Josyf, have left us to be with Christ our Saviour. In your person as a Martyr, we have a Great Representative before Almighty God. Although we are filled with unbearable grief, having been orphaned, there glows, however, a comforting spark, an instinctive belief, that before our Almighty God — the Ukrainian nation now has the most eminent advocate of the aims it strives for — to live as a free people surrounded by free nations and to praise in freedom Our Lord and you, His Emissary on Ukrainian soil, you — Your Beatitude, Patriarch Josyf — the Light of all Christianity, Martyr of the Cross and Ukraine, Saint of Ukraine.

Ukraine and its Patriarch, together with his spiritual legacy, are one intrinsic entity.

All of Ukraine and the whole Christian world which sympathizes with it deeply bows down before you, our Patriarch, our Pater Patriae, on your eternal journey, for whom the Ukrainian Church of the Catacombs and the heroic struggle of Ukraine prophesy the victory of Christ our Lord over the Russian anti-Christ. Please accept my greatest esteem, Your Beatitude, my Great Teacher and Spiritual Father.

In the name of struggling Ukraine and all Ukrainians, who always remained faithful to you even in the most difficult moments of your strenuous efforts in exile for Ukrainian Christian Truth, — I pledge before you, Patriarch of Ukraine, that we will remain constant followers of your testaments, realize your national-religious teachings, follow in your footsteps, cherish the idea of a Patriarchate and defend the Ukrainian Patriarchate which you created.

You, Our Patriarch, Saint of Ukraine, having passed into eternal life as the Representative of Ukraine before Almighty God, will pray for God's grace for our Church, for the Ukrainian people, so that Christ the Saviour

may help us in the very near future in realizing your dreams and ideas on Ukrainian martyred soil and that your remains may be made to rest in the capital of St. Andriy Pervozvany and St. Volodymyr the Great in Kyiv — for the Great Millenium of Christianity.



*A last farewell by Mr. Yaroslav Stetsko at the open coffin
of His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf Slipyj*



Stepan Bandera

Yaroslav HARBUZ

25TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF STEPAN BANDERA

An address delivered in London in October, 1984

We are remembering today an event which occurred in Munich, 25 years ago. A Russian KGB agent, Stashinsky, using an ingenious poisoning device murdered Stepan Bandera.

In Moscow there would have been great rejoicing. The Politburo had finally removed a very sharp thorn from its side. By this action they had hoped to leave a very rebellious Ukrainian people without leadership, without direction and at a complete loss at what to do next, eventually leading to complete submission. But, were they successful in achieving their objectives?

Yes, in so far as they had killed the man, but in no way did it lead to the expected result because Stepan Bandera had been no ordinary person.

For a start he was deeply patriotic and held very strong Christian and moral views. This would have been engendered by the fact that he had been born in January, 1909, the son of a highly esteemed and patriotically-minded village priest who had played an active part in the fight for freedom in 1918-1919 against the armed Polish occupation. The family atmosphere was based on the deep religious spirit and the traditions of the Ukrainian nation.

Stepan Bandera's nationalistic views were developed at an early stage, in his adolescence and youth, as he was living in the aftermath of the Ukrainian liberation struggle during the years 1917-1921. It was clear that the downfall of the newly-declared Ukrainian Independent State was largely due to the socialist and non-militaristic tendencies of the leadership. Therefore, Ukrainian youth, indignant at being under foreign rule, once again turned to underground action and created as much harassment of the enemy as was possible.

Stepan Bandera actively included himself in the action even in his school days, taking any opportunity he could to embarrass the Polish occupation. That was the enemy — he had to act. He was preparing himself and others with him to sacrifice all for the revolutionary ideal.

Being fully committed to Ukraine's struggle for independence by the time he was eighteen, Stepan Bandera joined the nationalistic Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) and two years later, in 1929, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) of which he was a member from the outset. These organisations were ruthlessly persecuted by the Polish authorities and Stepan Bandera found himself arrested several times for his propagandist activities.

Propaganda was his field and he was brilliant. His ideas, simple and direct, always tried to involve the ordinary man and instil in him the glory of Ukraine's past and the fervour to struggle for Ukraine's independence. The people listened and followed him because of his ideals and, above all, his example.

Stepan Bandera certainly was a leader with unrivalled talents. His strong character and will, and his full committance to the liberation cause were combined with decisive action, perceptive vision and speed of thought.

Those talents could only lead to his rising through the ranks and eventually, in 1932, becoming the head of the Executive of the OUN and Commander-in-Chief of the UVO which by then had helped to integrate into and give military substance to the OUN.

Under his leadership the OUN grew into an all-embracing, clearly-defined movement of national liberation which was mobilising the Ukrainian nation to battle for its freedom and independence. It was at one with the people, entering all aspects of their lives and giving them a nationalistic basis.

By the time of Bandera's arrest by the Polish authorities, in 1934, for the successful attempt by the OUN on the life of Bronislaw Pieracky, the Polish Minister of the Interior, the Ukrainian nation saw in Bandera a true leader of Ukraine and a national hero. Whilst in prison Bandera's strong personal qualities were again in evidence as well as his thought for others. He never gave in during interrogations, and even under strict surveillance he managed to pass on a message of moral support to the other prisoners: "Better to die than to betray!"

Released in 1939, Stepan Bandera found the need for his strong nationalistic views and unswerving faith in Ukraine's self-determination. There were now two enemies — Russia and Germany. The OUN contained a section led by Colonel Melnyk which was then seeking German aid and support for the fight against Russia. As far as Bandera was concerned this would compromise Ukraine's position so there could be no agreement between himself and Melnyk. As a result of this, representatives of OUN both in Ukraine and abroad established the Revolutionary Leadership of OUN, electing Stepan Bandera as its head. The Second Extraordinary Congress of OUN, in the spring of 1941, confirmed this choice and made him head of the entire organisation.

In his new capacity Stepan Bandera played a decisive part in the proclamation of the restoration of the independence and indivisibility of the Ukrainian State, in consequence of which the Provisional Ukrainian National Government was created in Lviv on 30th June, 1941. It was in this connection that he was arrested a week later by the Germans, and also because he and Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko categorically refused to denounce the Act of the 30th of June. Together with the members of the Provisional Government under Yaroslav Stetsko, they were incarcerated in a concentration camp at Sachsenhausen until virtually the end of the war.

During both periods of his incarceration the OUN continued to be active because its aims and objectives had been clearly outlined by Bandera and the ground rules laid down for further action. In the forties the OUN together with the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the supreme command of General Taras Chuprynka-Shukhevych fought on two fronts — against the Nazi Germans and the Soviet Russians — thus following and supporting Bandera's stand against collaboration.

After his release in December, 1944, Stepan Bandera resumed active leadership of the Ukrainian liberation struggle and remained supreme leader of the OUN until his tragic death in October 1959. Despite the altered conditions of the struggle — the Bolshevik occupation of all Ukrainian lands; the emigration of thousands of Ukrainians necessitating Bandera's living in exile; the widespread military activities of the UPA under the leadership of Roman Shukhevych-Taras Chuprynka, Bandera's deputy in Ukraine — Stepan Bandera still directed the activities of the OUN towards an uncompromising struggle with the enemy in Ukraine. Countless messengers crossed and recrossed the borders to carry his words so that those who went into action could carry his name with them into battle. He was becoming a legend for those fighting in Ukraine and his name struck fear in the enemy. They classed and still do anyone who strove or strives to achieve Ukraine's independence a "Banderite". That was the type of person whom Moscow had to deal with, someone who continued to pursue his path unwaveringly, regardless of obstacles or dangers.

Apart from the military aspect Stepan Bandera continued to mould the political character of the OUN and give it its proper form of organisation. He was very interested in the political programme of the whole Ukrainian National Revolution and contributed an important share to the ideological content of Ukrainian nationalism. His writings in the late forties and fifties describe very clearly who and what is the enemy of Ukraine and what all Ukrainians must guard against.

In his extensive work of 1950, "Ukrainian National Revolution, Not Merely Anti-Regime Resistance", he states: '...the struggle for Ukraine's independence is the struggle against Russia, not just against Bolshevism but against every form of Russian grasping imperialism which is characteristic of the Russian people throughout history and at the present time. ...The Russian people will do everything possible to keep Ukraine in subjugation'.

Bandera then goes further in his article "The Unchangeable Policy of Moscow" (1956), to state: "The programme of Bolshevik policies... has been drawn up by Lenin who reconciled the imperialistic strivings of Tsarist Russia with the Marxist doctrine." This led to the conclusion that Communism is an enemy of Ukraine since it became an ally and partner of Russian imperialism. Moreover Bandera was opposed to Communism in principle as well. He called it a 'source of evil' because as he states: 'Com-

munism always remains the enemy of the nation, its values and original life'. The same comments were extended to even National Communism which he considered as a short lived event, being a transitory state between national independence and subordination to Bolshevik imperialism or vice versa.

On the other hand, in Bandera's opinion the Ukrainian problem should be the concern of the whole world and in return he could envisage Ukraine standing on the common front of all the peoples enslaved by Russia and Communism. For this reason he took an active part in the founding and supporting of the ideas of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). And finally, it was always his belief that the OUN would be the means by which Ukraine would achieve its freedom. He was constantly urging his members: 'Of importance, however, is that the Organisation consistently pursues its work for the eventual realisation of the immutable ideas from which it draws its strength'. And those abroad he reminded that: 'Our Organisation, in countries abroad as well as in the homeland, has room only for those who possess a sense of responsibility and moral strength and who will dedicate themselves and all they have to the service of our cause'.

So it was quite obvious why Moscow wanted Stepan Bandera out of the way. His qualities of leadership, his continual activity, his influence on the Ukrainian people both in Ukraine and in exile and his political views were pure anathema to the Russians. But it is also for those same reasons that his influence has lived on. He had laid down the aims and directives of the OUN and the revolutionary struggle, he had been fully committed to the struggle and by his example he had encouraged others. He had been their leader — his name the banner under which they could fight. Bandera could not be forgotten.

Twenty-five years later he certainly has not been forgotten. The essence of the liberation struggle and of his writings are still the same today. The words are remembered and Ukraine fights on. The sixties, the seventies and even the early eighties have produced people in Ukraine who have been imprisoned for being "nationalists", that is for continuing the struggle for independence in the spirit of Bandera, the OUN, and the UPA.

For us Ukrainians, abroad and in exile, the message is still clear and we cannot forget that, in the words of Stepan Bandera: 'it is up to us to disseminate the true facts about Ukraine's struggle, about her ideological stance and purpose in the fight for all people's progress and freedom from Bolshevism'.

Ukraine has not forgotten, the enemy has certainly not forgotten, and we will not forget Stepan Bandera!

Sviatoslav HORDYNSKY

UKRAINIAN ROMANTICISM AND ITS RELATION TO THE WESTERN WORLD

The history of Ukrainian romanticism is very complicated and has few similarities to the movements that took place in Ukraine's nearest neighbours, Russia and Poland, who enjoyed more or less normal conditions for romantic development.

Beginning with the battle of Poltava in 1709 the steady destruction of the Kozak state by the Russian government continued during the entire 18th century. In the 1760's and 1770's the Russian government abolished Ukraine's last autonomous rights, destroyed the Kozak centre on the Dnieper River and banished the Kozak leaders to the Solovki Islands and Siberia. At the same time the Polish army throttled the last Kozak uprising in Western Ukraine, which was then incorporated into the Polish Kingdom. However, Poland herself was soon divided, and Petersburg took from her not only the Ukrainian regions but also occupied the greater part of Poland with her capital city, Warsaw. Besides Galicia, which fell to Austria, practically all the Ukrainian regions were incorporated into the Russian Empire. The peasants and Kozaks were subjected to serfdom, and the process of centralization, begun during the reign of Catherine II, led to the complete russification of the administrative and educational systems, which became accessible only to the nobility and the governing class.

In 1796, when Johann Christian Engel published in Halle his *Geschichte der ukrainischen Kozaken* (History of the Ukrainian Kozaks), which compared the great deeds of the Kozaks with those of the Greek and Roman heroes, Ukraine had already vanished from the map of Europe, and the Kozak era lived only in the legends and songs of the people. Turbulent and dynamic, yearningly sentimental, yet inspired with the power of true poetry, these songs captured the imagination of poets, composers and artists of other nations. Here one recalls Schiller's words: "What should for ever live in songs, must perish in life".

Let us take, for example, the figure of Hetman Ivan Mazepa. It was positively forbidden to mention him in Ukraine during the tsarist regime. By ukase of Peter I, Mazepa was to be cursed during every mass in the churches of the Empire. His figure, however, thanks to a great extent to Voltaire and Byron, became legendary. Not only poets, prose writers and dramatists — Hugo in France, Ryleev and Pushkin in Russia, Slowacki in Poland, Stebisch and Gottschall in Germany and Frich in Chechia — but

also composers, to name only Liszt, dedicated their works to him. Artists, especially French painters such as Delacroix, Gericault, Vernet, Chassériau and Boulanger, inspired by Hugo's poem *Mazepa*, depicted this figure. There were also numerous popular lithographs in France and Germany in which Mazepa was portrayed as a great lover, prince and even king of Ukraine, the main scene always being the headlong gallop of a wild horse across the steppes with young Mazepa bound to it. This was wholly in the spirit of romanticism, which searched for the elemental forces of life and for a hero struggling not only with his environment but also with his fate, thus becoming a tragic figure. Here undoubtedly the most outstanding work is the poem by Victor Hugo. Hugo was inspired by Byron's work, with its English sentimentalist overtones, but he gave his poem broader, more dynamic and universal aspects: in his furious course, bound to his horse's back, Mazepa personifies a man carried by his poetic genius — like a wild horse — through the spaces of Spirit, his hair entangled in a comet's tail, beyond the planets and moons and Saturn rings. Running beyond wordly limitations, this man reaches the limit of his physical forces yet manages to gather the remnants of his enery and still conquer, arising a ruler, just as Mazepa became the prince of Ukraine after being freed from his bonds.

Perhaps we have run somewhat ahead in the instance of Mazepa, but he is a very characteristic example of the romantic period, which ran counter to the preceding era of rationalism and classicism and which was awakened by the liberationist movements of the French Revolution. Romanticism sought a different expression and a different portrayal of the individual, capable of storming the imagination of the masses through his uncommon deeds. Like in other countries, romanticism in Ukraine emerged from classicism still possessing strong baroque elements. The Ukrainian period of *Sturm und Drang*, however, appeared quite late, with the publication in 1798 of Ivan Kotliarevsky's travesty of Virgil's *Aeneid*. Beginning in the 16th century, parodies of the *Aeneid* appeared in Italy, France, Germany, and Austria, the last being Anton Alois Blumauer's *Die Abenteuer des frommen Helden Aeneas* (The Adventures of the Pious Hero Aeneas), published in Vienna in 1782. A minor Russian poet, Nikolai Osipov, appropriated this idea from Blumauer, and Kotliarevsky in turn took it over from Osipev. However, Kotliarevsky presented the dandy type, as portrayed by both poets, in a new light: as a Kozak hero, and adventurer with a dose of unrestrained humour and fantasy. Many critics agree that, despite its classic subject matter and form, this work has romantic characteristics. It diverges from the "grand style" of the didactic-moral literature of the preceding era, drawing upon a boundless source of national customs, traditional beliefs, facetiae and vulgarism and, above all, using the spoken Ukrainian language. The literary Ukrainian language up to that time was Church Slavonic, which, although strongly ukrainianized, was hardly used colloquially in a predominantly peasant country. Kotliarevsky's work immediately showed the rich possibilities of the living language, although

its grammatical rules and dictionaries were still to be printed.

The "low" travesty style of Kotliarevsky became fashionable among poets until the appearance of Taras Shevchenko in 1840. Petro Hulak-Artemovsky, later the dean of the Russian-language University of Kharkiv, was still producing parodies of Horace's odes in the 1820's. He strongly ukrainianized them not only by changing the names but also by introducing local Ukrainian conventions. However, his translation of Goethe's ballad *The Fisherman*, published in 1827, represented a change in style which inaugurated Ukrainian romanticism. Lev Borovykovsky, another of Hulak's contemporaries, similarly approached his translations of Burger's pre-romantic ballad, *Lenora*. He too, ukrainianized the ballad, naming it *Marusia*. Changes of this nature were common practice at the time, even earlier the Russian poet Vassili Zhukovsky changed *Lenora* in his translation to *Svetliana*. The romantic subject matter of that ballad, namely, a girl with a dead bridegroom — a well-known theme in Ukrainian folklore poetry — obviously attracted the Ukrainian translator.

Thus the return to the national language of Ukraine, the steppes of which Adam Mickiewicz in his lectures at the College de France in Paris called "the capital of lyric poetry from which the songs of unknown poets spread throughout all of the Slavic world", was a great contribution of Ukrainian romanticism. Even in the 1770's Johann Gottfried Herder had not hesitated to place the Kozak *dumas* — the Ukrainian historical songs — next to the "ballads of the Britons, the chansons of the troubadours, the romances of the Spaniards and the *sagas* of the ancient Scalds", long before the first collections of Ukrainian folk poetry, which he called "nature poetry" were known to the researchers and editors of the early song collections in Ukraine. Ukrainians are grateful to Herder for his prophetic vision of Ukraine in his *Diary of My Journey in the Year 1769*: "What a view of these West-North regions when once the spirit of culture will visit them? Ukraine will become a new Greece — the beautiful sky of this people, her jovial character, her musical nature, her fruitful land will one day awake: from so many small uncivilized tribes, just as the Greeks also once were, will arise a cultural nation. Her boundaries will stretch down to the Black Sea and from there out into the world".

Ukrainian romanticism had three main periods: the Kharkiv centre was closely tied to the local university founded in 1805. Although Russian, it attracted Ukrainian professors, writers and researchers of folklore. Among them were several interesting personalities, such as Amvrosy Metlynsky, a pessimistic bard who attempted to extend poetry beyond imitation of folk songs, which he nevertheless valued and published. Dmytro Chyzhevsky, in his *History of Ukrainian Literature*, 1956, points out the philosophical thinking of this poet who linked Herder's ideas with German romanticism and Hegel. For Metlynsky, writes Chyzhevsky, folk poetry was the revelation of the eternal thoughts of the human soul, and as such was closely tied to the life, traditions and customs of the people. Indeed, language was one of

the most important strengths of the people, part of their origin and even their existence.

The second integral figure of the Kharkiv group was Mykola Kostomarov, a professor at Kharkiv University and a prominent historian. Many critics reproach him for not having fundamentally mastered the Ukrainian language (he was born on the Ukrainian-Russian border). Perhaps for this very reason, he sought to adapt the lyrical-sentimental element of folk poetry to a language also suitable to philosophical thought, creating a series of ballads, dramas and translations of foreign poetry.

The Kharkiv romantics attempted to circumvent the prohibitions of tsarist censorship by publishing in Russian periodicals in Ukraine or printing in Petersburg and Moscow, where Ukrainian literature was not considered as dangerous as in Ukraine itself. Ukrainian ethnography was less strictly controlled, and the publication of Ukrainian folk poetry was a notheworthy event. Not only Ukrainian but also Russian and Polish researchers were fascinated by it. Moreover, Europe at that time was swept by a wave of enthusiasm for folk poetry, mainly after the publication in Heidelberg of Armin and Brentano's famous collection of German folk songs *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* in 1806-08.

The first Ukrainian collection of folk poetry was *An Attempt at a Collection of Little-Russian Songs*, published in St. Petersburg in 1819. The author was Mykola Zertelev, a Caucasian prince born in Ukraine. The second important collection was *Little-Russian Songs* by Mykhailo Maksymovych, printed in Moscow in 1827, which consisted both of lyrical and historical poems. In 1834 and 1849 additional publications in this series appeared, but they did not exhaust Maksymovych's material, which consisted of more than 2500 songs. These collections evoked an enormous response. In the 1830's *The Zaporozhskaya Staryna* (Zaporogian Antiquity), compiled by Izmail Sreznevsky, a Russian who spent his childhood in Ukraine, appeared in two volumes consisting mainly of Kozak *dumas*. However, the critics of the collection noted that the author, in his youthful romantic enthusiasm, at times altered or added passages from his own imagination. He later moved to Petersburg University as professor of Slavic studies. He is well-known for his still irreplaceable dictionary of Old Church-Slavonic language.

Mention must be made of the Polish researcher Zorian Dolenga-Chodakowski, whose real name was Adam Czarnocki. He collected over two thousand Ukrainian songs that appeared in part in Maksymovych's, Lukashkevych's and Gogol's collections. In his article *About the Slavs before Christianity*, printed in Polish in Lviv in 1818, Czarnocki noted the relationship between *The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign* and Ukrainian folk poetry, a relationship which Maksymovych later extensively developed in his essays on *The Tale*.

Yet romanticism was not rooted in poetry alone. It was founded also in the historical documents of the time, including the Kozak chronicles and

such political treatises as *Istoria Rusov* (The History of the Rus' People), written by an unknown but patriotic author at the end of the 18th century. It was known before its publication in 1846 and won great popularity among Ukrainian writers.

Before proceeding chronologically to the Kyivan period of romanticism we must take note of the progress of this movement in Galicia. During the first division of Poland in 1772 Galicia came under Austria's jurisdiction. The Habsburgs, who were also kings of Hungary, renewed their old dynastic claims to this land. In his *History of Ukrainian Literature* (1890), Ivan Franko considered this transfer from Polish anarchy to the bureaucratic Austrian government somewhat advantageous in that the new government started to establish elementary and high schools with Ukrainian (then called Ruthenian) as the language of instruction. The University of Lviv was founded in 1784, and a separate faculty, *Studium Ruthenum*, was later added to it. However, the written language was actually a distorted Church-Slavonic, and not only Polish landowners' circles but also the higher Ruthenian clergy were opposed to the introduction of spoken language. Under the influence of Kharkiv romantics three former students of the Lviv Theological Seminary and University — Markian Shashkevych, Ivan Vahylevych and Yakiv Holovatsky, known as *Ruska Triytsia*, published in 1837 the literary collection *Rusalka Dnistrovaia* (The Dnister Water-Nymph). Its publication heralds Galicia's cultural renaissance. The book appeared in Budapest because there was not even a censor in Lviv for Ukrainian books. The entire edition was confiscated by the Viennese court police and distribution prohibited. It was feared that such works might induce pan-Slavic sympathies among the Ukrainians in Galicia, but the few copies which previously evaded the seizure were sufficient to provide a start for literature in the spoken language. Mykola Vereshchynsky, the District school inspector in provincial Kolomyia, donated 200 golden Gulden towards the publication of *Rusalka*. In his memoirs, Holovatsky describes him as "well-read in the works of Schiller, Goethe and Herder". Thus even the popular national ideas propagated by Herder seemed dangerous to the Austro-Hungarian police. The book appeared on the open market only after the revolution of 1848.

An important publication of the romantic period in Galicia was *Polish and Ruthenian Songs* by Waclaw of Olesko, which together with a musical instrumentation by Karol Lipinski, was published in Lviv in 1833. Waclaw's real name was Zaleski, a Pole born in Olesko, an ancient village northeast of Lviv. He studied at the Lviv University and in the 1850's became Austrian governor of Galicia. His collection belongs to the most valuable foundations of Ukrainian folk poetry.

Yet Galicia's renaissance exerted no influence eastwards, although it borrowed ideas from Eastern Ukraine. The language of Galicia had been separated from the central Ukraine for too long and it still contained too

many archaic, local and polonized forms. Linguistic parity began only at the end of the 19th century, thanks mainly to Ivan Franko.

The first half of the 1840's saw the Kyivan group of Ukrainian romantics emerge. It is linked, above all, with the figure of Taras Shevchenko. He was born in 1814 in the Kyiv district to a serf's family. When he was 15 years old, and his gifts obvious, his master took him to Vilnius, then to Warsaw and later to Petersburg, where he was apprenticed to an interior decorator for four years. There Ukrainians from the Academy circles discovered him. Karl Briullov, a russianized Frenchman and a leading figure of Russian art at that time, helped to buy the 24-year old Shevchenko out of bondage in 1838. The day he was freed from slavery he entered the Academy (where only free people were allowed to study) and he completed his studies in 1845. Yet the written word, not painting, was his forte.

His collection *Kobzar* (the Folk minstrel), comprising eight ballads and *dumas*, was published by one of Shevchenko's friends in 1840 in Petersburg, bringing him immediate fame. Formally, his poetry was closely related to folk poetry, yet his sensitive, virtuoso knowledge of language, rich, musically flowing and capable of expressing all nuances of spiritual mood, and encompassing intellectual ideas of depth, is evidenced throughout his work. His images of Ukraine were still very romantic, based on memories, the dreams of his youth, and what he had read. But between 1843-44 he travelled twice to Ukraine. He returned each time shattered and humbled, yet with growing sense of exaltation. His poetry became politicised, now dealing with historical-philosophical themes on a grand scale.

The year 1845 marks the great eruption of that creative volcano. Alone, disdainful of the words of caution of his closest friends, Shevchenko did nothing less than to take on the entire Tsarist Empire. In a series of "mystery" poems he attacked the subjugation of Ukraine, the Siberian prisons and the Russian poets' craven glorification of the war against the Caucasian tribes. With biting words, he mocked Peter the Great's monument in Petersburg and ridiculed Tsar Nicolas and his wife.

The reaction was two-fold. At that time in Kyiv the historian Kostomarov and the poet Panko Kulish founded *The Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius*, a secret organization based on the Christian messianic ideas of a federation of free Slavic nations, including Ukraine. The Empire reacted by imprisoning members of the Brotherhood, including Shevchenko, in 1847. The organizers of the Brotherhood were exiled; Shevchenko, whose manuscripts were seized, was sentenced to 10 years' service in a penal battalion in the Asian steppes. Tsar Nicolas by his own hand added to Shevchenko's sentence: "To be kept under the most strict supervision and prohibited to write and paint". Only in 1858 and in poor health did the poet return from the exile. Three years later he died. His post-exile poetry, although more classic, never quite lost the romantic fervour of his youth.

The year of 1847 marked the utter defeat of the Kyivan group of romantics. In this year it was prohibited to publish any Ukrainian books. Only after the death of Nicolas I in 1855 did the situation improve somewhat, enabling Kulish to move the literary activity of the Kyivans to Petersburg. This took place in the second half of the century.

If we were to observe the romantic period in Ukraine from a contemporary point of view, literary activity would seem drastically meager, but Russian censorship allowed only seven Ukrainian books to be printed in Ukraine in a period covering more than 40 years, from Kotlarevsky's *Aeneid*, 1798, to Shevchenko's *Kobzar*, 1840 (both works published in Petersburg). Nevertheless, even under these oppressive conditions, separate "Ukrainian schools" appeared in Russian and Polish literature.

Russian authors took to Ukrainian themes. The poet K. Ryleev wrote *Voinarovsky*, a poem about Mazepa's aide-de-camp, who was kidnapped by tsarist agents in Hamburg and exiled to Siberia. After the execution of the Decembrist Ryleev, in 1826, Pushkin was motivated to portray a negative image of the Ukrainian hetman in his poem *Poltava*. Yet Ukrainian writers who wrote in Russian, such as the poet E. Hrebinka and the historian M. Markevych, also contributed to the "Ukrainian school". The majority of them were prose writers, the most renowned being Mykola Hohol (Gogol) who in his historical novel *Taras Bulba* depicted the heroic struggle of Kozaks with the enemies of Ukraine. It is quite obvious that by using Russian, writers had easier access to publication and to recognition, to say nothing of financial gain.

Polish writers, born in Ukraine and inspired by her nature and history — a history acceptable from the Polish nobility's point of view — created in the 1820's and 1830's the "Ukrainian school" in Polish literature. A series of talented poets, such as Antoni Malczewski, Seweryn Goszczynski and Bohdan Zaleski, appeared. Julius Slowacki, born in Volynia and one of the Polish national poets, was close to this school with his drama *Mazepa* and poem *Beniowski*. Mikolaj Czajkowski wrote fantastic stories about the Kozaks, some being translated into German.

We should like here to call attention to the relationship of Ukrainian literature, especially of poetry, to German literature during the period of romanticism. We scarcely claim the existence of a "Ukrainian school" in German literature, although critics, such as Dmytro Chyzhevsky, in his article in the Ukrainian Encyclopedia (Munich, 1949), writes that something akin to a Ukrainian school is to be detected in German literature in the 1830's and 1840's. However, in his *History of Ukrainian Literature* in 1956 he no longer holds this opinion, enumerating only such works as Chamisso's translation of Ryleev's poem *Voinarovsky* and stating that the translation is better than the original. He also notes the collection of Ukrainian poetry by Waldbrühl, Bodenstedt, and Mauritius, Stebisch's poem *Mazepa*, R. von

Gottschalk's *Gonta*, A. Mützelburg's novel *Mazepa* and Czajkowski's Kozak narratives. Finally Chyzhevsky states that "the internal relation in the development of the Ukrainian-German romantic literature has not yet been thoroughly researched".

Ukrainian folk poetry was known in the musical world even before the appearance of its first printed translations. Historians of Ukrainian music have noted the use of songs and musical themes by such composers as Bach, Haydn, Bethoven, Weber and Schubert. Some Ukrainian songs, for example, *The Kozak Rode Beyond the Danube*, which Christoph Tiedge published in his songbook in 1809, made its way into German folklore. "The Songbook of the Hanseatic Legion" incorporated this song, which became popular with German soldiers. Beethoven, who heard the song at the court of his friend Andriy Rosumovsky, the Russian ambassador in Vienna and the son of the last hetman of Ukraine, Kyrylo Rozumovsky, created his own variations. Beethoven utilized Ukrainian motifs in other works, including both sonatas and symphonies.

In 1845 Wilhelm Waldbrühl published in Leipzig his great collection of over 500 pages, *Slavic Balalaika*, which along with Russian and Polish poetry contained the translations of 96 Ukrainian songs. He was not a noted poet, being interested above all in melodies; however, he was popular in his time and Brahms composed the music to his Rhine songs. Although it can be maintained that Waldbrühl's collection is related more to music than to poetry, we must not forget that the poetry of the romantic period was closely allied to music in general, especially in Germany, where all the famous romantic poets — Goethe, Uhland, Eichendorf, Heine and Lenau — were "musical", and were a bottomless source for composers. Friedrich Bodenstedt's *Die Poetische Ukraine*, published in Stuttgart-Tübingen in 1845, already indicated a poet of outstanding stature. His translations of Pushkin and Lermontov, as well as Shakespeare's sonnets, have won a lasting place in German literature. His Ukrainian collection consists of 33 songs and 10 *dumas*. Bodenstedt completed the translations in Tbilisi, Georgia, aided there by two Ukrainians, Roskovshenko and Afanasiev-Chuzhbynsky. In spite of the complexity and difficulty of translating folk poetry into other languages, Bodenstedt did an excellent job, particularly with regard to the richness of verse forms and rhythm. It is quite characteristic that in the introduction to the historical *dumas* he mentioned their closeness to *The Tale of Prince Ihor's Campaign*. He expressed his view of Ukrainian poetry in the foreword to the collection: "And in no country did the tree of folk poetry bear such beautiful fruit, nowhere was the spirit of the people so vivaciously and so truly demonstrated in songs as by the Ukrainians..."

Anton Mauritius' (Jochmus) *Ukrainian Songs*, published in 1841 in Berlin, contains 27 poems on Ukrainian subjects, usually on a Kozak theme and in the style of Ukrainian songs and ballads. From the historical point of view they may not always be exact, and the author has often drawn on his

own imagination, however, they attest to the popularity of Ukrainian motifs in German literary circles.

Regarding the background of the romantic period, an attempt has here been made to illustrate the wandering of themes, ideas and forms from the East to the West, and vice versa. The scale, however, is extremely unbalanced: on the one hand, the literature of the West, which could develop normally; and on the other hand a literature which has just discovered the possibilities of its native language, in a country struggling for sheer survival. Romanticism captured Ukrainian poets' minds with its diversity, its freedom to transcend reality, and its ability to recreate reality with fantasy. Most of all, it found new value in the human being as an individual, who as in ancient tragedy struggled with his fate, and again learned to realise the power of myths. In Ukraine the spirit of romanticism inspired Ukrainians to participate in great liberation movements. In literature it helped to produce works that, at times of national persecution although sometimes maimed, still were full of vitality and expression. We have noted here some of the living Western ideas that helped in this development. We close with the words of the romantic poet Kulish who said about Shevchenko: "Truly — you are our poet and we are your people".

A lecture delivered in German at the "Symposium on Ukrainian Romanticism and Neo-Romanticism on the Background of Western European Literature", organized by the Ludwig-Maximilian University in Munich, January 11-12, 1983.

A NEW PUBLICATION

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Mykola CHIROVSKY

THE CHRISTIANIZATION OF UKRAINE

In a few years, we will be celebrating the 1000th anniversary of the christianization of Ukraine. How should we gain a better understanding of this fact — a 1000 years of Christianity in Ukraine?

In effect, it will be more than a thousand years since the christianization of Ukraine, for Christianity appeared much earlier — probably 1500 or even 1700 years ago. The official date of the christianization of Ukraine took place more than a 1000 years ago.

To think that Christianity has existed in our country since the year 988 is as unacceptable as 860, the year when Ukraine first appeared on the international political arena when, as we learn from the chronicles, Princes Askold and Dyr led a naval force and attacked the capital of the Byzantine Empire, Constantinople, in the year 860.

In fact, Ukraine had played a significant historical role somewhat earlier, for the campaign against Constantinople already manifested a militarily well organised and a politically powerful Ukrainian State, which could well equate itself with the greatest power at that time, namely the Byzantine Empire. Ukraine already had behind it long years of political development, based on the development of the political life of the Antes and their struggle against the various hostile onslaughts of the Goths, Avars, Huns and other invading hordes. The Antes themselves were also involved in the wars against Byzantium.

Then came the period of the reigning dynasty of Prince Kyj, the last princes of which were, as various historical sources testify, Askold and Dyr.

Christianity was already widespread in the Antean and the ancient Kyivan State, probably as early as the 4th century A.D. if not earlier. Ukraine, being situated near the Greek colonies around the Black Sea, made it possible for our ancestors to keep up economic and cultural relations with these colonies and also with the Balkan countries, which, too, were influenced by Byzantium and its religious and cultural life. That is why Christianity must have first become manifest in Southern Ukraine and then in Central Ukraine long before 988 A.D. It also follows that followers of the new faith appeared very early on among the Antean-Ukrainian population. In addition, paganism in Ukraine was neither established nor developed enough to withstand the dynamism that Christianity had at that time.

Historical sources state that the bishops from the Black Sea lowlands took part in the Councils of Nice and Constantinople in 325 A.D. and 360 A.D. respectively. This further indicates the presence of Christianity in the

Black Sea basin, parts of which belonged and still belong to Ukraine. Over the centuries, starting from the previously mentioned dates, Christianity must have spread throughout Ukraine with the same force and missionary intensity as the constant trade contacts the Ukrainian populace successfully managed to keep. This fact has been testified in the numerous memoirs and accounts of Arab and Jewish traders who spent their time travelling across Ukraine in the period between the 5th and the 10th centuries.

Therefore, already in the 8th century, Christianity must have been remarkably widespread among the Ukrainian Slavs. Later Greek historical sources, in particular a testimony by Patriarch Photius, pointed out that after the unsuccessful attack on Constantinople in 860 AD, Prince Askold decided to christianize Ukraine and even went as far as requesting the Emperor to send a bishop and priests to Ukraine.

A Ukrainian chronicle states a different date for Askold's military campaign and does not mention any attempt on his part to christianize Ukraine. However, we have no reason at all to doubt the authenticity of Patriarch Photius' words. This means that already in the year 860 AD, i.e. almost 130 years before the official historical date given for the christianization of Ukraine in 988, Prince Askold, himself a Christian, probably intended to christianize the whole of Ukraine, especially as Christianity was already so obviously widespread in his country.

Subsequent events, however, in particular the arrival of the new dynastic rule, postponed Prince Askold's attempt to christianize Ukraine in 860. As a result, Ukraine officially remained pagan throughout the reigns of Princes Oleh, Ihor and Sviatoslav. However, there are numerous indications that during the reign of Prince Ihor, there were several Christian communities in Ukraine, including Kyiv. Kyiv may have also had its own bishop who looked after Christian communities in the country at that time.

Christians played a significant role in the political life of Ukraine during Prince Ihor's reign. Although Prince Ihor himself was not a Christian, many of his advisers and retainers were. This has been confirmed in a treaty made between Prince Ihor and the Greeks in the year 941 AD, which states:

“... And if anyone from Ukraine dares to break the agreement, then, if he is a Christian, he should be punished by God Almighty and condemned eternally in this world and the next, and may those who have not been christened receive no salvation from either God or Ferun... May they be held in bondage in all eternity...”

This is an exceptionally significant statement as it proves that there were not only a great number of Christians around at this time, but also that they played just as important a role as the pagans in the state apparatus of Ukraine.

Although details differ in various historical sources, there cannot, however, be any doubt whatsoever that Princess Olha was a Christian. Therefore, just as in Byzantium prior to the ascension of Emperor Constantine the Great, Christians in Ukraine had already formulated the rights of inheritance and dynastic rule.

Later on the chronicle recounts the actual act of the christianization of Ukraine by Prince Volodymyr the Great in 988. This part of history is interestingly and vividly depicted, and almost believable. It appears as if Prince Volodymyr was the one who decided to christianize Ukraine and sent out envoys in search of the best faith. But why did the chronicler forget to mention Askold and his endeavours to christianize pagan Rus' 130 years earlier? Any definite assertion on this is difficult to make and one can only guess that the reason for this assumption was to glorify Prince Volodymyr from political motives or because Prince Askold's plan was not realised, whereas Prince Volodymyr's "christianization" of Ukraine was actually put into practice. We can also surmise that Prince Volodymyr's act was a clear recognition of Christianity as the principal faith in Ukraine. Such a declaration could only be made after the majority of people had accepted Christianity as a faith. This could not have been effected from one day to the next, for no force at all would have been able to turn a completely pagan Ukraine into a Christian one, lead the people into the River Dnipro and make them accept the sacrament of baptism.

This whole story in the chronicle does not reflect the events, but is inclined towards glorifying Prince Volodymyr for an act which was similar to that of Constantine's Mediolian edict in 313 AD, which eventually appointed a Christian Primate in the Roman Empire.

When the monk Nestor, together with other learned historians wrote his chronicle "Povist' Vremennykh Lit", Ukraine was completely under the influence of Byzantium. Thus, when Nestor writes that Ukraine officially accepted Christianity from Constantineple, he wishes to elevate the authority and greatness of Ukraine. Ancient historical sources literally adopted the story in the chronicle describing all the events before and during the christianization of Ukraine, ie. Prince Volodymyr's wooing of Princess Anna of Greece; the rejection of the proposal by the emperor; the Battle of Korsun and Prince Volodymyr's subsequent victory; the signing of the marriage contract and the fact that Princess Anna brought with her from Greece priests, books and vestments in order to secure the Christian faith. In addition, it is interesting to note that Greek historical sources have no mention at all of such an important event.

Yet recent historical sources, however, have cast grave doubts to the authenticity of the events in the chronicle. The historians Priselkov, Shmurlo, Chubaty, Abraham, Pogorielov, Nazarko and others took a different course and some even supposed that Kyiv held close negotiations, regarding the

official acceptance of Christianity in Ukraine, not with Constantineple but with Okhrida in Bulgaria, in the year 988 or 989, Okhrida being a patriarchate independent from Constantinople. Spiritual aid from Okhrida in no way suited Nestor, who was greatly disposed towards the Greeks. Such a view on the matter did not do anything to add to the glorification of the Kyivan State. Nestor wanted to unite Kyiv with Constantinople and the Ukrainian Church with the powerful Patriarch in Constantinople and not with some insignificant clergyman in Okhrida.

Today, the interpretation regarding the Okhrida theory is somewhat more feasible. Books, written in a comprehensible slavonic language, could have come from Bulgaria; priests could have arrived in Ukraine speaking old Slavonic. This could have actually helped Prince Volodymyr in establishing and strengthening Christianity in his country. Who in Ukraine could either read or speak Greek? Only the rare individual could. Greek priests or Greek books could not have had much effect on the Ukrainian people.

Ukraine did not accept Christianity from Bulgaria. It took hundreds of years for Christianity to seep in and become established in Ukraine. Therefore, we cannot accept the Okhrida theory in its old interpretation. In fact, Bulgaria only supplied Ukraine with aid and this helped to secure the already established official Christian faith, both before and after Prince Volodymyr's act in 988 or 989.

This leads to the great distinction between the christianization of Ukraine in the south and Russia in the north. Christianity reached Russia hundreds of years later for various other reasons. Firstly, Ukraine was situated much nearer to Christian centres than Russia in the far north. That is why Christianity started to infiltrate Ukrainian lands much earlier than Russian lands. In addition, the Greek neighbouring colonies around the Black Sea and Sea of Azov, such as Olvia, Kherones, Phamahoria, Pontkapeia and others, where Christianity was widespread, had an influence over Ukrainian territory. Secondly, paganism in Ukraine, as already stated, was, as a religion, culturally prepared for the ideals of good and evil. It was free from pagan primitivism and cultural backwardness, which existed in the north. This paganism of Finnic origin possessed its own religious caste and was better organised. This is also another reason why opposition from Russia in the north with regard to the spread of Christianity was greater and more successful, and why Christianity did not reach Russia until much later. Thirdly, the north, due to its distance, did not have any cultural or economical connections with Christian centres, unlike Ukraine. Therefore, one can conclude that Christianity appeared in Ukraine much earlier and had more time to formulate the nation's spirit and its culture than Russia in the north. Christianity is not even 1000 years old in Russia. There was no trace of Christianity in Muscovy, when already in 988 or 989 Christianity had become the official religion in Ukraine, sealed by the act of Volodymyr the Great.

It cannot be denied that this long history of Christianity in Ukraine had a lasting effect on the psychological development of the Ukrainian nation, making its people more gentle and more compassionate and more cultured, whereas the Russians with their mixture of mongol blood and much less affected by the influence of Christianity, are harsh, bloodthirsty and uncultured, capable of annihilating other nations through genocide or artificial famines, as in the case of the Kalmyks or Ukrainians.

Finally, for a complete comprehension of the Christianization of Ukraine, it is necessary to add a few details given by recent researchers on this matter.

O. I. Monchak examines the following significant moments. First of all, it is incorrect to talk of the "Christianization of Ukraine" from a canonical point of view for neither a country nor a people can be baptised, but only an individual person. Therefore, the above mentioned phrase is purely figurative. He also concedes that the christianization of Ukraine by Volodymyr the Great was, in fact, only the foundation of the Church's permanent organization. He states the following in his essay :

"To call Volodymyr the Baptiser of Ukraine, is to insult and depreciate the greatness of St. Volodymyr the Great's epochal deed and the importance of the Ukrainian state at that time. St. Volodymyr deserves much more merit than being merely known as a baptiser-missionary. He well deserves the title of 'Organiser of the Church in Ukraine...'

O. A. Velyky, in one of his last great works on the subject of the christianization of Ukraine, fully supports the Bulgarian theory about the origins of the Church, ie. the Okhrida theory. By accepting this theory, the authenticity of the chronicle version about Volodymyr's christianization of Ukraine in 988 or 989 being the beginning of the Christian era in Ukraine, is immediately put in doubt. Thus, the way is open for a new and more rational interpretation, namely, that Volodymyr's act was the culmination of the long process of christianization which had been taking place in Ukraine for several centuries past.

To further strengthen this doubt regarding the authenticity of the chronicle version, one must add that the legend about the so-called Norman beginnings of Ukraine, where one reads that the Varangians organised Ukraine into a state, is just as unbelievable. But this is a subject on its own.

Regarding the terminology "Christianization of Ukraine", it is better to use the term "The state acceptance of Christianity in Ukraine by St. Volodymyr".

(Translated by I. K.)

NEWS FROM UKRAINE**CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH
IN UKRAINE**

Recently, the first eight parts of a new Ukrainian samvydav document — a journal entitled a “Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine” — has reached the West.

This publication made its first appearance at the beginning of 1984, and documents the terrible plight of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and the brutal persecution suffered by Ukrainian Catholics at the hands of the Soviet Russian authorities.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was outlawed by the Russians in 1946. Its entire hierarchy and a large number of the clergy were liquidated, and the 5-million strong adherents of the Ukrainian Eastern-rite Catholic denomination were forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church. Since then, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has continued its clandestine existence in “the catacombs”.

The “Chronicle” is published as a regular information bulletin by the unofficial “Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine”, founded in September, 1982, to spearhead the campaign for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and to publicise its persecution, and has, at long last, given the Ukrainian Catholics a voice to the world.

This document reflects the recent resurgence of Ukrainian Catholic activity in Western Ukraine. Although it is mainly concerned with Catholics, the “Chronicle” also provides coverage of other religious and ethnic groups in Ukraine, as well as nationalist opposition.

**Number 1****ARRESTS**

In October, 1983, in the city of Stryi, the 71 year old Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest, Fr. Antin Potochnyak, was arrested. This is his fifth arrest. Fr. A. Potochnyak was arrested after a stomach operation and he was placed in Lviv prison with his stitches still in place. In two weeks a second operation was performed on him in prison. Potochnyak was sentenced to 1 year in a strict-regime corrective labour camp. At the present time Fr. Antin is in the Lviv labour camp VL-315/30, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel V. Povshenko.

*

In 1983 the Ukrainian Catholic, Ivan Vyrsta, was arrested. He is a resident of the village of Perehinske, Rozhnyativskiyi district, Ivano-Frankivsk region. Sentence: 1 year in a strict-regime corrective labour colony. At present he is being held in the Vynnytsia corrective labour camp IV-301/86.

*

The Ukrainian Catholic, Ivan Smetana, resident of the village of Salashi, Yavoriv district, Lviv region, was sentenced to 2 years in a strict-regime labour camp.

*

On January 6th, 1984, Ivan Kopolovets', resident of Dovhe, Zakarpatska region, was arrested. Reasons: I. Kopolovets' participated in a "vertep" (Christmas play). He, together with the other participants, was arrested while singing Christmas carols, beaten up and later sentenced. Term: 2 years of corrective work without imprisonment.

*

Heorhiy Postulati was arrested. He is a member of the Jehovah's Witnesses Church. H. Postulati lives in the Chernivtsy region, Kitsman district. Term: 3 years in a strict-regime labour camp.

NOTIFICATIONS

On January 12th, 1984, a regular meeting of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Catholics took place in Mizhhirskiyi district, in the Zakarpatska region. Agenda:

a) election of a chairman,

b) Samvydav.

Josyp Terelya was re-elected chairman.

*

In January, 1983, Pavlo Klymuk, a poet and a Christian, was arrested in the city of Lviv. He was charged with violation of article 209-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. ('Infringement of person and rights of a citizen under the guise of performing religious ceremonies'). P. Klymuk had been published in the illegal Baptist journal 'Herald of Truth'. The trial took place in the Soviet district of Lviv. The court adjourned the case six times for further investigation, but Klymuk was, nevertheless, sentenced to 5 years of labour camp.

*

In 1982, the monk, Brother Andriy (Anatoliy Shchur), was arrested in the Pochayivska Lavra. Sentence: 1 year in a strict-regime labour camp. In November, 1983, he was released from labour camp VL 315/30 in Lviv, but 2 months later he was re-arrested.

*

In 1982, the Ukrainian Greek Catholic priest, Fr. Ihnatiy (Hnat Soltys), was arrested. That same year he was sentenced for violating article 209-2 to

5 years in a labour camp to be followed by 5 years of internal exile. Fr. Ihnatiy was first arrested in 1945, but released after 10 months. Within 2 months of his release he was re-arrested and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment.

From 1946 until 1956, Fr. Ihnatiy served his sentence in Kamchatka. After his release he participated actively in the Catholic underground. A humble and sensitive man, Fr. Ihnatiy headed the movement known as Ukrainian Catholic-Penitents. At this time the KGB began spreading rumours that this was a new sect and that its aim was to discredit the Ukrainian Catholic Church. KGB agents infiltrated the movement of Catholic-Penitents. They created provocations deliberately and continued to spread false information.

In 1959, Fr. Ihnatiy was once again arrested and released in 1962. That same year Fr. Ihnatiy (Soltys) was re-arrested and tried for violating article 62-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian S.S.R. ('Anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda'). He was sentenced to 7 years in a strict-regime labour camp. He served his term in the notorious Dubrovlag camp in Mordovia.

In 1967, following his release, Fr. Ihnatiy went underground again.

In 1979, he was re-arrested and tried. He was released in 1982, but within a month was again re-arrested. He had served his last term in the labour camp's cell-type premises and had spent over 400 days in a punishment cell.

*

Rafalsky was arrested. At the present time he is in the investigative section of the regional psychiatric hospital in Lviv.

*

On January 6th, 1984, a group of Catholic youth gathered in the village of Yalynkuvate, Lviv region, in order to mark the arrest of the Ukrainian poet and Christian, Semen Skalych. At the gathering the poet's works were read, as well as the works of other banned poets. At the present time Skalych is serving a 10 year term in the Perm labour camps to be followed by 5 years of internal exile.

On January 18th, 1984, KGB officers conducted an inquiry in connection with the gathering in the villages of Volosyanka, Yalynkuvate and Slavske stanytsya. Random searches were carried out.

*

During Christmas festivities in the mountain village of Lysycheve, Zakarpatska region, district officials, accompanied by the militia, arrived from the regional centre in three cars, in order to disrupt carol singing. The carol singers beat up the authorities and pushed their cars into a ditch.

*

On January 12th, the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, received word that a new case was being prepared against Vasyly Sichko.

V. Sichko is serving his term in the Vynnytsia labour camp IV-301/86. Pray for V. Sichko.

*

On Christmas Eve, the Ukrainian Catholic woman, Polanya Bat'o, a resident of the village of Dovhe, Zakarpatska region, was released from a labour camp.

P. Bat'o is very ill. During her 1 year term P. Bat'o had spent 271 days in a punishment cell.

*

The Ukrainian Catholic Mykhaylo Trykur, is serving his fifth term in the Lviv labour camp VL-315/48. Trykur was arrested at the same time as J. Terelya, together with his wife Maria Trykur. J. Terelya was sentenced to 1 year, and the Trykur couple to 2 years each. M. Trykur is serving her term in the village of Dobrovody, Ternopil region. Maria has spent 300 days in cell-type premises and punishment cells. Pray for the martyr, sister Maria.

*

On December 26th, 1983, the chairman of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, Josyp Terelya, was released from labour camp VL-315/30.

NOTIFICATIONS

The following prisoners are serving their terms of punishment in labour camp IV-301/59 in the village of Peschanko, Vynnytsia region. They are there because of their faith in Our Lord Jesus Christ.

Ya. Yasinsky — 3 years — Baptist

V. Paun — 3 years — Baptist

Albert Verbyakh — 5 years — Evangelist — Seventh Day Adventist
(resident of the city of Berehove, Zakarpatska region)

V. Damaskin — 3 years — Baptist

V. Sherbets' — 3 years — Baptist

V. Serdyuk — 5 years — Baptist

Vasyl' Tsan'ko — 3 years — Jehovah's Witness (resident of the city of Svalyava, Zakarpatska region).

*

As a result of KGB provocation a resident of the town of Kozova, Ternopil' region, Mykola Stepanovych Mamus, was tried. M. Mamus was first arrested in 1948 in Czechoslovakia. He was falsely accused of being a messenger for the External Section of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. The government of the Czechoslovakian S.S.R. extradited Mamus to the Soviet Union, where, following terrible tortures, he was sentenced to 25 years in Stalinist labour camps. M. Mamus did not admit to any guilt or sign any documents.

At the present time M. Mamus is in the notorious labour camp VL-315/30

in Lviv. The labour camp is located on the site of the former nazi 'Yanov concentration camp', where, during the war, more than 70,000 Jews, as well as more than 42,000 Ukrainians, French, Belgians, gypsies and Russians were tortured and shot.

Instead of a monument honouring the victims of nazism, the Soviet Union's communists established a concentration camp many times more terrible than the nazi one. It is those very communists who are attempting to build 'a just communist society'; after the war they confirmed the right to life of the 'Yanov concentration camp' — tradition and example are infectious!

*

At the present time 300 Catholics, 29 Baptists, 2 Pentacostalists, 15 Jehovah's Witnesses, 5 Seventh Day Adventists and 39 Orthodox are being held in labour camp VL-315/30. They were all convicted as a result of KGB provocations, accused of violating various articles of the Criminal Code and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

*

At labour camp VL-315/40 in the city of Drohobych, repressions against Christians have intensified. The head of the labour camp applies 'corrective' measures. This means that a prisoner is placed in a punishment cell and if he does not ask to be pardoned or does not repent and relinquish his faith in Christ, he will be kept in the punishment cell until such time as he is transferred to the camp hospital.

The first to apply this 'corrective' measure was Major Platonov, in labour camp 128/30, in the village of Hubnyk, Vynnytsia region.

*

In labour camp VL-315/30 repressions against Christian believers have become more savage.

During a regular search of the Baptist believers, Serhiy Myronenko and Yuriy Meshko, conducted by Captain Savatimov, copies of the Bible and the Gospel were confiscated. The prisoners were punished by being deprived of the use of the camp shop. This is the fifth time that they are being 'punished' by hunger. Kaminsky, a Jehovah's Witness, was transferred to hard labour and if one considers that all believers are consigned to hard labour, then it becomes clear why Kaminsky has been punished.

His co-believer, Dobrovol'sky, was placed in a punishment cell for fifteen days for distributing the Holy Word.

*

The Ukrainian patriot, Petro Khmaruk, is serving his third term under difficult conditions. He was convicted on the basis of KGB provocations to 3 years in a strict-regime labour camp for allegedly forging documents.

P. Khmaruk is the organiser of an underground press in Kyiv. For this he was convicted and sentenced to 5 years of labour camp.

*

The Ukrainian defender of human rights Pavlo Kampov, is serving his second term under difficult conditions.

P. Kampov was transferred from Ukraine to Russia. His new address is: R.S.F.S.R., Kirovsk region, Verkhnekamsk district, village of Rudnichny, P.O. Box OR-216/3, detachment 1.

*

On November 18th, 1983, Fr. Antin Potochnyak, who was ill, was transferred from Lviv prison to labour camp VL-315/30, the head of which is Lieutenant-Colonel V. Povshenko.

The head of the Health division, Captain Talyzin, *refused* to hospitalise the 71 year-old sick priest. Reasons: Fr. Antin has an alleged bad influence on the other prisoners. 'And I want to sleep peacefully', stated Talyzin. And so, on December 14th 1983, Fr. Antin Potochnyak was summoned to appear at the camp headquarters. Present at the meeting were the camp commander, Lieutenant-Colonel V. Povshenko; the head of the regime section, Major Volochugin; Lieutenant-Colonel Filippov; and other camp officers.

His co-workers call the camp commander, Povshenko, 'Pinochet', behind his back. His favourite 'activity' is to walk into a punishment cell and wait for a prisoner to beg forgiveness, after which he says graciously: 'Now, see how you have offended our authority. Even in camp you have to be punished, therefore I am adding 15 more days'. Then he laughs savagely and moves on to his next victim.

Povshenko informed Fr. Antin that now there are instructions for dealing with Ukrainian Catholics. Therefore Fr. Antin should work and fulfil his quota. 'We have the right to place all Catholics, up to the age of 90, in a punishment cell for fifteen days.

'We will not allow another Poland', shouted Povshenko on January 10th, 1984. Fr. Antin was placed in cell-type premises for correction.

Within 3 days Fr. Antin, the sick priest, suffered a haemorrhage and was transferred to the camp hospital. But Captain Talyzin protested and on the second day he transferred the ill Fr. Antin back to the cell-type accommodation.

*

The Ukrainian Catholic, Illya Ulihanets', a resident of the village of Tybava, Svalyavskiy district, Zakarpatska region, was arrested on January 15th, 1984. A search was carried out in his home. During the search the following articles were seized:

- a) a catechism, dated 1908,
- b) a Bible published during the existence of the inter-war Czech State,
- c) handwritten prayers — a prayer for the 'Ukrainian nation', a novena to St. Joseph and a prayer called 'For All Needs'.

They confiscated 110 rubles from the arrested man. Reason: the arrested man allegedly sends money to prisoners and therefore this money is serving to create an 'anti-Soviet atmosphere', in the words of the head of the militia, Lieutenant-Colonel Rybak.

We will add the fact that I. Ulihanyets' lives very poorly, not like Lieutenant-Colonel Rybak, who has a Volga car, his own house, not acquired on the salary of a militia commander, and a sizeable sum of money in his savings account.

*

Five-hundred and twenty Catholics burnt their passports and refuse to have anything to do with the authorities. Believing the authorities to be inimical to Christianity and offensive to God, they decided to accept all the tortures of the persecuted just so as not to have any dealings with the atheists. The authorities did not know what move to make for two months. At the end of February the repressions began. Ilya Ulihanyets' was one of those who burnt his passport.

The chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, J. Terelya, believes that if this movement becomes stronger, more than 3,000 Catholics will destroy their passports. He stated:

'We are hunted and without rights. They have taken away everything from us — our Church and our schools. We are constantly persecuted — we only exist as a working force in the labour camps, in the eyes of the authorities. In this case, why do we need Soviet passports? After all, they put people into Soviet labour camps even without passports'.

*

In December, 1983, the apartment of the secretary of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, H. Budzyns'ky, was attacked. The unknown 'assailants' removed all the money in the house (270 rubles). They also demanded gold because, since he was a priest, he should have some. Then the new chairman of the Group, Vasyl' Kobryn, entered Budzyns'ky's apartment. He was searched; then he was asked why he had come there. 'Do you have any money?' It is strange that the 'thieves' were acting so openly, and were not afraid of the militia or the KGB charging in. Fr. Budzyns'ky's house was under constant surveillance.

Number 2

NOTIFICATIONS

On the 16th of February, 1984, the local head of the volunteer militia, a teacher of military affairs at the high school in the village of Dovhe, Ivan Babynets', came in the night to the apartment of a member of the Initiative Group, the chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics (Josyp Terelya). Babynets' was in a drunken state.

He began by saying all sorts of nonsense learnt in advance. Then he got to the 'point'. I. Babynets' began demanding that Josyp Mykhaylovych take his wife and children to his home, because he, Babynets', was going to blow up (Terelya's) house. Then he showed him the package of explosives. J. Terelya told him to go home because he was drunk; as for the explosion, he was not afraid of it since everything is in God's hands. Then the 'teacher' said that if he did not do it, then others would...

It is difficult to say what this incident was — blackmail or a threat? Or was it both?

*

On January 7th, 1984, the pupils of the local school hung out the national flag and the 'Tryzub' (Trident) in the village of Dmytriv, Lviv region. The KGB authorities from Pustomyt and Lviv arrived to analyse the situation. The seventh graders are threatened with a prison term from 3 to 7 years for violating article 62, section 1.

*

The executive committee of the Ukrainian National Front has resolved to create a 'Black Book' to record the names of war criminals who committed crimes against the nation, her culture, economy, and so on.

*

Among the criminals who are subjected to international courts, are doctors-psychiatrists who have particularly distinguished themselves by the destruction of dissent on the territory of Ukraine. 'The entire emigration of Eastern Europe should strengthen the movement for passing the law concerning war criminals who committed crimes against humanity on the territories of the enslaved countries of Europe and in Afghanistan, Angola, Lebanon...'

*

In labour camp IN-316/93 repressions against Christian believers have intensified. Without exception, all Christians have been consigned to hard labour. This includes even sick people. The camp commander stated that he has instructions on how to deal with Christians so everything he is doing adheres to the letter of the law. On Sunday, February 7th, a lecturer from

Kyiv gave a lecture on an 'international topic' in the labour camp. Part of the lecture was devoted to the subject of using prisoners for military duty in the event of war. This was not the first lecture on this subject. In November, 1983, a lecturer named Havrylenko talked about the same thing, but in greater detail. In part he discussed the fact that China is a threat to the U.S.S.R.

*

According to the latest information, the Ukrainian Catholic, Maria Trykur, has been transferred from the womens' labour camp of Dobrovody to the Dnipropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital for examination. Within 2 weeks her husband, M. Trykur, was also transferred there.

Prof. Blokhina and the doctor-murderer A. Kabunnikov conducted the examination. At one time Kabunnikov participated in the murder of N. Sorokin.

*

The Ukrainian Catholic, Fedir Vyrsta, was transferred from labour camp VL-315/48 to the Dnipropetrovsk Special Psychiatric Hospital. They are demanding that he renounce his faith in Jesus Christ, that he convert to Orthodoxy and that he accept a Soviet passport. F. Vyrsta is one of the Catholics who refused a Soviet passport.

*

Other members of banned churches of the U.S.S.R., on the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine are refusing to carry Soviet passports. Until his trial, the Jehovah's Witness, Yu. Shymon, a resident of the Tyachivskiy district, refused to carry a Soviet passport for the following reasons:

- a) persecution of his religious faith,
- b) all Transcarpathian Rumanians who were born on regional territory have 'Rumanian' listed in their passports; the price of moving to Moldavia would be the registration of 'Moldavian' in his passport.

Yu. Shymon considers himself a Rumanian and does not want to be a Moldavian on Moldavian territory, whereas on the territory of his native region he is graciously allowed to be a Rumanian.

*

Gypsies, the 'pariahs' of Transcarpathia, are living in most difficult conditions. In all the territory of the region there is not a single national gypsy school. Eighty per cent of the gypsies have passed through the Soviet gulag. Not a single group of the regional population lives in such unsanitary conditions as the gypsies. The regional militia calls the gypsies 'the Indians of Transcarpathia'. This catchphrase was coined by the chairman of the municipal executive committee of the city of Mukachiv. Some of the Transcarpathian gypsies have accepted the evangelical teachings and actively participate in the Christian life of the region. Some are Greek Catholics. The authorities would prefer all the gypsies to be thieves and bandits — then it would be easier to deal with this group that is deprived of all rights. They are venging themselves for the fact that the gypsies do not want to live the life given to them by the communists.

*

On January 6th of this year (1984), Rumanian national flags were hung on the territory of Moldavia — in the cities of Soroki and Kalarash, the villages of Lensheny and Gidigich as well as in the town of Komrat. For this action the KGB is accusing the Ukrainian nationalists and the Rumanian Revival Group.

*

Christ is born!

Dear Brothers and Sisters!

One more year of imprisonment has passed. Thank God, once again I see the beautiful dear faces of my family and friends, my little children and my wife. We live on earth to praise the Lord and to attain everlasting happiness. Praise for the Lord is the aim of every being on earth. And therefore, I want to remind you: beware of evil, do good deeds. In these difficult times for our Church we must work ceaselessly. He who knocks at the door, it will be open for him. The Holy Apostle Paul says: 'Yea, and all that will live godly in Christ, Jesus, shall suffer persecution' (II Tim. 3, 12).

The entire life of a Christian is the cross and martyrdom, if he wishes to live according to the Gospel. The Holy Scriptures say: 'Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves' (Matt. 10, 16). I would also like you to remember this — the Lord God does not abandon him who sets his hopes on Him.

Christ is born!

Indeed, He is born!

(Greetings from the chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics at a meeting held on January 12th, 1984).

*

THE TRAGEDY OF STEBNYK

On September 12th, 1983, in Lviv, the regional prosecutor Antonenko, read a kind of 'speech — incantation' over local television. In parts of his speech he spoke of the following.

In recent times a gang has been kidnapping and murdering children on regional territory. Be vigilant and we ask that in the evening you not allow your children onto the streets...

At first glance it would appear that he is talking about some gang of criminals who are murdering children merely because they are children. But at the end of his 'speech' the prosecutor began casting thunderbolts and lightning at Ukrainian nationalists.

On September 15th, the Stebnyk 'tragedy' occurred. But within 2 days, and thereafter, articles began to appear, unmasking the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. The fabricated affair of I. Zelena occurred.

On September 21st, there began a wave of arrests of Ukrainian officers in the Prykarpatska Military district. They were charged with allegedly plotting an attempt on the life of Ustinov. In this way the KGB wanted to forge an alliance between the army and the KGB. It should be noted that they succeeded.

And now let us turn to the matter itself.

Long before the described events, the Andropov leadership began planning a campaign against dissent in the U.S.S.R. and partly in Ukraine. Not without reason did the Plenum of the CC of the CPSU deal with the 'Ukrainian Catholic Church matter' separately. Particular attention was devoted to the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Transcarpathian Ukraine. Few people know that in Lviv in 1946 the Ukrainian Catholic Church was not liquidated during the so-called 'synod'. This was done much later, in Transcarpathia, in 1950, but without any synods and without any notification whatsoever.

Quite simply, Bishop F. Romzha was murdered by the KGB. Some priests were killed, while others received 25 year prison sentences and the Church itself was forced to go underground. Officially the Church is alleged to exist, but... 'the majority of the populace has gone over to the Russian Orthodox Church and there is no longer any need for the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the past'.

But in actual fact, this is not so. The strongest bases of the Ukrainian Catholic Church have been preserved in Transcarpathian Ukraine. Just in the last 3 years, 81 Catholic priests have been ordained in the Carpathian region. Among them only 9 have a high school or technical school education; some have higher education.

An underground 3-year monastery school is operating in Transcarpathia. Young boys and girls are studying the fundamentals of Christian teaching there.

This is why they need the 'Stebnyk affair!'

The KGB's hands had to be untied in order to punish the opposition. On September 11th, a meeting of members of army intelligence and KGB workers took place in the 'Intourist' Hotel in Lviv. It is known that the following were present at that meeting: Major Harkavy and his future co-worker, Anatoliy Bodrukhin, a senior lieutenant in the KGB. We would like to add that V. Harkavy took part, at one time, in punitive operations against the Ukrainian Insurgent Army on the territory of Western Ukraine. They were given instructions to blast the dam at the Stebnyk depot. At one time V. Harkavy participated in the liquidation of H. Kostelnyk. He was also directly linked to the murder of Yaroslav Halan.

But this is a discussion for another time.

*

A campaign to learn the Russian language has begun in Transcarpathian Ukraine. And so, a number of teachers (KGB agents) — among them the vice-principal of the Pryborzhavsky high school, in the Irshavsky district, Zakarpatska region, and a teacher from the Vynohradivsky high school, announced that one day a week people must speak only Russian.

*

Fifty-four men, among them 18 Jehovah's Witnesses, were convicted in Transcarpathian Ukraine for refusing to serve in the Soviet army. Five men had been sentenced previously.

At present Ukrainians live in the following territories of the U.S.S.R.:

Russia	3,359,000	Latvia	29,000
Kazakhstan	762,000	Lithuania	18,000
Moldavia	421,000	Estonia	16,000
Kirgizia	137,000	Tadzhikistan	27,000
Byelorussia	133,000	Azerbaidzhan	26,000
Uzbekistan	88,000	Armenia	6,000
Georgia	52,000		

These are all the Ukrainians who are living outside their native land within the U.S.S.R.

Not in any of the aforementioned 'republics' do Ukrainians have a single national school or have the right to publish their newspapers and magazines. Strangely enough, even such an international organisation as UNESCO, has not raised the issue of this glaring breach of human rights. Then why does UNESCO exist in the first place? Is such an organisation really necessary? The leaders of UNESCO should remember that the Ukrainian S.S.R. contributes its fair share of money to UNESCO...

Thus, in 1982, Josyp Terelya, the chairman of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Catholics, sent Howard Brabyn and Amadou Mathar M'Bow official letters. In them he stated that there is not one published magazine in Transcarpathian Ukraine. Whereas, before the arrival of the Russians, there were more than 15 different publications on the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine. J. Terelya requested aid in publishing an ethnographical journal called 'Boykivshchyna' to be published by 'Karpaty' press.

No reply was received...

On March 14th of this year, information was received that a new case was being prepared against Josyp Terelya.

*

RAUL WALLENBERG

In the last two or three years much has been said about the Swedish diplomat Raul Wallenberg. There are many versions and counter-versions but everything that has been written about Wallenberg does not agree with reality. According to available data, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has information which has nothing in common with the facts being presently circulated. We are providing the following information.

In January, 1945, somewhere between the 8th and 14th, an event occurred in one of the sections of the Red army which apparently influenced the subsequent fate of Wallenberg. The self-appointed first secretary of the

Swedish embassy, Wallenberg, said the following (all this was said in the presence of a translator and 5 other men):

‘When the Soviet armies entered Budapest, my car was taken away from me, and I was offered a captured one instead. I categorically rejected this proposal. Please inform the highest Soviet command that I demand the return of my automobile and only my own. Also, I would like the Soviet command to arrange a meeting between myself and Marshal Malinovsky as soon as possible’.

There is another not insignificant piece of information. Standing near Wallenberg was his personal chauffeur who has also disappeared without a trace.

R. Wallenberg’s description: lean, black hair combed back. He conducted his conversation calmly, speaking to the translator in German. He was dressed in a black suit.

*

To the Head of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. Joint Declaration of the Rumanian Revival Group and the Ukrainian National Front

We, members of a group of Rumanian patriots, are raising our voices so that we will be heard in Moscow and other responsible circles in Europe.

— We are members of the great Rumanian family and consider ourselves Rumanians. We are striving not to allow any foreigners to intrude on our nation.

— We desire reunification with the age-long maternal body of Mother Rumania. We, Rumanians, who live on lands occupied by Moscow, are appealing at this time to all the peoples of the world, so that, in their own interests, they will solidarize with the desires of the Rumanians.

At a joint conference of the Ukrainian National Front and the Rumanian Revival Group, resolutions concerning the joint demands of both sides were passed. We are bound to achieve our freedoms jointly from under the boot of Moscow.

— We, the members of the executive committee of the Ukrainian National Front, demand that the leaders of communist Moscow cease all persecutions and the policy of genocide with respect to Ukraine; that they liquidate all concentration camps on the territory of Ukraine; we demand full Ukrainisation of all government institutions, the establishment of tariff barriers between our republics, the printing of our own currency, the creation of a national Ukrainian army; we demand full freedom for our Ukrainian Catholic Church and for the Autocephalous Ukrainian Orthodox Church. Only then, under such conditions is a joint state fellowship possible between the Ukrainian and the Russian peoples.

The Rumanian and the Ukrainian peoples have been brought to a state of despair by Moscow’s injustice; they see no way out of this situation. We are left with but one choice — an armed uprising!

27. 1. 1984

Komrat, Moldavia — Lviv, Ukraine

Number 3

On March 18th, 1984, a working Sunday was established in the village of Bilky, Irshavsky district, Zakarpatska region. In the centre of the village a spot was cleared to erect a new monument to the hero of socialist labour, Piter, who was not present at the working Sunday, as he was at that time in a local tearoom. The authorities decided to erect a monument on the spot of a monument to the victims of fascism which they had destroyed.

In 1942, on this very spot, Hungarian occupying forces shot 14 Ukrainian workers, residents of the village of Bilky. Only in 1944 did the fascist authorities allow a monument — a cross — to be put up at the place of execution. The names of the men who were shot were engraved on the cross...

But in the 1970s this monument was destroyed. In this way the gradual union of communists and fascists becomes manifest.

*

On March 19th, 1984, a message to appear at the district prosecutor's office was relayed to the chairman of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Catholics, Josyp Terelya. He was summoned to prosecutor Braila. The purpose of the summons was not stated.

A new 'case' was prepared according to available data on J. Terelya. The authorities wanted to lure Terelya into the district and arrest him there. They did not dare arrest him in the village where many of his fellow believers live.

*

The following residents of the village of Dovhe, Zakarpatska region, have relinquished their passports: Anna Trykur, Maria Bodnar, Yuriy Bodnar, Polanya Bat'o, Mykhaylo Trykur, and Maria Trykur. They all belong to the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

*

In Zakarpatska region alone, more than 290 people have surrendered their passports.

In all of Western Ukraine, beginning with January 2nd-3rd of this year (1984), around 921-927 persons have surrendered their passports. All those who have given up their passports are potential prisoners... Pray for our brothers and sisters who face torment for the faith of their fathers and grandfathers.

*

In the village of Nelipyne, Svalyavsky district, Zakarpatska region, a search was carried out in the home of Panko. The reason: the authorities were looking for evidence of Catholic 'sedition' — a Bible, Catechism, prayers...

For possession of a prayer written by Metropolitan Sheptytsky, entitled

'For the Ukrainian People', the authorities give a sentence of 3 years (violation of article 209).

Catholic believers often do not know how to behave during a search or arrest.

First of all, as soon as the 'Babylonians' enter a house, you should kneel down immediately and begin praying. The prayer should be recited out loud. You should pray for our enemies who are at this time tearing up and destroying prayers and similar literature.

Do not make any statements. Just pray and pray. This drives the investigator mad. Do not believe anything the KGB agent says until there is a confrontation. And, even then it is not worth talking to the godless ones. A Christian should not sign any documents which the atheists may bring forward. Everyone should know himself.

*

On January 30th, the birthday of Volodymyr Horbovy and also the birthday of Oksana Meshko were celebrated in a circle of close friends. The latter is serving a 5-year exile in the Khabarovsk territory. O. Meshko is 79 years old and V. Horbovy is 85.

*

A Church service was held in the village of Kelechyn, Mizhhirsky district, Zakarpatska region, in memory of Avhystyn Voloshyn, the president of Carpathian Ukraine.

A. Voloshyn was born in this mountain village 110 years ago. He was the son of a venerable priest. A. Voloshyn was not only a political activist, but also an enlightener of our people. The best work written by A. Voloshyn was 'Marusya Verkhovynka', published in 1931. In August, 1945, A. Voloshyn was arrested by agents of SMERSH and sent to Uzhhorod prison. From there he was transferred to Moscow, where he was shot in late October.

*

The only man who correctly described Raul Wallenberg was A. Bogdanas, a Lithuanian Catholic, an officer of the Wehrmacht army, who was arrested by the Soviet counter-intelligence agency in 1945, and sent to a labour camp where only foreigners were held. Bogdanas is a subject of Germany.

Raul Wallenberg spoke no Russian, only German.

When the labour camps were being dismantled after Stalin's death, the remainder of the foreign prisoners who were still alive (numbering 150) were sent to psychiatric hospitals. Thus Bogdanas and R. Wallenberg landed up in the Kazan Special Psychiatric Hospital. Bogdanas saw Wallenberg one last time in 1962. In 1963 Bogdanas was transferred to the Sichevsky Special Psychiatric Hospital.

*

In 1983, Volodymyr Prokhorovych, a believer, committed suicide in labour camp VL-315/30, in Lviv.

V. Prokhorovych was born in Mykolayivsky region. While in a labour camp he converted to Greek Catholicism. He actively conducted religious activities in the labour camps. After his last term he began acting strangely. In his conversations he would say that Lenin was a good man, and so on, but he, Prokhorovych was bad. On September 17th, V. Prokhorovych, while he was in the work zone, cut his head off on a circular saw. The camp authorities hushed up Prokhorovych's death...

*

On March 14th, the trial of Valeriy Marchenko, the Ukrainian human rights defender, took place in Kyiv.

V. Marchenko was charged with article 62, section 2. V. Marchenko was gravely ill, but during his trial he behaved in a dignified manner. He stated that he loved his people, believed in God and set his hopes on Him. On March 18th, a Mass was celebrated in Mukacheve for the health of Valeriy Marchenko. After the liturgy a statement from the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics was read to the gathering of believers.

*

In the village of Verkhni Vorota, Zakarpatska region, during an evening gathering, a special Mass was served in memory of the Transcarpathian writer and ethnographer, Luka Demyan.

Luka Demyan was born in 1894 in this mountain village. It was here that he began to write and wrote his work entitled 'The Devil at the Wedding'. He first began to be published in 1915. After the arrival of the Soviets L. Demyan is rarely remembered. Luka Demyan was a staunch Catholic who devoted his life in its greater part to his people. He participated in the Catholic underground.

When the question of creating an underground library arose, Demyan transferred part of his library to the Catholic underground and part of his books to J. Terelya, his countryman. Luka Demyan said: 'As long as I can remember, we, Ukrainians, have constantly hidden books. I kept these books under lock and key throughout all the occupations of my country for more than 60 years... and it is difficult to say just how long we will have to continue hiding books written in our native language.'

Ukraine has not experienced greater tragedy and grief than that of the Soviet occupation. We should not believe that liberty will come unless you, young people, will gain it'.

*

On March 7th, 1984, Fr. Stefaniy Hryhorovych, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, was arrested at the home of Derbak, a Catholic, in the village of Nelipyne, Svalyavsky district. Hryhorovych lives in Mukachiv on Komunistychna Street with his wife and daughter, named Katrusya.

Fr. Hryhorovych surrendered his passport to the authorities; his daughter, Katrusya Hryhorovych, also surrendered her passport, for which action she was expelled from the fifth year of studies at the medical institute.

Fr. Hryhorovych spent 3 days under arrest in a detention cell. Then he was released after being ordered, along with his daughter, to take back his Soviet passport within 3 days.

This will be Fr. Hryhorovych's fourth term in prison, this time with his daughter. The Hryhorovych family, father and daughter, was arrested on March 18th.

*

On March 9th, Fr. Antin Potochnyak, who was gravely ill, was transferred from the labour camp hospital to a prison hospital. He will be operated on. This is the sick priest's third operation. Fr. Antin is 72 years old.

*

Ilya Ulihanets', a Ukrainian Catholic, refused to give evidence. The senior investigator for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, for the city of Uzhhorod, Hoshovsky, sent I. Ulihanets' for an examination to the Lviv Psychiatric Hospital.

On March 12th, he was despatched to the Lviv prison.

*

On March 23rd, J. Terelya's books were returned to him. These included : a Bible, a copy-book of verses, an address book, a notebook containing the manuscript of 'Myths of the Sich' and a collection of poetry by Iryna Senyk. All this was confiscated from Terelya, a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, during his arrest in 1982.

*

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R.

DECLARATION

After many years of an enslaved existence passed in prisons and labour camps in the U.S.S.R., I have reached the conclusion that it is amoral to be a citizen of this state. Accordingly, since May 3rd, 1984, I do not consider myself a citizen of the U.S.S.R. I could explain the reasons which led me to this step in this declaration. But I believe there is no one to whom I could explain my motives.

With this declaration I am appealing to the republic of Israel to grant me citizenship. Thus, I shall begin my newest term of imprisonment in communist labour camps as a citizen of the free republic of Israel, whom you hate so fiercely.

3. 5. 1984

Head of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics
and member of the 'Initiative Group to Defend the
Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine'.

Josyp Terelya

*

Since March 1st, 1984, the new chairman of the Initiative Group has been Vasyl' Kobryn.

*

Jerusalem. Republic of Israel
To the President and the Knesset of the Republic

DECLARATION

I, Josyp Terelya, a native of Transcarpathian Ukraine, born in 1943, am a Ukrainian. I am married with three small children. My wife, who is a doctor, is currently unemployed. We are Catholics. In my declaration addressed to the parliament of the republic and to you, Mr. President, I am requesting that you consider my application and that of my wife for citizenship of the republic of Israel.

In total I have spent 20 years in Muscovite occupation, prisons and labour camps. Neither my wife nor I had intended to emigrate — our place is with our enslaved people. However, after my most recent release, the authorities have intensified their repression and threats — they are threatening to murder me, to give me another prison term... In 1982 I became the head of a newly-created Helsinki group: 'the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine', for which I was arrested in December, 1982, and sentenced to 1 year in a labour camp. A new trial is being prepared against me and I no longer wish to be a citizen of the U.S.S.R. I will live, working on behalf of Ukraine or die, but I will not be a citizen, which the invaders have made me by force...

I think that I shall begin my next term of imprisonment in communist labour camps as a citizen of the free republic of Israel.

I would be deeply grateful if the government of your republic will consider my application in a positive manner.

3. 5. 1984

J. Terelya,
village of Dovhe,
Irshavsky district,
Zakarpatzka region.

*

To Lech Walesa,
A Letter from a Believer of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

Dear friend and brother in Christ!

I am writing to you with feelings of respect and love. Your struggle, together with all the Polish people, is the hope that gives us the strength to resist. Everything is in God's hands and takes place according to the irrevocable decisions of the Lord — in love and in sacrifice. We must fight

Documents and Reports

CONDOLENCES ON THE DEATH OF PATRIARCH JOSYF SLIPYJ

THE PRESIDENT OF THE USA, RONALD REAGAN

It is with deep sense of loss that I acknowledge the death of Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, Major Archbishop of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and extend my condolences to Ukrainians throughout the world.

When we remember Cardinal Slipyj's 18 years in Soviet prison camps, when we reflect that he was condemned to the Gulag because he refused to betray his Church, we see the power and strength of the human spirit brought clearly into focus.

Even after release from that long imprisonment, Cardinal Slipyj's spirit and energy were not lessened. Between his release in 1963 and his death at the age of 92, he travelled the world to visit Ukrainian Catholics, and visited President Ford here in the White House. He established a Ukrainian Catholic seminary, built the impressive St. Sofia Ukrainian Catholic Church and the Ukrainian Catholic University. Recently, he was deeply involved in the planning of a worldwide celebration for the millenium of Christianity in Ukraine to take place in 1988.

Cardinal Slipyj's commitment to God and the freedom of men was unshakable, despite punishment and exile for his beliefs. Because of his inspired life, he has long been a symbol of the strength of God and human spirit. He will remain such, cherished not only by Ukrainians, but by men and women of good will in all nations.

Ronald Reagan

The White House,
September 14, 1984

THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA, M. B. MULRONEY

September 10, 1984
Ottawa, K1A 0A6

The Ukrainian Catholic Hierarchy,
c/o Suo Eccellenza Reverendissima Miroslav Marusyn,
Visitatori Apostolico,
Passeggiata del Gianicolo, 7,
00165 Roma, Italia

Your Eminence.

I was most saddened to hear of the recent death of Archbishop Major Cardinal Joseph Slipyj.

It is always a solemn occasion when one of the world's spiritual leaders is taken from us. With the passing of Archbishop Slipyj, the Ukrainian Catholic Church has lost one of its great ecclesiastics and teachers. In a world wracked with conflict and dissent, we look to such men of faith and piety to give us strength and to remind us that some truths are indeed eternal.

I wish to extend my sincere condolences to the clergy and members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church as you mourn Archbishop Slipyj. Although his voice is stilled, we can take some solace in knowing that the world is a better place for his having been in it.

With deepest regrets,

Yours sincerely,

M. B. Mulroney

M E M O R A N D U M

from
The Association of Ukrainians in Great Britain
to
The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.

12th December 1984

The Rt. Hon. Margaret Thatcher, M.P.,
Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury,
and Minister of the Civil Service,
10 Downing Street,
London SW1.

Madame,

In connection with the visit to Britain this month of Mr. Mikhail Gorbachev, the designated successor to Mr. Konstantin Chernenko and thus the effective Second-in-Command in the Soviet Union, at the head of a parliamentary delegation, we have the honour of drawing your attention to the latest violations of national and human rights in Ukraine by the Government of the USSR.

Ukraine has suffered consistently from Russian imperialism since the unsuccessful result of the Battle of Poltava in 1709, which had the unfortunate consequence of bringing about the Russian occupation of Eastern and Central parts of Ukraine.

At the end of the First World War, the Tsarist Russian Empire collapsed and Ukraine once more became an independent and sovereign state, after more than two centuries of national oppression. The Declaration of Independence of the Ukrainian National Republic of January 22nd, 1918, was followed by 3 years of armed resistance by the regular armies of the Ukrainian National Republic against the Communist Russian invasion. The War of Independence ended in the Russian conquest of Ukraine, partly owing to the lack of understanding and assistance from the Western Democracies.

The prolonged struggle of armed partisan units in the 1920s, of various underground organisations, such as the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) and the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM), liquidated in 1930, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), founded in 1929, and various others, has not abated to this day.

During the Second World War, the Ukrainian nation once again tried to free itself from Russian and other foreign rule and oppression. At the outbreak of the Nazi-Soviet war, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), headed by Stepan Bandera, proclaimed in Lviv on June 30th, 1941, the restoration of Ukrainian independence, which expressed the cherished aspirations of the Ukrainian people. This was followed by brutal reprisals by the Gestapo.

From 1942 to 1951 an armed struggle was conducted by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), led by General Roman Shukhevych, first of all against the Nazi German occupation of Ukraine and later against Soviet Russian domination, a struggle which was spread over a large part of Ukraine and was supported by millions of Ukrainians. But, as on past occasions, when facing such an overwhelming enemy without aid or proper sympathy from outside, Ukraine was unsuccessful in her struggle for freedom. The shootings, mass arrests and deportations, during and after the termination of active military resistance, temporarily dealt a very heavy blow to Ukrainian resistance.

With the demise of the armed struggle, the national movement of liberation was transferred to the political-intellectual arena from the military battlefield, and in the 1950s and 1960s the gun was exchanged for the pen. Clandestine political literature with a Ukrainian patriotic contents began to circulate in Ukraine and even reached the West. The Russian regime once more reacted with increased terror, arrests of prominent intellectuals, students and members of various underground Ukrainian organisations, which came into being in many parts of Ukraine. As a result, the Mordovian concentration camps became filled to a great extent with Ukrainian political prisoners, fighters for freedom and the rights of the Ukrainian nation, as well as with religious dissenters.

Since the 1970s, and especially in recent years, the Russian authorities have intensified their policies of assimilation and forced Russification in an effort to integrate the many nations, which form the Soviet Union, by transforming them into a single artificial, Russian-speaking "Soviet people".

The 45 or so million Ukrainians living in the Soviet Union form by far the largest non-Russian nation in the USSR, and their national aspirations are far from spent. In actual fact, national and religious feeling in Ukraine is extremely persistent indeed and thus creates a great hindrance for Russia, which has not ceased to find Ukrainian nationalism a serious threat — serious enough to warrant any possible means, in the eyes of the Russians, to destroy it and its very roots.

Because Ukraine has always stood in the forefront of opposition to Russian assimilationist plans and policies of forced Russification, and because the Russian authorities are well aware that in recent years the

Ukrainian movement of opposition has been especially unequivocal about demanding independence from Russia and has made every effort to widen its social base, the Russians have, in recent years, set about destroying Ukrainian opposition as never before.

Thus since 1979, the Russian authorities have launched a major attack against all forms of opposition in the Soviet Union. As a result of this latest wave of repression, the Ukrainians have been especially hard hit. For example, more than 20 members of the Ukrainian Helsinki monitoring group were imprisoned, over half of them receiving sentences of 10 years or more. In addition, many Ukrainian political prisoners received additional sentences to prolong their imprisonment and thus curtail their influence on the movement of opposition in Ukraine. As part of this policy to physically destroy all Ukrainian opposition, emerged the practice of destroying those political prisoners whom the authorities deem to be "dangerous" in the prisons and concentration camps, for they embody and personify the opposition movement and act as the nation's spokesmen with the authorities.

Due to this practice, three prominent Ukrainian national and human rights campaigners — Olexa Tykhy, Yuriy Lytvyn and Valeriy Marchenko — have died in Russian labour camps since the spring of this year (1984).

Although their deaths have been reported in the Western press, they are usually said to have died of natural causes. On the surface this may appear true indeed, but one must look deeper into all the circumstances surrounding their deaths in order to get a better picture of the true nature of the facts.

All three were in fact tortured to death, both mentally and physically, in a long drawn-out process of lengthy sentences, closely followed by additional sentences, to keep them permanently out of the way and prevent them from "causing trouble".

In the hard labour camps where they stayed, Tykhy, Lytvyn and Marchenko were constantly deprived of proper food and greatly needed medical care and facilities despite being seriously ill, suffering from diseases acquired during earlier terms of imprisonment. They were constantly subjected to acute suffering and maltreatment as well as other forms of physical and moral brutality, and were made to work in the severe climatic conditions of Siberia in complete disregard for their critical health conditions. This treatment was designed to either force them to recant or else to die a slow and agonising death. All three, however, preferred to die rather than recant. They were unwilling to break under the severe stress of the physical and mental torture and brutality they had to endure, which after long periods of previous imprisonment were already becoming unbearable, especially in their state of health, and thus betray the ideals, which they had defended unflinchingly for so long. The death of these three innocent victims of Russian terror in Ukraine was no more than pure cold-blooded and cynical murder on the part of the Russian authorities.

Another victim of Russian oppression, Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of General Roman Shukhevych, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) during and after the Second World War, who has already spent over 30 years in Russian prisons and concentration camps since the age of 14, has now become completely blind. And yet, since this occurred in 1982 he has not been released but continues to be detained in exile in Siberia. How long can he survive?

Simultaneously with the practice of the destruction of prominent political prisoners in the prisons and labour camps, there has also emerged the wide spread practice of rounding up and executing by firing squad former members of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), many of whom have previously served sentences of 25 or 30 years for their "crimes". In the Summer and Autumn of 1984, 5 former members of the OUN and UPA — Olexander Palyha, Mykhaylo Levycky, Nil Yakobchuk, Vasyl Bodnar and Filonyk — have been picked up and sentenced to death as "traitors and war criminals", on fabricated evidence and "testimonies" of false witnesses. Afterwards they were taken out and shot.

The fact that in the process of this year 7 Ukrainian political prisoners and former freedom fighters have either been forced to die slowly or else were shot for alleged "crimes", shows that the Russian offensive against the Ukrainian movement of opposition has been greatly intensified this year.

Apart from the attack on political and national opposition in Ukraine, since the stepping up of the onslaught against all forms of dissent and opposition by the KGB in 1979, religious believers, especially the Protestant communities and the faithful of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which has been forced to operate clandestinely in the catacombs since its forceful incorporation into the state-controlled and subservient Russian Orthodox Church in 1946, have become persecuted on a scale unmatched anywhere else in the Soviet Union.

We would, therefore, like to bring to your attention, Madame, the fact that:

1) Mikhail Gorbachev, as the designated Second-in-Command in the Soviet Union, along with the other members of the Politburo and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, is responsible for this latest attack on Ukrainian national and religious opposition and dissent, as well as the murder of Tykhy Lytvyn, Marchenko, Palyha, Levycky, Yakobchuk, Bodnar and Filonyk.

2) In the Western press Gorbachev is described as a reformer — one who will probably initiate the internal reform and reorganisation of the Soviet Union. But what will such a programme of internal reform entail for the Ukrainians in the Soviet Union? The internal structure of the Soviet Union can only be reformed and strengthened without Ukrainian opposition. Therefore, this would mean even greater repression and persecution of all

groups and individuals who strive for independence from Moscow, and who thus hinder the effective central control and strengthening of the internal structure of the Soviet Union as an empire-state. All religious dissent will also have to be eradicated as part of the "reform" programme of Mr. Gorbachev, should he succeed Mr. Chernenko.

3) Western governments and people should remember, Madame, that the Soviet Union is not and has never been a voluntary union. It is nothing more than the continuation of the Russian colonial empire — a prison of nations held together by terror and military force, the two basic ingredients of Russian imperialism, guided by men such as Mikhail Gorbachev. The Soviet Russian urge for greatness in the form of expansion is thus not a new phenomenon, which can be attributed to Communism only, as is often mistakenly understood. It is centuries-old Russian imperialism interwoven with Communist ideology, which is why it is so unpredictable and so dangerous. Communism has given traditional Russian imperialism a new face, a new platform and new opportunities. The original Tsarist idea of a world-wide empire with world-wide hegemony has not changed; it has merely adopted a new form. The portrayal of the Soviet Union as a homogenous structure — one indivisible Russia, with one people, one language and one culture only goes to assist Moscow in its Russification of the Ukrainian language, culture, and indeed every walk of life in Ukraine, and should from now on be avoided on every occasion.

4) The British Government, the Foreign Office, the House of Commons and the general population of Britain must not allow themselves to be tricked by "friendly" smiles, "warm" handshakes and "reassuring" words. For representatives of a government and system, which promotes "friendship", "peaceful co-existence", "co-operation" and "disarmament" and at the same time increases its own "defence" budget by a very substantial percentage, can only make the same false promises as the government and system they serve.

5) This system, driven by traditional Russian imperialism, is striving for further expansion, territorial conquest and the spread of communism throughout the world. Witness to this is the invasion of Afghanistan, the latest country to be subjugated by Russia, and the whole string of wars on the continent of Africa and South America.

6) The expanding Russian empire presently poses a greater than ever threat to the West with the latest increase in Russian military spending. Representatives of this system cannot have anything of definite value or meaning to say to the leaders of Western democratic countries, who are still prepared to see some good in Russian officials. The Ukrainian nation, Madame, and all the nations subjugated by Russia have constantly demonstrated that this is not so and can never be so. Genuine and useful co-operation and peaceful co-existence with any system or government, which

perpetrates such atrocities as do the Russian authorities and the KGB, is impossible and representatives of such systems should never be accepted as guests of the government or institutions of freedom-loving democratic countries.

We urge, Madame, upon the British Government, the Foreign Office and the House of Commons, while acting as hosts to Mr. Gorbachev and his delegation, to demand from the Soviet Russian Government the immediate release of all Ukrainian political prisoners in the Soviet Union, especially Yuriy Shukhevych, who has been imprisoned for more than 30 years; Mrs. Oksana Meshko, who is 79 years old, almost blind and suffers from acute diabetes and rheumatism, and who is currently serving 5 years of internal exile in Siberia; Levko Lukyanenko, presently serving his 15 years sentence of imprisonment; Mykola Rudenko, imprisoned since 1977 and Vyacheslav Chornovil, constantly imprisoned since 1972.

Furthermore, Madame, we urge upon the British Government, the Foreign Office and the House of Commons, to stipulate to Mr. M. Gorbachev and his delegation that all the future political, economic and cultural co-operation with the Russians shall be preconditioned by the proper treatment of the national and human rights of the Ukrainian nation and all the nations currently enslaved by Soviet Russian imperialism in the USSR, nations which should have the right to their independence, sovereignty and a democratic way of life on their own free ethnographic territories.

True peace in the world can only come about after the dismemberment of the Soviet empire into separate, independent and sovereign nations. Until that time the threat of Russian expansion and oppression will continue to hang over the whole world.

Hoping that you, Madame, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the British Government will keep in mind this Memorandum during Mr. M. Gorbachev's visit to London and will do your utmost for defending national and human rights in Ukraine.

We remain, Madame, your obedient Servants,

I. Dmytriw
President

I. Rawluk
General Secretary

INTERNATIONAL FRANKFURT BOOK FAIR 1984

“Orwell 2000” was the theme of this year’s International Book Fair held on October 3rd-8th, 1984, in Frankfurt, West Germany. This theme suggested that the horrific visions which Orwell predicted for the fictitious year 1984 are heading towards becoming a reality. This reality, although as yet not fully realised, is, however, a great threat to us, especially if we take a look at world literature today where in many ways Orwell’s predictions have, actually, come true.

Our aim within the context of the main theme of the Book Fair, was to show to the world public that the above mentioned horrific visions — informational colonialism, a fully controlled society administered by a totalitarian power, moral decline, conflict in creativity and total destruction — in Ukraine and other subjugated nations, in their cultures and literature — have, in fact, been a reality long before the world ever heard of Orwell.

At this year’s International Book Fair, 92 nationalities and 6200 publishers participated. Among them Ukrainian publishers of the Ukrainian Liberation Front — Munich, London, New York, Toronto, Brussels — had their own stand and exhibited books in the Ukrainian, English and German languages.

One section of the stand, entitled “The Forbidden Language”, acted like a magnet in attracting the public to the stand. Here plaques were hung with quotes from the Valuevsk and Ems Decrees — where the use of the Ukrainian language in Ukraine was officially forbidden by the Russian authorities. The public was also informed about the destruction of Ukrainian cultural activists under present-day Soviet Russian occupation.

On a separate wall, under the heading “Literature Behind Bars”, large photographs of Ukrainian writers at present serving sentences in concentration camps or internal exile in the USSR, together with appropriate notices, attracted a vast international public and aroused great interest towards these figures, their works and their plight.

A large icon and literature about the late Ukrainian Patriarch Josyf Slipyj which filled a third wall, brought to light another aspect of Soviet Russian policy, namely, the persecution and denial of all religious beliefs in the USSR.

There were also stands which exhibited Polish publications from Paris and London. “SOLIDARNOSC” had its own stand, and so did Croatia.

The Ukrainian stand which was set up and run by young Ukrainians from Munich and London, as well as a separate stand from Ukrainian Academic Institutions, made its mark, not only on the world public and the Book Fair itself, but also on the Russian publishers and Russian public who could do nothing but clench their teeth in anger everytime they passed our exhibits. It brought home the fact that, in spite of mass russification, national languages, literature, culture and history *do* and *will* in future generations continue to exist in the presently subjugated nations, and voice to the whole world the *real* horrific visions of Soviet Russian totalitarian rule.