

*The*  
**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



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# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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Lt. Gen. Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) 1944-1950, killed in a battle against MVD troops on March 5, 1950, in Ukraine.

## GENERAL ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH — TARAS CHUPRYNKA

In the autumn of 1950 Ukrainians in the Free World received the news which took several months to reach them through the Iron Curtain, that Lieut. General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka had been killed during a military engagement with Soviet Russian security forces on the morning of March 5th, 1950, in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv. This tragic news came as an unexpected blow to the entire national Ukrainian community because every Ukrainian realised that the Ukrainian Liberation Movement had lost one of its most outstanding leaders and military commanders, who managed to direct its underground activities under the Communist Russian occupation for many years, and whose legendary name Taras Chuprynka, became a symbol for the Ukrainian struggle against Russian domination and oppression.

Roman Shukhevych joined the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) in his early youth. He was one of the first to become a member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), when this organisation replaced the UVO in 1929. For many years, as a member of the UVO and then the OUN, he held the post of officer in charge of commando campaigns in Western Ukraine. In 1938-1939 he took an active part in the formation of the Ukrainian Carpathian State and its military organisation — The Carpathian Sich. From 1939 to 1940, Shukhevych held the extremely important and responsible post of Chief Liaison Officer with the underground in the Ukrainian territories within the border of the Soviet Union, when the headquarters of the OUN was based in Cracow. At the same time he was leader of the OUN territorial units operating in those parts of the Ukrainian national territory, which were incorporated in the so-called 'Government-General', set up by Hitler after the collapse of the Polish state. In addition to these two important posts, he took an active part, as member of the Presidium of the OUN, in the work of the chief military staff of the OUN and held lectures on various military subjects at secret training courses. He also commanded the Ukrainian Legion and took an active part in the Proclamation of the restoration of Ukraine's Independence on 30th June, 1941. In the spring of 1943, while Stepan Bandera, Yaroslav Stetsko and many other prominent members of the OUN were being held by the Gestapo in concentration camps, Roman Shukhevych was elected Chairman of the Presidium of the OUN. During 1943-1944 he took an active part in the formation of the Antibolshevik Bloc of Nations, whose first conference was held in Ukraine during November 1943, and in the formation of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, whose first plenary session was held in July 1944. In July 1944 Shukhevych became Chairman of the

Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), its Secretary-General for Military Affairs and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

There are not many people in the Free World who would be able to realise fully the situation in Ukraine during and after the Second World War. In the Western official history of WWII there is no mention of Taras Chuprynka, the OUN, the UPA or the UHVR. But these are organisations and people who conducted the war of the Ukrainian Nation against Hitler, and when Germany was defeated, who turned their strength, weapons and determination against Russian Communism and tyranny. The main objective of Roman Shukhevych was the restoration of Ukrainian independence and the freedom of the Ukrainian Nation.

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### FROM THE ORDERS OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE UPA

*Order issued on the fifth anniversary of the formation  
of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)*

Soldiers and commanders of the UPA,  
members of the revolutionary underground!

It is now five years since the time when a member of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Ostap, began to organise armed groups in Polissia, to fight against the occupants of Ukraine. These small groups, fighting simultaneously against both the Germans and the Bolshevik partisans, gave birth to a new form of revolutionary struggle for liberation — the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. After a few months, this movement spread across the whole of Polissia, Volyn, Halychyna\* and a greater part of the Right bank territory of Ukraine.\*\* The whole of 1943 and the first half of 1944, were marked by the struggle of the UPA on two fronts. On the anti-German front, the UPA attained the complete halt of the forced evacuation of the Ukrainian population to work in Germany and made impossible the economic ransacking of the people. On the anti-Bolshevik front, the UPA did not allow the flooding of the Ukrainian lands by the Bolshevik partisans. It was noone else but the UPA, in a whole string of victorious battles, that smashed the hordes of Stalinist Huns, which ceaselessly rolled across Ukraine from the north-east to conquer Europe.

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\* Polissia, Volyn and Halychyna are areas of Western Ukraine.

\*\* Territory on the right bank of the Dnipro river, i.e. the area of Central Ukraine.

In the second half of 1944, the whole Ukrainian territory found itself under Bolshevik occupation. And thus there began a new period of the UPA's struggle for the "existence or non-existence" of the Ukrainian people. The occupant's first attempt to physically destroy the Ukrainian people by throwing it into the front lines of the imperialist fronts, was a failure. In accordance with the appeal of the revolutionary underground, under the protection of the UPA, the Ukrainian male population managed to avoid destruction. In addition, the occupant also failed to move out the Ukrainian population to new penal labour in the USSR. Seeing the political and military successes of the UPA, and realising that the sympathies of the Ukrainian people lay with it, the occupant did not dare, even to this day, to carry out a complete economic ransacking of the people by driving the farming population into the Stalinist collective farms.

With a weapon in his hand, the Ukrainian insurgent defended the western regions of Ukrainian territory against the flood of imperialist Polish military formations as early as 1944, and later stood up in defence of the population of these lands against forced evacuation. The uneven struggle of the UPA against the Bolsheviks and their Polish hirelings went on for over two years in the western regions of Ukraine, but the Ukrainian insurgent remained there even when the last Ukrainian was forcefully removed from this territory, and the whole area was turned into an uninhabited wasteland.

The fearless commanders and soldiers of the UPA have enscribed upon its flags a whole series of military actions, which will be written down with gold letters in the history of the Ukrainian armed struggle. The punishing hand of the UPA reached even the highest representatives of the occupying power, for example, the chief of the SA, Lutze; the commander of the "1st Ukrainian Front", Vatutin; and the Polish Deputy Minister of Defence, Swierczewski. Many times units of the UPA took enemy district centres by storm, burst into enemy regional centres, surveyed native and foreign territory with their long-distance military expeditions, harassed the enemy with ambushes and raids and denied him the opportunity to realise his plans for the destruction of the Ukrainian population. Such names as Hrehot-Rizun, Yastrub, Yasen, Storchan, Prut, Konyk, Peremoha and Khrin, carried with them the glory of the Ukrainian armed struggle outside the borders of Ukraine.

But during the time of the UPA, great achievements were also gained in the political field. While putting into practice the slogan "Freedom for nations, freedom for the individual", as early as 1944, the UPA had organised national contingents of Azerbaijanis, Georgians, Kahakhs and other peoples enslaved by Moscow, to fight for the overthrow of the Kremlin and the establishment of the independent states of all the subjugated nations of the East. Upon the initiative of the UPA, the First Conference of the Subjugated Nations was held in November, 1943, and all the Ukrainian groups striving for independence, became united and set up the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, which from 1944 onwards directed the whole

struggle for an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state. UPA raids into Poland and Slovakia acquired new allies for the subjugated nations from amongst the Poles and Slovaks.

The successes achieved by the UPA by far exceeded all the expectations placed upon it by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and the whole Ukrainian nation. The UPA had achieved these successes in conditions which the history of mankind has not seen to this very day.

Soldiers and commanders of the UPA! You, who today are fighting against the Bolsheviks in military units, and you, who have filled up the ranks of the revolutionary underground movement for independence, must be aware of the fact that the heroic five-year struggle of the UPA and the revolutionary underground movement for independence, is the most heroic era in the history of Ukraine. You must also be aware that the history of mankind has not known such an heroic era. The celebrated heroes of Termopyllae have gone into the shadow. New generations of Ukrainians will be brought up on the heroism of the UPA and the revolutionary underground movement for independence, and the soldier of the UPA, the Ukrainian revolutionary, will take the place of the courageous Spartan in the history of mankind. So, therefore, you must realise the greatness of this era in which you have been destined to live and you must never bring shame upon the glory of the insurgents, as those who have already passed away from our midst did not bring shame upon it.

Today, on this festive day of the UPA, look back with pride upon the last five years, and remember with respect all those who have sacrificed their lives to forge this New Era. But also, on this festive day of the UPA, look proudly on to the future, which will crown the new struggle for independence with victory.

Long live the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council!

Eternal glory to the heroes who gave their lives for Ukraine.

14th October, 1947

*General Taras Chuprynka*  
Commander-in-Chief of the UPA

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A. V. V. POWROZNYK, B.A. (Cantab.)

## METROPOLITAN ANDREY SHEPTYTSKY

Speech delivered on Sunday 4th November, 1984, in Manchester during the commemoration of the 40th Anniversary of the death of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky

We are gathered here today to commemorate the death 40 years ago on the 1st of November 1944 of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky.

He is a unique figure in the history of Ukraine. He is also unique in the history of the Catholic Church. Never before has the world seen a person who possessed all the qualities of a saint — who was a fearless religious leader always committed to the good of his flock; who was a supreme churchman in the Catholic Church; an impeccable statesman and politician; an intellectual whose wisdom, knowledge and foresight were forces to be reckoned with; and who was a steadfast nationalist, working always for the benefit of his country.

I can therefore but touch on the most salient features of his life, of his work and of his beliefs and ideals.

Roman Sheptytsky was born in Western Ukraine on the 29th of July, 1865. He came from a titled Ukrainian family with a long history of distinguished churchmen. After having attained the highest commendations in his final year at Grammar School, he joined up for a year's service in the Austrian cavalry, at the request of his father Count Ivan Sheptytsky. After this, again at the request of his father, he entered to read law, graduating in 1888. A possible brilliant career in the Austrian Government, lay ahead of him, as was the wish of his father. However, Roman Sheptytsky, then aged 23, had other intentions. Having already had the opportunity to travel, he had, earlier that year, visited Rome. At a private audience with Pope Leo XIII, he had confessed his desire to give up the worldly ambitions, and to become a priest. The Pope had embraced him, and blessed him on his new path in life.



Later that year he entered the order of the Basilian Fathers and adopted the name Andrey. He began his theological studies at the Jesuit College, and was ordained in 1892 at the age of 27. Seven years later he became bishop of Stanyslaviv and two years after that in 1901, at the young age of 36, he was made Metropolitan of Western Ukraine.

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky had two great missions in his religious life.

The first was to heal the rift which had split the Christian Church wide open into the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Church, almost a thousand years previously. In the eyes of the Metropolitan Ukraine found itself in a unique position, a fact which would enable him to carry out his mission. By virtue of its geographical location, Ukraine was in an ideal position to act as mediator between East and West. Furthermore, Ukraine, having originally accepted the Christian faith from the East, now itself had both Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox communities. Also the Ukrainian Catholic Church was itself in simultaneous communion with both Rome, by virtue of its Catholicism, and with Constantinople by virtue of its origins. All these factors put Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky in a very favourable position to achieve his aims. Unfortunately, he was able to succeed only partially. However, his efforts did not go in vain. The Vatican states clearly that he was one of the greatest proponents and promoters of ecumenical unity ever to have lived.

His second great mission was to place the Ukrainian Catholic Church in its rightful place within the hierarchy of the Holy Catholic Church. The Ukrainian Catholic Church had had patriarchal rights almost from the very beginning of its existence. However the Vatican had never come round to formally bestowing the title of "Patriarchate" on the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Metropolitan Sheptytsky saw the Patriarchate as a first step to the unification of the Ukrainian Catholic and Orthodox Churches, to form one Ukrainian Church, united in its worship of God. He said of his Orthodox brothers, "Then above all they will bring our Ukrainian nation the unity that it now needs, and without which it will be easy for our enemies to dominate us, for a long time yet. In the unity of our Church we will have both power and an example on which to base our national unity". Unfortunately he did not survive to see the proclamation of the Patriarchate. This happened much later, in 1975, and even then it was not recognised by the Vatican.

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky, however, was not only a powerful and unifying force among the Ukrainian clergy, he was also an impeccable statesman and politician. He was a member of the Austrian House of Lords and for many years Vice-President of the Ukrainian Council in Lviv.

After the fall of the Austrian empire in 1918, he became a member of the Ukrainian National Council, which formed the Government of the Western Ukrainian National Republic.

When the restoration of the Ukrainian Independent State was proclaimed on the 30th of June 1941 by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky gave his blessing to the Provisional Government of the Ukrainian State, headed by Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko, as did also the Ukrainian Orthodox Bishop Polykarp, who in 1942 became Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky was also a Ukrainian nationalist. He was resolute in his stand for Ukrainian national identity and unity. He worked always for the good of his country. In his prayer for Ukraine he says, "Almighty God, King of the World, Our Saviour, Jesus Christ, you love mankind with all your heart, and in your infinite wisdom you look after each nation, according to its needs. Look upon our Ukrainian nation... and let us all be united in our faith... give our nation freedom... and protect us from the temptation of this world and of the devil and his minions... give the leaders of our nation the light of your infinite wisdom".

The Metropolitan knew no fear in defending the rights of his nation. He was arrested twice — once, by the Russian Tsar in 1914, when he was imprisoned for 3 years in a Siberian monastery, and the second time by the Polish Government in 1923. Both times he had been arrested for defending his country's rights. However these arrests did not stop him. In the 1930's, the Polish Government began its policy of the pacification of the Ukrainian nation, destroying Ukrainian Orthodox churches in Western Ukraine, in order to force Ukrainians to become Roman Catholics, so that at a future date Poland could assimilate this part of Ukraine. Only by virtue of Metropolitan Sheptytsky's intervention at the Vatican were these heinous acts exposed and stopped, and the Polish Government called to answer for its deeds before the world.

In 1933 Stalin tried to crush the Ukrainian resistance to his policy of "collectivisation" by creating an artificial famine — a famine of such a magnitude that over 8 million Ukrainians died of starvation. Again it was Metropolitan Sheptytsky who brought this to the attention of the world.

Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky's active interest and participation in politics is evidence that not only can the Church play an active role in politics, but that it is morally obliged to do so, especially when issues of national unity and identity are at stake. Let this be an example to members of our Ukrainian clergy, and in particular to those, who hide behind their frocks and cassocks, rather than fight with the Sword of the Holy Ghost, which was bestowed upon them. Today we are fighting for the recognition of our Patriarchate by the Vatican, which was proclaimed in 1975 and yet, some members of our clergy still stand equivocally in relation to this matter as if weathering the storm. What do they fear? Do they fear imprisonment by the Vatican for saying the truth? Do they fear ridicule for fighting for our Ukrainian religious rights? Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky fought for Ukrainian religious and national rights; he was imprisoned twice for this, and still he did not give up.

In this week's edition of Newsweek Magazine, we learn of a still-secret directive from the Vatican, forbidding our bishops, and presumably all Ukrainian Catholics, to apply the term Patriarch to Archbishop Major Myroslav Lubachivsky, who is the successor to the late Patriarch Josyf Slipyj. Furthermore, this directive abolishes the rights of our bishops to ordain married men and suspends all married priests from further duty. I sincerely do hope that this report in Newsweek Magazine is wrong. But, if it is right, I wonder what the reaction will be among members of the equivocal clergy?

Presently, Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky is going through the process of canonisation, that is of being proclaimed a Saint. There is much evidence of his saintly qualities: his love of God, his love of the Church, and his desire to heal the rift between the Orthodox and the Catholic Churches and instead to create one Church united in its praise of God. He was a nationalist. He loved his own people and his own country. But he was also an internationalist, for he loved all people irrespective of their nationality and faith.

Indeed during the Second World War, he was one of the first persons to protest to Nazi Germany about its conduct. In a Pastoral letter "Thou shalt not kill" he protested strongly against the murder of civilians and the persecution of the Jews by Nazi Germany. He took active measures to protect and shelter the Jews, on many occasions offering them employment on the large estates and forests owned by the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Further important evidence for the canonisation process is that several miraculous healings took place in the presence of the Metropolitan. Pope Pius XII said this about him: "His name will remain forever praised in the Christian Church, which will remember his diligence as Pastor and his continuous bravery in the defence of his nation".

Two weeks ago we commemorated the 25th Anniversary of the assassination of Stepan Bandera, Chairman of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists. Today we commemorate the 40th Anniversary of the death of Metropolitan Andrey Sheptytsky. Here are two men who apparently are so different, and yet are so similar. Both had an ideal. Both had the same ideal. Both had the ideal of one united, sovereign and independent Ukrainian Nation!

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*Borys OZERSKY*

## DECLARATION AND REALITY

The Yalta 'Declaration on the Liberation of Europe' of February 11, 1945 refers exclusively to the nations of East-Central Europe, but has no relation to the subjugated nations in the USSR. These nations were completely written off in the debates of the Yalta Conference, where Moscow dictated the final terms. As a result of the Conference, the Russian empire remained an untouched power. Today, the interpretation of the Yalta Agreements is somewhat different. At the end of 1981 and the beginning of 1982, for example, French President Mitterrand declared the necessity of annulling the Yalta Agreements and abrogating the division of Europe. He was repeating what then President Charles de Gaulle of France had stated in 1968, namely that the entrance of the Warsaw Pact armies into the CSSR was a direct consequence of the Yalta Agreements on the division of spheres of influence. Former German Chancellor Helmut Schmidt also has commented that "at Yalta, Europe was divided into spheres of interest to which the West fully agreed and it is in this light that today we have to view the events in Poland".

The USA upholds the position that in Yalta there were no fixed spheres of influence and that the US Government neither approved nor agreed to that concept in Yalta. This was stated in 1968 by Dean Rusk, then US Secretary of State, who defined this interpretation of spheres of influence as absurd. He said that "the US did not conclude a treaty or an agreement on spheres of influence with anyone or anywhere in the world. There was never any talk of spheres of influence at the Yalta Conference". The present US Administration also maintains the position that there was never any agreement in Yalta on the division of spheres of influence.

The Yalta 'Declaration on the Liberation of Europe' also refers to the Atlantic Charter of August 14, 1941 which was signed by all three powers — the USA, Great Britain and the USSR. 'The Declaration on the Liberation of Europe' maintains the right of all nations to choose any form of government they desire and demands "the restoration of sovereign rights and self-government to those nations which were deprived of such rights by aggressor nations through force". However, Russia, was apparently not counted as one of these aggressors. This referred only to Germany, Italy, Japan and their allies.

The Yalta complex referred to Poland and to East-Central Europe in general to which Ukraine, Byelorussia and other nations subjugated by Russia belong, for the USSR was the promoter of all the treaties and agreements at that time. British and American statesmen did not protest the inclusion of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania in the USSR which had been

done on the basis of the Russo-German Treaty of August 23 and September 28, 1939.

President Roosevelt was still pre-occupied with the war against Japan and naively believed in the eventual democratisation of the tyranny of the Russian aggressors. France was not present at Yalta and, until this day, considers that in Yalta Europe was divided into two spheres of influence. "The Yalta myth about the division of spheres of influence in Europe is still present in France", writes Alfred Grosser in 1978, "in spite of the lack of documentation for such an interpretation; Yalta became a symbol of the domination of the two superpowers over the world system". However, facts have confirmed the French interpretation as being correct: the workers uprising in East Berlin in 1953, the Hungarian uprising in 1956 and America's complete disinterest evidenced by Secretary of State J. P. Dulles' secret message to Tito that Washington does not interfere in foreign spheres of influence, as well as the West's silence during the events in Poland in 1956 and in Czecho-Slovakia in 1968 (although in all of these countries it was a question of realising the principles of the Atlantic Charter and the Yalta 'Declaration on the Liberation of Europe'), the Berlin Wall in 1961, the uprisings of Ukrainian political prisoners in concentration camps and the constant silence from the West.

The present United States Administration, President Ronald Reagan, Vice President George Bush and Secretary of State George Shultz all objected to the "myth" about the division of the world between the superpowers, as allegedly agreed upon at Yalta. Therefore, it is the duty of the USA and other western countries to constantly bring pressure upon Moscow because of its introduction of a tyrannical, totalitarian, undemocratic and occupational system in the countries of so-called East-Central Europe, including Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, for in doing this Russia has violated the agreement in Yalta. This attack has to be led by the USA and they should stand up in defence of the subjugated nations and expose Moscow's lies to the world.

It is clear that neither Roosevelt nor Churchill, blinded by the alliance with the anti-Christ against the devil, with Stalin against Hitler, had in mind in their declaration neither Ukraine nor the other subjugated nations in the USSR, including the Baltic nations. Nor did they think about the freedom and independence of Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Turkestan, Armenia or North Caucasus and about the heroic armies of the OUN-UPA and their two-front war. Churchill and Eden even divided into ratios the spheres of influence in some satellite countries between themselves and the USSR (Churchill and Eden in Moscow on the night of October 9-10, 1944). The ratios of interest of the USSR, Great Britain and the USA: 90:10 in Rumania, 10:90 in Greece, 50:50 in Yugoslavia and Hungary, 75:25 in Bulgaria. We should emphasize that Greece and Yugoslavia fought on the side of the Allies. The USA rejected these ratios of interest.

Neither in Yalta nor in other Agreements and Treaties between the 3 powers was there any reference to the rights of Ukraine or the other

subjugated nations in the USSR. Stalin dictated the course of action, although without the aid of the USA, the USSR would never have survived the war. The USA and Britain rescued the Russian empire, but the real victor turned out to be Russia. In Europe, Stalin was fulfilling the plans of Tsarist Russia — of Nicholas II. In 1914, the Russian Council of Ministers drew up its war plans and goals. One part of the Russian government planned the restoration of the Polish kingdom under Tsarist protection, the other planned the seizure of Halychyna (Galicia), Northern Bukovyna, Carpatho-Ukraine, Tsarhorod (Istanbul) and the Dardanelles, as well as the seizure of Eastern Prussia and also part of Asian Turkey, the “liberation” of Slavs from Austrian rule, the weakening of Germany through the cession of some of its territory to France, Belgium, Luxembourg and Denmark and the creation of small German states, and the reunification of Poland in its ethnographic territory under the protection of Russia. Stalin together with Molotov studied this Tsarist Russian plan and acted according to it whenever the situation arose. In fact, they realised many of the plans drawn up by the Council of Ministers in 1914. The general line of Bolshevist policy in somewhat modified terms, is identical to that of the Tsarist Russian policy of world conquest. Is present day Soviet Russia not executing the plans of Tsar Peter I, as stated in his ‘Testament’, with regard to Afghanistan, Iran and access to the warm waters of the Indian Ocean?

Neither Churchill nor Roosevelt considered Bolshevik power as a continuation of Tsarist power, they did not see the permanence and continuation of Russian imperialism and messianism. And so, having won the war, they totally lost the peace. They were not yet capable of understanding the sly devices of the Russians.

The Atlantic Charter was also a deception for the nations which fought either on one side or the other. It did not apply to Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia or the other subjugated nations. No one from the Western governments referred to the subjugated nations in the USSR. This was a deceptive declaration in order to enable the soldiers of the different armies as well as the subjugated nations to live with the illusion that they would be free by fighting against this or that system of tyranny and colonialism in order to continue having them as cannon fodder for the imperialists.

The struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was not mentioned at all in the Atlantic Charter discussions, so as not to ‘provoke’ the Russian bear. Furthermore, it is indeed ironic that today in some American courts the OUN-UPA are considered enemies of the USA because they fought against a US Ally — Russia. They are, however, well aware of the fact that the OUN-UPA also fought against Nazi Germany. The Western Allies refused altogether to include Ukraine as a subject for discussion.

Instead of relying on the subjugated nations to fight against both Russian and German tyrannies and rather than including them in a common front, to destroy both totalitarian, genocidal imperialisms, the Allies sided with

the anti-Christ against the Devil. This line of thinking was also taken up at Yalta, where there was no mention of Ukraine, a 50 million-strong nation which fought against both tyrannies. It was naive and self-delusive to consider that the empire of the anti-Christ would respect the rights of nations and the individual, belief in God and the ideals of freedom. Declarations and Agreements are only pieces of paper to tyrants and atheists.

Even though the USA and other Western governments now offer a true interpretation of Yalta and the Atlantic Charter, one can see that they still refuse to take into consideration the subjugated nations within the USSR, they do not see Ukraine, but only the 'satellites', some of which are particularly privileged. For them the USSR is taboo. The liberation of the nations subjugated within the Russian empire — the USSR — are also not included in the present campaign for the true interpretation of Yalta and the Atlantic Charter.

Taking advantage of such an occasion as the Yalta Commemoration, it is necessary to shatter the narrow scope of the so-called 'satellite' complex by broadening the campaign to strive towards the destruction of the Russian empire — the USSR — as a whole, and the restoration on its ruins of an independent, sovereign Ukrainian state and the independent, democratic states of the nations presently subjugated by Russian imperialism, within their own ethnographic boundaries. Our struggle must be conducted with the aim of the dissolution of the whole Russian empire which is composed of the subjugated nations in the USSR, as well as the so-called 'satellite countries'. We have to refer to recent acts of international law, such as the UN Resolution on the decolonisation of all the empires in the world, the US Congressional Law on Captive Nations of 1959 (86-90), to the God-given rights of every nation to sovereignty, and for human rights, regardless of its race, religions beliefs, size or wealth.

We must refer to those international legal acts which guarantee the rights of nations and the individual, and not to those 'agreements' or 'accords' which were dictated by Moscow. Only through force can we achieve the success of our struggle for the regaining of our sovereign, independent and democratic states.

During the current review of the Yalta case, we have the opportunity of outlining our political position, the position of a nation which is fighting for sovereignty on its ethnographic territory, for the inclusion of all Ukrainian territories in our future national state. We recognise this right for every nation. We do not *renounce* a single inch of Ukrainian territory for the benefit of any occupant whatsoever. We do not want any foreign territory and we will not cede any of our land.

The scope of our liberation concept offers the solution to the world political crisis which has arisen because of Russian imperialism and Moscow's worldwide aggression which is constantly on the increase, camouflaged in different forms, colours and shapes. Our aim is the dissolution of the Russian empire and the destruction of the communist system

by a co-ordinated struggle of all the subjugated nations in the Russian empire with the help of all other nations under the threat of Bolshevism. Force is the only way of dealing with the Russians. Russia will only withdraw under the pressure of force.

On the 40th anniversary of the Yalta Conference, we appeal to the free world, in particular to those Western states which were party to the decisions dictated by Moscow, to conduct a modern type of war, namely, a psychological, political and ideological offensive against the Russian empire and Bolshevism. This must be done by making the subjugated nations especially Ukraine — the largest subjugated nation in the world the focal point of this war, as well as bringing attention to our concept of liberation and our political aims.

We can help those subjugated nations, which hope for some success in their actions as a result of a new and different interpretation of Yalta than the ones which the world has seen until now, not by isolated actions but by common action in a front comprised of all the subjugated nations, giving top priority to the essence of the matter, namely, the dissolution of the Russian empire through a united effort of all the nations subjugated and threatened by Bolshevism. Not limiting ourselves to a narrow scope of action under the slogan of 'Yalta' — which trampled upon the desires of freedom of the numerous presently subjugated nations, who were in effect fighting both Russia and Germany (Ukraine) — we should also include in our action the liberation of *all* those nations which are victimised by the Yalta complex. We have a common fate. No one will help us unless we help ourselves. In 1943 the West chose to neglect the appeal made from the forests of Zhytomyr, Ukraine, by the Revolutionary Committee of the subjugated nations of Eastern Europe and Asia (The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations) to the subjugated nations of Western Europe to create a common front against both totalitarianisms and imperialisms. Now the West is living with the consequences.

The only alternative today is the same as it was yesterday and will not change tomorrow. It is to create a common front of all these subjugated nations and thus free the world from mankind's greatest threat — Russian imperialism of any kind and Bolshevism. Yalta offers no solutions whatsoever!

And finally, the Occident should be ashamed of having betrayed itself. In all its means of information or disinformation, Western governments and academic institutions betray their roots by agreeing to this dismembered Europe. In the US State Department there are both an "Eastern Europe" department *and* a "USSR" department. Since the "USSR" is a world in itself, for them nations incarcerated in it have no European culture, spirit and history, and for some people in Washington, London, Bonn and Paris, East European history begins with Lenin... When you read "Eastern Europe" at the US State Department or elsewhere, do not think that this includes Ukraine, Byelorussia or Georgia... They belong to another cultural or

historical cycle, namely the USSR! Eastern Europe therefore ends at Warsaw. Possibly the US State Department will soon introduce a new name for the USSR (as George Orwell predicted) — Eurasia! Kyiv — the centre of European culture since the Middle Ages — is no longer part of Europe! It was not without reason that Spengler wrote so pessimistically about “The Decline of the West”. Do the Europeans feel no shame when they write off European countries from European culture and history? If tomorrow Russian Bolshevik hordes were to overrun East Germany, Bulgaria or Hungary and include them into the USSR, would the frontier of Eastern Europe then be moved further to the West? Furthermore, if the Bolshevik hordes were to reach the Atlantic, would there then no longer be a Europe? Genghis Khans, Lenins, Andropovs, and Chernenkos will come and go, but nations, culture, spirit, history, individuality, respect of human dignity, freedom of nations, heroic Occidental Christianity all remain. We should stop defining Moscow’s ‘satellites’ as Eastern Europe. We should stop accepting European frontiers as Moscow chooses to designate them. We should have some dignity and some European pride because the spirit of Europe also lives on in the United States — the everlasting spirit of Europe, regardless of whether the conformists at the State Department define us as “Soviets”, or Poles and East Germans as Eastern Europeans. Is Lithuania, which is incorporated in the USSR and known as the LSSR, no longer part of Eastern Europe, but some strange creation within the framework of the USSR? How incredible it would be if tomorrow the Russians were to occupy Greece or Italy and incorporate them into the Soviet Socialist Republics of the USSR: would Western apologists for the USSR think that Greeks or Italians had renounced their roots, their own nation of Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Olympus, the Iliad, the Stoics, Roman law which became the basis for European law — would they no longer belong to Europe and instead create a ‘Soviet nation’? Would they become a faceless herd of servants to a supernation of barbarians aiming at the equation of human individuality, or oppressed Orwellian robots within a cult of atheism; Lenin’s mummy and Stalin the cannibal?!

A memento for those who have no respect for their roots! A memento also for those who capitulate before the devil of the Kremlin!

However, there are some grounds for optimism because the Occident is beginning to realise its own values. Heroic Christianity, national-patriotic ideas, faith in one’s own nation and in the eternal values of the individual, created in God’s image, and of nations, created according to God’s “plan”, have been radiating from the underground movements of the East — the Ukrainian East. This spirit of national patriotism and cultural tradition is reviving in the United States and Western Europe. In the USA, President Reagan has become the driving force behind the renewed idealism, patriotism and moral revival of the spirit of Christianity, faith in God and traditionalism, of strong family ties, of respect for human beings, national sovereignty and human rights within the framework of social justice. He has confronted the empire of evil with ethical ideals and national political values. Through

President Reagan's initiation, a revival movement has developed in the United States filled with the spirit of heroism and patriotism, the raising of a young generation with faith in God and love of one's fatherland and respect of the rights of other nations for freedom and independence. The fact that the American nation has expressed its confidence in him with an overwhelming majority, proves that the ideas propagated by him are more than accepted.

In Great Britain there is a growing understanding among parliamentarians and important military theoreticians of the importance of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism, as well as a new understanding of Europe — but not that marked out by Moscow.

There is a growing realisation that those nations (be it so-called 'satellites' or within the USSR) which constantly struggle to uphold European values and ideas *do* belong to Europe.

Finally, if we — Ukrainians and the other subjugated nations — do not become free and independent, there will be no lasting freedom and independence for any European nation.

This is the law of our era from which there can be no escape!

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## TEN YEARS OF THE UPA STRUGGLE (1942-1952)

### 1. Ukraine under Nazi Occupation

In 1942, with the entire Ukraine in their hands, the Nazis reached the peak of their military might. That summer they renewed their offensive against the Soviets. The plan foresaw their penetration to the Volga and the subsequent seizing of the Caucasus and its oil-fields.

This advance of the German forces compelled the Russians to retreat to the Don River. In the south, the Red Army abandoned Krasnodar and all the Kuban. Nazi forces plunged south into the Caucasian highlands and east to Stalingrad. Thus the siege of Stalingrad began.

In Africa, throughout the summer and fall of 1942, Rommel's forces stood at El Alamein, only seventy five miles from Alexandria in Egypt.

It was at this moment that the Ukrainians started an armed resistance against the Nazi invaders. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), therefore, was created at the time the Nazis were celebrating their greatest military victories. It was undoubtedly one of the first underground armies to operate on a large scale against Nazi Germany, relying solely on its own forces and receiving no outside aid.

From June 22, 1941, when the Germans made their lightning attack on the Soviet Union, Ukrainian officers and soldiers of the Red Army surrendered en masse hoping to take part in the struggle for the liberation of their country. But the Germans came not as liberators, but as conquerors. They sought not allies in Ukraine, but slaves. Those who surrendered subsequently died in the German starvation camps for war prisoners because Hitler rejected all plans for drawing the peoples of the Soviet Union into the struggle against the Bolsheviks. Today there is no doubt that Hitler's blundering policy, especially in Ukraine, was the chief reason for his debacle in the East.

From the very beginning of the Nazi occupation of Ukraine, the Ukrainians were treated most brutally. Ukraine (without Odessa and "Transnistria", which was ceded to Rumania and without Galicia which became a part of Frank's "General-Government") was transformed into the "Reichskommissariat Ukraine" under the direction of "Reichkommissar" Erich Koch, one of the most brutal of the Nazi leaders, who succeeded in whipping up a real hatred for Germany. Koch was nicknamed the "Hangman of Ukraine." His policy consisted of the following despicable features: all-out terror against the Ukrainian population; forced deportation of the people for slave labour in Germany; closing of Ukrainian schools, theatres and scientific institutions; destruction of the population by dissemination of contagious diseases; pillage of Ukrainian villages; extermination of the Ukrainian

prisoners of war, as well as persecution of religious life. Mass shootings of Ukrainians were held (During 1942 alone — in Kryvyi Rih — 10, in Mykolayiv — 20, in Dzankoi in the Crimea — 10, in Kamenets-Podilskiyi — 160, in Tsuman — 66, in Klobuchen — 123, to give but a few examples). For the shooting of one Gestapo officer in Lviv, 100 Ukrainians paid with their lives on Nov. 27, 1942 (52 in Chortkiv, 28 in Lviv and 20 in Drohobych). The most monstrous crime committed by the Nazis was in the village of Kortelis in the district of Kovel in Volynia (in Nov. 1942). On this occasion, the Nazis burnt down the village and destroyed the entire population numbering at least 2000, including women and children. Most of them were burnt alive.

An underground pamphlet by I. M. Kovalenko, entitled "The Aims and Methods of German Imperialistic Policy in the Occupied Territories" which was widely circulated among Ukrainians in 1942 and 1943, gave a vivid description of the German terror in Ukraine. It revealed that:

"The despised Red Star for twenty years has bathed in a bloody sea the Ukrainian peasant, worker and intellectual. Now the German swastika tears apart with its teeth the body of the Ukrainian people. Words to inscribe on the newly-dug graves of the best sons of Ukraine, which the German invader creates every day on the Ukrainian land, come hard. Only by declaring an implacable war against the blood-thirsty German invader will we be able to avenge the death of our brothers."

This war was declared and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought against the Nazis with the same vigour with which it fought the Soviet Russians until the 1950s.

## **2. U.P.A. against the Nazi Invaders**

The first Ukrainian guerilla detachments appeared in Polissia, the northern part of Western Ukraine, at the beginning of 1942. To distinguish themselves from the Red partisans, the guerillas called themselves "Ukrainian insurgents." In October 1942, some of these guerilla detachments united to build a "Ukrainian Insurgent Army" (Ukrainska Povstancha Armia — U.P.A.). Soon a High Command of this force was formed with Major Dmytro Klachkivsky as Commander-in-Chief and, General Leonid Stupnytsky as Chief-of Staff. Both officers fell in the fight against the Bolsheviks.

The first task of the UPA was to establish itself on a part of Ukrainian territory which was inaccessible to the enemy. During the period of organisation such a location was found in the forests and marshes to the north of the Kovel-Sarny railway line. At that moment this territory (comprising the counties of Rafalivka, Morochno, Volodymyrets, Vysotske and Dubrovitsa) was occupied by the Red Partisans, but under the pressure of the newly formed UPA detachments, they had to withdraw to the north. Under the control of the UPA this land became the first "UPA Republic". There the UPA built its base of operations with training camps, supply centres, and so

on. Successful ambushes against the German trains heading east augmented their stocks of arms, ammunition and other material.

On February 7, 1943, the First Company of the UPA, under the command of First Lt. Perehiyniak, attacked the district centre Volodymyrets. The town was seized and the Nazi garrison destroyed. This incident marked the beginning of anti-Nazi hostilities by the Ukrainian national guerillas of the UPA.

By the Spring of 1943, the UPA had extended the scope of its actions. It had steadily grown in number, augmented by Ukrainian militiamen who came to the UPA with arms, by the officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian battalion of the German Army (which in 1942 had fought against the Red Partisans in Byelorussia), and by the soldiers of "Eastern battalions" of the German Army which had their stations in Western Ukraine. From among them the UPA was able to recruit Azerbaidjanians, Georgians, Cossacks, Tartars, North-Caucasians, Uzbeks, and other nationalities, and to form national detachments which fought under the command of their own officers and under their own flags. Soon there was an Azerbaidjanian battalion and Armenian, Georgian, Cossack, North Caucasian and Uzbek "sotnias" within the UPA.

A constantly increasing number of these troops led to the organisation of separate national legions within the UPA. Representatives of these legions were convoked on Nov. 21-22, 1943, for the First Conference of the Oppressed Peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia; 39 delegates, representing twelve peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia took part in the Conference. Its purpose was to draw up a platform of common aims and methods in the struggle against Nazism and Bolshevism, and the struggle of the UPA and the Ukrainian underground was carried in the slogan: "Freedom to the peoples, freedom to the individual" which was adopted at this Conference.

The result of the Conference was evident after the defeat of Germany in 1945. In all territories of the USSR, from the Baltic Sea to Turkestan, there appeared movements of armed resistance against the Soviets. Unfortunately, no notice of this development has been taken by the West.

The UPA was able to enlist many Jews and, especially, Jewish doctors and nurses. The chief doctor of the army-group "UPA-West" was a Jew, Dr. Havrish. Another Jewish doctor, Kum, was commander of an underground hospital in Trukhaniv, in the county of Skole in the Carpathians. Dr. Kum died in February, 1946, while heroically defending his hospital against the attacking Bolsheviks. He was posthumously granted the Golden Cross of Merit of the UPA. Still another Jew, Dr. Maksemovich, was doctor of the First Insurgent Officer School in the Carpathians. And still another fought alongside his mother in the ranks of the UPA group "Turiv" in Volyn. There were many other Jews among the pharmacists, nurses, craftsmen and so on, in the ranks of the UPA.

A mobilisation order issued to the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) was completely successful. Thousands of Ukrainian youth, boys and

girls, went to the forests to train for their future tasks. By the end of March, 1943, the UPA contained more than 10,000 officers and soldiers. This number was steadily augmented.

From its northern base the UPA crossed into the Stydinskyi and Pustometskyi forests in the district of Kostopil. Soon it occupied the entire territory between the Sluch and Horen Rivers. It swept down further to the south to occupy the densely forested districts of Ostrih and Kremianets. Another detachment of the UPA seized the district city of Horokhiv (on April 4, 1943) and reached the Buh River. From there the advance elements of the UPA reached the Kamin Kosherskyi district and fought on through the Prypiat River to liberate the Kobrenskyi district. By the end of April, almost all of Volyn and a considerable part of Polissia were in the hands of the UPA. The Nazis held only the big cities in their hands and with all their forces tried to protect their chief supply line to the East, the railway line Kovel-Kivertsi-Rivne-Zdolbuniv-Shepetivka and its branch, the Zdolbuniv-Radeveliv-Krasne-Lviv line. They built "Stuetzpunkts" in the cities of Volyn with strong garrisons of motorised police and protected the railways with bunkers and armoured trains. Beyond these "Stuetzpunkts" and railways, all the territory was marked "Partisanengebiet" indicating that it was occupied by the Partisans of the UPA. On all highways and roads signs reading "Beware of Partisans" adorned the Ukrainian countryside.

Having found themselves as it were, on the edge of a volcano, the Nazis started their counter-blows against the UPA. Again they organised mass-shootings of the Ukrainian population (on February 23, 40 were shot in Kremianets; 120 in Zhytomir; on March 18, 600 in Remel, on April 10, 125 in Kniazhe, and so on) and ravaged like beasts in the Ukrainian villages and cities. On March 8, 1943, the Nazis shot all the political prisoners in the Rivne prison and more than 500 Ukrainians lost their lives. However, this time the shootings had the reaction of oil poured on a fire. Everyone who felt himself threatened by the Nazis easily found his way to the forest. To counter the UPA, the Nazi established a BB (Bandenbekaempfung) Staff in the city of Volodymyr, and charged Obersturmbannfuehrer Platle with the task of dispersing the UPA. In the middle of June, 1943, motorised battalions of German police, under the command of Gen. Huentzler supported by tanks and airplanes rushed in to destroy the UPA. But this was in vain. The UPA forces disappeared into the earth; everywhere they looked for camps and stores, the Nazi columns found nothing and no one. However, after the Nazis returned to their stations and relaxed, the UPA troops ambushed them and inflicted heavy losses. The success of the UPA troops is easily explained: their counterintelligence had captured both of Huentzler's orders for action: No. 37 from May 8, and No. 41 from May 28, on which all the German movements were shown on attached maps. These orders told the UPA High Command everything it needed to know about the planned actions.

Thus the Nazis became dissatisfied with Platle and Huentzler. They were recalled and sent to the front to gain more experience. Another specialist

replaced them, SS Obergruppenfuehrer von dem Bach-Zalewski, who later became known as the "pacificator" of Warsaw. As "Plenipotentiary of Reichsminister Himmler" Bach-Zalewski was charged with combating the UPA "by every means". Himmler told him to extinguish the Ukrainian uprising "by sword and fire". It was the last chance to do this as the UPA became extremely dangerous to the Germans. It was on the highway between Kovel and Brest-Litovsk, in May of 1943, that Nazi SA Chief, Victor Lutze, perished with his convoy at the hands of the UPA avengers. The Nazis never admitted that Lutze was killed by the UPA. They could not admit it because they were pretending to be the "liberators" of Ukraine and how could they tell the world that people in a liberated Ukraine had shot their liberators? So they said that Lutze had died in an automobile crash, which was not far from the truth as Lutze's car was actually blown to the skies by the UPA detachment "Avengers of Polissia". It is significant that this accident occurred near the village of Kortelisy, which had been so brutally destroyed, together with its population, the previous fall. Thus the innocent victims of Kortelisy were avenged by the death of a high-ranking Nazi official and his entourage.

Von dem Bach acted on the instructions of his master. He used "sword and fire" to an extent that surpassed all the Nazi cruelties committed in the darkest corners of the earth. In a sudden move, on July 15, 1943, he arrested 2000 Ukrainian intellectuals in Volyn: teachers, priests, artists, writers, doctors, businessmen. Many of them were suspected of sympathising with the UPA and were shot on the spot. Subsequently the Germans invaded the villages and left behind scorched earth. It was von dem Bach's speciality to burn people alive in the churches. On July 2, 1943, his troops invaded the village of Hubkiv, in the county of Ludvypil, and drove the people, with their priest, Rev. Benedict Kornytsky, into the wooden church and burnt them alive. A similar incident took place in the village of Velyki Selyshcha, in the county of Mezhyrichcha. On July 14, 1943, in the village of Malyn, in the county of Ostrozhets, the Nazis drove the people into their wooden church and into the village hall and burnt everyone alive. Shrieks of agony were heard three miles away. It was the same in many other villages. On July 24, 1943, an attempt to commit the same atrocity was made in the village of Lityn and Radovychi, in the county of Turiysk, but here detachments of the UPA intervened, engaged the "pacificators" in battle and defeated them, killing more than a hundred Germans. The High Command of the UPA issued orders to protect, by any and all means, the lives of the Ukrainian population. The troops of the UPA did not restrict themselves to defence. They attacked and destroyed detachments of the German army and police, captured war material, set free workers who were being transported as forced labourers to Germany and kept the Germans from seizing grain and food. Von dem Bach countered by ordering the German "Luftwaffe" to bomb villages and strafe fields and forests. In a month, after a series of major battles were fought in the vicinities of Ostrih, Kremianets, Dubno,

Lutzk, Horokhiv and Volodymyr, the German offensive slowed down; their inhuman measures and cruel terror had been to no avail. It was evident that the Nazis had lost the battle in Volyn: the UPA continued to exist as the dominant force over all the country. By its preventing the Nazis from seizing the 1943 crops, it gave the heaviest blow to the hungry "supermen". By paralysing their transportation, the UPA considerably contributed to the defeat of the Nazis in the East.

The Germans were forced to retire to the large cities while the rest of the country was exclusively dominated by the UPA. The population recognised the authority of the UPA and obeyed its orders. Under the protection of the UPA agriculture and industry developed normally. Agrarian commissions appointed by the UPA divided up large estates among poor peasants. Schools and cultural institutions operated normally. Thousands upon thousands of Ukrainian men and women joined the UPA and were trained in large training camps, which included Officer and NCO Schools, military hospitals and Red Cross organisations. The UPA had a good press of its own, with many organs and publications, including humorous and satirical magazines. Thus the UPA was able to accomplish what was impossible for the underground forces in Western Europe: to clear vast portions of the Ukrainian territory from the Nazi invader and to administer them under its own control.

Having been unsuccessful in combatting the UPA with arms, the Nazis tried to combat it with a powerful propaganda drive. However, in the case of their "psychological warfare" against the UPA, the disciples of Goebbels revealed themselves as stupid and silly ignoramuses. For example, in his proclamations, Gen. von dem Bach branded the UPA "murderers of peace-loving men and women", although the Ukrainian people could tell him exactly who was the murderer. He accused the UPA of being in the service of "Jewish Bolshevism" and of being a "nationally disguised Bolshevik front group" exactly in the same way as the Soviets accused the UPA of "having sold itself to Hitler, to help him enslave Ukraine". He warned the Ukrainian people in his proclamations that "anyone assisting the UPA would be dealt with severely" and this was the only case when the German propaganda was not contradicted by their own acts, provided they were able to capture those who assisted. All these propaganda efforts had no results; the UPA counteracted with its own propaganda, gaining recognition and support constantly. Confronted by the bestial and monstrous crimes perpetrated by both the Nazis and the Bolsheviks against the Ukrainians and, on the other side by high moral character and patriotism of the UPA fighters, the Ukrainian people swung widely to the cause of the UPA.

In October, 1943, the Nazis tried once more to deal with the UPA. This time their boss was SS-Obergruppenfuehrer and General of Police Pritzman. He applied the same methods as von dem Bach and got exactly the same results. Only this time the Germans were much weaker and the UPA much stronger. By the end of September, 1943, the UPA had some 30,000 officers and men within its ranks. Besides this in every village in the area controlled

by the UPA there existed a Self-Defence detachment with the strength of 12 to 150 men. At that time the Ukrainian people lived as they had during the times of the Tartar invasions in Ukraine in the 15th and 16th century. The villages were on the alert; all day and night, guards and patrols were on duty. If an enemy (Red Partisans or the Nazis) approached, bells and gongs or bonfires signalled their approach to the villagers and the neighbouring villages. Special couriers were sent to the nearest UPA detachment for help. Self-Defence detachments from neighbouring villages went into ambush and engaged in battles with the enemy. The UPA detachment rushed with help and attacked the enemy usually from the rear, largely contributing to his defeat. In the meantime the whole village was evacuated, with the cattle, to the forests. Only very old men and women remained in the village, those who no longer feared death.

By the spring of 1944, units of the UPA occupied most of the Carpathian and Sub-Carpathian region. It was a heavy battle for the Carpathians and it lasted exactly one year, from August 1943 to August 1944. The battle was fought by the Nazis, the Red Partisans and the UPA. The UPA had to fight on two fronts: against the Nazis and against the Red Partisans. At this time, from January 1944, the UPA was commanded by Gen. Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, who successfully led it for 7 years. His first Chief of Staff, Gen. Dmytro Hrytsay-Perebyinis was killed on December 19, 1945; his second Col. Alexander Hasyn (Lytsar) was killed on January 30, 1949.

From the very beginning, the UPA also had to fight against the Red Partisans. In February, 1943, the large Red Partisan Group of Gen. Kovpak (consisting of more than 2000 Partisans), advanced from its Lake Kniaz base to the north of the Prypiat River into UPA territory. The UPA was still too weak to meet such a strong enemy and attempted to negotiate with Gen. Kovpak. But Gen. Kovpak was unwilling to cross the UPA territory suspecting artifice and turned behind the Sluch River. Avoiding clashes with the Ukrainian insurgents, he made considerable efforts to avoid meeting them and crossed into Halychyna (Galicia), in July, 1943. Here the Ukrainians stood at arms, making Kovpak's advance to the Carpathians quite difficult. As he finally reached the highest peak, the Hoverla in the Black Mountains, he found all passes and roads closed by the UPA and the mountaineers on guard. He could neither settle in this area nor pass into Transylvania. All that he could do was to disperse his group and try to infiltrate with smaller ones. He was defeated and escaped with some 700 of his men to the east.

It was not the only time the UPA had to fight Red Partisans. In October, 1943, another big Partisan group began advancing into Ukraine from the north. This was the group of Gen. Fedorov-Chernigovskyi. Its main column advanced along the Sluch River and as it entered Ukrainian territory it ravaged the Ukrainian villages just like the Nazis. Villages were pillaged, women raped, and even the graves of Ukrainian insurgents were desecrated. From many sides of the country the UPA battalions rushed to the rescue. A

front was established from the Prypiat to the Sluch River and the UPA kept the Red Partisans from passing. Continuous battles raged here up to the time when the Red Army returned to Ukraine.

Other groups of Fedorov partisans tried to get into Western Ukraine on the flanks of the UPA territory. One group marched from the vicinity of Brest Litovsk along the Buh River, but was halted by the UPA battalions in the vicinity of the Lake Svitiiaz. Another group passed behind the Sluch River and tried to reach the Surazkyi Forest in the south. It was halted by the UPA and forced to withdraw to the east.

A strong Red Partisan group was sent to the Black Forest area in the Carpathians. This group was previously a division of the Red Army which had advanced into the Carpathians during the Red offensive in the Spring of 1944, but it was cut off by the Germans and Hungarians during their counteroffensive. This division had received orders to seize the Black Forest from the Ukrainian insurgents and to establish itself in this area. For three months (April-June, 1944) there were pitched battles between this Red unit and the UPA group "Black Forest", commanded by Col. Hrehit-Rizun. As a result, the Red group was completely defeated, many partisans were killed or captured, and large quantities of arms and ammunition fell into the hands of the UPA. Simultaneously, the UPA repulsed the advance of the German columns on its flank. It seemed as if the Soviet Russians and the Nazis were acting in accord to destroy the UPA group "Black Forest".

Three times during their occupation the Nazis tried to repulse the UPA from their bases in the Carpathians, but without success. In November 1943, 12 battalions attacked the UPA group "Black Forest" and the UPA group "Makivka". This attack was supported by the Luftwaffe. The UPA repulsed these attacks with heavy losses to the enemy. On the road between Vyhoda and Sukhodil alone the advancing German battalions suffered the loss of more than 200 killed and 200 wounded. In Nedilna (in the district of Turka), the UPA ambushed the Germans in the valley between the mountains and inflicted heavy losses. For a second time, in May, 1944, the Germans tried to advance into the Carpathians, at the same time when the UPA was engaged in fighting the Red Partisans. And for the last time they tried to seize the Carpathians in July, 1944, while retreating on the Eastern front. Three German divisions were thrown into the fight against UPA positions in the Carpathians. Some two divisions, with artillery support, were thrown against the Lopata mountain where the UPA held strong positions preserved from the time of the First World War. All the attacks against these positions were repulsed with heavy losses to the enemy. Another German division attacked the Ukrainian positions in the mountains near the village of Nedilna on July 26, 1943. Here the UPA captured the entire supply column of the attacking division, together with many officers and soldiers who surrendered to the insurgents. (The poor men cried "Heil Stalin" thinking they had fallen into the hands of the Red Partisans).

After the collapse of the German front in Ukraine, the German commanders hastened to make contact with the troops of the UPA. Now the Germans were full of praise for the UPA and called the UPA fighters "Ukrainian fighters for freedom", although some months before the same Germans had called them "Ukrainian national bandits". However, Gen. Chuprynka interdicted the UPA commanders to make any negotiations with the Germans. Their retreat from Ukraine was used to capture as many weapons and ammunition as possible. As the retreat of the German Army was far from orderly, the UPA had great success in seizing the supply stores and columns of the retreating German Army. It used the arms and ammunition in their fight against the oncoming Bolsheviks.

With the end of the German occupation of Ukraine, the UPA numbered more than 50,000 officers and men within its ranks (not counting those in the "Self-Defence" detachments and in the cells of the Underground). The equipment of this force was adequate; its training said to be excellent (according to the opinion of the communist Polish Marshal Zymierski, or Czech Minister of Defence — Gen. Svoboda); its strong and efficient Underground reached far to the East and provided for the organisation, personnel supply, administration, security and medical care of the fighting force. United under the orders of its HQ with Lt. Gen. Taras Chuprynka at its head, the UPA was then divided into three main groups corresponding to the territorial division of Ukraine: (1) The UPA—North (Comm. Col. Klym Savur), (2) The UPA—South (Comm. Major Omelan Hrabets), (3) The UPA—West (Comm. Col. Vasyl Shelest) which were sub-divided into 12 "groups" and "sections" with 3-5 battalions each. The formation of another UPA group "East" was planned and the base of its operations had to embrace the vast forests to the North of Kyiv and Chernihiv, but the sudden retreat of the German Army to the Dnipro River prevented the UPA in expanding into those regions. This retreat was a surprise for the UPA HQ which reckoned on a prolonged campaign in the East and believed it would leave both the Wehrmacht and the Red Army considerably weakened — physically and morally while the UPA would emerge as the "third force" stronger and better equipped than ever before.

In spite of everything, the UPA met the new enemy with confidence in its own strength and with the belief in all-out support by the Ukrainian people in the struggle it faced. The situation was judged optimistically by the UPA HQ as nothing then forebode the tragic outcome of the war for the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe. The war was still going on and although it was evident that Germany had to lose it, nobody could expect that her defeat would be accompanied by so rapid a collapse of the German defence against the Red armies. Moreover, nobody in Central and Eastern Europe reckoned on the military, psychological and political consequences of the Yalta agreement and could not even suspect a total sell-out of the Central and East European peoples to the Soviet Russians by the Western Allies. It was truly the greatest surprise of the war for the peoples concerned.

Thus, the war ended in Europe and instead of war complications a period of peace stabilisation began. However, the UPA did not lay down its arms and continued to fight its lone battle against the enemy of mankind without any aid from anywhere. This struggle was not predetermined by a Ukrainian brand of "eastern fatalism", or by win-or-die ambitions of the Ukrainian freedom fighters. Neither was it a sort of political myopia, nor a case of an exultant naivety of their leaders. The struggle of the UPA against the Soviet Russians in the period of peace had been an inevitable necessity existing in the Soviet enslavement itself. A political struggle in the Soviet Union can be waged only by means of guerilla warfare as was the case with the UPA. For by this way alone can a political ideology opposed to the Soviet Russian regime be promoted and as we know it from numerous underground publications of the UPA, was promoted until the 1950s.

The eve of this remarkable struggle was marked by a political consolidation of different Ukrainian political groups around the UPA. In July 1944, after long and extensive negotiations between the leaders of the Ukrainian Underground and different political groups supporting the UPA, a General Assembly — the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) was called on the territory occupied by the UPA. It elected a General Secretariat (underground government) with Gen. Taras Chuprynka as its Chairman, and issued a call to the Ukrainian people for the consolidation of all their efforts towards the establishment of an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state. From then on, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council directed the struggle of the UPA.

It was able to develop the best methods of fighting against the Soviet Russians and to formulate the most convincing ideology of the struggle. Hundreds of underground publications which have been issued by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and its affiliations in Ukraine, in 1944-52, are the best proof of its political and ideological aptitude to organise and to wage on the struggle against the Power which is feared in the entire world.

*(To be continued)*

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*Stephen OLESKIW*

## **WERE THE EUROPEAN RESISTANCE MOVEMENTS OF THE SECOND WORLD WAR ENGAGED IN A JUST STRUGGLE?**

There are many and various different reasons which may drive people to resist foreign occupation. These range from purely personal reasons to fully conscious political motives, and it would be unfair to say that everyone joined the resistance movements out of an awareness of the political or military necessity to resist foreign rule for the good of the country.

The political objectives of resistance were introduced by the more nationally-conscious element of society, especially political activists and members of underground political organisations with a clear-cut political programme, such as the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), in Ukraine, which initiated the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) in Western Ukraine in 1942 to fight against the German occupation of Ukraine.

But, generally speaking, people stood up to fight against Nazi occupation for more personal reasons. Some may have joined resistance groups after sustaining a personal loss or having suffered a particular injustice of one kind or other, their motives being pure revenge. Others may have lost their family and all their possessions and had no other place to go except the local resistance group. Possibly others still may have been true adventurers, willing to put up with physical hardship and risk dangers, to avoid the routine and dullness of everyday life. In fact, one can list a whole string of motives and reasons why people joined the resistance.

The resistance movements arose out of a spirit of rejection — the rejection of defeat, of political regimes created or tolerated by the occupant, of collaboration and of foreign occupation and oppression. Although resistance meant different things to different people, it did, nevertheless, bring together elements of all the strata and groupings of the population of a particular country to fight for the same overall objectives. Thus, rich and poor, working class or middle class stood side by side in a common cause. On an individual basis resistance implied a rebellion against something which the foreign occupant did or stood for, but collectively it represented a national war of independence against the occupying power. Thus, for whatever reasons the individual fought, collectively he fought for the good of his country, and all the individual grievances ultimately depended on the ending of foreign rule and the establishment of an independent national state.

The resistance fighters did not have a great illusion of taking the war to the enemy's country. They were fighting on their own soil for the preservation of their human dignity and for the right to exist as an independent nation. Although differing in method, due to varying political and topographical

environments, and racial characteristics of the different European countries, they were all, nevertheless, engaged in a fight for survival as a race and the preservation of national and human rights on their soil.

To be able to make a final judgement of whether the European movements were engaged in a rightful struggle or not, we must examine the aims, the nature and the methods of resistance in Europe in relation to the six principles of just war. After establishing whether European resistance had a just cause, whether the participants had the right and legal authority to resist, whether the form the resistance took was the sole available, feasible and effective means of achieving their aim, and whether the resistance fighters practised discrimination and kept their struggle within the bounds of proportion, we can then make our decision.

## I

It is beyond question that the cause of the resistance movements of WWII was a just one. After all, Europe had been overrun by a hostile enemy power. But, most important of all, this was no ordinary invasion limited to military occupation alone. This time round Germany was not merely a conqueror and looter that would be satisfied with redrawing the map of Europe. This time something far greater lay in store for the European populations. Europe was to become part of the Thousand-Year Reich and its peoples slaves of the aryan master race in a perpetual hierarchy of servitude. Thus not only was the occupying power trying to impose its control over European territory, it was also attempting to enforce its political system and ideology as well. The people of Europe therefore had to face not only the enemy soldiers, but also the secret police and all it entailed — arrests of activists, fear and the liquidation of all forms of opposition which meant primarily communists and Jews, as well as nationalists.

In the East the situation was much worse. There the native populations were regarded as “sub-humans”, according to Nazi ideology, and were denied all basic human rights. For instance, no native Slav could hold a position of authority, receive more than primary education or make use of most kinds of cultural institutions. In addition, Soviet prisoners of war were treated with the utmost severity in the prison camps, as a result of which millions died unnecessarily through starvation. In Western Ukraine only the language and uniforms of the occupying power had changed from Russian to German — the methods remained the same.

As well as this, occupied Europe was subjugated to a systematic exploitation by Germany. In Nazi plans Europe was to become an endless source of raw materials, agriculture and forced labour. All the raw materials, such as Rumanian oil, Polish coal and Ukrainian agriculture and minerals were directed straight to Germany where they were harnessed to the autarkic economic projects of the Four-Year Plan to aid the continuation of the war. But not only was Europe exploited for inanimate materials. Millions of

Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Russians, Latvians and other nationalities were deported to Germany to provide slave labour for the war industries.

Thus not only was Europe occupied militarily but it was also subjected to an unjustifiable violation of natural law and international and Christian morality by an occupying power that took no account of anything, not even basic human dignity or rights.

## II

We have so far established that the cause of European resistance was just. At this point, however, things begin to become a little more complicated as we turn to consider whether the resistance movements had the right or legal authority to resist German occupation. For, a just cause alone does not necessarily justify rebellion.

Because the resistance movements clearly broke certain clauses of international law and the established war conventions a few words ought to be said about certain extracts of international law directly related to resistance in occupied Europe.

The clause most explicitly broken was that of surrender. Surrender is an explicit agreement between two governments by which one government promises that its citizens will stop fighting in exchange for the restoration of normal life, and the other promises to restore a normal way of life. Soldiers promise to stop fighting in exchange for a benevolent quarantine for the duration of the war. The obligations of individuals are also specified as part of the agreement. People may, however, attempt to escape from prison camp or from occupied territory and if they succeed they regain the right to resume fighting. But, no one may resist the quarantine or occupation. The killing of a guard during an escape attempt is regarded as murder and if citizens of a defeated country attack the occupation authorities this becomes, what used to be known as 'war treason' or 'war rebellion' for which the capital punishment is meted out. It entails the breaking of political faith.

Surrender is thus the first rule broken by the resistance and immediately raises three problems:

a) Did the resistance movements have the right to continue the war by opposing the occupying authorities once their governments had signed the surrender?

b) Did they, as ordinary citizens, have the right to fight in the first place even if surrender had not been signed? and

c) Did they have the authority to fight granted to them by a legitimate administrative body?

In considering the first question one should say that the resistance movements were rightfully continuing the fight because Germany, by her actions, had nullified the contract and made it devoid of any meaning. Thus although

an explicit political bargain had been made between two legal authorities by which one would cease fighting and the other would maintain a normal way of life, Nazi Germany could hardly be said to have gone out of its way or made great efforts to preserve a normal way of life in countries under its occupation. Therefore the agreement had been broken first by the other signatory and so the peoples of Europe had the right to break their side of the bargain.

A second point that emerges from this problem is that in some cases the legal governments which signed the surrender terms had gone into exile leaving their people to their fates and were replaced by collaborationist governments appointed by the Germans. In this case the signatories had left the countries which they had surrendered and thus the populations were no longer morally or legally obliged to abide by the rules laid down by the government. The appointed authorities, on the other hand, did not constitute a government legally appointed by the will of the majority of the people in their respective countries and so were not entitled to rule over their citizens. These therefore had the moral right to resist.

In the case of Ukraine, the newly-established independent Ukrainian government which declared the restoration of Ukrainian independence on June 30th, 1941, had not signed the surrender of its country to the new occupant and was, therefore, not guilty of breaking the surrender clause of the war conventions. Subsequently, after the declaration of independence, the Prime Minister, Yaroslav Stetsko, and many other members of the government were arrested by the Gestapo and shot or sent to Sachsenhausen and other concentration camps. One can argue that members of this independent government were therefore unavailable and thus unable to govern their country and issue directives including the order to commence resistance. But, as members of the Ukrainian underground movement, the OUN, they were able to delegate their decisions through contacts with other members, and thus could still function, though to a limited degree, as a government. They were, in any case, still the legal representatives of Ukraine.

As regards the OUN, this organisation had functioned since 1929, and by 1941 already possessed a well-established network and organisational system. It had a definite political programme and various underground institutions dealing with the different aspects of organised life in Ukraine, and thus could be seen as an alternative form of government not established by the German occupational forces. In this way the powers of the imprisoned members of the government could be delegated to their representatives. What is more, the OUN enjoyed the support of a large number of the Ukrainian population. In July, 1944, a National Congress of the various political groups which supported the UPA and the leaders of the Ukrainian underground movement, was held. This gave birth to the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) the highest state organ of the Ukrainian nation for the duration of the liberation struggle. An Executive body, the General Secretariat, was elected with Gen. Taras Chuprynka as the chairman. From then on the General Secretariat became the underground government of

Ukraine, built on democratic principles and consisting of various departments each headed by a General Secretary. It formulated policy and ideology, and directed the struggle against the Nazi Germans and later against the Soviet Russian invaders.

To go on, it must be said that if enough people support, tolerate or are not opposed to resistance in their country then the movement in question has the legal authority and right to carry on its activities as more people would be opposed to the government illegally imposed by the foreign occupying power against the will of the majority of the population, than to the resistance. In this sense the resistance would have a kind of unofficial mandate from its fellow citizens to oppose the occupying authorities. This is also true of the resistance movements of the other European countries.

As it happened, a large proportion of people did in fact support the resistance movements, if not actively then at least by minor everyday things which could be called civil disobedience rather than actual resistance. For instance non-acceptance of the occupation was demonstrated by refusal to give Nazi salutes in schools as was the case in Colmar (France), or the refusal to buy German newspapers. As well as this, by wasting a few minutes a day the workforce of an occupied country could waste millions of man-hours daily. Defacing Nazi posters was a favourite in both Alsace and Poland. Active support was also given by harbouring or supplying the members of the resistance and partisans, as well as by collecting intelligence about enemy units in the vicinity. If this support had not been given by the populations then the resistance movements would have been unable to carry on conducting their operations. Thus the people seemed to have wanted some form of resistance activity against the Nazis.

In this sense the resistance can be seen to have represented the legal authority in occupied Europe as the legal government was absent and the one set up by the occupying authorities was not accepted by the people. The most 'votes', therefore, seem to have gone to the resistance movements.

These were the true leaders who rose from the people, in their hour of need, and attempted to give their nations some form of guidance and hope. As 'ersatz' authorities, whose own administrative system created a kind of state within the state, the resistance movements aimed at preparing their nations for an eventual national rising, in the case of Western Europe, backed up by the Allied advance across Europe. These factors show that the resistance was attempting to provide their countries with some form of leadership acceptable to the populations. So, bearing in mind all these factors, the European resistance did have the right and legal and moral authority to resist foreign occupation.

Related to this is the case argued by Walzer\*. He states that if after surrender there are still certain values worth defending to be found then there is no one to do it except the ordinary civilians with no political or legal authority. In this sense such values grant the peoples of Europe the moral right and authority to carry on fighting in defence of these values.

\* Michael Walzer: *Just and Unjust Wars*, Penguin, London, 1980.

In the conditions that Europe found itself during the Nazi occupation some values worth defending were left. The people may have lost their territories and were continuously giving up their resources and manpower to Germany but they could not allow their basic rights and dignities to be trampled on, in sheer ignorance of morality and ethical principles, by the invader.

The peoples of Europe also had the moral right to refuse to accept the imposition of a system of rule which perpetrated such crimes against humanity as the mass extermination of the Jews and others and the enslavement of nations. They had the moral right to refuse to condone or participate in mass murder and could oppose this. This they did in the form of resistance movements.

\*

The second problem concerns the breach of the war conventions. These state that there must be a clear distinction between soldiers and civilians. All individuals must therefore identify themselves as either one or the other and cannot enjoy the privileges and rights offered to both groups. Partisans and resisters are to wear distinctive markings or articles of clothing to distinguish themselves from the civilian population. Here, the resistance movements clearly challenged the war conventions on several points.

The members of the resistance usually wore civilian clothes and did not distinguish themselves from the rest of the population, except the various military formations, such as the UPA, which wore uniforms and operated from bases in the countryside, and mountain areas. The resistance hid in towns and cities amongst the busy crowds or in the countryside among the village inhabitants thus challenging the most fundamental principle of the war conventions.

By their mode of fighting the movements breached a second principle. They were not fighting in the open employing 'conventional' methods but presented the occupying forces with the problem of the 'hidden enemy' using such tactics as ambush, assassination and sabotage.

Although overstepping the boundaries of the war conventions the methods were those of a last resort nature. The resistance movements were a weak power engaged in a struggle against a strong power for virtual survival as a race and as human beings — a band of ill-equipped irregulars poorly supplied and armed, pitched in a battle against regular forces wielding large numbers of armour, artillery and aircraft. There was no other way to put their case forward and all opposition was mercilessly put down. One can therefore conclude that resistance using unconventional tactics was the sole means available to the European peoples by which to voice their protest and resist foreign oppression and terror.

## III

This brings us to the final consideration, whether the resistance movements employed discrimination and proportion in their efforts to liberate themselves from *Nazi* or Soviet Russian rule.

It must be said that all kinds of people joined the resistance for whatever reasons, including, in some cases, real criminals who killed for the sake of killing. Some people took the opportunity to settle old scores under the pretext of executing traitors. Thus there were individual acts of indiscriminate killing and sabotage and the communist groups usually adhered to a policy of all out terror with assassinations and sabotage.

However, on the whole the movements tried to keep their activities within the bounds of proportion. In the case of the West European movements it was difficult to control the various groups by any central organisation and certain individual acts of an excessive nature were occasionally committed. There were also aspects of internecine strife between some groups but usually terror activities were limited, as indiscriminate and excessive use would have been self-defeating and would have defeated the object. The result would have been political defeat for the resistance as popular support would have been withdrawn from the resistance. The resisters would then no longer be able to 'swim in the sea' of the population.

Assassinations were on the whole limited to prominent *Nazi* or other foreign officials and native collaborators. For example Col. Hotz, military commander of Nantes, was killed on 20th October 1941, Heydrich was killed in Prague on 27th May 1942, Gen. Lutze, SD commander in Ukraine, was killed in May 1943 by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and Gen. Franz Kutschera, SS commander of Warsaw, was assassinated on 1st February 1944.

Sabotage was used in proportionate and discriminate measures as well. For instance only minor charges were laid in parts of certain machinery to achieve partial damage and thus a temporary halt in the production of vital materials for the German war effort. The resistance did not wish to blow up complete factories as their own countrymen would have been killed, which is what they were trying to avoid, or else the workers would have been deported to Germany. If a factory did have to be destroyed then the resistance would make sure that it was empty. Usually this type of action was conducted with the compliance of the proprietor.

It may be argued that the use of terror by the resistance to achieve their aims was immoral and that assassination was no more than murder. This is quite true but in certain circumstances such actions are justifiable. As mentioned above, citizens of a country have the moral right to resist an evil administrative system. In this case terror was the only possible means of

demonstrating to the occupying authorities the peoples' opposition to their rule and the refusal to accept their criminal activities. Thus the resistance was put in a paradoxical situation of having to employ immoral means to exercise their moral right. However, the resistance did not launch a continuous campaign of terror but practised occasional and discriminate acts of terror for specific purposes, when the need arose. The assassinations can be classified as tyrannicide and not pure murder as the resisters were killing perpetrators of crimes and collaborators who were immoral beings. The work of traitors had handed over many lives to the vaults of Gestapo headquarters and the firing squad. Killing such people is still in itself immoral, however, but in this case the murders were more justifiable and acceptable in view of the circumstances.

Mistakes were occasionally made. Sometimes innocent people would be erroneously assassinated like the magistrate of Aix-en-Provence who was in fact helping the French resistance. Occasionally a bomb would claim the lives of people accidentally, but we must look at the original intentions and motives behind such actions. Men and equipment are not infallible and sometimes things go wrong and civilians die. Accidents happen everywhere. The deaths of these people can only be seen as an unintentional toll of war.

As well as this, there is another moral factor which must be taken into account. Whatever the resister did, he constantly endangered the lives of innocent people around him. The Germans could not identify the members of the resistance and after every action would initiate reprisals. Either hostages would be taken or people would be shot at random from the general population. Sometimes reprisals were on a horrendous scale like in Czecho-Slovakia after the death of Heydrich. In Prague 540 people were arrested at once. There were mass deportations of officials, writers, priests and communists of which 252 were shot at Mauthausen. In addition the village of Lidice was burnt to the ground and its entire population massacred.

Immediately the question arises were such acts of resistance, which led to brutal mass reprisals really necessary? Firstly, the resistance could not foresee the scale of some of the acts of reprisals. Secondly, although the effect of resistance is purely moral and the enemy strength was left intact the population needed to be shaken out of their apathy. The nations had to be awakened from the shock of defeat and subjugation, and demoralisation. The price of compliance and passivity was too high. Sacrifices had to be made so as not to live in perpetual degradation and servitude.

#### IV

So, what is the final verdict? Were the resistance movements of the Second World War engaged in a just struggle?

Europe found itself in clearly exceptional circumstances between 1939 and 1945 facing the kind of occupation that it did with all that it entailed. Some of the nations, notably those of Eastern Europe, were literally struggling for survival as a race and as human beings. The ends, therefore, justified the means. This was proved by the fact that as a result of European resistance to Nazi Germany the terms 'war treason' and 'war rebellion' were removed from the statutory books of international law recognising the legality and right of resistance. From then on nations were rightfully permitted to resist foreign occupation if their struggle for independence satisfied the criteria of just war.

The European resistance movements of World War II appear to have passed, to a greater or lesser extent, the six tests of justifiable resistance and, therefore, deserve to be called just wars.

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## **RUSSIFICATION AND THE ECONOMY OF UKRAINE**

Russification in Ukraine may be considered merely a linguistic problem, meaning that some Ukrainians go over to the primary use of the Russian language. However, when this change in use of language is accelerated artificially, by means available to the alien Russian authorities in Ukraine, as a direct result of Russian policies of occupation, then the problem of Russification is much larger. This view of Russification cites its promotion of the abandonment not only of language but of old Ukrainian customs, traditions and folklore as well as the suborning of historically significant Ukrainian institutions — indeed a complete subordination of the Ukrainian cultural identity. The Russian concept of “soviet people” is in fact this latter type of Russification and applies to all non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union but nowhere as completely as in Ukraine.

Russification and the Economy of Ukraine is the subject of this study. Russification, directed at Ukraine’s economy, — its economic structures and institutions and various aspects of the economic life of the Ukrainian people, — may assume many different forms such as discrimination, inequality, exploitation, colonialism, oppression, imperialism, genocide. But first some vital facts about the national economy of Ukraine occupied by Russia.

Present-day Ukraine is a leading country of the world and would be powerful but for Russian despotic rule. She is a founding member of the United Nations although Communist Russia has tried consistently and continuously to diminish its global weight and significance, if not ignore it altogether. On the world scene, then, Communist Russia has forced upon Ukraine the most degrading status of “non-country”.

The territory of Soviet Ukraine does not include all of the Ukrainian ethnographic territories which are presently located within the political boundaries of such neighbouring countries as Byelorussia, Czecho-Slovakia, Moldavia, Poland, Rumania and Russia. Ukraine is second in size, after Soviet Russia, among all the states of Europe. With respect to population, Ukraine occupies sixth place in Europe after Soviet Russia, West Germany, Great Britain, Italy and France, in that order.

Statistics for the total production of Soviet Ukraine are quite impressive. The Gross National Product of the Ukrainian SSR accounts for about 20-22% of the total output of the Soviet Union, equivalent to about 10-11% of the Gross National Product of the United States. The economy of Ukraine produces an output that equals 55% of the total national output of Russia’s

six East European satellites (Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania), taken together.

The place which the economy of Ukraine presently occupies in world output of goods and services is also quite significant; Soviet Ukraine holds eighth place in world production, after such economic giants as USA, USSR, Japan, West Germany, France, Italy and England; but comes before Canada, India, Brazil and China<sup>1</sup>. Without Ukraine, Soviet Russia would fall from second to third place, thus exchanging places with Japan.

Colonial exploitation of both her natural resources and population always has been the object of invaders of Ukraine, though each of them approached the task in a different manner. After destroying the remnants of Ukrainian independence in the second half of the XVIIIth century, the Tsarist Russian government began an open colonial policy in Ukraine.

The existence of Ukraine as a political or national entity was denied. Officially Ukraine was made an ordinary province of Tsarist Russia and was given the derogatory name of "Little Russia"; no distinction was made between Ukraine and other Russian-occupied provinces. Ukraine's colonial status in the politico-economic system of the Russian Empire was undeniable and it can best be grasped from a study of Russian economic policy towards Ukraine which was built on the concept of colonial dependence.

#### *The "Prison of Nations" and the Exploitation of Ukraine*

The non-Russian nationalities of the Tsarist Empire were oppressed in all spheres of life — economics, politics and culture — because at the base of the Russian "prison of nations" lay primarily the exploitation of its peoples. This was accompanied by landowning nobles of Russian nationality who obtained large tracts of land on the territories of non-Russian nationalities; by a group of business barons who controlled the affairs of trade and commerce; by factory owners who produced goods and sought quick, ready markets and by a clique of merchants and bidders.

Insofar as Ukraine was concerned, Tsarist Russian colonial policies had already begun in the middle of the XVIIIth century when the Pereyaslav Treaty between Russia and Ukraine was signed in 1654. Almost immediately Russia began its treacherous offensive on Ukrainian autonomy. This offensive lasted almost 100 years, increasing in intensity during the latter half of the XVIIIth century. In 1764 the Russian government liquidated the office of Hetman and Ukraine's government passed into the hands of the Little Russian Collegium, headed by Count P. Rumyantsev. Ukrainian Cossack regiments were converted into divisions of the regular Russian army. In 1775 the Tsar's army routed the Zaporozhian Sich.

Thus, Ukraine, having lost her own armed forces, was deprived of the last possibility of defending her autonomy. Even all the symbols of her statehood, such as army banners, seals, Cossack standards and guns were con-

<sup>1</sup> *World Development Report, 1980*, The World Bank, 1982, p. 111.

fiscated by Catherine II and sent permanently to Petersburg. At the end of the XVIIIth century, Ukraine forfeited all remnants of her political independence. Ukraine was divided into provinces which became a part of the Russian Empire and were governed according to its administrative political orders. During the second half of the XVIIIth century Russian trade underwent a rather intensive development. Customs boundaries between Ukraine and Russia became an impediment to their expansion. By its decree of December 20, 1753, the Tsarist government rescinded internal customs long before the Hetmanate itself was abolished.

The colonisation of Russia's borderland meant, first of all, that Russian industrial and commercial enterprise owners, Russian merchants, and Russian capital penetrated non-Russian territories. In Ukraine and particularly in its central regions, the penetration of Russian capital into the economy meant getting rid of local businessmen. Russian merchants were the first to assume key positions in the economy. Changes in the Kyivan merchant class were characteristic in this respect. In the mid-eighteenth century the most important trade was controlled by local Ukrainian merchants. But in 1782, foreigners were granted permission to settle in Kyiv. Within a few decades, Russian merchants had settled in Poland and Pechersk<sup>2</sup>. A war of rivalry between local and Russian owners was waged constantly<sup>3</sup>. It finally ended in the XIXth century with the defeat of the Ukrainian owners who were relegated to inferior occupations — fishing, baking, truckgardening and shoemaking. They were also forced to settle in the poorer districts of cities<sup>4</sup>.

By the middle of the XIXth century, Russian merchants dominated most of the Ukrainian provinces. The contemporary researcher on Chernihiv province, M. Domontovych wrote: "The Chernihiv province merchantry is almost two-thirds Great Russian (mostly the Old-Believer settlers) and Jews; only one-third of the trade remains in the hands of the original settlers — the Little Russians" (i.e. Ukrainians — NGB). Researcher A. Shmidt made the point that Russian merchants were "solidly entrenched" in Kherson, while the Ukrainians were generally engaged in salt trading, fishmongering, fowl selling and so on<sup>5</sup>. In the Katerynoslav province, a similar situation was observed. V. Pavlovich wrote: "Although the population is dominated by the Little Russians (i.e., Ukrainians — NGB), merchants in all cities of the province are predominantly Great Russians"<sup>6</sup>.

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<sup>2</sup> I. Funduklei, *Statisticheskoe opisanie Kievskoi gubernii*, v. I, Petersburg, 1852, pp. 321, 325.

<sup>3</sup> F. F. Vigel, *Sbornik materialov dlia topografii Kieva*, chapter II, p. 172.

<sup>4</sup> L. Pantiukhov, *Opyt sanitarnoi topografii i statistiki Kieva*, Kiev, 1877, p. 113.

<sup>5</sup> M. Domontovych, *Materialy dlia geografii i statistiki Rossii, Chernigovskaia gubernia*, Petersburg, 1865, p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> A. Shmidt, *Materialy dlia geografii i statistiki Rossii, Khersonskaia gubernia*, Petersburg, 1863, pp. 559, 561.

<sup>7</sup> V. Pavlovich, *Materialy dlia geografii i statistiki Rossii, Yekaterinoslavskaia gubernia*, Petersburg, 1862, p. 260.

*Land, Business and Trade Policies of Russia*

Russian landowners had acquired most stretches of land in Southern Ukraine. In the Tavria province, among five of the largest landowners there was not one Ukrainian name. The landowners Falz-Feins held 200 thousand desyatyn of land (540,000 acres). Count Mordvinov had 60 thousand (162,000 acres), Count Popov — 80 thousand (216,000 acres), Count Vassal — 60 thousand (162,000 acres) and Count Durnovo — 50 thousand (135,000 acres)<sup>8</sup>. In the Kherson province the Grand Prince Michael Romanov was the largest landowner with 74 thousand desyatyn (160,000 acres), after him came Prince Trubetskoy with 26 thousand (70,000 acres), Prince Sukhomlynov with 21 thousand (56,000 acres) and Prince Gagarin with 13 thousand (35,000 acres)<sup>9</sup>. In the Katerynoslav province, the greatest estates belonged to the government official Debaltsev with 18 thousand desyatyn (49,000 acres), Countess Ignatyeva, the Borisovskiy brothers and the Princess Liven<sup>10</sup>. It was these Russian landowners, merchants and manufacturers, who were Russia's instruments of economic and national oppression in Ukraine.

At the Second Duma in 1907, the resettlement policy was openly known as a "Russification policy towards the borderlands". For example, in the Caucasus a colonising land fund was organised. Instead of conducting a programme of resettlement of the poor local peasantry, peasants were brought in from Russia. Russia applied the same settlement policy to Ukraine. Kyiv, Chernihiv, Poltava and Kharkiv peasants suffocated for want of land, while the free, fertile land of Southern Ukraine was settled by immigrants from the central agricultural provinces of Tsarist Russia, or was parcelled out to German colonists. Beginning with 1795 up to 1897, the Ukrainian population in six Ukrainian provinces of Tsarist Russia, decreased by approximately 13%. In the Katerynoslav and Kherson provinces, which were areas of intensified colonisation, 83-90% of the population was Ukrainian at the end of the XVIIIth century. A hundred years later, these numbers had decreased by half<sup>11</sup>.

Railway construction, which saw great expansion in Russia and Ukraine during the post-reform era, was a vital factor in the evolution of Russian colonialism. From 1865 to 1900, the railway network in Ukraine, grew from 227 to 8,417 kilometres. While in 1865, its general length was 6% of that

<sup>8</sup> A. Yaroshko, *Rabochii vopros na Yuge. Ego proshedsheie, nastoiashchie i budushcheie*, Moscow, 1894, p. 203.

<sup>9</sup> *Kratkoie spravochnoie svedenie o nekotorykh russkikh khoziaistvakh*, I and II, Petersburg, 1897, p. 10.

<sup>10</sup> *Sbornik statisticheskikh svedenii po Yekaterinoslavskoi gubernii*, II, *Bakhmutskii vjezd*, Yekaterinoslav, 1886, p. 14.

<sup>11</sup> V. M. Kabuzan, H. P. Makhnova, "Chislennost i udelnyi ves ukrainskogo naselenia na territorii SSSR" *Journal Istoria SSSR*, 1965, No. 1, pp. 31-33.

of entire Russia, by 1900 it had increased to 16%<sup>12</sup>. All this favoured closely-knit economic relations between Russia and its borderlands and resulted in tremendous profits, most of which went to Russian business and the Tsarist regime. A careful analysis of the character of Ukrainian production and its economic ties with the centre of the Empire show that these relations were quite one-sided.

Interesting data on the character of trading at Kharkiv's trade fairs, which were the trading gateways of Ukraine, may be found in the 1880 report of the Kharkiv governor. According to the information, the following commodities were shipped out of Ukraine: sugar, wool, raw hides, tobacco, grain, fat, wine and iron. In return Russia sent all kinds of textiles to Kharkiv; as well as iron and iron products, tanned leather and footwear<sup>13</sup>. Ukraine's unilateral economy turned her into a source of raw material for Tsarist Russia and led to a predatory exploitation of her natural resources. The grains side of agriculture was especially affected. Poor agricultural practices eventually resulted in the depletion of fertile lands<sup>14</sup>.

However, at the end of the XIXth century, from the social as well as the economic point of view, Ukraine was one of the most developed regions in the Russian Empire. But what matters is, who reaped the profits? In order to determine whether or not the economy of any nation has a colonial character, we must first explain who is the recipient of profits from business enterprises and in whose interest are plants, railways, and so on built.

Russian and foreign business people occupied a prominent position in Ukraine's economy. While exploiting natural and labour resources, they realised enormous profits on their investments. Lacking significant capital and technical means, the Russian government made no objections to the building of vast industrial enterprises with foreign capital; its particularly high influx was evident in the years of industrial growth. Towards the end of the XIXth century huge volumes of foreign capital were pumped into Ukraine, together with engineers and workers, and during this feverish period entire American plants were relocating there (1898). According to the 1897 census, Ukraine had 40,658 independent persons of Ukrainian nationality who lived on income from capital and real estate; 59,220 persons were engaged in trade; 209,709 farmers employed hired-help.

Who were the enterprise owners in the largest industrial centres of Ukraine? In Kharkiv there were six cast-iron foundries as early as 1871. Four of them were owned by Russians Ponomaryov, Rizhov, Kostin, and Kocharov; the other two were owned by foreigners, Westberg and Pilstrem. At that time there were also 13 tobacco plants in the city; not one of them

<sup>12</sup> I. O. Hurzhii, "Rozvytok transportu na Ukraini ta posylennia yoho roli u vse-rosiiskykh ekonomichnykh zviazkakh (60-90 roku XIX stolittia)", *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1965, No. 10, p. 17.

<sup>13</sup> I. O. Hurzhii, "Ukrainski yarmarky ta yikh rol u vntrishnii torhivli Rossii (60-90-ies of the XIX century)", *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1963, No. 5, p. 51.

<sup>14</sup> *Ocherki razvitiya narodnogo khoziaystva Ukrainskoi SSR*, Moscow, 1954, p. 54.

was Ukrainian-owned. Washing marketbound wool was a widespread occupation in Kharkiv. In 1883 it had seven wool washing firms. Six of them belonged to Russian merchants.

In Kyiv, one of the largest industrial centres of Ukraine, out of all 11 machine building firms and iron foundries existing in 1900, six belonged to foreigners, three to Poles, and two to Russianised foreigners. From among 93 other Kyivan businessmen, only six were Ukrainians. They were Dub and Shvydkiy, owners of a soap-works; Hudyn-Levkovych, owner of a tile factory and a distillery; Illya Snizhko, owner of a sawmill; M. Pylypenko, owner of a tobacco factory; and M. Makarenko, owner of a parquet factory. Out of a total of 5,038 workers, they employed a mere 361<sup>15</sup>.

Foreign capital predominated in the Ukrainian metallurgical industry and accounted for almost 80-90% of the total investment. The same applies to the agricultural industry where nearly all of the major factories were in the hands of foreigners<sup>16</sup>. The situation was not much better in the sugar industry. In 1885 the Kyiv province had 68 sugar refineries, but only six of them belonged to Ukrainians — Aboza, Symyrenko, Tulchynskiy, Kozakivskiy, Yakhnenko and Krasnokutska. Even this incomplete data shows what a very small minority of commerce and industry was owned by Ukrainians and how little significance it had. The reason for this kind of development must be sought primarily in the colonial status of Ukraine.

### *Russia's 19th-century Ukrainophobia*

The Russian Tsarist government cooperated with Russian business circles which were interested in infiltrating all sectors of the Ukrainian economy using Russian capital. The policies of Russia in the XIXth century were directed at further Russification of the Ukrainian nation. Official Russian historiography also served this purpose. It aimed at proving that Ukraine was Malorosiya (Little Russia). Beginning in the XVIIIth century, Russia ceaselessly persecuted the Ukrainian language. As early as 1720, a decree was issued dealing with the publishing of books in Kyiv. It prohibited further printing of books, except for republishing of religious texts. And that decree demanded the amendment of even these religious books to conform to Russian texts, so that "they will contain no differences of separate dialects"<sup>17</sup>.

In 1863 a notorious circular was prepared by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Valuyev, which said that "no separate Little Russian language (i.e., Ukrainian — NGB) had ever existed, does not exist and cannot exist in the future". Valuyev decreed that the Censor's Office be ordered to "allow the

<sup>15</sup> *Spisok naseleennykh mest Kievskoi gubernii*, Kiev, 1900, pp. 11-20.

<sup>16</sup> I. O. Hurzhii, "Rozvytok promyslovosti Ukrainy v systemi vserosiyskoho rynku (60-90-ies of the XIX century)", *Ukrainskyi istorychnyi zhurnal*, 1966, No. 10; O. O. Nesterenko, *Rozvytok promyslovosti na Ukraini*, v. II, Kiev, 1962, p. 83.

<sup>17</sup> P. Zhytetskiy, "Eneida" Kotlarevskoho v zviazku z ohladom ukrainskoi literatury XVIII stolittia, Kiev, 1919, p. 5.

printing of only those works in this language, which belonged to the category of creative writing; but, books, in the Little Russian language (i.e., Ukrainian — NGB), whether religious or educational in content, and those generally used as primers must be stopped”<sup>18</sup>.

Thirteen years later, in 1876, the Russian government issued the infamous edict known as the Emskyi Ukase, forbidding the import of Ukrainian books published abroad, the publishing, on Russian territory, of original works and translations in Ukrainian, and stage performances and public reading in this language. On October 8, 1881, the Tsar ratified the decrees of the Special Council, headed by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Ignatyev, which confirmed the Emskyi Ukase and categorically forbade the “formation of a Little Russian theatre or troupes for presenting plays and scenes exclusively in the Little Russian dialect”<sup>19</sup>. In 1882, it was suggested to the Petersburg censor board that it peruse all original Ukrainian works with special care and use all opportunities to decrease their number “purely in the interest of the State”<sup>20</sup>.

The Russian government hoped that Russian schooling would help propagate this policy. In his report to the Tsar, the Governor of Podillya wrote in 1890: “The significance of public schools in general, and in Western lands, where political conditions call upon it to assume the responsibility of a leader of Russian society, in particular — compels local governments to treat the interests of public schools of all types with particular care”. The Kyivan governor advocated opening public schools under the jurisdiction of the Ministry simply because the non-Russian populace showed a certain faith in them. He wrote: “These schools are an imperceptible, steady instrument of the gradual unification of ethnographic diversity in the province..., the merging in the Russian sea of the ethnographic elements which are blood kinsmen to begin with”.

Thus Ukraine’s political and economic position in the second half of the XIXth century had all the attributes of colonial dependence upon the Russian Empire. To a considerable degree, Ukraine was a source of raw materials for Russia and an outlet for its manufactured goods. At the same time, investments of Russian capital in enterprises located in Ukraine were yielding huge profits. The situation of the urban and rural population was especially difficult in these conditions of colonial dependency. They were exploited not only by the Russian landowners and businessmen, but also by the foreigners. Huge taxes were levied on the people of Ukraine; all proceeds went into the treasury of Russia. They also suffered most from national oppression.

Ukraine’s position, as a colony in the Russian imperial system, differed somewhat from that of Poland, and also of Finland and the Baltic countries.

<sup>18</sup> *Russkaia mysl*, 1905, III, p. 134.

<sup>19</sup> Imperatorskaia Akademia Nauk, *Ob otmene stesnenii malorussskogo pechatnogo slova*, Petersburg, 1905, p. 37.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

While implementing a policy of national suppression in all its borderlands, the Russian government was nevertheless forced to acknowledge the existence of the Polish, Finnish and other nations, but, as far as Ukraine was concerned, the Tsarist government conducted a programme of total Russification; it refused to the Ukrainian people any rights as a nation. This, in fact, obliterated not only Ukraine's past, but its future as well. As a nation it was doomed to extinction.

### *Russia's Tariff War against Ukraine*

Russo-Ukrainian economic relations fall into two categories: those during the time of the Tsar and those under the Communist Russian rulers. There have been some authors who erroneously treated rapid industrial development in Ukraine during the last decades of the XIXth century as proof of equality between Ukraine and Russia. In their opinion, the higher level of industrial development in Ukraine than in many other regions of Russia, would in itself disprove the existence of colonial dependence of one economy upon the other.

However, from the time of the Pereyaslav Treaty of 1654 between Ukraine and Russia, Ukrainian industry, which at that time was far ahead of Russian industry, was subjected to ruthless political and economic oppression, not only by means of granting Russian industry and commerce a series of privileges and imposing legal restrictions upon the Ukrainian economy, but also by means of direct destruction of Ukrainian industrial enterprises (e.g. the Pochep textile plant and others).

The aim of Russian economic policy was not merely to shield their industry and commerce from Ukrainian competition, but also to transform Ukraine into a source base of raw materials and a market for their production. Simultaneously, Ukraine was being turned into a market completely isolated from trade relations with the rest of the world, with which it heretofore had had ties by reason of its geographic location, natural resources, and historical economic development.

The climactic moment in the process of Ukraine's isolation from the rest of the world was the tariff law of 1822 which virtually atoned the flow of any goods to Ukraine except Russian ones. Russian goods were not barred by any customs border, because with the loss of statehood in the form of the Hetmanate, and even earlier, Ukraine had been deprived of any tariff rights.

At the beginning of the XIXth century, for example, Ukraine was well advanced in wool ranching, and was recognised as a large supplier of wool to Russia. Wool, like cotton, was taxed very highly. However, the tariff of 1850 reduced the duty on wool from 1.90 rubles to 20 kopeks per pood (1 pood = 36.11 lbs) which was an unusually heavy blow to Ukrainian sheep ranching, thus making them unable to compete with British wool. Nevertheless, frequent attempts of Ukrainian interests to have the duty on wool increased produced no positive results.

In the discussion on the 1877 tariff act "representatives of the Kharkiv wool-trading corporations indicated that the Ukrainian fine-wool sheep ranching industry of Poltava, Kharkiv and Katerynoslav gubernias had been at a standstill because of the considerable and almost duty-free importation of foreign wool".<sup>21</sup> They suggested that the duty be increased to 3 rubles per pood and that the importation of wool substitutes be prohibited. The same requests were made by the Rural Economic Congress in Kharkiv in 1874 and in Odessa in 1878.

At the Kharkiv Congress in 1886 the Poltava, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Tavria and Kherson gubernias of Ukraine again requested that the duty on wool be raised to 2.50 rubles or even to 4 rubles per pood, with Petersburg flatly refusing it. The duty was raised only in the late 1880's but not out of consideration for the Ukrainian economy, but only in the interest of the Imperial Treasury which was in financial difficulties and was forced to find a way out of the highly unfavourable trade balance. But by this time the Ukrainian fine-wool ranching industry had already been totally destroyed and eliminated.

Moreover, the reasons advanced by the Russian industrial circles on the desirability of high duties on ready textiles during discussion of the tariff act of 1850 were quite interesting. In this case, the protective policy was justified, because in Russia it had been "in the interest of the textile industry, mainly the weaving industry, which employed hundreds of thousands of peasant population without taking them away from their family life".<sup>22</sup>

As to regions which had no textile industries, such as Ukraine, it was maintained that "the peasants of agricultural regions will not suffer from high prices on the internal market since they had no money, don't buy, and wear homespun clothes".<sup>23</sup> Thus the impoverishment and primitive life which came in the wake of colonial exploitation were treated by the imperial circles of Russia as conditions which justified a further exploitation!

### *Yasnopolskyi on the Economy of Ukraine*

The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 added considerably to the economic importance of the Black Sea and to the wide-scale development of Ukrainian industry in accordance with her natural wealth. It is, therefore, not surprising that Professor M. Yasnopolskyi could not ignore the fact of Ukraine's impoverishment, which was the result of a deliberate economic policy of the Russian government. Guided by the idea of rational organisation of the Ukrainian economy, and not far from admitting the colonial nature of the existing phenomena, Yasnopolskyi wrote the following paragraph about the industrial development of Ukraine and her economic backwardness:

<sup>21</sup> M. Sobolev, *Tamozhennaia politika Rossii*, Tomsk, 1911, pp. 38, 447.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 150.

“The natural conditions and the most important among them — the large quantities of inexpensive fuel and iron ores — give all reasons to expect a broad development of the future industry of South Russia (i.e. Ukraine — NGB). All existing obstacles to such development could be currently removed... If there were no mineral wealth on the territory of South Russia (i.e. Ukraine — NGB) there would not be in the future all the thousands of industrial and factory pipes that contemporary Europe is proud of.

An abundance of cheap hard coal as fuel has, at all times and in all places, been of the highest importance to manufacturing. Therefore, naturally, a question arises: why would not the South (i.e. Ukraine — NGB) now utilize this mineral wealth, and would it not be more profitable to process raw materials on the spot, which had heretofore been dispatched a distance of thousands of miles?”<sup>24</sup>

Mykola Yasnopolskyi, a Kyiv university professor of economics and statistics, contributed greatly to the study of the contemporary Ukrainian economy. Two of his works are of special interest to us: “*Ekonomicheskaiia Budushchnost Yuga Rossii i Sovremennaia Ego Otstalost*”<sup>25</sup> and “*O Geograficheskome Raspredelenii Gosudarstvennykh Dokhodov i Raskhodov Rossii*”.<sup>26</sup>

In the first work, Yasnopolskyi gave an accurate survey and analysis of the Ukrainian economy, concentrating chiefly on the economy of Southern Ukraine. Here the author foresaw a way out of the impasse into which the Ukrainian economy had been led by the colonial policies of the Tsarist Russian Empire. He foresaw the future growth of Donets industries and predicted that because of this development the importance of the Ukrainian economy would inevitably grow. He concluded his work, which consisted of precise statistical calculations and an accurate description of the different branches of Ukrainian industry and, indeed, of the entire Ukrainian economy, with the following prophetic statement:

“When the factory industry of Southern Russia (i.e., Ukraine — NGB) develops and together with it the agriculture, when one of the main trading routes crosses Southern Russia (i.e., Ukraine — NGB) and the trade in general begins to grow, when the population density in the southern steppes becomes more appropriate to their natural wealth, then these economic successes will completely change the importance of Southern Russia (i.e., Ukraine — NGB) with respect to other parts of our country (i.e., Russia — NGB).

The present superiority of Russia's North is due to a large extent to its economic superiority, but when that superiority goes over to the South (i.e., Ukraine — NGB) its population under these changed conditions will develop its natural potential, and then Southern Russia (i.e., Ukraine — NGB) will

<sup>24</sup> N. Yasnopolskyi, “*Ekonomicheskaiia Budushchnost Yuga Rossii i Sovremennaia Ego Otstalost*”, *Otechestvennyia Zapiski*, v. CXCVII, Petersburg, 1871, p. 93.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> N. Yasnopolskyi, *O Geograficheskome Raspredelenii Gosudarstvennykh Dokhodov i Raskhodov Rossii*, vols. I and II, Kiev, 1890, 1897.

emerge from its present passive role and will acquire the position commensurate with the natural endowment of the country and its inhabitants".<sup>27</sup> Thus Yasnopolskyi foresaw the inevitable growth of the Ukrainian national economy under the influence of Ukrainian National forces.

In his second well-known work on the geographic distribution of the imperial budget, Yasnopolskyi analysed the revenues and expenditures of the Russian Empire and ascertained the position of Ukraine in the financial system of the Empire. His figures brilliantly revealed the system of colonial exploitation and national deprivation that the Russian government imposed on Ukraine. His work, together with the research done by other contemporary economists, became the basis for further work on Ukrainian economics and helped to transform the concept of territorial economics into the concept of national economics.

#### *Unilateral Economic Development of Ukraine*

Until the end of the XIXth century even at a time when foreign capital began to flow in freely, the Ukrainian industry was comparably weaker than the Russian one. The Ukrainian market was under the complete domination of Russian industry. In the Ukrainian economy during the period following the reforms of 1861, we can see a continual growth and strengthening of the dominant position of Russian manufacturing industry.<sup>28</sup>

The first thing that strikes us is the conspicuously unilateral development of Ukrainian industry. Processing of consumer goods constituted 66.1% of Ukraine's total industrial production, and together with metallurgy, mining and processing of minerals, 88%. All other branches of industry added up to only 12% of the total, and sectors such as textiles, chemicals, processing of animal products were virtually absent.

Every national economy is characterised by a comprehensive industrial development. One or another branch of industry could conceivably be lacking, because its development would, due to natural conditions, be unprofitable, but we never encountered a normal situation where only two or three branches of industry prosper, and in all other respects a national economy makes itself dependent upon an outside national economy. Such a situation gravely contradicted the economic interests of the nation and could only exist under circumstances where these interests were subject to others. It is the most convincing evidence of the colonial position.

There were three most important industrial branches in Ukraine under Tsarist rule: sugar refining, coal mining and metallurgy. They constituted the foundation of Ukrainian industry and in the development of these branches Ukrainians met with considerable success, achieving a leading position in the whole Empire. They were all based on natural wealth and this

<sup>27</sup> N. Yasnopolskyi, *Ekonomicheskaja...*, p. 120.

<sup>28</sup> M. Volobuyiv, "Do problemy ukraïnskoï ekonomiky", *Bolshevyk Ukrainy*. Kharkiv, 1928, No. 1-2, p. 16.

provided a solid foundation for further development. It would seem that these natural conditions gave Ukraine the right to expect favourable development for the well-rounded growth of these industrial branches. But, even here, Russia's attitude was characteristic; it treated Ukraine's economy as that of the colony.

The central purpose of Russian economic policy all along was to keep Ukraine in a position of a supplier of raw materials produced by agriculture, and a market for Russian industrial products. Conforming to this plan, Ukraine was expected to remain in a stage of merely rudimentary industrial development. The early Russian goal was the destruction of Ukraine's industry, and transfer to and concentration in Russia. As has been proved by the evidence, in many branches of industry, particularly in the production of mass consumer goods, the scheme succeeded almost 100 per cent.

The development of Ukraine's three major industries was met with a desire to apply the same principle to them — to prevent their coming into existence by setting up against them appropriate branches of Tsarist Russian industry. Such was the case with sugar refineries which were being established in Russia; the same with coal, where other mining regions used wood as fuel and imported coal from abroad as a means of preventing the emergence of a Ukrainian coal industry, and it was the same in metallurgy, in the struggle of the Urals against Kryvyi Rih.

When, however, economic conditions and resistance appeared to be stronger than such imperialistic desires, Russia would begin putting obstacles in the way of the growth, endeavouring to make them adjuncts of and subject to Russian industries. And, finally, when Tsarist Russia was faced with the prospect of an irresistible superiority of these branches of Ukrainian industry over the respective branches of Russian industry, and, when their growth was dictated by the economic needs of all Russia, there began the conquest of these industries with the aid of foreign capital. Then came the introduction of a modern system of colonial exploitation, peculiar to the so-called "European" type of colonies as expounded by the Soviet Ukrainian economist of the 1920's, M. Volobuyiv.<sup>29</sup>

### *Russia's Financial Imperialism*

Always and everywhere, Russian imperio-colonial expansion was in the nature of compulsion by force of arms and of political subjugation. Russia's policy of so-called "financial imperialism" was conducted by devious means. It was not a policy of financial investment in the Ukrainian economy, nor a development of industrial enterprises in the metropolis of the colonial territory.

At the heart of this process the fact was that Imperial Russia, — in co-operation with foreign capital, by means of various "reorganisations" and direct pressure — exploited Ukrainian industry, and in 1917, following the

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

Russian Bolshevik revolution, extended the expropriation to include foreign capital invested in that industry. This process of expropriating Ukrainian industry and of conquering the native Ukrainian economy most clearly disclosed and confirmed the system of colonial exploitation of Ukraine.

It must be noted that though both Russia and Ukraine lacked their own raw materials in the manufacture of cotton goods, Ukraine was located closer to sources of supply, such as Egypt and India, and in direct contact by the sea. We must not look, therefore, to natural conditions to find an answer to the question of why Ukraine's cotton industry was many times smaller than Russia's. The same applies to the wool manufacturing industry which was four times smaller; this was absolutely unjustified when we consider the fact that Ukraine had historically been a large supplier of wool both to Russia, and to foreign markets.

Even the equal figures in an industry such as metal working were not normal, because at that time Ukraine was supplying 57.2% of all the ore extracted in the Russian Empire, and the Urals only 20.8%. In the production of pig iron Ukraine stood at 52%, in ready iron and steel, 44.7% against Ural's 22.4%.

In regard to the indices of production totals we must not overlook the fact that the total production of Ukraine amounted to only 16.9% of the Russian Empire at a time when the population of Ukraine was 22.6% of the Empire's total, and 40% of the population of Russia. This low figure of 16.9% is only due to the large extent to which Ukraine participated in the processing of food products. Without that item the participation of Ukraine would fall to a mere 8.7%.

If we consider the food processing industry of Ukraine, we find out that out of the wide variety possible in this line of production, Ukraine had only three comparatively strong industries: sugar refining, milling and distilling; They accounted for 72.0%, 14.4% and 5.5% of the total production, respectively. All other industries, even those like tobacco processing and wine making for which Ukraine possessed ample raw materials, were very minor.<sup>30</sup>

An interesting visionary observation about the situation in XIXth century Russian-occupied Ukraine was made in 1841 by a German traveller, who visited Ukraine. He firmly believed that this precarious status of Ukraine within the Russian Empire had to change. He wrote:

"There is not the slightest doubt that sometime the great territory of the Russian Empire will fall apart and Ukraine will become a free and independent country. This time is approaching, slowly but inevitably. The Ukrainians are a nation with their own language, culture and historical tradition. Temporarily Ukraine was divided between her neighbours. But the material for the building of the Ukrainian State is ready — if not now, then tomorrow a builder will arise who will build from these materials a great and independent Ukrainian State".<sup>31</sup>

<sup>30</sup> *Ministerstvo Torgovli i Promyshlennosti*, Petersburg, 1912, VIII-XII, pp. VII-17.

<sup>31</sup> Johann Georg Kohl, *Reisen in Südrußland*, Dresden and Leipzig, 1841.

The question of financial exploitation of Ukraine was brilliantly raised by Professor Yasnopolskyi, as already mentioned, who on the basis of widely collected sources came to the conclusion that in the years 1868 to 1890 the nine Ukrainian gubernias<sup>32</sup> of the Russian Empire had contributed to the Tsarist Treasury, in the final analysis, substantially more than they had received from it. Huge budgetary surpluses were realised also by the Voronizh and Kursk gubernias in which Ukrainians accounted for over 50% of the population.

Two-thirds of these surpluses were used mainly by the capital gubernias — gubernias of Petersburg and Moscow; one-fifth — on foreign expenditures, and approximately 15% of these surpluses were divided among other "border areas" such as Siberia, Turkestan, Transcaucasus and the Polish gubernias. Professor Yasnopolskyi asserted that the Petersburg capital gubernia was receiving approximately two-thirds of the total expenditures of the Russian government, which proves the concentration of government revenue and expenditures in the country's capital.

Yasnopolskyi criticised the Imperial economic policy towards Ukraine and posed the following question: "Why are our many resources of the South (i.e. Ukraine — NGB) left almost untouched, while the North (i.e. Russia — NGB), regardless of the strong artificial support, still provides their population with an unenviable means of subsistence? Why have the fertile steppes of the South with their material riches and convenient conditions for trade, until today, remained poorly inhabited?.. These questions involuntarily come to mind, when South-Russian (i.e. Ukrainian — NGB) natural wealth emerges before the eyes in its complete grandeur, and then, naturally, we turn to history in order to find an answer to this quite peculiar phenomenon".<sup>33</sup>

In 1906, another author, Sokolov, in a Ukrainian publication in Kyiv, also emphasised the important role of the revenues collected in the nine Ukrainian gubernias, incl. Bessarabia, Kursk, Voronizh and Black Sea gubernias, as well as the Kuban region. In 1913 they yielded an impressive surplus of 240 million rubles, or 46 per cent of all revenues collected on the territory of Ukraine.

In 1917 and in 1918, the works of the Ukrainian economists, P. Maltsiv<sup>34</sup> and of Mykola Porsh<sup>35</sup>, were published in which the authors analysed the contribution of Ukraine to the state budget of the Tsarist Empire. Maltsiv revealed that the budgetary surpluses in Ukraine were higher than those calculated earlier, and that financial exploitation of Ukraine had substantially increased, as well as the fact that the Petersburg gubernia had been causing the Russian Imperial Treasury an annual deficit of 200-300 million rubles.

<sup>32</sup> Ukrainian gubernias under Tsarist rule included gubernias of Chernihiv, Katerynoslav, Kharkiv, Kherson, Kiev, Podillia, Poltava, Tavia and Volhynia; under Austria — the crown lands of Galicia and Bukovina; under Hungary — seven comitats (counties).

<sup>33</sup> N. Yasnopolskyi, *Ekonomicheskaiia...*, p. 117-118.

<sup>34</sup> P. Maltsiv, *Ukraina v derzhavnomu biudzheti Rossii*, Lubni, 1917.

<sup>35</sup> M. Porsh, *Ukraina v derzhavnomu biudzheti Rossii*, Katerynoslav, 1918.

M. Porsh calculated that in 1898-1910 the rate of return of expenditures, i.e., the ratio of expenditures to revenues averaged over the thirteen-year period for all nine Ukrainian gubernias was 55.7%. This meant that over half of all revenues of the Ukrainian gubernias were used outside Ukraine and that with time this situation had even worsened, or the rate of return of revenues had become smaller.

### *Russo-Ukrainian Economic Relations in WWI*

The early Soviet Russian institutions paid special attention to the preservation of not only the political integrity of the Russian Empire, but also of its economic unity as well. In this respect the reports of the Soviet Russian economists to the First All-Russian Congress of the Council of the National Economy, held in Moscow May 25 — June 4, 1918, give us a unique opportunity to see the style of thinking and reasoning of Russia's new empire-builders.

P. Milyutin, a Russian economist of this early Soviet period, in his report titled "The Economic Situation and Economic Policy of Soviet Russia", demonstrated how difficult it had been for a Russian intellectual and communist to get used to the idea of an independent Ukraine and to a need for new ways of organising the Russian economy, now without Ukraine, along new lines:

"To appreciate our present economic situation, it is necessary for us to calculate all we possess today... Ukraine has always had grain surpluses, with which she had fed Russia. Now they are not available... The fuel situation is also bad. With the separation of the South and the Donets Basin we lose 90% of our fuel, and Soviet Russia is left with only 10%... in view of this, it is imperative to transfer our industrial centres to the Urals and Siberia which are capable of supplying us with coal and ore".<sup>36</sup>

Milyutin proposed the following resolution to the Congress:

"Among the many results of the Brest Peace Treaty is the separation of Ukraine and Poland, which radically changes the development of industry in the various regions of Russia. This separation made Russian industry lose an important part of its fuel resources (70% of total coal production). As a result of this, it is definitely necessary to transfer the main centre of our industry to the regions where we can secure coal and ore — the Urals and Siberia — and greatly develop the productive forces of these areas".<sup>37</sup>

K. Radek, another communist Russian leader, in his report "Economic consequences of the Brest Treaty" reminded the Congress of "how much Russia had lost after the separation of Poland, Lithuania, the Baltic region, Ukraine and the practical loss of the Donets Basin. This meant the loss of 40% of the industrial proletariat and industrial production. Also, of important

<sup>36</sup> Pavlo Khrystiuk, *Notes and Materials on the History of the Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920*, v. IV, Vienna, 1922, pp. 186-187.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189.

sources of raw materials such as the Donets Basin which had supplied us with pig iron and coal... The loss of the areas, from which Russia was getting surplus grain used as a trade balance resources".<sup>38</sup>

Lomov, still another high functionary of Soviet Russia stated at the Congress that "Ukraine had been a reservoir, from which Russia was getting her grain supplies... Mutual gravitation of Ukraine and Russia has been so strong that these two regions will indispensably strive towards unification."<sup>39</sup>

Milyutin's conclusions evoked a sharp reaction from the Russian national-bolsheviks, and the refutation of them was made by Obolensky :

"Comrade Milyutin is considering the separation of Ukraine as a historical necessity... Once Ukraine had separated from us then this is what was needed... I disagree with the views of Milyutin... On the one hand, Ukraine is a grain surplus region, on the other, a raw materials producing region. In relation to the North, which operates on raw materials, to the industrial North, Ukraine constitutes a source of supplies for the manufacturing industry... Because of the break with Ukraine we come to a major economic crisis... For me it is clear that one can not try to convince our peasants and workers that all this could be repaired with our own means... It is imperative for us to restore relations between Ukraine and Great Russia... through the revolutionary fight of workers and peasants of all Russia".<sup>40</sup>

Thus the beginning of military relations between Russia and Ukraine was foreseen by Obolensky, who continued: "The separation of Great Russia and Ukraine has brought to the highest degree the dismemberment of the mutual exchange and has made it almost impossible to solve the economic problems of the North — the region of manufacturing industries".<sup>41</sup>

Then Obolensky submitted the following resolution: "Separation of Great Russia and Ukraine led to the witnessing of the greatest unsettlement of the social exchange and made the economic position of the Northern (Moscovy) manufacturing region almost critical. Only the return of the social exchange between these two parts of the economic organism which came into existence historically, will offer the possibility of normal life and functioning".<sup>42</sup>

All this led to only one suggestion, namely, to proceed militarily against Ukraine, which had already become an independent state, and with blood-iron policy restore "the social bond" between two parts "of the single economic organism".

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<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 189-190.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 190.

*"Declaration of Rights" and the "Merging of Nations"*

The "Declaration of Rights of the Peoples of Russia", issued by the Council of People's Commissars of the Russian Republic on November 15, 1917, was a document prepared by Lenin for tactical purposes to appease the non-Russian peoples of the former Tsarist Empire and to mislead world opinion. In fact, it was necessitated by a desire to cover up the annexation of all non-Russian republics which had sprung up on the ruins of the multinational Tsarist Empire and which were destined never to consolidate their position. These annexations were carried out under the false pretext of "rendering assistance" to the working masses.

The Central Committee of the Communist Party under the cloak of internationalism, virtually continued Tsarist Russia's imperialist policy; the essentially centralist colonial practices remained. Indeed, the totalitarian nature of the Red Russian regime made it possible to intensify colonial oppression and to annihilate millions of Ukrainians under the cloak of liberation and freedom. The worst period in Ukraine were the years 1929-1933, when a campaign of terror was carried on which even the Tsarist government would not have dared to undertake.

The equality of the peoples of the Soviet Union has always been fiction, in the economic sphere as elsewhere. Concerning the present: the delayed development (in comparison with the RSFSR) of the most important branches of Ukrainian industry (particularly metallurgy), not only artificially reduced the earnings of Ukrainian workers, but also kept considerable numbers of workers in rural areas, where they were not fully employed. This artificially created labour surplus is designed to supply manpower for transfer to Soviet Asia as a means of populating, industrialising and Russifying the non-Russian republics there.

In Ukraine, however, these labour transfers, which mostly affected the younger generation, drained the country's resources and reduced its resistance to the colonial policy of Soviet Russia. Parallel to its Russification policy Moscow is implementing the colonisation of Ukraine and other non-Russian countries with Russian settlers. Western Ukraine, Carpatho-Ukraine and Bukovyna had hardly any Russians prior to World War II. Now, the Russian newcomers include not only Party and administration officials, but also factory workers, and even collective farmers. The overwhelming majority of the Soviet army personnel and security troops in Ukraine are ethnic Russians who have brought their families for permanent residency in Ukraine, and thus aid in promoting the process of Russification.

Lenin's policy of the "merging of nations", which is so faithfully advertised and applied to the non-Russian nations only, does not apply to Russians. The Russian leaders don't want their nationals to accept either the language or the culture of the native population. To the Russians they profess not the

Leninist national policy, but instead the national policy of anti-denationalisation. This policy would guarantee the members of any nation living in an alien territory all constitutional rights to enjoy its own culture, mother language etc.

### *Volobuyiv's Criticism of Russian Colonialism*

The national income and the national economic balance of Ukraine which were closely connected, constituted the core of Ukraine's battle with Moscow during the second half of the 1920's in the field of economic relations. At that time Ukraine insisted upon her right to calculate national income accounts, and to use them to regulate intergovernmental economic relations within the Soviet Union. Moscow rejected this demand and thus denied the sovereign status of Ukraine and her people.

For over two years, 1926-1928, a highly persistent discussion was carried out in Ukraine. One remarkable paragraph only from the decision reached by the Union meeting of the Republican Gosplan in 1927 shows what a concise role was assigned to the non-Russian national republics in the administration of their own economies :

"The task of the construction of Five-Year Plans for individual republics and economic regions does not include seeking such interrelationships of the national economic balance which enter into the concept of the large-scale balance of the national economy found in the structure of the Five-Year-Plan for the development of the national economy of the USSR (balance of capital formation and capital investments, balance of the demand and supply, finding of the growth ratio of agriculture and industry, productivity ratio of capital and consumer goods, etc.)".

Thus, the existence of the national economy of a republic as a completely national state organism was denied. The Soviet republics were reduced and degraded to the level of economic regions, so that Ukraine, according to this concept, would be regarded only as an administrative region!

At the beginning of 1928, the Communist Party of the bolsheviks of Ukraine (CP(b)U) was faced with a problem, that of "Volobuyevism". The February and March issues of *Bilshovyk Ukrainy*, the periodical of the CP(b)U, carried an article by Professor Mykhaylo Volobuyiv entitled "On the Problem of the Ukrainian Economy",<sup>43</sup> in which he declared that Ukraine was still a Russian colony and that it was being exploited economically by Soviet Russia. He called for the independent economic development of Ukraine.

His economic conception was not new. His historical merit lies only in the fact that he successfully generalised and combined a number of facts into one system and voiced it at a most expedient moment. Volobuyiv supplied facts, ideas and theses already known from the works of historians of the Ukrainian economy such as M. Slabchenko and O. Ohloblyn and his contemporaries — V. Dobrohayiv and H. Hrynko.

<sup>43</sup> *Bilshovyk Ukrainy*, Kharkiv, 1928, Nos. 2-3.

In his work Volobuyiv discusses the economic situation of Ukraine in Tsarist Russia and its situation in the USSR and defines the colonial situation in Ukraine within the economy of the Russian empire; he also developed a new thesis on the meaning of the colony.

Volobuyiv divided the term colony into "European" and "Asiatic" types.<sup>44</sup> In the Asiatic type, the backward economic formations are exploited by the advanced capitalist economy of the metropolis. The European type is capitalistic and developed but politically dependent; Ukraine was the European type of colony. He quotes statistical indices on the exploitation of Ukraine by Tsarist Russia which indicate that from 1893 until 1910, Russia drew almost 33 billion rubles of revenue from Ukraine, but ploughed back only 25 billion rubles.

Volobuyiv suggested that the economic situation of Ukraine in the USSR had not changed, compared with the pre-revolutionary times. He showed that Moscow withheld 20% of the state revenues of Ukraine during 1925-1927 and sharply criticised the "remnants" of colonialism which still existed in the USSR.

He also criticised the Gosplan of the USSR for its project to divide Ukraine economically into two parts and suggested that "the All-Union organs should approach Ukraine as a national, economic entity".<sup>45</sup> He demanded that the USSR Gosplan should "accelerate the rate of growth of Ukrainian industry", especially the metallurgical, textile and consumer goods industries. He attacked the Gosplan for transferring the centre of the sugar industry out of Ukraine and ridiculed the fact that the Sugar Industry Institute was built in Moscow and not in Ukraine. This fact was mentioned by Krushchev only 26 years later.

#### *Hirchak's attacks on Volobuyiv*

In the same publication, a critical article called "Volobuyevism"<sup>46</sup> was published by E. F. Hirchak, in which Volobuyiv's ideas were condemned for:

1. Contrasting Soviet Ukraine with colonial Tsarist Ukraine, when she was the better off of the two;
2. Casting doubt on the October revolution which did not bring the national liberation to Ukraine;
3. Supporting the inevitability of Ukraine's leaving the USSR;
4. Alienating Ukraine from the Russian SFSR;

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>45</sup> V. H. Alexandrov, author of "Osnovy khozraionirovania SSSR", Publishing House "Ekonomicheskaja Zhyzn", 1924, in an article in *Izvestia* (October 7, 1950) suggested combining the industrial flank of Ukraine into one unit with Rostov, the Northern Caucasus and Kerch, and organising the agricultural Right-Bank Ukraine into a separate economic unit.

<sup>46</sup> E. F. Hirchak, "Volobuyevism", *Bilshovyk Ukrainy*, Kharkiv, No. 6, 1928 and in *Na dva fronta v borbe s natsionalizmom*, Moscow-Leningrad, 1930, pp. 110-121.

5. Supporting the struggle between the Ukrainian and Russian economies;
6. Lacking understanding of the essence of the Soviet Union;
7. Negating the existence of proletarian Ukraine and its advantages;
8. Accusing the All-Union CP and CP(b)U of deviating from nationality policy in favour of Russian chauvinism;
9. Fomenting hatred between the peoples of Russia and Ukraine;
10. Supporting Trotsky concerning the building of socialism in one country.

The Russian communists have repeated constantly the empty assertion about the progressive significance for Ukraine of the Tsarist policies and reforms "directed at the economic and cultural upheaval" as well as "the progressive influence of the Russian economy and culture in Ukraine". But the facts are quite different. Namely, in the XVIIIth century, the Russian Tsarist government finally:

1. Destroyed the remnants of the Cossack national government system in Ukraine;
2. Introduced into Ukraine serfdom of the uniquely Russian kind which very closely resembled real slavery;
3. Started the most cruel linguo-cultural oppression, thus ruining the Ukrainian educational system and Ukrainian literature "so that there will be no difference between Ukrainian and Russian languages" (from the Ukase of Peter I);
4. Lured away from Ukraine the most valuable cultural personalities and utilised them in raising the then very low cultural and educational levels in Russia.
5. In the interest of Russia's commerce and industry, Tsar Peter I closed the Western borders of Ukraine to foreign trade, thus compelling trade from Western Europe (to Ukraine and from Ukraine to Western Europe) to take the much longer and costlier route through Northern Russian ports and customs houses; this raised the prices of exchanged goods and imposed substantial additional material burdens on the Ukrainian population;
6. Initiated measures favouring the industrial development of Russian territories while delaying the growth of industries in Ukraine and other non Russian "borderlands". During the XVIIIth century, consistent with this policy, the growth of metallurgy, potash, tar, leather, textile and other industries of Ukraine was completely stopped.

### *Inequalities in Economic Levels of Ukraine*

Even at the republic level, the Russian administration in Ukraine widely utilises a policy of discrimination and denial of desired economic growth to regional units. At the Union-Republic level the capital-accumulation funds are divided for the purpose of equalisation of regional economic inequalities to the advantage of economically less-developed regions. This, naturally, has cost Ukraine billions of rubles annually, and over the entire period of her forced sojourn under Moscow's control, an enormous and irreparable loss to Ukraine of hundreds of billions of rubles.

The Soviet-Russian official publications explicitly confirm that the less developed regions of Soviet Ukraine not only receive no aid from the more advanced regions, but, on the contrary, in the process of the redistribution they do not even get back in full that part of the national income which they contribute to the capital construction fund of the Ukrainian SSR. Thus, the less-advanced regions of Ukraine finance the economic growth of the more developed regions. This leads to the deepening of the regional differences in economic growth and not the equalisation.

Two articles which appeared in the Soviet Ukrainian economic journal warrant our mentioning them.<sup>47</sup> P. Voloboy and V. Popovkin use the so-called "synthetic weighted index" to measure the level of economic growth of individual regions of Ukraine. Assuming an average index of 100 for the whole of Ukraine, the levels of economic growth of individual large regions of Ukraine were: Donets-Dnieper — 125, Southern — 97, South-Western — 76, and in particular Western Ukrainian regions — 67.

Both authors admit that these inequalities in the economic levels of large regions of Ukraine are caused not only by historical and socio-economic factors, but also, in part, by deficiencies in the practice of regional planning. In the past, the rates of economic growth of "many of the less-developed regions of the republic were lower than the republic's average, and this did not favour the equalisation of economic levels of the regions of Ukraine."<sup>48</sup>

Another Soviet Ukrainian author, I. Velychko, declares, that "because of historical conditions and peculiarities of the distribution of fuel and raw material resources throughout the territory of the Republic, the existing branch structure of the industrial production, defects in the practices of regional planning in the Ukrainian SSR, there are still substantial differences in the levels of economic growth of the regions and the utilisation of labour resources... In the course of many years, large capital investments have been made mainly for the development of the heavy industry branches."<sup>49</sup>

#### *Dziuba on Russification of Ukraine*

The Soviet Ukrainian writer, Ivan Dziuba, in his book entitled "Internationalism or Russification" eloquently writes: "Even a cursory observation of the Soviet Republics shows what damage economic over-centralisation inflicts and how it fetters the existing possibilities of development of a number of the republics, and Ukraine in particular. It is possible to analyse only a few general data, because in our country detailed economic statistics are for some reason kept behind triple lock and key or not calculated at all. How can you, for example, speak of the sovereignty of Ukraine, when for

<sup>47</sup> P. Voloboy and V. Popovkin, "Pro pokaznyky hospodarskoho rivnia raioniv ta oblastei", *Ekonomika Radianskoi Ukrainy*, October, 1968.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 59.

<sup>49</sup> I. Velychko, "Problemy ratsionalnoho rozmishchennia produktyvnykh syl i vykorystannia trudovykh resursiv v ekonomichnykh raionakh", *Ekonomika Radianskoi Ukrainy*, October, 1968, p. 38.

thirty years, till 1958, the Ukrainian SSR did not compute its national income or gross national product — that is to say, those indices without which no idea can be formed about the economy of a country. In any case, it is not easy to compute economic indices in a republic which in fact has no economy of its own.”<sup>50</sup>

I. Dziuba continues his views on the state of the Ukrainian economy with the following observations: “These are verily ‘sovereign’ governments in the Republics without their native language in the administration, without international contacts, and without even the right to intervene in the economy of their own territory!... What ‘ultra-centralism’ brings to Ukraine is impossible to calculate in detail because of that same secrecy and neglect regarding statistics. To such ‘unchartered areas’ belongs the production achieved in Ukraine by enterprises under Union jurisdiction.”

“It is also impossible to determine exactly how much of the revenue which the Republic hands over to the Union budget (and much more is handed over than is left) returns through redistribution and how much is spent on centralised organisations, establishments and enterprises... In 1960 the total turnover tax in the territory of the Republic amounted to 5,442 million rubles. From this sum 1,509.4 million rubles, or 27.7 per cent, were allotted to the state budget of the Ukrainian SSR, and 3,932.6 million rubles, or 72.3 per cent, to the Union budget.”<sup>51</sup>

Then I. Dziuba raises the following question: “But, perhaps, this revenue is refunded to the Republic? The book *National Income of the Ukrainian SSR*<sup>52</sup> gives the following answer. In 1960 Ukraine handed over to the Union budget the said 3,932.6 million rubles plus other deductions, giving a grand total of 5,288.8 million rubles. At the same time she received 1,113.0 million through redistribution from the budget. This leaves a balance in favour of the Union budget of 4,175.8 million. In 1959 this balance amounted to 3,886.7 million, in 1961 to 3,664.8 million, etc. There are still additional expenditures, since “Ukraine delivers to other union Republics products at a price set below cost.”<sup>53</sup>

He continues: “In the same publication the scholars from the Institute of Economics of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR modestly hint at the necessity of equalising the economic development of the great economic regions of the country. For the time being, however, the economy is kept lagging behind. The long-range plans for 1961-80 envisage a fivefold increase in the aggregate products of the USSR, while the social product of Ukraine is to increase by a factor of 4.5 to 5. From the report of the Chairman of

<sup>50</sup> Ivan Dziuba, *Internationalism or Russification*, Munich, 1974, p. 105.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 106-7.

<sup>52</sup> O. O. Nesterenko (ed.), *Natsionalnyi dokhod Ukrainskoi SSR v period rozhor-nutoho budivnytstva komunistu*, Kiev, 1963.

<sup>53</sup> I. Dziuba... (from O. O. Nesterenko, *Natsionalnyi dokhod...* 9 table 33, p. 151; pp. 152-153.)

the State Planning Committee of the USSR at the December Session of the Supreme Soviet we learn that in 1966 the gross industrial production of Ukraine will increase by less than that of any other Republic; namely, by 5.5 per cent; in the Russian SFSR by 6.5 per cent; in the Kazakh SSR by 7.2 per cent, etc.”<sup>54</sup>

“Economic over-centralisation, which... inhibits development or causes one-sided development of a number of regions in the USSR, also brings with it the spiritually ravaging displacement of large masses of the population, often without any economic justification.”<sup>55</sup>

Then I. Dziuba adds: “For a long time we have been speaking proudly of the absence of unemployment in our country. But in reality it exists, only in a concealed form. For instance, all Western Ukraine is in the grip of such concealed unemployment. After so many resounding words had been said about the flowering of the economy in these provinces, A. N. Kosygin stated at the September Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPSU that ‘considerable manpower reserves exist in small towns, especially in the Western regions of Ukraine, Byelorussia, a number of districts in Transcaucasia...’”

“Let us add that in Western Ukraine they exist not only in towns, but even more so in villages. These ‘manpower reserves’ are but another name for great numbers of semi-employed who struggle along on casual earnings or are forced to abandon their ancestral homesteads to seek work, at best in southern Ukraine and the Crimea, at worst thousands of miles away in Siberia and Northern Kazakhstan, where industrial development is stimulated to a large degree at the expense of Ukraine.”<sup>56</sup>

### *Ukraine's demographic losses in WWII*

In 1941 Hitler was confronted with the dilemma of whether to come to terms with Soviet Russia and tolerate her penetration into Turkey and the Balkans, or to attack her and check the steady growth of her military power. Hitler chose the latter course thus realising his old plan, and on June 22, 1941, his armies attacked the USSR. The spirit of the revolt against Russian domination prevailed in Ukraine and elsewhere and during the first seven and a half months some 3,600,000 officers and soldiers of the Red Army surrendered; certainly some were hoping for the chance to fight for the liberation of their countries.

The political and economic significance of Ukraine caused her to suffer the most among all the Soviet republics during World War II. Very soon Russia decided to evacuate industrial and agricultural equipment and machinery from Ukraine. Their evacuation was frequently prevented by

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 108.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

German bombing and the Russian "scorched earth" policy was responsible for the substantial destruction of industrial and residential buildings and structures.

Special demolition squads of the Red Army and security troops were setting fire to and blowing up government and industrial structures, stores and even residential buildings without warning the residents. They were destroying blast furnaces, flooding mines, scuttling riverships, clogging city waterworks. The total losses to the Ukrainian economy were officially estimated at 285 bill. rubles in 1941 prices or about 42 per cent of total USSR losses.

Direct war casualties in Ukraine consisted of 3.2 million civilians and 1.3 million prisoners of war. Some Western researchers assert that "the magnitude of the USSR losses suggests the appalling indifference of the Soviet leadership to their very own army, and civilian population as well... An enormous number of human lives were sacrificed unnecessarily and without any obvious reason. Almost all the memoirs on the war written by both German and Soviet war commanders prove this beyond any doubt."<sup>57</sup>

According to one expert, Ukraine's population losses due to Russian international adventures amounted to 6 million people during World War I and to 11 million during World War II. This constitutes a highly unfavourable and unusual demographic development which may affect the population of Ukraine over the rest of this century. And any future war, a World War III, might mean a death sentence to the Ukrainian population altogether.<sup>58</sup>

A Canadian researcher is convinced that during the first four Five-Year-Plans, that cover the collectivisation and industrialisation drives as well as the period of World War II, the Russian imperialists savagely annihilated some 15 million of Ukraine's population.<sup>59</sup>

### *Concluding Remarks*

Ukraine's battle with Russia in the realm of economics has, no doubt, been a long and real one. It has been waged by Russia by means of statutory regulations and official anti-Ukrainian government policies in the sphere of agriculture, industry, transportation, commerce, demography and trade. It caused repercussions in the structure of the budgetary relations of Ukraine with Russia.

M. Yasnopolskyi once made the following observation on the exploitation of the Ukrainian economy. "Even at present the customs tariffs, the distribution of revenues and expenditures among various regions of the Empire, the financial system in general, as well as other government measures, favour

<sup>57</sup> Stephen G. Prociuk, "Human Losses in Ukraine in World War I and II", *UVAN Annals*, No. 35-36, v. XIII, 1973-1977, p. 49.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>59</sup> Andriij Kachor, *The Economy of Ukraine in the System of the USSR*, Winnipeg, 1953, p. 30.

the South (i.e. Ukraine — NGB) to a lesser degree than North Russia. High customs on foreign products force the non-industrial regions of Russia (i.e. Ukraine — NGB) to overpay huge sums of money to the advantage of manufacturing and industrial districts. Present excise on grain, spirits and salt impose a double burden on producers and consumers in the agricultural part of Russia (i.e. Ukraine — NGB). And this excess of revenues over expenditures created in the agricultural areas of Russia (i.e. Ukraine — NGB), is diverted in impressive amounts towards the North (i.e. Russia — NGB) and into the state treasury.”<sup>60</sup>

Inasmuch as our task is not to determine the exact amount of Russian colonial exploitation and Russification, but rather to establish their presence, it is of no great significance to know exactly how much money the Russian state budget succeeds in pumping out of Ukraine in favour of Russia, be it 10 billion rubles annually or less. The substance of the matter is that such pumping exists and that Ukraine has always paid Russia considerably more than she has received from her, and that this was a consequence of her colonial position. “The Tsarist regime of the second half of the XIXth century and the beginning of the XXth century imposed on Ukraine a greater financial burden than during the old times of the Hetmanate.”<sup>61</sup>

During the reign of the Tsars Ukraine played an important role in the repayment of government debts. The debts of the Tsarist Empire were paid off by Ukrainian grain and the proceeds of those loans were only used by Russia. The same practices have been used by Soviet Russian leaders. Concerning expenditures for continuous military expansion, Russian international adventures, sophisticated technology, space exploration programmes, intelligence, global misinformation activities etc., their preponderance in the Soviet budget mirrors the imperialist nature of Russia; all these activities having absolutely nothing in common with the national interests of Ukraine.

In short, colonialism and Russification in the sphere of economics means that the surplus production of the Ukrainian economy is appropriated by military means and political superiority for the Russian economy. To insure continuous exploitation, Ukraine is permitted to develop in a highly perverted manner which precludes the creation and strengthening of a homogeneous and unified economic system in Ukraine. For this purpose legal norms are promulgated and used to regulate the economic process in the direction desired by the metropolis — Moscow.

To Russify and to assimilate Ukraine completely and to destroy her uniquely national character has been the undeniable interest of Russia, white or red. Russia has never shown any desire to bring the economy of Ukraine into a position of equality with the economy of Russia. Russified Ukraine would continue as a modern colony of Russia and a source of

<sup>60</sup> N. Yasnopolskyi, *Ekonomicheskaiia...*, p. 116.

<sup>61</sup> M. Yavorsky, *Ukraina v epokhu kapitalizmu*, Odessa, 1924, II, p. 124.

enrichment for Russia. Thus, economic centralisation has been carried out against the background of imperialism, colonialism and grave national discrimination.

In conclusion, a timely quotation from an eloquent statement on the question of the so-called unity of the Russian Imperial economy made five-and-a-half decades ago by M. Volobuyiv: "Those who speak of the unity of the pre-revolutionary economy of Russia and Ukraine, have only in mind the first tendency (towards centralism — NGB) and forget about the second, the centrifugal, or rather the desire to join the world system directly, not through the intermediation of the Russian economy... Hence, the question of whether there was a single Russian pre-revolutionary economy should be answered as follows: it was a single economy resting on an antagonistic, imperialist basis, but from the viewpoint of centrifugal forces of the colonies oppressed by her, it was a complex of national economies... The Ukrainian economy was not an ordinary province of Tsarist Russia, but a country which was placed in a colonial position."<sup>62</sup>

<sup>62</sup> M. Volobuyiv, "Do problemy ukrainskoyi ekonomiky", *Bilshovyk Ukrainy*, Kharkiv, 1928, No. 1-2.

A NEW PUBLICATION

**"HIS BEATITUDE PATRIARCH JOSYF"**  
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## News From Ukraine

### CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

#### Number 4

#### AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I, Vasyl Antonovych Kobryn, was born in 1938 in the village of Tuchne in the Peremyshlyany district of Lviv region, into a peasant family. My father, Antin Kobryn, and my mother, Olha Kobryn worked their own land until the introduction of collective farms in our village in 1949. Knowing that they could leave nothing to my sister and me as an inheritance after the terrible pillage by the Russian invaders, my parents made great efforts to bring us up and give us an education. But it did not turn out as they wished...

My sister Maria was expelled from school in the ninth form for refusing to join the Komsomol; after this she took a job. But I was persuaded by the teachers to break with my parents, because my mother wanted to raise us in belief in God. I was fourteen years old when I left my parents' house. That which was sacred and of God I hated, and I fought it in others. Because of this, I did much harm and evil. In 1957 I was persuaded to go to the Voroshilovhrad region on a Komsomol excursion pass to join in the construction of the Kherson Komsomol mine. From there I was called up to the army. It was in the army that I experienced an inner breakdown: I re-evaluated everything that had been dear to me up to then... In 1960 I openly declared to my officers that I believed in God; for this I was criticised and condemned by the military authorities. Upon my demobilisation I returned to my parents; I hardly need say what a joy this was for them.

After the army I completed technical school and worked at a television plant in the city of Lviv. In 1972 the plant management found out that I was a believer, and then, they ordered me, against my conscience, to read an anti-religious lecture before the workers of the shop. I read a lecture before the workers of the shop, but not in the way the authorities wanted — the lecture was to the benefit of the Church and of religion. After this they transferred me to another shop as a disloyal person. In 1975, when the Council of Ministers issued the cannibalistic order not to celebrate Easter, but to report to work, I did not report to work and wrote a protest addressed to the head of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, for which I was fired from my job under the statute. In 1979 I received a 15-day penalty for visiting the grave of the Sich Riflemen\*, after which I was

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\* Ukrainian military unit during the Ukrainian war of independence, 1917-1921.

placed in a psychiatric hospital.

In 1983, after the arrest of the head of the Initiative Group for the Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church Josyp Terelya, I temporarily assumed leadership of the Initiative Group and became a member of it. From the first of March, 1984, in connection with the poor state of health of our head, I assumed leadership of the Group for the Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church.

### EASTER SERMON

Today the Church of Christ is celebrating the radiant Resurrection. A great injustice arose in its time, as happens today as well. Jesus Christ, the Saviour of the world, the only son of God, was condemned at one time by human enmity to indignity and suffering by the entire Jewish people\*\*, and was condemned to death and crucified, and took away death for us all in order to redeem the human race from its sins...

In the affairs of God the redemption of the human race, the death on the cross, which took place on Golgotha, was the last act which brought about the centre of our faith and moral renewal. We are Christians! As in the earliest times of persecution of Christians, we are experiencing the same decline as once did Rome before its fall. With pressure and physical destruction today's Communist rulers are waging a mortal struggle against Christians. What is this about? What is the reason for this?

When social life is undermined at its foundation, when general disintegration nears its end, when there is no [strengthening]\*\*\* by any fruitful idea, a human being has before him no calming thought, not the slightest ray of hope which would free a human being from virtual perdition — the only light of the sun of truth upon humanity is the idea of Jesus Christ, who suffered on the cross for us. What must we do? The time when our people has fallen under the blows of the Communist warriors against God is also a time of great trial. The Church's task is to give the correct orientation in the given situation, to explain the threat of the moment, to teach the people how to conduct itself in this difficult hour, how one must not lose spirit and how to develop the greatest energy in order to turn back the perdition that is threatening us...

Today the nation needs people who could find within themselves the courage and the strength to cry out aloud about our predicament, which is full of tragedy.

Today's Russian rulers like to separate the concepts of "Catholic" and "Ukrainian". Why do the rulers emphasise so much the separateness of the Catholic from everything Ukrainian — from everything by which a Catholic lives and in the name of which he struggles? Jesus said, "Blessed are you when they will dishonour you, when they will persecute you, when they will

\*\* The syntax is unclear.

\*\*\* Original "*skryvlennya*", "distortion", may be typographical error.

falsely say all kinds of evil words against you, for my sake. Rejoice and be glad: for great shall be your reward in heaven" (Matthew 5, 11-12). For he who shall suffer death for the faith will be called a Martyr; to bear the cross for the faith means that you bear the cross also for your own captive people. At all times when one or another people would fall into ruin and captivity, its leaders would emphasise morality and ethical culture. When the Poles fell into captivity, they founded societies for moral renewal — the Philaret Society, the Szubrawcy, and in the final years before they achieved freedom, the Ethical Society. For us, such an ethical-moral society is our Church. And it is therefore not strange that the authorities persecute the Ukrainian Catholics with such severity. We must remember that the strength of a people lies in its mass, not in its territory. But this mass must be healthy, not de-nationalised and lacking its own desire — for life...

Today we are divided between different nations, and each one of them gives us good fortune only if it wishes to. Let us remember that not one of the occupant nations will give us any freedom, any moral correction, for to them we are worse than slaves. Therefore only we must carry through the reform — only we!

The time has come to see the light and, not sparing our strength, to arise for the sacred right to live.

12. 4. 1984

*Josyp Terelya*

### THE STORY OF ONE LIFE

On 2 December, 1944, in the mountain village of Dovhe in Transcarpathia (Zakarpattia), a girl named Polanya was born. Could this girl know then that with the arrival of the occupants from beyond the great chasm, her life would be filled with a tragedy and pain that no one had ever seen? Polanya was born into a family of Ukrainian Catholics who understood with mind and heart what great woe our people had encountered. Woe. In 1947-8 an undeclared war is waged against the Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is perishing in an unequal struggle, but no one will kneel before the true Satan. The first to bow their treacherous hearts before the Russian occupants were the old enemies of everything Ukrainian — the local Russophiles. They delight in Russian Orthodoxy, they go to work in the occupants' establishments, they become Judases and Pilates... The Batyo family did not take evil for truth. And they taught their children likewise.

Polanya grew up to be a lively girl, wise beyond her years... Our children used to grow up quickly. The Stalinist terror taught our children to be quiet and fearful... School. The first repressions, the first insult... But all the same, the girl would not put the red scarf around her neck. From the age of 12 she becomes an active member of the Catholic underground. The years pass. And all these years, a Ukrainian suffers persecution... On 21 July, 1976, Polanya Batyo is arrested in the town of Kalush and is sentenced to a

term of one year in the camp. On 21 May, 1982, Polanya Batyo is sentenced to two years of camps under strict regime...

The trial took place in the town of Irshava. The composition of the court:

Presiding judge — Maksym, H. V.

People's assessors — Papynchak, V. N.; Fedorychko, D.

Prosecutor — Spivych, P. M.

Secretary — Fushchishch, I.

Attorney — Kadar, Y. Y.

Here is what the court put forth as the basis for the indictment and guilt of Polanya Batyo:

"At the session of the court the accused, P. Yu. Batyo, altogether refused to provide explanation, did not answer the questions of the participants in the trial, but herself posed questions of a religious nature.

"Under these circumstances the court is of the opinion that the actions of defendant P. Batyo have been fully proved and that the measure of punishment has, in relation to the defendant, been correctly chosen."

Commentary, as they say, would be superfluous. Today the enemies of the people are fuming and raging to the point of frenzy, but tomorrow the hour of reckoning shall come...

P. Batyo spent nearly the entire time of her punishment in punishment cells and cell-type premises. Two hundred and seventy-one days in punishment cells! Extremely weakened and ill, she was released, only for a new case to be initiated...

As if that were not enough, the head of the village council, A. Y. Nod', issued a savage order — not to sell bread to the ill Polanya Batyo. There is nothing strange in this — Communists not giving bread to a Christian. After Polanya returned her passport\* to the authorities, new repressions rained down upon her... Why do Catholics give up their passports?

First, it is because they do not want to have anything to do with the evil; second, it is because these passports do not correspond to reality. We Ukrainians should have passports of the Ukrainian SSR, not of the USSR.

Brothers! Pray for Polanya Batyo.

\*

On Thursday, 5th April, in the village of Martyniv of the Rohatyn district the local administration together with the militia destroyed a chapel.

It began when three militiamen came to the village with some citizens' voluntary police auxiliaries and demanded the keys to the chapel. The keeper refused. Then the militia began to break down the doors; people came running, and a brawl ensued. The next day 40 militiamen and innumerable citizens' auxiliaries arrived in the village — the brawl continued late into the night. Seeing that they could accomplish nothing, the militia turned to deceit — they said, let the people disperse, everything will remain as it was... But during the night a crane drove up and the chapel was destroyed.

\* Soviet citizens are required to carry identification papers, known as internal "passports", at all times.

\*

F. Vyrsta has returned from Bolshevik captivity, after extreme torments. He spent his term of imprisonment in the concentration camp in the city of Vynnytsia together with Vasył' Sichko.

\*

On 16th February, Ivan Babynets', a teacher in the local secondary school, came to the apartment of Josyp Terelya, member of the Initiative Group for the Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine and head of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, and began to threaten that he, Babynets', would blow up the house. I. Babynets' was drunk. One can only guess who had sent this chief of the citizens' voluntary police auxiliaries for this deed...

### OUR DUKHNOVYCH

On 24th April, we, Transcarpathian Ukrainians, Ukrainians all over Ukraine and far beyond the sea, in the USA, and wherever our Ukrainian brethren are to be found, celebrate a great holiday, a sacred day! It once was that on 24th April in all the churches of Carpatho-Ukraine the requiem would end and the priests and faithful would pray for the blessed memory of our immortal Oleksander Dukhnovych. And our children would sing our national prayer, which Dukhnovych wrote for us, with special elation:

Subcarpathian Ruthenians  
Abandon your deep slumber!  
The people's voice calls you:  
Do not forget what is yours!

But it is not so today. A deep fog has settled upon our cultural life. The Russian occupants have destroyed nearly all memory of our past, of our freedoms... But no! Oleksander Dukhnovych shall live in our hearts as long as even only one Ukrainian lives by the Carpathians! Ukrainians, be proud that you have famous and great people who are of your blood, who sacrifice their entire lives for the people's good. "The poorer my people, the more I love them" — so spoke Dukhnovych.

Nature's power calls me,  
Love for the people [draws me],\*  
I have sacrificed myself for it as a gift.

O. Dukhnovych had the honour of being called the father of his people during his lifetime — he was not only a man of letters, but also a builder of the temple of our culture. He was one of the greatest persons to be born of a Ukrainian mother by the Carpathians.

The future poet and enlightener Oleksander Dukhnovych was born into a priest's family in the village of Tovolya, which is in Western Transcarpathia, in 1803. Often his mother would say to little Oleksander: "Don't forget God, pray to Him and love your Ruthenian people and if you don't get rich

\* The meaning of the original word, "*istornet*", is not clear.

that way, all the same you'll be happy". And Dukhnovych followed his mother's behest. In 1822 he completed the Uzhhorod secondary school, after which he studied philosophy at Košice and completed the course of theology at Uzhhorod. Bishop Tarkevych named the ordained Oleksander Dukhnovych as his chancellor.

The poet writes thus about his life in court service :

I lived long at luxurious courts,  
I tasted sweetness' bitter glory,  
Always faithful I served the lords,  
I tasted good and bad...

In 1830 Dukhnovych, ragged and half barefoot, came from Pryashiv\* to Uzhhorod, where the bishop refused to accept him in his eparchy. At that time Dukhnovych made the acquaintance of Petrovay, the *pidzhupan*\*\* of Uzhhorod, who took a liking to him and made him tutor to his children, in which post Dukhnovych remained exactly three years. Then came service at Bila Vezha; from 1838 to 1844 Dukhnovych worked as consistorial notary for Bishop Vasyl Popovych, an old friend of the poet. Much of Dukhnovych's creative work dates from this period. In 1844-1865 Dukhnovych was canon of the Pryashiv eparchy. Dukhnovych died in Pryashiv, the "city of Dukhnovych"; he gave his remains to the earth, but his spirit is among us...

12th April, 1984

*Josyp Terelya*

\*

Mr. Reagan,

One often hears the truth through mistakes, for we rarely discover the contradiction between the truth and a mistaken idea. My letter to you is a letter from a Catholic to a Catholic. From a believer to a believer.

I am forced to be a prisoner in my own country, which is itself imprisoned... For some reason, our rulers have put forth an unwritten rule for Christian believers in the USSR — politics is up to the Party, while we, the believers, are left only to pray, and that only in our own houses, lest anyone see us...

Sometimes one can hear this from the lips of fairly serious and enlightened people. Can a Christian stand apart from today's events taking place in today's world? When the fate of humanity is being decided, can we Christians fail to participate in the general discussion — would this not testify to our indifference to the social good? Jesus taught us an active life among the wolves of this world. And therefore I consider that today's great debate about human rights, both in its content and in its effects, concerns everyone who calls himself a human being.

\* Prešov, now in Czechoslovakia.

\*\* A position in the royal administration.

I was born into a family of Catholics; before the arrival of the Russians my father was a Communist. Prisons. Concentration camps... and a new regime. The U.S. army liberated my father from a fascist concentration camp. For a time, my father worked as a translator in the U.S. army, and after a while returned home to Transcarpathian Ukraine, which was already in the hands of the Russian occupants. The officers of the American army warned my father not to return home, for at home, prison awaited him... My father spoke a good ten languages fluently; after completing the Ruthenian secondary school in Prague he had studied at the commercial academy in the city of Mukachiv. A week after his return home my father was arrested and sent to the Uzhhorod prison, this time by his comrades... After seven months my father was freed, and occupied the post of chief of the district executive committee in the community of Volovets... then they arrested my father again — this time because after having escaped from a fascist concentration camp he had fought in the army of Tito...

I was brought up at my grandmother's house. The liquidation of our Church took place before my very eyes — the first sacrifices, the first pains... From earliest childhood I knew that we had to conceal our prayers, our word... Grandmother always asserted that only the Gospel of Christ is capable of making us happy here on earth. The new regime was armed with other principles, other dogmas.

The Helsinki accords tore the mask from the face of the Communist rulers — was this not the first time that the world experienced, at close quarters, uneasiness and alarm for its future, for its survival...? We have seen the savagery and the coarse, lawless instincts which rush in a frenzy after pleasure and narcissism. All at once, real Communism has blossomed before us in all its hues.

During my last investigation the investigator from the Ukrainian SSR Internal Affairs administration Senior Lt. Hoshovsky kept asking me with all sincerity and seriousness when and where I had joined a Masonic lodge... Amusing? Not altogether, for behind all this lies concealed their lack of culture and their hatred for everything that is not theirs... It came to this — that I, carrying out the orders of the Masons and of the head of all the Masons of the world, John Paul II, created the Initiative Group.

I think that there is nothing strange in this.

When one is unable to undo one's own mistakes, then myth comes to one's aid — any myth will do, as long as it draws the citizens' attention away from reality. The image of a human being is distinguished by his behaviour, customs, courtesy, patriotism, kindness and sincerity. But what Communist in the world can pride himself on all these human virtues? Where is that Communist? It therefore at times seems strange that there, where it would be necessary to show firmness and strength, we Christians capitulate before the brutality and lack of principle of the latter.

Afghanistan lies upon the conscience of Western civilization. We Christians have no right to ignore what is being done in that mountainous country. For

only a military defeat can force the rulers of Moscow to change their attitude to the non-Communist countries. And only then will some kind of liberalisation be possible here, too, in this gigantic prison of nations.

We live in a time when the world has come to understand and sense what "real Communism" is. Communists can never understand the solidarity which unites people of good will throughout the world. Our fate is in our hands. But this does not mean that we should make concessions to the devil in any way. One can make concessions to the wise, to children, to the weak — but to make concessions to the USSR would mean giving them the opportunity to behave even more brutally, even more infamously. Christ says: "Therefore everyone who listens to My words and acts according to them, him shall I listen to a wise man who has built his house upon a rock". Therefore let us build our life upon the rock of our Christian convictions and let us not forget about our brothers who need our attention and aid.

With respect for you,

Your Christian brother

9. 1. 1984

*Josyp Terelya*

\*

The authorities in Ukraine are hinting at the idea of the creation of an "autocephalous Ukrainian Catholic Church". What is this? For it is well known to all that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church is forbidden... Then why has the Communist regime in Ukraine become so enthusiastic about the idea of creating a so-called "autocephalous Ukrainian Catholic Church"? Simultaneously the KGB is spreading rumours that the Initiative Group for the Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Church was created by instructions of the KGB, that supposedly the head of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, Josyp Terelya, is an agent of the KGB... Simultaneously there have begun a raging campaign to intimidate the rank-and-file members of the Church, persecutions in the press, at meetings, and so on.

And on 14th March, 1984, a delegation composed of official representatives of the government and the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR appeared at the apartment of the secretary of the Initiative Group, Fr. Hryhoriy Budzinsky. And so the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR for the Lviv region told Budzinsky that it was time to enter into a dialogue with the authorities, and [asked] what exactly does the group want, what are its demands? After which he declared, let the Catholics go and register... This clear provocation on the part of the authorities cannot be considered either by the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics or by the Initiative Group.

And already on 17th March, a functioning church in the village of Korosno in the Lviv region was closed; supposedly, it had been removed from the register back in 1962, has not been used up to now, and therefore it makes sense to close it and to create a museum there... The fact of the

matter was that the villagers would not accept a Russian Orthodox priest for their parish; and so the authorities decided to destroy a Catholic church through a technicality.

A meeting took place on the premises of the village club at which there spoke the secretary of the Party district committee, Y. I. Hirny, and the plenipotentiary of the Council for Religious Affairs of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, Yu. Yu. Reshetylo. All the speakers smeared the Ukrainian Catholic Church and its hierarchs with furious hatred. And this at a time when the authorities are supposedly seeking some sort of "dialogue" with representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — comment, as they say, would be superfluous... The newspaper "Victory" was sprinkled with an article about the meeting described above, where there took place a "condemnation" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and a vote of the villagers on whether the Church was to exist in the village or not. This is what the newspaper says: "Village residents Kateryna Olenchuk, Maria Marych, Hanna Hvezdyk and Kateryna Marmulyak spoke at the village meeting. Those present were indignant at the remarks of individual citizens who unfoundedly demanded that the church function. Shamed by the audience, Mykhaylyna Kostiv, Kateryna Zelinska, Kateryna Kaday, Yevdokiya Shykh, Kateryna Protsyshyna and other unenlightened elements quickly fell silent..." Thus the newspaper, contradicting itself, describes legalised Soviet destruction.

\*

The following persons have been entered in the lists of criminals responsible for crimes committed against the Ukrainian nation :

a) **BUTKEVYCH** Nelya Mykhaylivna — born 1936. N. Butkevych was born in Mongolia into the family of a concentration camp director. She completed the tenth form in Mongolia, after which she went to the USSR and entered the Dnipropetrovsk medical institute for studies, which she completed in 1958. N. Butkevych's husband, a colonel in the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Ukrainian SSR, worked in the Ministry of Internal Affairs administration of the city of Dnipropetrovsk. Since 1970 N. Butkevych, a captain in the Ministry of Internal Affairs, has been working at the Dnipropetrovsk special prison, where she has shown herself to be a sadist and a criminal.

b) **BADYRA** Valentyna Andriyivna — born 1945. A major in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, director of concentration camp ET-322/63, which is in the village of Dobryvody, Ternopil region.

c) **BODNAR** Roman Josypovych — born 1934. He was born in the Vynnytsia region; after medical school he worked in the Rakhiv area; in 1964 he graduated from the Uzhhorod University faculty of medicine. At present he works as director of men's department No. 2 of the regional psychiatric hospital in the city of Berehiv.

d) BARYSHEV Vasyl Ivanovych — Colonel in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, director of Uzhhorod prison.

e) BABENKO Mykola Ivanovych — Colonel in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, director of the special prison in the city of Dnipropetrovsk.

f) BOCHKOVSKA Olena St--vna\* — born 1930. A major in the Ukrainian SSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, director of department No. 7 of the Dnipropetrovsk special hospital.

The information centre of the Ukrainian National Front has scrupulously studied the materials which relate to the persons indicated above. For every person a file has been opened. It includes a photo of the criminal, his brief biography and the principal crimes which the given criminal has committed.

For the month of April, materials have been collected on 91 persons who are subject to trial for crimes committed against the nation. All the above-indicated persons are in the category of the international criminals who committed crimes against humanity during the last war.

Another 311 persons have been entered in the lists of criminals on whom materials have not been collected in full.

## APPEAL TO THE UKRAINIAN EMIGRATION

Brothers and sisters!

Recently the repressions against Christians in the USSR have increased, especially in Ukraine. And this is not strange, for Ukraine has always been a cataract in Moscow's eye. In recent times, namely, beginning with the end of the 1970's, a certain segment of the Russian intelligentsia has begun to take a favourable attitude to our struggle for our independence. This aroused anger in the rulers of Moscow — repressions immediately showered down upon this group of the intelligentsia; for the KGB they became "Judaizers".

A certain portion of the Russians have accepted the Catholic faith. I had a good friend from among the Russian Christians, Olena\*\* Sannikova. Today O. Sannikova is under arrest; she is suffering in the KGB dungeons in Lefortovo Prison. Faith is a gift of God. And therefore let it not seem strange to you that a sincere and genuine Christian is arrested and put away in prison. This is the lot of all sincere and un-hypocritical souls. How did O. Sannikova arouse such anger in the authorities? Her guilt is proven — O. Sannikova supports the Ukrainians and other captive nations of the Communist empire.

I think that when a true brother or sister suffers misfortune, we should all rise as one in her defence. As we can see, he who truly keeps the teaching of Jesus Christ constantly exposes himself to persecution on the part of the

\* Probably "Stepanivna".

\*\* "Yelena" in Russian.

Church's enemies. O. Sannikova is a true Christian — and behold, threats and persecution have rained down upon her. For this reason a good Christian has nothing to fear — neither a fool nor the devil. For when God is with us, who can be against us? And truly, what and why should we fear? The greatest fear is loss of faith. And where there is no faith — there is no hope.

Ukrainians! Let us stand up in defence of the Russian Christian O. Sannikova. This is a matter of our Church as well — we are debtors... Eternal debtors before our Father Jesus Christ.

2. 1. 1984

*Josyp Terelya*

Translated by *Andrew Sorokowski*  
Keston College  
March 1985

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## YURIY BADZIO IS DYING IN A RUSSIAN PRISON CAMP



News has reached the West that 48-year old Yuriy Badzio, a fighter for human and national rights in Ukraine, and a prisoner of Mordovian concentration camps, is threatened with premature death.

Similarly to Tykhy, Lytvyn and Marchenko, Yuriy Badzio is suffering from serious illnesses — open tuberculosis, cataract and a stomach ulcer which makes him unable to eat the poor quality food served in the camps as a result of which, already in 1983, he had become virtually skin and bones — illnesses which Badzio contracted while serving his sentence. And yet, just as in the case of Tykhy, Lytvyn and Marchenko, Badzio has been refused all medical treatment and attention.

The pattern is the same — the final result can also be no different. Thus the Russian policy of physically destroying “dangerous”

political prisoners in their place of internment, brought to a height in 1984 with the forced deaths of the three political prisoners mentioned earlier, continues unabated, and Yuriy Badzio has been designated as the next victim of Russian terror in Ukraine.

In addition to this, Badzio's mother who used to receive aid for her son from the West in the form of parcels which she then managed to deliver to him, has been forced by the Russian authorities to refuse all help from the West in a statement published in "Visti z Ukrainy" (News from Ukraine), issue No. 51, December, 1984.

Such facts can only show one thing, that Yuriy Badzio has been selected as the next Ukrainian political prisoner who must be forced to die in the near future.

Yuriy Badzio is another representative of the Ukrainian intelligentsia which, from 1972, has come to suffer merciless persecution on the basis of their academic work in opposition to the officially-controlled directives and doctrines. He severely criticised and attacked Russification in Ukraine and openly spoke out against Russian subjugation of Ukraine, stressing the right of the Ukrainian people to fight for their national liberation.

YYRIY BADZIO was born on 25. 4. 1936. He was a historian of literature, poet and philologist. In 1958 Badzio completed Ukrainian Philology at Uzhhorod University and proceeded to work as the headmaster of a school in the District of Mykhaylivsk, in Ukraine. From 1960 onwards he worked as an assistant lecturer at the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian SSR.

In September, 1965, Yuriy Badzio, along with Mykhaylyna Kotsiubynska and others, protested against the destruction of Ukrainian culture by the Russians. As a result of this, he was dismissed from his post at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR. Also in 1965 Badzio was excluded from the Communist Party for his protest against the arrests of Ukrainian patriots.

He went on to work as an editor in Kyiv but was dismissed from this post in 1968 or 1969 for being "progressively-minded". In 1972 Badzio's wife was dismissed from her work.

In 1974 he addressed the Minister of Education of the Ukr.SSR, protesting against the forced Russification of Ukrainian education and schools.

In 1979 he wrote "The Right to Live" a work about the Russification in Ukraine and the situation of the Ukrainian people in the Soviet Union. The manuscript was found in Badzio's house the same year. As a result he was arrested on 23. 4. 1979. The trial was held from 19-22. 12. 1979. Yuriy Badzio was sentenced to 7 years of severe regime imprisonment and 5 years of exile under Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR, for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

He is currently serving his sentence in Mordovian camp ZhKh-385/3-5 and is under severe threat of premature death at the hands of the Russian authorities and KGB.

## VASYL STUS GRAVELY ILL IN PRISON



Reports have reached us that Vasyl Stus, 46, a prominent Ukrainian political prisoner and poet, is critically ill with neuritis. He is running a constant temperature and experiencing chronic pain in his arms and legs. Already in 1984, Vasyl Stus was so seriously ill that he had written a farewell letter to his wife.

Vasyl Stus was arrested in May, 1980, and sentenced to 10 years of strict regime imprisonment in a labour camp and 5 years' internal exile. He is presently reported to be in labour camp No. 36-1 in Perm, where the medical facilities, indispensable to one so seriously ill, are very limited. Despite his

poor health, Vasyl Stus is forced to perform strenuous physical labour. He was recently denied a visit from his family, whom he has not seen for 4 years, apparently for refusing to conduct his talk in Russian.

Additional sources state that prior to his arrest in 1980, Stus was offered a teaching post at La Salle University in Philadelphia (USA). The offer was made by the President of La Salle, Brother Patrick Ellis, FSC, and Stus accepted by sending a telegram. However, subsequent repressions by the Soviet Russian authorities negated all these plans.

We appeal to the British public and the people of the Free World to stand up in defence of Vasyl Stus, who is dying in a Russian prison camp, and prevent the death of another prominent Ukrainian political prisoner.

Vasyl STUS was born on 8. 1. 1938. He is a poet, publicist and literary critic by profession. In 1964 he entered post-graduate studies at the Institute of Literature of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR, after completing his studies at the Donetsk Institute of Pedagogy. In September, 1965, Stus was expelled from his second post-graduate course at the Institute of Literature for his active participation in a protest meeting in defence of repressed Ukrainian writers and cultural activists. Simultaneously, his collection of poetry was rejected by the publishers. In June, 1966, Stus was relieved of his post as senior academic assistant at the State historic archive. He had to seek employment on a building site.

From 1965 to 1968 Stus sent out protest letters to high-ranking members of the CPU and CPSU, as well as the editorial boards of various magazines and newspapers, in which he protested against the repression and persecution of Ukrainian cultural activists and literary figures.

In 1969 he exposed Russian chauvinist reaction and terror in Ukraine and stood up in defence of Ivan Dziuba. In 1970 he stood up in defence of Valentyn Moroz. On 12. 1. 1972 the KGB conducted a search of Stus' apartment in Kyiv. On 13. 1. 1972 Vasyl Stus was arrested. On 14. 1. 1972 another search of his apartment was carried out by the KGB. All his poems, articles and other materials, as well as all his books, were confiscated.

On 7. 9. 1972 the Regional Court of Kyiv sentenced Stus to 5 years of strict regime imprisonment and 3 years' exile, in a closed trial. He was accused of Ukrainian nationalism because of all his literary work, oral statements and various forms of protest against the Russian repression of Ukrainian national and human rights, as well as his constant use of the Ukrainian language on every occasion.

Vasyl Stus was released in 1979. However, very soon after his release, he was re-arrested on 14. 5. 1980 and sentenced according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR, to 10 years of strict regime imprisonment and 5 years' exile.

Vasyl Stus is presently gravely ill. He is deprived of badly needed medical attention and facilities.

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### **KLYM SEMENIUK ARRESTED**

It has just come to our attention that Klym Semeniuk was arrested in Kyiv, in October, 1984, for an alleged appeal to the workers of the whole world. In connection with this, searches of the apartments of Ukrainian patriots were conducted in Kyiv and Lviv.

Semeniuk, who is now 54, was first arrested in the 1950s and served his sentence in the concentration camps of Mordovia. At present, he is seriously ill, suffering from a stomach ulcer and hypertonia. This new term of imprisonment in such a precarious state of health could prove fatal. It poses a great threat to the life of Klym Semeniuk.

\*

We appeal to Western authorities and Western public opinion to stand up in defence of Yuriy Badzio, Klym Semeniuk and Vasyl Stus, and help us save their lives. Without such action they will die a slow and painful death in a Russian prison camp. Their lives can still be saved! Do not seal the fate of Yuriy Badzio, Klym Semeniuk and Vasyl Stus by remaining silent!

## HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS ARE BEING PHYSICALLY LIQUIDATED IN SOVIET CAMPS

In recent years the repressive measures against the imprisoned human rights activists in the Soviet Union as well as the inhuman working and living conditions in the prison camps came to a drastic climax in 1984. Inhuman prison conditions are physically destroying prisoners. The conclusion drawn from the reports by Balis Gajanskas (Lithuanian) and Vasyl Stus (Ukrainian) describing the situation in the prison camp Kucino 36/1 for repenting political prisoners, is that prisoners who suffer from arterial and internal diseases are almost without medical attention. The camp doctors who serve in the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) or in the State Security (KGB) abuse their professional services in order to aid the camp assistants in their "rehabilitation programme". It has become a well-known fact that in the prison camp Kucino Valeriy Marchenko's (Ukrainian) deteriorated state of health, which finally led to his death on October 7, 1984 had been an act of vengeance by the camp doctor Ptselnikov because Marchenko had lodged a written complaint about the insufficient medical attention. Oleksa Tykhy's death in May 1984 and Yuriy Lytvyn's "suicide" in August 1984, both members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group who were serving high sentences in the prison camp Kucino as repenting political prisoners, are circumstantial proof of the desperate situation of the prisoners who are delivered into the despotic and sadistic hands of the guards and the administration.

In the prison camp Kucino there are several seriously-ill political prisoners who have no chance of leaving the prison alive. They are: Levko Lukyanenko (Ukrainian), Vasyl Stus (Ukrainian), Victor Petkus (Lithuanian), Semen Skalych (Ukrainian). In the neighbouring strict regime camp, Kucino 37, the Kyivan journalist, Alexander Shevchenko, is serving his 8 year sentence. As a result of continuous solitary confinement he has become seriously ill through exposure and is already lame. The well-known psychiatrist from Kharkiv, Ukraine, Anatoliy Koryagin, who is in the infamous Sevastopol prison, is supposed to be in danger as a result of his 4 month hunger strike. His system is so weak that he cannot receive food at all.

Another member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, the musician and poet Mykola Horbal, who has served a second sentence of a total of 5 years based on a false accusation, was to be released on October 24. However, on October 22 he was arrested again in prison and brought to the Nikolaev prison where he will again be put on trial for "slander" against the Soviet Union. For this reason his wife, Olha Stokotelna, sent the following telegram to the Secretary General of the CPSU, Chernenko, as well as to the State General Attornies of the USSR and Ukrainian SSR: "I urgently ask you to intervene and to prevent the slow death of my husband, Mykola Horbal, who is serving a sentence in the Nikolaev prison. My husband is being accused

for the third time on grounds of a fabricated charge". On October 31, Mrs. Stokotelna drove together with Mykola Horbal's sister to Nikolaev. Since they were not able to obtain a visitor's pass, they flew to Moscow where they were held in custody for two days.

In the Western Ukrainian city of Chernivtsi, Josef Zisels, a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was arrested for the second time on October 20, 1984. Massive police raids preceded this arrest. Sentences against prisoners in exile who have served long-term prison camp sentences and exile are now lighter. If they are at all able to return home then such extreme conditions are imposed on them that they feel exiled: heavy, poorly-paid physical work, prohibition to frequent restaurants and visit cultural places, prohibition to correspond with friends, weekly control by the Militia, etc.

Bohdan Rebryk, another member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, was not allowed to return to Ukraine after serving his 10 year sentence and had to struggle for work and residence visas in Kazakhstan within a very limited span of time. He did not want to take anyone to his apartment privately because he was being observed by the Militia. "Who wants to see the Militia in front of his house?", he wrote in a letter. At the same time ties with his family were being cut off.

Many letters sent from abroad to Soviet citizens are lost or not delivered at all. There are always fewer responses to letters from the West. The Soviet authorities have now decided to make it impossible to receive not only material goods from the West but also letters. Sometimes it seems as if the security agents had forced certain persons to sign for postal deliveries in order to let all in-coming mail from abroad be returned. This procedure has already been in practice for years in the case of the parcel post deliveries, however, now it seems to have been extended to packages and letters.

*(Glaube in der 2. Welt, 1984, 12. Jahrgang Nr. 12)*

## **KGB CRACKDOWN IN UKRAINE**

Signs of widespread opposition and repression in Ukraine have been disclosed in a Soviet samizdat, or underground, journal that has reached the west. It also reports a high casualty rate among Ukrainian soldiers serving in Afghanistan.

The journal is published by an "initiative group" formed in September 1982, to campaign for the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, whose members are known as Uniates. Outlawed in 1946 and forcibly incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church, the Uniates have survived largely in "catacombs", ordaining their clergymen and worshipping in secret. Their 5 million adherents in the western areas of the Soviet Union constitute the country's largest banned denomination.

Religious believers are not the only active dissenters in Ukraine. Since a country-wide crackdown by the KGB in 1979, jail sentences have been handed out to more than 20 members of a Ukrainian group monitoring the progress of human rights.

In 1984 — called “the year of the Ukrainian martyrs” — a leading dissent, Oleksiy Tykhy, died in a labour camp; another, Valeriy Marchenko, died after detention and a gruelling political trial.

The Ukraine’s proximity to Poland and its coupling of nationalism and religion have clearly worried Moscow. There have been demonstrations of support for Polish “subversion” among the 45m Ukrainians who comprise the Soviet Union’s largest non-Russian nationality. Last April the leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Initiative Group, Josyp Terelya, published an open letter to Lech Walesa praising “the steadfastness and courage of the leaders of the workers’ movement and the Catholic Church in Poland”.

Many Ukrainian dissidents appear to have refused to serve in the army. This becomes clear from the samizdat journal — *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine* — which has reached the west. It reports that in one labour camp 300 Uniates and 90 other people from smaller sects such as Jehovah’s Witnesses and Baptists are serving there to five years’ hard labour for refusing the call-up.

Conditions for Ukrainian religious prisoners are uniformly harsh. In Drohobych and Hubnyk camps “corrective” measures include confinement in punishment cells until a believer either recants his faith or is transferred to the prison hospital. Among those named as having been in punishment cells is an ailing 71-year-old priest, who was told by one lieutenant-colonel, V. Povshenko, known as “Pinochet” among camp inmates, that “we have the right to place all Catholics up to the age 90 in punishment cells — priests don’t get discount for old age”.

Opposition is also expressed as separatism. The journal reports that more than 920 Christians in western Ukraine renounced citizenship by destroying their identity documents between January and April, 1984.

The Red Army’s operations in Afghanistan are particularly unpopular in the region. Unprecedented information about Soviet casualties is revealed by the journal under the bitter slogan, “Gains for Moscow, losses for Ukraine”. The dead from three districts in south-west Ukraine are said to total 285 and the wounded 281. Considering the total population of 25,000 in the three districts, the casualty rate appears remarkably high.

Though unverified, the figures support earlier claims from unofficial sources that a disproportionately large number of recruits from “trouble spots” such as Ukraine and the Baltic states have been sent to Afghanistan.

(*The Sunday Times*, London, 27. 1. 1985)

## FACTS BEHIND THE DEATH OF O. NIKITYN

A report on the tragic fate of the Ukrainian political prisoner Oleksiy Nikityn by Mr. Bohdan Nahaylo from Munich appeared in the 'Ukrainian Weekly' on May 13, 1984.

The death of this leading activist for workers' rights in the USSR and political prisoner Oleksiy Nikityn was the subject of wide-spread reports.

Oleksiy Nikityn was a victim of long years of political abuse in Soviet Russian psychiatric wards. It is said that the 47-year old former coal mine engineer in Ukraine was released from his forced incarceration in a mental institution a few weeks before his death in order to be allowed to die at home. He died as a result of a stomach ulcer illness.

Nikityn spent 10 years in psychiatric wards for having stood up in defence of workers' rights. He fought for independent (workers') trade unions and exposed the deplorable and dangerous working conditions in the coal mines of Donbas. Everyone, (including Volodymyr Klebanov, also a coal-miner from Donbas) will remember Oleksiy Nikityn as a courageous fighter for free trade unions even long before the Polish free trade union 'Solidarity' appeared on the scene.

Towards the end of 1977, when Klebanov started to organise the independent trade union in Ukraine called "The Association of Independent Trade Unions in the Ukrainian SSR", *Nikityn was the first among Soviet trade unionists to bring Western journalists to one of the largest Soviet industrial centres so that they could see for themselves the conditions in which Soviet workers are forced to live and work.*

Although in the past few years Nikityn had almost lost his sight (as a result of an excess dosage of medicaments which he was forced to take), he still refused to capitulate and remained faithful to his convictions till the bitter end. As Nikityn himself told Soviet psychiatrist Dr. Anatoliy Koriagin, he was born into a peasant family and was the youngest of ten children. One of his sisters perished during the notorious famine of 1933, and two of his brothers were killed during World War II. He was an exceptionally gifted pupil in school, a natural leader, and he took up prominent posts in the komsomol. He graduated in electro-mechanics at the Donetsk School of Technology and completed his service in the army in the Northern Fleet. In 1962, he returned to his fulltime job as an electrical engineer in one of the coal mines in the Donbas region.

During this time, Nikityn started to be very active in improving the fate of the workers. He strongly opposed the unjust distribution of bonuses, apartments and other privileges. He also became a member of the "Initiative Group of Workers and Communists". This group did not only succeed in procuring the dismissal of the chief director of the coal mine, but also his expulsion from the Communist Party.

In 1965 Nikityn married and under the influence of his wife he joined the Communist Party. At this time he was already a brigadier in the coal mine, but continued to support the workers in their conflict with the coal mine administration. This is why he was persecuted and forced by the coal mine authorities to accept a lower salary and an unsuitable apartment. However, all of these grievances in no way stopped him and he continued the talks on behalf of the workers and managed to procure the dismissal of several directors who embezzled state money (funds).

In December 1969, Nikityn headed a workers' delegation protesting against the coal mine director in Butivtsi. This director refused to pay the workers their entitled bonuses. This time the workers were met with stubborn obstinacy and anger by the employers, so they appealed to the CC of the Communist Party of the USSR. There were 130 workers in all — Nikityn and 129 other miners. However, the matter was reverted to the Donetsk Regional Party Committee. As a result Nikityn was expelled from the Party and in February 1970 he was dismissed from work. In spite of many arduous attempts, he could not get any employment. Furthermore, the authorities demanded that his wife renounce him. This finally led to their separation. In 1971, Nikityn re-called the Party Congress to no avail. When more than a year had passed and he was still refused employment, he decided to publicise his case outside the borders of the USSR. Already in April 1971, Nikityn succeeded in *entering the Norwegian Embassy in Moscow and handing over relevant documents*. His attempts to contact the American Embassy were unsuccessful. He was retained by the KGB for some time, and then sent back to Donetsk.

In December 1971, an explosion occurred in the coal mine in which Nikityn had once worked. Many people were injured and seven were killed. Nikityn had already previously warned against the danger of such a catastrophe; any sort of precautions had been completely neglected in this coal mine, and there was a lack of the usual security for coal mines.

Now, at a time when the grievances among the coal miners were escalating, they recalled Nikityn's warnings and loudly voiced the injustice which had been inflicted on him. In April 1972 Nikityn was once again imprisoned, this time having been accused of "anti-Soviet slander"! Without any psychiatric examination whatsoever he was declared mentally insane and incarcerated for an indefinite period in a psychiatric hospital designated for "extremely dangerous patients". Nikityn was transported to the notorious Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. His family and relatives were not allowed to visit him under the pretext that "he is incapable of recognising people and beats the walls during his relapses". In reality, however, he was made to work on the building site in the hospital grounds and eventually to work as a medical orderly! During his incarceration in Dnipropetrovsk, Nikityn met up with Volodymyr Klebanov, another fighter for workers' rights, who was also being 'treated' in the same psychiatric hospital. After spending 2 years and 9 months in this psychiatric prison, Nikityn was taken to an ordinary

psychiatric hospital in Donetsk, from which he was released in May 1976. Being unable to obtain employment, Nikityn once again managed to get into the Norwegian Embassy in February 1977, this time with the hope of receiving political asylum. However, when leaving the embassy building, he was arrested and once again taken for psychiatric examination in the Donetsk psychiatric hospital. Nikityn managed to escape, but after one and half months of freedom he was caught and once again sent to the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital. As he later revealed, he was 'treated' for two years with large doses of narcotic drugs causing stupefaction; he was later taken back to Donetsk and released in March 1980.

After his release, Nikityn managed to get in contact with the banned Workers' Commission for the Investigation of Psychiatric Abuse for Political Aims. In September 1980, he was examined by the professional consultant of the above commission, Dr. Anatoliy Koriagin, who, after careful medical examination, declared Nikityn mentally fit.

On November 3, 1980 Nikityn appealed in writing to the British trade unions asking them to support "the active group in the USSR, which is attempting to organise an independent trade union". In his appeal, Nikityn mentioned the "praiseworthy tradition of trade unions..., which developed during the struggle for workers' rights". He also called on the organised British workers to help Soviet fighters for workers' rights by giving "guidance, practical advice and solidarity". Unfortunately, this passionate appeal by Nikityn did not bring the desired response nor any sort of reaction.

After the medical examination carried out by Dr. Koriagin, Nikityn met up with Western correspondents in Moscow. These were: David Sater of "The Financial Times" and Kevin Close of "The Washington Post". Perturbed and interested by his accounts, these two correspondents accepted an invitation to travel to Donetsk and investigate the conditions in the Donbas coalmines themselves. Within three days of their leaving Donetsk, Nikityn was once again arrested. On January 6, 1981 Nikityn was once again incarcerated (by court order) in the Dnipropetrovsk hospital for the criminally insane. Approximately one month later, Dr. Koriagin was also arrested in Moscow, where a meeting with Western correspondents had taken place. During this meeting Dr. Koriagin had raised the case of Nikityn. As a result, Dr. Koriagin was put on trial in Kharkiv in June 1981, and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He was sentenced to seven years of hard labour and five years of internal exile. Meanwhile, Nikityn had been kept in complete isolation in the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital for two whole months. As a result of having been injected with unknown medicaments, he suffered from severe headache and lost his sense of orientation. Sometime in November 1981, news reached the West that he had been given greater doses of drugs which was probably the reason why his state of health had deteriorated and why he started to go blind. According to further reports, at the beginning of 1982, Nikityn was for some reason transferred to a psychiatric prison in far-off Shalgar in Kazakhstan. This in turn, made it

very difficult for Nikityn's family to keep in touch with him. He was then transported to some unknown place; it finally came to light that he had in fact been released in order to be able to die at home. During the last years of his life his sister, Liudmylla Poludniak, was the one who protected and took care of him the most. He left behind one daughter. Several of his brothers are still alive.

Nikityn's case does not only clearly reveal the unenviable position of the workers in the USSR and the inability of Soviet trade unions to defend the interests of the workers, but also serves as a thoroughly documented example of the Soviet Russian government's constant practice — to lock up all aggrieved persons in psychiatric asylums!

## **NEW DOCUMENTS FROM UKRAINE**

During the 1980s and particularly in 1984, clandestine samvydav documents written by Ukrainian patriots, once again, began to appear in Ukraine. The importance and significance of these documents are immense. For they bear witness to the resurgence of the activity of the underground movement of opposition, struggling for national, human and religious rights in Ukraine and stress the vitality of this activity which, at times, includes even military actions.

Featured below is one of the latest samvydav documents which has recently found its way to the Free World.

This document is signed "Ukrainian Patriots" and dated July, 1984. It shows the great political maturity and understanding of its authors who present an analysis of the current world political situation and the strategic situation between the East and West, and in the end offer their own solution to some of the problems.

### **THE LIBERATION OF THE SUBJUGATED NATIONS IS IN THE INTEREST OF THE FREE WORLD**

As a result of the Second World War, on the basis of the Yalta agreements, the world has been divided into two huge blocs. On the one hand there is the world of free national states, and on the other — the immense modern-day Russian colonial empire which is today called the USSR.

In the West, all the colonial empires have ceased to exist, and the formerly subjugated nations have formed their own independent states. With a few minor exceptions, the democratic order, along with its inherent characteristics — freedom of thought and speech, and the freedom to organise free trade unions and political parties — prevails everywhere, and man's ingenuity and initiative have assured for most people, a high standard of living and welfare.

However, on the other side of the Iron Curtain which emerged as a result of the Yalta agreements, the greatest colonial empire in the history of the world — an empire which enslaves many different nations — continues to exist.

In order to combat the liberation movements of the subjugated nations, the Russian imperialists have set up a system of tyranny, based on police terror, on a scale previously unheard-of in the whole world, and continue to destroy all manifestations of free thought or speech, and all attempts to struggle for the right of nations to live on their own ethnic territories, in their own national states.

The empire is ruled by experienced old Russian chauvinists, who not only desire to maintain the status quo, in complete disregard for historical events and the internal economic crisis of their empire, but who also have begun to put into practice a policy of extending the Russian colonial empire on a global scale, all the time acquiring new bases, such as Ethiopia, South Yemen, Vietnam, Cuba, and many more. In spite of the raging internal economic crisis, caused by ineffective economic management, backwardness in technology, and a ruined agricultural system, the leadership of the empire does not spare any means to build up its armed forces and system of terror for new conquests, a fact which the Western world does not understand.

In addition, the leadership of the empire also employs all possible means to smash the strivings of all the subjugated nations to regain their freedom and to form their own states on their own ethnic territories. As an example, one can cite the most recent events in Afghanistan and Poland. Russian imperialism cracks down with particular severity on the national-liberation movement of the Ukrainian nation — a nation which has the oldest traditions of civilisation and statehood in that part of Europe, and which is the most persecuted nation in the whole empire. The same applies to the Baltic nations, the Caucasus and Turkestan. As a result, hundreds of thousands of nationally-conscious freedom fighters are languishing in prisons, concentration camps and exile which is positive proof of the vitality of the struggle of the subjugated nations, for a free life in their own independent states. To cover up the continually-emerging new internal difficulties, the rulers of the empire try to pursue an external policy of *détente*. With the help of this external *détente*, the Russian leadership strengthens and improves its possessions, and then, having done this, proceeds to new acts of aggression, and what is more, proceeds also to prepare for the destruction of the West by a nuclear war.

In our opinion, the policy of *détente* and the balance of forces cannot form an effective alternative to nuclear war, for it threatens the destruction of the entire world. The only possible effective way of avoiding the dangers of nuclear war and to achieve the realisation of the United Nations resolution on decolonisation, is to make use of the liberation movements of the subjugated nations for the disintegration of the empire and the re-establishment of independent national states upon their own ethnographic territories.

The Ukrainian emigré communities in the West should play a particularly important role in this matter. They should spread these ideas, and also the concept of the Anti-Bolshevik bloc of Nations (ABN), among the nations of the free world, for the ultimate goal can only be attained through the common united effort of all nations.

There cannot be a successful struggle for human rights in the subjugated nations. There can only be the fight for independent national states. For only in his own independent national state will the individual be able to benefit fully from human rights.

The struggle of the subjugated nations for the disintegration of the Russian empire also gives the Western nations a great opportunity to avoid nuclear war and to preserve peace for many years to come. We believe that the free world will come to understand this and will lend its support to our struggle for an independent Ukrainian state and for the independent states of the other subjugated nations of the Russian colonial empire.

Ukraine, July, 1984.

*Ukrainian Patriots*

## **THE AGONY OF A NATION**

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## REPRESSED UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

*(Continued from the Ukrainian Review, No. 4, 1984)*

430) PAL'CHAK Maria Ivanivna, born in 1927 in Western Ukraine, a courier of OUN. She was caught in a bunker in the Ternopil region in 1961, she was seriously wounded, healed of her wounds by her captors and then given a life sentence. The court of appeal commuted her sentence to 15 years' imprisonment in 1961.

431) PAL'CHAK Stepan, brother of Maria Pal'chak. He was sentenced to 10 years of concentration camps.

432) PALETSKY Rostyslav, born 1931, a painter, married. He was murdered on 10. 3. 1978 in the village of Troitska, Odessa region. The KGB spread rumours that he was killed after falling under the influence of alcohol.

433) PALIACHUK Dmytro, born 1928, a participant of the OUN-UPA liberation struggle for which he was sentenced under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 25 years' imprisonment.

434) PANASIUK Stepan Tymofiyovych, born 1919 in the village of Cheremshuky in the Volhynia region, a member of OUN and a participant of the liberation struggle, arrested in 1973 in the Ternopil region and sentenced to death in March 1974 under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

435) PANCHENKO Mykola, sentenced in 1968 under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 13 years' in the concentration camps.

436) PARHUS Volodymyr, from Ternopil arrested and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment for belonging to OUN-UPA. After completing his sentence he returned to the Ternopil region where he continues to be repressed.

437) PAVLIUS Volodymyr Ivanovych, from the Ternopil region of Ukraine. Arrested and sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment for membership of the OUN-UPA. After his release, he returned to the Ternopil region but continues to suffer constant persecution.

438) PERCHYSHYN Yaroslav, from the Ternopil region. Member of the OUN, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment.

439) PERERVA Vasyl Tymofiyovych, born in 1917, the father of 4 children, a member of the Fifth Day Adventist Church, arrested in 1973 and sentenced under art. 138-2 and 209-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 5 years of strict regime concentration camp and 3 years' exile and confiscation of his property. His family was left destitute.

440) PETRAKOV F. I., born in 1903 in Kryvyi Rih. On 12. 4. 1966, he was sentenced to 5 years of concentration camps for political matters.

441) PIDCHENKO Vitaliy Ivanovych, born in 1941 in the Kharkiv region, a member of the Baptist Church, arrested on 24. 10. 1974 and

sentenced under art. 162-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 4 years in the concentration camps.

442) PIDHORODETSKY Vasyl, born in the Lviv region, a member of the OUN-UPA. He was sentenced and imprisoned in 1951 under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR in Lviv to 30 years in the concentration camps.

443) PIDHORODNY Mykola, born in 1926, arrested in 1949 and sentenced in Lviv to 25 years of concentration camps for nationalist activity.

444) PLOSHCHAK Myron, born in 1932, worker, sentenced to 10 years' imprisonment on 10th March, 1959, for membership of an underground organisation called the "United Party for the Liberation of Ukraine".

445) PLAKHOTNIUK Mykola Hryhorovych, born in 1936 in the village of Tykhyi Khutir, Zhakiv district, Cherkassy region. Doctor and laboratory assistant in one of the Departments of the Kyiv Medical Institute. Arrested on 14. 1. 1972 in Kyiv and sentenced *in absentia* to an indefinite term of imprisonment in a psychiatric prison. He was sentenced according to art. 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. He is critically ill with tuberculosis. Presently he is in a psychiatric prison in the Cherkassy region.

446) POHANYCH Antin, Baptist Fifth-day Adventist. Presently serving a term in an ordinary regime concentration camp in the Vynnytsia region.

447) POKORA Mykola, arrested in 1961 and sentenced in Lviv to 12 years' imprisonment for membership of an underground group called the "Ukrainian National Committee".

448) POKRASENKO Yuriy, arrested in 1962 in Zaporizhia and sentenced according to art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR to 6 years of imprisonment.

449) POKROVSKY Ivan Mykolayovych, born in 1920, participated in the liberation movement of the OUN-UPA. Sentenced in 1949 according to art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR to 25 years' imprisonment. After his release he is suffering from an open state of tuberculosis, and continues to be persecuted.

450) POLEVYI Omelyan, born in 1913 in the Ternopil region. Political prisoner during the Polish occupation. Member of the OUN and Commander of the 1st Military District of the UPA. Captured in 1945 and sentenced to death. His sentence was altered to 25 years' imprisonment.

451) PONOMARENKO Stanyslav, sentenced to 10 years of imprisonment for nationalist beliefs.

452) POPADIUK Zoryan Volodymyrovych, born in 1953 in Sambir, Western Ukraine. He was a student of the Philological Faculty in Lviv. Arrested on 21. 3. 1973 and sentenced according to art. 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years of exile.

453) POPOVYCH Oksana Zenonivna, born on 30. 1. 1925. Studied history in the Ivano-Frankivsk region. From 1945-1955 she was in concentration camps for participation in the OUN-UPA movement. Re-arrested on 31. 11. 1974 and sentenced in January, 1975, according to art. 62 of the Criminal

Code of the Ukr.SSR, to 8 years' imprisonment and 5 years exile. During her first term of imprisonment, Oksana Popovych became a full invalid. She is presently in camp No. 3-4 in Mordovia. Her state of health has recently greatly deteriorated.

454) POTSILUYKO Leontiy Konstantynovych, aged about 57, participated in the liberation movement of the OUN-UPA. Arrested and sentenced in 1946 to 10 years of imprisonment. Re-arrested in 1969. Sentenced by Lviv Regional Court to 15 years' imprisonment according to art. 56 and 64 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR for "betrayal of the fatherland and organisational activity".

455) POTAPCHUK Mykola, born in 1920 in the Rivne region, artist, participated in the liberation movement of the OUN-UPA. Married while serving in the underground movement and managed to live freely for 30 years. Arrested in 1974.

456) PROKOPIV Volodymyr, born in 1914, priest of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Confined for the first time in Stalinist concentration camps. Arrested for the second time in 1973 for going to Moscow as the representative of the faithful, to demand the legalisation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

457) PROKOPOVYCH Hryhoriy Hryhorovych, born in 1930, completed the Faculty of Foreign Languages. Lecturer in the English language, married, father of one child. For his beliefs he was imprisoned for 8 years in Stalinist concentration camps. Re-arrested and sentenced in 1968 in Ivano-Frankivsk according to art. 56 and 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR to 11 years' imprisonment. He was sentenced for belonging to an underground organisation called the "Ukrainian National Front".

458) PRONIUK Yevhen Vasylovych, born on 23. 9. 1938, young academic assistant of the Institute of Philosophy of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr.SSR. Married with two children. Arrested in 1972 and sentenced at the end of November, 1973, in Kyiv according to art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR to 7 years' imprisonment and 5 years of exile.

459) PROTSIV Mykola and Mykhaylo, brothers, arrested and sentenced in 1962 in Lviv for belonging to an underground group. Mykola was sentenced to death and Mykhaylo to 15 years' imprisonment.

460) PRYKHODKO Hryhoriy Andriyovych born in 1935, civil engineer, married with several children. Arrested in 1973 and sentenced according to art. 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, to 5 years' imprisonment.

461) PRYNDIA Hryhoriy, sentenced according to art. 58-1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR, to 25 years' imprisonment for nationalist activity.

462) PRYSHLIAK Hryhoriy Mykhaylovych, born in 1912 in the Lviv region. leading member of the OUN-UPA, sentenced in 1946 in Lviv to 25 years' of imprisonment.

463) PRYSHLIAK Yevhen Stepanovych, born in 1913, member of the OUN-UPA. Political prisoner during Polish occupation, married with a child. Leading member and activist of the OUN-UPA and the Commander

of the Lviv region of the OUN. Arrested in 1952 and sentenced to death. The sentence was altered to 25 years' imprisonment. After his release he was constantly mocked and persecuted.

464) PRYTYKA Oleksander Yosypovych, born on 29. 3. 1929, doctor by profession. Arrested on 9. 7. 1971 in Odessa and sentenced according to art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR to 2½ years of imprisonment.

465) PRUS Platon, from the Rivne region, aged 57, participated in the liberation struggle of the OUN-UPA. Arrested in 1975 and sentenced to death in Horodok (Rivne region) according to art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR.

466) PYANKOVSKY V. A., born in 1928 in Kamyanets Podilskyi. Sentenced on 13. 9. 1966 to 10 years of imprisonment for his beliefs.

467) PYLYPIAK Dmytro, a political prisoner in the Mordovian concentration camps, who together with others sent an appeal to the Council of Nationalities of the USSR, demanding the right of secession for national republics from the USSR. He was sentenced under art. 58-1 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 25 years' imprisonment.

468) PYRUS Vasyl, born in 1921, participated in the liberation struggle of the OUN-UPA. Arrested in 1951 and sentenced in Ternopil to 25 years of imprisonment according to art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr.SSR.

469) PYSMENNY Vasyl Ivanovych, born in 1938 in the Dnipropetrovsk region. High school teacher, married with children. In 1972, he was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment. Re-arrested in Kyiv in 1975 and sentenced to 8 years of concentration camps.

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## Documents and reports

### **PRESIDENT REAGAN IN SOLIDARITY WITH UKRAINIAN POLITICAL PRISONERS**

*New York — On January 12, 1985, President Ronald Reagan joined in commemorating the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners. He expressed his support for Ukrainian prisoners, such as Yuriy Shukhevych, who languish in Soviet Russian prisons and concentration camps.*

The Ukrainian Student Association of Mykola Mikhnovsky (TUSM) undertook a series of nationwide protest actions to amplify further the plight of Ukrainian political prisoners. In New York City, six TUSM members were arrested outside the Soviet mission to the United Nations for singing the Ukrainian national anthem. Police made the arrests after having received an official complaint from Soviet authorities. Charged with disorderly conduct and unnecessary noise, the six students are expected to challenge the legal basis of their arrests when they appear in court on February 15.

In Cleveland, TUSM members conducted a 24-hour silent vigil and hunger strike. The city's mayor, George Voinovich, proclaimed the Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners.

In his telegram message to TUSM National President, Peter Shmigel, President Reagan stated the following:

*"I am pleased to join with the members of the Ukrainian Student Association in commemorating this day of solidarity with Ukrainian political prisoners. This occasion is a reminder of the Ukrainian prisoners of conscience devotion to the noblest aspirations of the human spirit; the desire for freedom and the resistance to the imposition of inhumane political ideas and systems. The valour, dignity and dedication Ukrainian prisoners have displayed in the pursuit of freedom, prisoners such as Yuriy Shukhevych, reaffirm our confidence in the ultimate triumph of the free human spirit over tyranny. The brave political prisoners of Ukraine will remain a source of inspiration for generations to come".*

*Ronald Reagan*

Mr. Shmigel, in response to the President's greeting, stated:

"The President's greeting shows us two things. First, the Ukrainian-American community can and does influence the American government to act on behalf of Ukrainian political prisoners by combining effective lobbying and public protest. Thus, we have to further develop our campaign in

defence of Ukraine's human and national rights. Secondly, by his words, President Reagan reasserts his commendable stance vis-a-vis Ukraine and his receptiveness to Ukrainian-Americans. This is of crucial importance in light of the new effort to ease East/West relations".

The Day of Solidarity with Ukrainian Political Prisoners was declared by Vyacheslav Chornovil on January 12, 1972. On that date, the Soviet Russian regime attempted to destroy the Ukrainian human and national rights movement with one drastic measure — a massive sweep arrest of hundreds of Ukrainian activists. Chornovil himself was arrested and sentenced.

The Ukrainian Student Association of Mykola Mikhnovsky (TUSM) has consistently acted in the spirit of Chornovil's appeal. To continue to do so, TUSM needs moral support and financial assistance from the community. TUSM Headquarters is located at 136 2nd Avenue, New York City, 10003, USA.

## **PRESIDENT REAGAN SUPPORTS THE PROCLAMATION OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE**

**January 22, 1918**

U.S. President Ronald Reagan on Tuesday, January 22, 1985, expressed "full support" for the struggle of Ukrainians to preserve their cultural, ethnic and religious identity. President Reagan said the Ukrainian spirit of freedom "can never be quenched, as long as free Ukrainians continue to speak up for their oppressed brethren and give them the moral support they so desperately need."

President Reagan made the comments in a statement read at a ceremony marking the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence on January 22, 1918. Noting that this day is not entirely joyful for Ukrainians in America, the President said that there are constant reminders "of efforts by the Soviet regime to deprive the Ukrainian people of their national identity, culture and religious traditions".

"Indeed", he said, "Ukrainians who speak out against this oppression, such as Yuriy Shukhevych and others, have received especially harsh treatment and particularly long terms of imprisonment for espousing the principles of democracy and freedom". Reagan's statement was read by an aide at a ceremony in a congressional office building. Several members of Congress came by to express support for the effort of the Ukrainians to defend their rights and freedom. Don Ritter, a member of the U.S. House of Representatives paid tribute to Ukrainian dissidents, especially those who died last year in Soviet prisons. He mentioned Valeriy Marchenko, Oleksa Tykhy and Yuriy Lytvyn. Mr. Ritter, a member of the U.S. Helsinki Commission on Security and co-operation in Europe, said the commission is

currently nominating imprisoned or exiled Soviet Helsinki monitors for the Nobel Peace Prize. He said this year the commission will nominate Mykola Rudenko, Yuriy Orlov, Anatoliy Shcharansky, Victoras Petkus, Eduard Arutunyan and Merab Kostava. Mr. Ritter recalled South African Bishop Desmond Tutu's words when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize last year when he said how appropriate it was that the award was being made on December 10, Human Rights Day.

Mr. Ritter said: "We feel that these six courageous men — symbolising the best aspirations of their countrymen — have earned the special acknowledgement of the Nobel Institute: the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize".

Several Members of Congress paid similar tributes at the reception or placed statements in the congressional record on behalf of Ukrainians. U.S. Senator Alfonse D'Amato pledged his support for the Ukrainian cause and Senator Paul Sarbanes saluted the achievements of the Ukrainian people. Sarbanes renewed, in a statement, "our commitment to speak out on behalf of those who suffer deprivation under a government which continues to deny basic human rights".

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## **GREETINGS FROM PRESIDENT RONALD REAGAN ON UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY**

THE WHITE HOUSE  
Washington, January 22, 1985

I am honoured to send my warm greetings to Ukrainian-Americans and the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America as you gather to honour your traditions and to call attention to the plight of Ukrainians in the Soviet Union.

This day is not an entirely joyful one for Ukrainians in America and abroad. There are constant reminders of efforts by the Soviet regime to deprive the Ukrainian people of their national identity, culture, and religious traditions. Indeed, Ukrainians who speak out against this oppression, such as Yuriy Shukhevych and others, have received especially harsh treatment and particularly long terms of imprisonment for espousing the principles of democracy and freedom.

Nevertheless, I remain confident in, and give my full support to, the continuing struggle by Ukrainians everywhere to assert and preserve their cultural and ethnic identity. The Ukrainian spirit of freedom can never be quenched, as long as free Ukrainians continue to speak up for their oppressed brethren and give them the moral support they so desperately need.

May God bless you all.

*Ronald Reagan*

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## INDEPENDENCE DAY RESOLUTION PASSED IN ONTARIO

Ontario's provincial Parliament unanimously accepted a resolution on November 8, 1984, presented by Yuriy Shymko, MPP for High Park — Swansea, calling on the province to officially recognise Independence Day anniversaries which are celebrated by various Canadian communities.

Shymko, during his presentation, spoke of Canada's diverse population consisting of many peoples who came there seeking liberty and justice. They left homelands where individual human and national rights were lacking and since their arrival in Canada they have continued to make a great contribution to its growth and development.

The resolution is in recognition of this contribution as well as a symbol of respect for the desire to witness the restoration of national rights in their homelands.

Not only will the resolution be a beacon of hope to those who do not presently enjoy individual liberties and national freedoms but it will also make the historic significance of those countries which have achieved and presently enjoy national independence.

"I find it surprising", Shymko stated, "that such official recognition has always been relegated to the municipal level of government by way of Proclamations signed by the Mayors and flag raising ceremonies before City Halls, yet no similar practice has ever been instituted at the two senior levels of government".

Shymko also indicated that this would sanction the present practice of issuing official greetings from the offices of both the Premier and the Prime Minister on such occasions.

Below is an excerpt from Yuriy Shymko's presentation of the resolution in Parliament on Nov. 8, 1984.

"Here in Canada we recognise that freedom is universal and indivisible, that freedom is an inalienable birthright that cuts across all frontiers and boundaries, all limits of race, nationality and religion, and the region where man lives on the various parts of the earth. In this country of ours, we adhere to the principles of political liberties, individual human rights and national sovereignty as fundamental elements of our free and democratic society. However, the picture is quite different for the vast majority of the world's population.

I would like to point out a tragic irony. Man today has entered the space age. Through his wisdom, ability and ingenuity, he is conquering the vastness of the universe beyond his planet. Along with this tremendous material, technological and scientific progress, we would expect man to have progressed equally in freedom, justice and respect for the sacredness of human life.

The opposite is true today. The so-called free world is shrinking while, increasingly, three fifths of humanity lives under conditions where individual

civil liberties, and the collective national freedom and sovereignty we cherish and enjoy as citizens of Canada, can only be dreamed about by millions of men and women throughout the earth. Many of us are familiar with the statistics published in the annual reports of many institutions, among them Freedom House and Amnesty International, to substantiate this irony.

In celebrating the bicentennial of our province this year, a province founded by the settlement of the first wave of those who could be described as political refugees, let us be mindful of the tens of thousands of people from various corners of the world who have settled on our shores in this province and in this land, beginning with the return of the 19th century, for reasons that were often political, reasons that could be described as a search for liberty.

In this special year, and by means of this humble resolution, let us pay tribute to those refugees of the past, to their descendants today and to the most recent arrivals who have escaped persecution, discrimination, violations of civil liberties, human rights and national freedom in their former homelands, homelands where national independence and political liberties have been lost, often as a result of foreign occupation and domination. Let us recognise the lasting, significant contribution these refugees have made to this province and to Canada.

This should in no way diminish our equal and important concern for those who have sought asylum in our midst as a result of political reprisals by totalitarian regimes in countries that, nevertheless, are considered sovereign and are not occupied by any foreign domination. They are here among us because of the infringement and violation of their human liberties. My resolution does not, perhaps, address that, but we should not forget it and we should be mindful of it.

Every year I have had the privilege of representing the Premier (Mr. Davis), along with honourable members representing the Leader of the Opposition (Mr. Peterson) and the leader of the third party, at many anniversaries of so-called independence days celebrated by Canadians of many origins. The list is long, and I will not even try to name them. They are celebrated every year in every part of the province and every part of our country.

These are anniversaries of independence day proclamations that were enshrined in the course of history by the sovereign will of the nations with whom these Canadians today share a common ancestry and a common heritage. Many of these proclamations of independence have proclaimed democratic, parliamentary systems of government that we understand and live under in our society today.

All I ask is that this traditional recognition be expressed in our official greetings, in the written greetings of the leader of the third party, the Leader of the Opposition and the Premier and in our own personal greetings sometimes as MPPs, and that this recognition be formally expressed by means of an annual proclamation, as is the custom in many countries and in many

states south of the border. This would remind all Ontarians and all Canadians that too often we take for granted the freedoms we enjoy here every day as a civilised and compassionate nation free of tyranny and oppression.

The importance of this resolution is that these Canadians of various backgrounds, members can be assured, hold the painful memory of how quickly and how easily independence and freedom can be set aside by the use of might, the use of power and the use of force and terror.

Therefore, the observance of these anniversaries by these countless Canadians and our appropriate proclamations on these occasions would not only keep alive the spirit of freedom and independence for their respective peoples as a beacon of hope but would also remind all Canadians, irrespective of our origins, that to be preserved, freedom must be valued. It would therefore strengthen the resolve of all Canadians to assure that our nation, which we cherish, will continue to be free and united around the ideal of human dignity, justice, tolerance and opportunity for all".

### **WASHINGTON MEETING OF THE UKRAINIAN AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION**

The Ukrainian American Bar Association (UABA) concluded its highly successful Annual Meeting in Washington during the weekend of October 19-21 1984, with the election of new officers. The Annual Meeting consisted of a wide variety of professional and social events attended by attorneys from 14 states, including California, Kansas, and Florida.

The UABA membership was welcomed to Washington, D.C. by Congressman Robert H. Michel whose warm greeting was read in the House of Representatives and officially recorded in the Congressional Record. The highlight of the Annual Meeting was a special briefing held for the attendees on Friday, October 19 at the White House where the members were greeted on behalf of President Reagan by Linas Kojelis, Associate Director, Office of Public Liaison, and given highly informative briefings on current events. Miss Paula Dobriansky, Director of European and Soviet Affairs, National Security Council, spoke on U.S./Soviet Relations; Mr. Jay Stephens, Deputy Associate Attorney General, Department of Justice, outlined the Administration's policy on combatting crime and the major provisions of the 1984 Comprehensive Crime Control Act; and Mr. Steven Saboe, Office of East-West Trade, Department of State, discussed U.S. efforts to control the flow of strategic goods to the Soviet bloc. During the briefings UABA members raised issues that are of importance to the Ukrainian American community, including the use of Soviet supplied evidence by the Office of Special Investigations, Department of Justice, in denaturalisation proceedings against American citizens; and the problems of the Ukrainian minority in Poland.

The Annual Meeting proceedings began on Saturday, October 20 with a report from vice-president Ihor Rakowsky on the recent New Jersey Federal

District Court decision (*United States versus Kungys*) in which the judge ruled in favour of the defendant and scorned the government's use of Soviet-supplied evidence in the trial. The members also had the opportunity to meet with prominent federal government officials who were guests at the Annual Meeting. Robert A. McConnell, Assistant Attorney General for Legislative Affairs, Department of Justice, discussed the key role of the Department in reviewing and approving all legislation proposed by the U.S. Congress. Others included Eugene Iwanciw, staff member with the U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee, who underscored the vital role lawyers can exercise in the formulation of legislation; George Nesterczuk, Principal Assistant to the Director of the Office of Personnel and Management, who highlighted employment opportunities for attorneys with the federal government; and Bohdan Futey, Chairman of the U.S. Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, who described the function of the Commission in the adjudication of cases involving the expropriation of private property by foreign governments. That evening the attendees were joined at their banquet by members of the Washington Group, the newly formed association of Ukrainian American professionals in Washington, D.C. During the banquet the guest of honour, the Honourable Loren Smith, Chairman of the Administrative Conference of the United States, spoke of his responsibilities in coordinating the activities of the general counsels of the various agencies and departments of the federal government.

The UABA Annual Meeting conducted its business activities on the last day of the Annual Meeting, Sunday October 21. The members passed a resolution to explore the invitation to the UABA from the World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) to delegate representatives to serve on a Juridical Committee in connection with a proposed International Tribunal to investigate the Famine Genocide in Ukraine in 1933. Additionally, the members voted to hold the next mid-year conference in April 1985 in Toronto, Canada together with Ukrainian Canadian lawyers. It was also voted to hold the 1985 Annual Meeting in the New York City metropolitan area. The business proceedings concluded with the election of new officers as follows: President — Bohdan Futey, Chairman, U.S. Foreign Claims Settlement Commission; Vice-President — Michael Waris, a partner in the prestigious law firm of Baker and McKenzie; Corresponding Secretary — Wolodymyr R. Sulzynsky, Department of Justice; Recording Secretary — George Senyk, Veteran's Administration; and Treasurer — Ihor O. E. Kotlarchuk, Department of Justice.

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**II**

**1985**

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General Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka

*Alexandr FELDMAN*

## **THIRTY-FIVE YEARS AFTER THE DEATH OF ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH**

On March 5, 1985, thirty-five years passed since the death of Roman Yosypovych Shukhevych, a national hero of the Ukrainian people, Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) and leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in Ukraine.

Even if some of us, Soviet citizens, recently heard this name mentioned, it was only by way of fanatically distorted, lying propaganda, which was impossible to comprehend logically or place in any historical context. And if this one-time Soviet citizen was a Jew, he was magically affected by the defamed triad: "OUN, UPA, Ukrainian nationalism — all German bandits".

A few of us understood, even then, that this was a fabrication, but for most, other questions concerning recent Soviet history have been subject to revision and a widening of outlook. Therefore, for the first-time reader we wish to tell the story of this illustrious man and his activities.

Roman Shukhevych was born on July 17, 1907, in the town of Kvakivets, Western Ukraine, into the family of a regional judge. He studied at the Ukrainian Secondary School (gymnazia) in Lviv.

In 1923, he became a member of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), whose prime goal was Ukraine's liberation.

In 1926, Roman Shukhevych began his studies at the Technical School of Danzig (today Gdansk) and later in Lviv. His studies were interrupted for service in the Polish Army (1928-29). He graduated from the faculty of Building Architecture in 1934. At the same time he continued his underground activities — first in the UVO and then in the OUN, formed in 1929.

For many years he was a military consultant for the OUN (code name — Dzvin). In this position he organized many military actions against the Polish occupiers in Western Ukraine and also the assassination of the Soviet consul in Lviv, in retaliation for Stalin's forced famine and repression against all classes of the population in Soviet Ukraine. From June 1934 to the beginning of 1937 Shukhevych was held in a Polish prison (he was sentenced to 5 years but was released under a general amnesty). One must note that Shukhevych had already previously been arrested several times by the Polish police.

In 1932, Shukhevych married Natalia Berezhynska, and in 1933 Yuriy, their son, was born. He remains a prisoner of Stalinist and post-Stalinist camps till this day, persecuted simply because he would not renounce his father.<sup>1</sup>

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Reprinted from "Contact", the magazine of the Public Committee for Jewish-Ukrainian cooperation, Jerusalem, Israel.

<sup>1</sup> After 20 years he was released in 1968, only to be arrested again in 1972 and sentenced to 10 years imprisonment and 5 years exile.

In 1938, Roman Shukhevych went abroad in order to take care of certain OUN organizational matters and met the leader of the Ukrainian Nationalists at that time, Yevhen Konovalts (murdered in Rotterdam in 1938 by a Chekist agent). During the spring and summer of that year he underwent officers' training in a military academy and passed his exams in piloting non-motorized aircraft.

From this point, and throughout the next 4 years Shukhevych's life underwent a period, which, by those who have no desire to comprehend the historical situation of the times, is interpreted in a one-sided and infallible manner (especially by those authors coming from a Jewish milieu, who as a rule only partially touch on this theme and pretend to understand the whole).

The prepared reader, I hope, has no need for a lesson on the situation and relations in pre-war Eastern Europe (although the matter becomes a little difficult when one's outlook has been formed by Soviet historiography). No one envisaged "half-tones" and democratic alternatives. OUN at that time was not a party, in the normal understanding of the term, with a specific social ideology. Its prime goal was Ukraine's national independence and unity — the rest was to have been decided by the people, when "Ukraine stands up and disperses slavery's darkness..." (T. H. Shevchenko). Among her neighbours Ukraine found no friends to support her independence: Russia occupied most of Ukraine, Poland — Western Ukrainian lands; Rumania — Bukovyna, Czecho-Slovakia and later Hungary — Transcarpathia. The Ukrainian Nationalist Movement situation was catastrophic: not, as they say, between two fires, but in a solid flaming circle. The old controversy — where to find an ally to fulfil Ukraine's dreams — again (as in 1917-1921) became not a "theoretical-strategic" matter, but one of life and death. Liberal-democratic circles initially hoped for an alliance with Western-European democratic States (the Allied Forces), but with France crushed and England barely defending itself, this idea lost all practical sense. The Europe of the past seemed doomed to non-existence. Its break up according to the plans of the German Central Staff did not seem far off. Germany appeared the only power capable of destroying the USSR, of liberating Ukrainian lands from Poland.

It was this analysis of events that brought the leaders of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement to make the decision to cooperate with the Germans. In a head to head confrontation between two bloodthirsty monsters (as Churchill spoke of the German-Soviet war) Roman Shukhevych, of course, was not in favour of one or the other power; yet it seemed that only the Germans, as the situation presented itself, would not oppose the creation of an independent Ukraine. As for the USSR, there was no such hope and could not be.

Today, one could call this decision shortsighted, but it seems to us that it was, first of all, an act of despair. Despair is far from the best advisor.

But there was no other choice. While there still existed a possibility of maintaining half-legal Ukrainian organized activities — this possibility was

not worth losing. The brotherhoods of Ukrainian Nationalists (DUN: *Druzhyny Ukrainskykh Natsionalistiv*), formed before the German attack on the USSR, were looked upon by Ukrainian leaders as base-groups for the future army of a re-born Ukraine. Two units were formed in April 1941: one — under Roman Shukhevych's command, the other — under Major T. Pobi-hushchyi. Shukhevych's unit took part in the battle for Lviv, into which it entered on June 29, 1941.

Among the prisoners of the Lviv prison, killed in the last minute, Roman Shukhevych found his own brother's body...

The directives of the Ukrainian units were to enter Kyiv after the Bolshevik retreat, where, according to the OUN, the independence of a Ukrainian State was to have been proclaimed, and its head was to have been the then president of the Ukrainian Academy of Science, Alexander Bohomolets.<sup>2</sup>

But political events followed a different course... A few days before the commencement of military operations against the USSR, the Nazi government ordered the arrest of Stepan Bandera, "to keep him from returning to Ukraine".

What followed is described by Yaroslav Stetsko: "We had planned to proclaim Ukraine's renewed Statehood in Kyiv, not in Lviv. But with the turn of events this took place in Lviv on my personal decision, when I saw that there was no other possibility after Hitler's June 22, 1941, proclamation, with the campaign to the East and in the face of deeds already accomplished by the Germans, who on no government level whatsoever tried to lead a dialogue with Ukrainians".

Thus came about the proclamation, which we have already mentioned — the Act of the Restoration of the Ukrainian State, June 30, 1941, in Lviv. On July 11, 1941, the Gestapo arrested Yaroslav Stetsko as head of the State Administration of Ukraine, and transferred him to Berlin. Afterwards, other members of the Ukrainian Administration were also arrested. On July 18, 1941, by Hitler's decree Halychyna was incorporated into a separate administrative unit together with the Polish territories occupied by the Germans in 1939, while the rest of Ukraine became a German colony "Reichskommissariat Ukraine". This was an open and forced negation of any concept of a free and independent Ukraine.

In the face of these events Roman Shukhevych, as sole commander of both Ukrainian units, sent a statement to the General Staff of the German Army, that following the arrest of the State Administration and the Leader of the OUN by the Gestapo, and in the situation brought about by the German government, the Ukrainian Legion cannot remain a part of the German Army. (P. Mirchuk, "Roman Shukhevych"). In view of this, both units were removed from the front in August and transported to Frankfurt-on-Oder, under factual arrest. After difficult negotiations with the German Supreme Command it was decided, through a political manoeuvre by the DUN, that the Ukrainian

<sup>2</sup> P. Mirchuk, "Roman Shukhevych", published by the "Friendship of veterans of the UPA in the U.S.A., Canada and Europe", 1970.

Units were to be used only in battle against Bolshevik partisans in Byelorussia and on the condition that they would not take part in any repression against the local populace. Throughout the entire period in Byelorussia relations between the Ukrainian forces (formed almost entirely by members of OUN) and the German authorities were quite strained (because of the refusal to perform penal functions) and after a year's term of service in December, 1942, the Germans began arresting members of the DUN and sending them to the Lviv prison.

Roman Shukhevych managed to avoid arrest. He escaped from his captors at Lviv station and made his way to Podillya, where he took command of the first cadres of the UPA, which had just come into existence.

February, 1943, saw the beginning of military activities of the UPA against the Germans, and the UPA's commander became known by the name of Taras Chuprynka. It was then that he took the rank of major.

The history of the UPA's campaign is not the subject of this article, although the UPA's entire life span and the last 7 years of its Commander's life are inseparable.

Many known activists and veteran soldiers, who had not been members of OUN, joined the ranks of the UPA. Roman Shukhevych always held to the principle of an all-national, non-party army.

In spite of an obvious hopelessness of any campaign against the mighty Soviet Russian empire, many representatives of nations under Soviet Russian domination filed into the ranks of the UPA. There were separate groups of Georgians, Armenians, Azerbaidzhanians, Tartars and Uzbeks, who retained certain autonomy within the UPA. Under an initiative of the UPA's General Command the "First Conference of Occupied Nations in East Europe and Asia" was organized and held on November 21-23, 1943, in the forests of Zhytomirshchyna with 39 delegates representing 13 nationalities. The UPA's slogan was "Freedom for nations! Freedom for the individual!"

Among the UPA's military successes in the initial period, worth mentioning are the destruction of S. Kovpak's Red partisan band (which had planned to station itself in the Carpathian Mountains) and the assassination of General Victor Lutze, the Chief of the German SA. The UPA forces destroyed the personal staff of Marshal M. F. Vatutin, commander of the 1st Ukrainian Front (who himself was fatally wounded). In a battle with Polish forces, K. Swierczewski, Poland's Vice-Minister of Defence, was killed. Following the UPA activities against the Hungarian occupying forces, the Hungarian Army Command accepted a peace-agreement, which was signed by both parties in Budapest, after which the Hungarian forces on Ukrainian territory served the UPA loyally. Much the same happened with the Rumanian forces.

Although the German retreat brought about the emigration of many Ukrainian political figures, indeed of those, who had in any way been eminent in Ukrainian public life (not because they collaborated with the Germans, these were few, but because, from the earlier presence of the Bolsheviks in Western Ukraine in 1939-41, it was quite clear what awaited the individual,

who did not behave like a puppet), the UPA did not retreat and did not abandon its people. From this, it would seem a hopeless situation from the military and strategic point of view, but the UPA (and above all Shukhevych) decided to remain and continue the struggle, disregarding the only obvious outcome — death.

There is no need to explain the moral content of such a decision to us, people of the Soviet Union not long ago, or to today's inhabitants of the "great zone".

Taras Chuprynka gave directives to the UPA forces: to avoid confrontation with regular Red Army forces and concentrate on NKVD units and "anti-profiteer detachments"<sup>3</sup> (although, confrontation, inevitably, took place, for example, the destruction of Vatutin's personal staff).

In the first half of 1946, the Chekist forces began a strong and massive advance in which more than half a million troops took part.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of great losses (though the occupant's losses were numerically even greater), the UPA came through these battles with honour. But towards the end of 1946, it changed its strategy. Instead of fighting in large united groups they broke up into smaller, but more mobile units.

Little is known of Roman Shukhevych's life in 1947-50. The circumstances did not favour press releases from the high command, nor daily revelations, and the soldiers and officers of the UPA, who managed to stay alive in the circumstances of Soviet Russian occupation cannot speak of their activities in this period, or for that matter, give their real names.

In 1948, Shukhevych's wife was sent to Siberia, along with their son and daughter.

Widely known in the Ukrainian diaspora is the "Appeal of a Militant Ukraine to the entire Ukrainian Emigration" dated October, 1949, and signed by the 21 members of the UPA Supreme command, by the UHVR General Secretariat and by the leaders of the underground OUN. The signatures are pseudonyms and other than those of the late Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka — Lozovsky and Osyp Dyakiv (Hornovy), the only real name known is that of UPA's artist D. Bey-Nil Khasevych. On the fate of the others, we found nothing published in our sources.

Our present interest in the figure and fate of Roman Shukhevych is not motivated only by the anniversary of his death.

The UPA under Shukhevych's command was the first to destroy the myth, begun after World War II and still diligently spread by Moscow, that the army of the Soviet Empire was impossible to defeat.

The Finnish-Soviet war of 1939 has long since been forgotten (and who has dared to reprove the Finns, under a social-democratic government at that, for collaborating with Hitler's Germany, although this collaboration simply cannot be compared with the attempt of Ukrainians to find support from

<sup>3</sup> "zagraditelnyie otriady" in Russian.

<sup>4</sup> This can be compared with the number of Soviet troops in occupied Afghanistan today (120.000 soldiers).

Germany in their quest for independence, which in fact did not materialize). With regard to Finland these moralists chose to sit quiet. With such diplomatic sensitivity they prefer to disregard the pacts made with Germany on the part of Rumania, Horthy's Hungary, not to mention Bulgaria, — the double-standard trading principle is well known, (only because the regimes did not massively eliminate Jews) the rest makes no difference, let them make an alliance with the devil himself. And although the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement had no relations with the eliminators of Jews, they claim "we know nothing" of this, and all problems are solved.

One does not want to annoy the countries of Eastern Europe or Germany today — the costs may be a little expensive.

Many today were unexpectedly taken by the fact that the Soviet Army proved itself incapable of crushing the armed opposition in Afghanistan. They do not remember the UPA experience. And if they had had the conditions that exist in Afghanistan today — the support of many countries and of world opinion (the support of one's own people is taken for granted), open roads of communication with the outside world, refuge in neighbouring countries for the ordinary oppressed population, long-term economic, military and propagandist assistance, the UPA would have immediately repelled the occupying forces. But the UPA fought under considerably worse conditions. Its soldiers, even if they had sought to do so, would not have been able to find any refuge anywhere (except in Ukraine's own underground). The choice was death either in the Soviet katorga (forced labour camps) or on the battle field.

The Ukrainian national hero, Roman Shukhevych, died in battle against a MGB task force on March 5, 1950, in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv, along with his personal guard. Other details regarding the circumstances of his death are unknown.

Here are the words of Myroslav Prokop, an OUN activist during the war: "...But the figure of Roman Shukhevych deserves attention from a different point of view. He and the revolutionary cadres under his command symbolize the independence of Ukrainian political activity during World War II under two aspects. Firstly, although in those years Ukraine was just an object in the policies of the two empires that sought to dominate her, through the organized revolutionary struggle led by Shukhevych, she appeared as an independent actor on the stage of world politics, she became no trailer to any foreign imperialist wagon..."<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> "Suchasnist", No. 12, 1980. Article by Myroslav Prokop.

*Dr. Wolodymyr KOSYK*

## UKRAINE'S LOSSES DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR

The principal data on Ukrainian losses during the Second World War are usually little known, especially in the West, and little is written about the destruction and suffering of the Ukrainian population.\* When people in the West talk about wartime losses, destruction and suffering, they usually associate these with the "Russian nation". Little is also written about the losses suffered by Poland, or the Baltic states, despite the fact that Poland, for example, suffered somewhat more than Russia.

According to Soviet sources, from June 22nd, 1941, to November 18th, 1942, the German army occupied 1,926,000 km.sq. of Soviet territory, on which there lived 85 million people, at the beginning of 1941.<sup>1</sup>

However, only a negligible part of Russia, that is the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, was occupied. According to rough calculations, the Germans occupied only about 660,000 km. sq. (approximately 17%) of the territory of the Russian republic (RSFSR), on which there lived about 27 million people in 1941. Thus, only about 24.5% of the population of the RSFSR lived through German occupation. What is more, the areas occupied were only the frontier regions bordering on the Baltic states, Byelorussia and Ukraine, and also a part of Karelia, the country of the Don Cossacks, Kuban and a part of North Caucasus.

On the other hand, the whole of Ukraine (41.9 million inhabitants on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR in 1941), and also Byelorussia (9.2 million), Lithuania (3.2 million), Latvia (1.9 million), Estonia (1 million) and Poland (about 25 million) were completely occupied by Hitler's armies.<sup>2</sup>

After its initial defeats in 1941, Moscow carried out the evacuation of the Western regions of the USSR. A considerable number of factories, plants, machine-tractor stations, technical and professional schools, as well as some of the specialists and technicians, professional workers, management personnel, teachers, and Party members, were evacuated to the east, as was a large proportion of livestock. These measures were initiated in the regions especially in Ukraine, which were under the threat of occupation by the Germans. Thus, from July to November, 1941, over 1,520 enterprises and more than 10 million

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\* Despite the fact that there has been very little research on this subject, an article by Prof. V. Kubyovych, entitled: 'Zminy Naselennya Sovyetskoyi Ukrainy v Rokakh 1927-1958' (Changes in the Population of Soviet Ukraine, in the years 1927-1958), "Ukrainskyi Zbirnyk", No. 16, Munich, 1959, which was published as a separate work, is very valuable for this field of study. A serious work on human losses is an article by Stephen G. Prociuk entitled 'Human Losses in the Ukraine in the World War I and II', in "The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the US", New York, 1977, pp. 34-50.

people, among them 3.5 million from Ukraine, were evacuated from the threatened regions of the USSR to Russia, the Urals, Siberia and Central Asia.<sup>3</sup> In general, it was the Russians and Jews who were evacuated.<sup>4</sup>

From July to October, 1941, 518 factories and plants, which formed 34% of all the factories and plants evacuated into the interior of the USSR, were evacuated from Ukraine. From Kyiv alone 197 enterprises and 300,000 people were evacuated. The Kharkiv tractor plant, converted to the production of tanks, was dismantled and evacuated together with 4,673 experts, specialists and management. In addition, 30,212 tractors, over 6 million head of cattle, more than 1.6 million tons of grain, thousands of tons of leather, furs and so on, were also evacuated.<sup>5</sup>

The central and eastern regions of Ukraine suffered considerable destruction as a result of the retreat of the Soviet armies, which obeyed Stalin's order of July 3rd, 1941, and attempted to leave scorched earth behind them. They destroyed factories, government buildings, cultural monuments, grain (including seed) and so on. Apart from this, during the Soviet retreat, the Russian political police, the NKVD, killed many tens of thousands of Ukrainian political prisoners. Three to 4 thousand were murdered in Lviv (10,000 according to other data, 1,500 in Lutsk, 837 in Sambir, 500 in Dubno, 850 people in Drohobych, 1,500 in Stanyslaviv, and dozens, hundreds and thousands in other towns and villages throughout Ukraine, such as Berezhany, Bibrka, Dobromyl, Zhovkva, Zolochiv, Kalush, Komaryn, Mykolayiv, Peremyshl, Stryi, Ternopil, Chortkiv, Vinnytsia and Uman.<sup>6</sup>

In Ukraine, resistance to the Germans already began in 1941. A nationalist movement of opposition emerged in the western regions of Ukraine and after a while, self-defence groups and partisan detachments came into being. In 1942, the majority of these came together to form the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which in 1944-1945, consisted of 40,000 fighting men, an armed underground movement, and probably about 40,000 members of the auxiliary services.<sup>7</sup>

At the same time, there appeared groups of Soviet Russian partisans in the northern and eastern regions of Ukraine. Initially, these consisted purely of soldiers of the Red army and parachutists, who had been left behind, but later included ordinary citizens as well. A certain number of these partisans came from the forests of Byelorussia and Russia. The Russian partisans were armed and directed by Moscow. Their numbers were not greater than the total members of the UPA. According to Soviet sources, 13,333 Russian partisans were operating in Ukraine on 1st January, 1943, and in January, 1944, — 47,789.<sup>8</sup>

The existence of armed resistance and the partisan movement in Ukraine, which undoubtedly accelerated the ultimate defeat of the Nazi-German occupants, at the same time gave the Germans a pretext to increase their repressions.

## Losses of the USSR

The scale of Ukrainian losses can best be understood in comparison with the losses of the whole USSR and other countries.

Battles on the front, the retreat of the Soviet Russian armies, partisan warfare, German repressions, diseases and famine resulted in large-scale losses in human life, and also in great losses to the economy. According to Soviet sources, a total of 20 million Soviet citizens died as a result of the war. However, it must be pointed out that the total amount of human losses in the Soviet Union remained secret until 1960. Till then, it was generally stated that the USSR suffered "many millions of war casualties". It was only at the beginning of the 1960s that the figure 20 million appeared. This figure was probably first used by Krushchev in 1961, in a letter to the Swedish Prime Minister, Erlander.<sup>9</sup>

It is very difficult to say how close this figure is to reality. It is interesting to note that, Frank Lorimer talked hypothetically about the approximate figure of 20 million to denote the total losses of the USSR, in his well-known work, which was published in 1946 by the League of Nations. He calculated that Soviet military losses amounted to 5 million people, and the losses of the civilian population, including the decrease in the birth rate, came to 14,980,400 people.<sup>10</sup>

Soviet sources state that the Germans killed 3.9 million people in prisoner-of-war camps and 6 million members of the civilian population, throughout the whole Soviet territory. To this approximate figure of 10 million is added the equally approximate 10 million military losses.<sup>11</sup> However, if one accepts that Soviet citizens also perished in camps and outside the territory of the USSR, then one can assume that the losses of the civilian population of the USSR were somewhat greater than the figure quoted above.

The difficulty of calculating the overall human losses of the Soviet Union lies in the fact that Moscow does not state the exact numerical data on the military losses of the Soviet Union, that is of the number of soldiers killed on the front.

Frank Lorimer estimates this figure to be 5 million. Stalin quoted the figure 4.2 million dead and missing ("Pravda", June 22nd, 1943). The Agency A.P. stated on June 22nd, 1944, that people in Moscow at that time estimated the losses to be 5,300,000 soldiers. In that case, these losses could well have amounted to about 6.5 million at the beginning of May, 1945. Another Soviet source states that the USSR lost over 8 million soldiers on the front.<sup>12</sup>

Thus, the total losses in human lives of the Soviet Union probably amounted to about 17-18 million. This figure is rounded off to 20 million because, in reality the demographic losses of the USSR, in 1945, amounted to much more — to 24 million. In the 1950s, researchers put forward many different estimates of the losses of the USSR, ranging from 11.6 million to 32 million. (See M. Pavluk 'Kilkist Naseleण्या SSSR' (The Total Population of the USSR), "Vyzvolnyi Shlyakh" (The Liberation Path), No. 10, London, 1956,

p. 1103). During the war, a certain number of Soviet citizens also perished in concentration camps and as a result of repressions by the Soviet Russian authorities, and not as a result of the war.

### Ukraine's Losses

The losses suffered by Ukraine were brought about both by the war and by the unbelievable cruelty of the German occupational regime.

Hitler reserved for himself the right to decide the fate of Ukraine and the Ukrainian nation. In order to weaken the national organism of Ukraine and the unity of the Ukrainian people, Hitler dismembered the territory of Ukraine. Halychyna (the regions of Lviv, Drohobych, Stanyslaviv and Ternopil) was incorporated into the General Government of Poland, on 1st August, 1941, and from the main territory of Ukraine (the northern, central, eastern and southern regions) the Germans formed the Reichskommissariat Ukraine, on 20th August, 1941. Part of the southern territory of Ukraine, from Mykolayiv along the River Buh to the line Bershad-Mohyliv-Podilskyi, and also Northern Bukovyna, were ceded to Rumania (Northern Bukovyna on 19th July, 1941, and the other territory, the so-called Transnistria, on 30th August, 1941). Zakarpattia (Transcarpathian Ukraine) was ceded to Hungary even before the war. From 19th November, 1941, the indigenous population was forbidden to travel from one part of Ukraine to another. Although the laws and the occupational regime were not the same in every part of Ukraine, the whole country did nevertheless suffer a great deal throughout the war.

From the notes of the so-called "conversations at the table", it is known that Hitler treated Ukrainians with great contempt, regarding them, along with the other Slavs, as an inferior race. In his understanding, Ukrainians could only act under the influence of the whip. In September, 1941, Hitler stated that he regarded Stalin as one of the greatest figures of the contemporary world because he had succeeded, although with the aid of force, in creating a state out of the Slav "race of rabbits".<sup>13</sup>

Hitler set the following goals for German policy in Ukraine: extraction and exploitation of the underground wealth, German colonisation of certain regions, no intellectual social classes, and the securing only of a work force.<sup>14</sup>

On his return from Hitler's headquarters, in August, 1942, Reichskommissar Koch stated the following at a conference of German officials held in Rivne:

"The goal of our work has to be to make Ukrainians work for Germany and not to make the people here happy. Ukraine has to give that, which Germany lacks. This task has to be carried out irrespective of the casualties... As regards the behaviour of Germans in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine, the view is prevalent that we are dealing with a people inferior in all respects... The education of the Ukrainians must be low... The present three-class schools are giving too high an education. Apart from this, everything must be done to destroy the birth-rate on this territory. The Führer has planned separate measures for this purpose. Otherwise, in a few genera-

tions the biological force of this people will compel the German people to make peace... This people must be governed with an iron rule so that it will help us to win the war. We have not liberated it in order to make Ukraine happy, but to secure for Germany the necessary living space and a base for nourishment".<sup>15</sup>

In Ukraine, the occupants carried out a mass destruction of the population and prisoners of war. This destruction was carried out in concentration camps, prisoner-of-war camps, ghettos, prisons, during various "actions", and as a result of the putting into practice of collective responsibility (the shooting of hostages). The Germans established more than 200 concentration camps and forced labour camps on the territory of Ukraine.<sup>16</sup> A majority of these were purely death camps.

According to official data, over 102,000 people were killed in Rivne, over 200,000 in the Yaniv concentration camp in Lviv, over 100,000 in Babyn Yar in Kyiv, 140,000 in the prisoner-of-war camp "Citadel" in Lviv, over 22,000 in the rural camps of the Domanivka district, 150,000 in "Gross-Lazaret", Slavuta, Kamyanets-Podilskyi region, over 340,000 in Darnytsia, 40,000 in the Rakivskyi camp near Proskurov, and many more. It was not only the men who were killed, but women and children as well. For example, in Yaniv camp, 8,000 children were killed in the space of 2 months.<sup>17</sup>

The world knows about the fate of the Czech village Lidice and the French village Oradour-sur-Glane. The Germans burnt them to the ground along with several hundred of their inhabitants. But, the world does not know that Ukraine experienced 250 Lidices and Oradours. Of these, 97 were in Volyn, 32 in the Zhytomir region, 21 in the Chernihiv region and 17 in the Kyiv region.<sup>18</sup>

For example, on 23rd September, 1942, in Kortelisy, in Volyn, the Germans locked the 2,892 inhabitants in the church and other buildings and set the village on fire. In January, 1943, 4,268 inhabitants of the village of Kozary in the Chernihiv region, were killed. On 22nd February, 1943, 682 inhabitants of the village of Sribne, Chernihiv region, were burnt alive. On 13th July, 1943, the German police locked the whole population of the village of Malyn in the church, in the school and in other buildings and set light to the village. According to Ukrainian sources, 740 people (602 according to Russian sources) perished in the fire. The screams of the dying could be heard 5 kilometres away. In July, 1943, the Germans did the same with the village of Hubkiv and Velyki Selyshcha, in Volyn. The village of Romel near Oleksandriya, in which more than 500 people perished, was burnt to the ground by the Germans in the Autumn of 1943. It was wiped completely off the face of the earth and was never again re-built.<sup>19</sup>

Public executions were not uncommon either. According to incomplete reports of the Ukrainian underground, the Germans executed 1,571 people in Halychyna alone, for membership of the nationalist movement of opposition, between 10th October, 1943, and 30th June, 1944.<sup>20</sup> In retaliation for assassinations, the occupants shot Ukrainian political prisoners and hostages on a massive scale.

The struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) was also not without casualties. However, the losses were usually numerically higher on the side of the Germans. Apart from this, the Germans took their revenge by punishing the civilian population. For example, during the time of the battles against the Germans in Volyn, in July, August and September, 1943, the UPA lost 1,237 officers and men killed and wounded, the Germans lost more than 3,000, and the civilian population lost more than 5,000 people. In October and November, 1943, the UPA lost 414 officers and men killed and the Germans lost more than 1,500 people killed.<sup>21</sup>

However, the civilian population of Ukraine suffered not only during "actions" of the German police units, as for example, during the above-mentioned action against the UPA in Volyn, and against the Soviet partisans, but also in times of peace.

A letter written on 25th February, 1943, by Prof. V. Kubiiovych, the head of the Ukrainian Central Committee, to General-Governor Frank, talks about the arrests of innocent people throughout the towns and villages, who were imprisoned and shot under various pretexts, either as "anti-social elements" (5,000 people were arrested in the space of about 1 month), or as "troublesome elements", or else because they were suspected of working with Bandera's nationalist movement of opposition. The letter talks about the mass shootings of Ukrainians, including children aged between 1 and 13.<sup>22</sup>

The Germans practised a cruel policy of extermination of the Jewish population of Ukraine, which was persecuted and liquidated on a massive scale already in the first months of occupation. Later on, part of the Jewish population was transported to concentration camps outside the frontiers of Ukraine. The tragedy of the Jews in Babyn Yar, where 70,000 of them were killed, as well as in other places, and also their destruction in Auschwitz, Maydanek and other concentration camps are widely known throughout the world due to a wide literature and numerous films on the subject.

Because of this, some people in the West have the impression that the Germans usually persecuted only the Jews on the occupied territories of the Soviet Union, and that they suffered the greatest losses in human lives. However, in reality the estimates of the overall Jewish losses throughout the whole of the occupied territory of the USSR, range from 700,000 to 2,500,000<sup>23</sup>, whereas the total civilian losses on this territory (including prisoners of war) amounted to approximately 10 million.

According to official data, out of the 10 million losses 5,515,204 people (3,898,457 of the civilian population, and 1,366,588 prisoners of war, plus 250,159 losses in Transcarpathia and the Crimea) died on the territory of the present-day Ukrainian SSR.<sup>24</sup> Thus, more than half of the total losses suffered by the civilian population of the USSR occurred in Ukraine (within the boundaries of the present-day Ukrainian SSR). V. Shcherbytskyi quoted a somewhat higher figure in 1974 — 6,750,000.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, the Jewish population of Ukraine lost probably between 1,300,000 and 1,600,000 people.

One should remember that apart from Ukrainians there were other nationalities among the prisoners of war, who were not inhabitants of the Ukrainian SSR. For example, in the camps of Rava Ruska and Lviv, there were Frenchmen, Italians, and also other nationalities.

It is interesting to note that in the part of Ukraine where the UPA and the nationalist underground operated and which remained under German occupation for the longest period of time, the losses suffered by the population were the highest of all.

On the basis of Soviet data, a comparison of civilian losses in the two parts of Ukraine can be made. The 9 western and west-central regions (excluding Transcarpathia), with a territory of 174,900 km. sq. and a population of 13.9 million in 1940, lost approximately 2,205,000 civilian casualties (including about 1 million Jews). The central and eastern regions (excluding the Crimea), with a territory of 389,000 km. sq. and a population of 26.2 million in 1940, suffered approximately 1,693,000 casualties of Nazism.<sup>26</sup>

Soviet sources do not give an accurate figure for the total military casualties suffered by Ukraine. It is generally known that Ukraine mobilised 4.5 million soldiers during the war. Out of this number, about 1.3 million were demobilised in the years 1945-1948 and returned home.<sup>27</sup> Therefore, it can be assumed that the military losses of Ukraine amounted to about 2-2.5 million.

Thus, we get an overall figure of 8 million (5.5 million civilian casualties and 2.5 million military casualties) for the number of those killed in Ukraine. When we take into account that a large number of prisoners of war, who died in Ukraine were not inhabitants of that country, then the actual loss of Ukrainians was probably 6-7 million, that is about 40% of the total losses in human lives of the Soviet Union (35% if we accept that the losses of the Soviet Union amounted to 20 million and not 17.5 million).

However, the overall demographic losses of Ukraine were much higher. According to Soviet sources the Ukrainian SSR had a population of 41.9 million in January, 1941, with 14 million living in towns and cities. In 1945, it had a population of only 27.4 million, with only 7.6 million living in towns and cities.<sup>28</sup> Thus, in 4 years of war, the population of Ukraine was reduced by 14.5 million (killed, evacuated, deported, mobilised, the emigration, losses of accretion, and so on). Other sources state that the population of Ukraine was reduced by 13,614,000<sup>29</sup>, and others still, that Ukrainian losses amounted to 11 million people.<sup>30</sup>

It is generally accepted that the Second World War cost mankind 50 million casualties. Of these, 21.8 million were military and 28.2 million civilian casualties.<sup>31</sup> Ukraine lost approximately 2.5 million people on the front and suffered not less than 4.5 million civilian casualties — a total of 7 million. In other words, Ukraine lost 16.7% of its entire population (14% of the whole of mankind). Vsevolod Holubnychyi estimated the losses of the Ukrainian population to be 6 million (see "Statystyka Naseleennya Ukrainy v 1940-1956" (The Statistics of the Population of Ukraine in the years 1940-1956), "Vpered" (Forward), No. 10, Munich, October, 1956, p. 2-3).

*Table showing losses in human lives during WWII*

Country	The number of losses in thousands			Losses as a per- centage of the whole popula- tion
	military	civilian	total	
Ukraine . . . . .	2,500	4,500	7,000	16.7
Germany . . . . .	4,500	2,000	6,500	9.0
Poland . . . . .	123	4,877	5,000*	19.6
Japan . . . . .	2,000	350	2,350	3.4
Yugoslavia . . . . .	300	1,400	1,700	10.6
France . . . . .	250	350	600	1.5
Italy . . . . .	400	100	500	1.1
Rumania . . . . .	300	200	500	3.7
Greece . . . . .	100	350	450	6.2
Hungary . . . . .	136	294	430	4.6
Great Britain . . . . .	290	60	350	0.7
Czecho-Slovakia . . . . .	46	294	340	3.0
Austria . . . . .	270	104	374	5.6
USA . . . . .	300	—	300	0.2
Holland . . . . .	12	198	210	2.4
Finland . . . . .	84	16	100	2.7
Belgium . . . . .	13	75	88	1.1
Canada . . . . .	42	—	42	0.4
Bulgaria . . . . .	25	10	35	0.3
Australia . . . . .	35	—	35	0.5

Apart from this, it must be mentioned that 2.2 million people were deported from Ukraine to Germany for work. If 2.8 million people were deported from all the occupied territories of the USSR, then 78.6% of those deported were from Ukraine.<sup>32</sup>

The occupation of Kyiv lasted 778 days. In this time, the Germans killed 195,000 inhabitants of Kyiv and more than 100,000 were deported to Germany. Kyiv had a population of 900,000 in 1941 and 186,000 in 1945.<sup>33</sup>

It should also be mentioned that 28,000 villages and 714 towns of various sizes were destroyed, 10 million people were made homeless, 16,000 businesses, 33,000 schools and higher teaching establishments, 18,000 hospitals and medical centres, and 20,000 libraries were destroyed or made unserviceable.<sup>31</sup>

\* The official figure for the losses of the Polish population is 6,028,000 people. However, this includes the losses of the Jewish population of the western parts of Ukraine and Byelorussia. See Jan Szafranski, 'Poland's Losses in World War II', in "War Losses in Poland, 1939-1945", Warsaw, 1960, p. 44.

Material and economic destruction on all the occupied territories of the USSR was estimated at the overall figure of 679 billion rubles. The individual material losses were estimated as follows: Ukraine — 285 billion, Russia — 255 billion, Byelorussia — 75 billion, Lithuania — 2 billion, Latvia — 17 billion, Estonia — 16 billion.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, Ukraine suffered 42% of all the destruction sustained by the USSR. In the years 1943-1945, the Soviet Government allocated 75 billion rubles for the restoration of territory, which had been destroyed. However, only 18.3 billion rubles were allocated to Ukraine from this sum, that is 24% of the overall sum.<sup>36</sup>

The comparative table on page 16, showing the losses of some of the countries, which participated in the Second World War indicates the huge number of losses in human lives suffered by Ukraine. In the case of Ukraine, the figures shown are those mentioned earlier in this paper. For the other territories and countries, the data has been taken from B. Uralnis, "Guerres et Populations", p. 319-323.

The table does not show the whole of the Soviet Union because it is difficult to estimate the losses of the individual republics. The Soviet Union, excluding Ukraine, lost 9-13 million people, but the losses of each individual republic are unknown. Uralnis gives only the figures for the losses in civilian population and prisoners of war. The Byelorussian SSR lost 2,198,000, the Russian SFSR — 1,781,000, the Lithuanian SSR — 666,000, the Latvian SSR — 644,000, the Estonian SSR — 125,000, and the Moldavian SSR — 64,000.<sup>37</sup> If we accept that the Russian Federation lost 3-4 million on the front, then its overall losses amounted probably to about 5-6 million. Therefore, they did not surpass the losses suffered by Ukraine.

The clash of the two imperialist powers in the East of Europe, who fought, to a certain degree, for possession of the wealth of Ukraine, cost many human lives. In comparison with other countries, Ukraine suffered the highest losses in human lives and the greatest destruction.

#### NOTES:

1) See "Sov'yetskaya Ukraina i gody otechestvennoy voyny, 1941-1945. Dokumenty i materialy" (Soviet Ukraine and the years of the Fatherland War, 1941-1945. Documents and materials), Vol. 3, Kyiv, 1980, p. 525.

2) The estimates are calculated on the basis of data on the population in 1940: see "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1969" (The national economy of the USSR in 1969), Moscow, 1970, p. 10, 38; "Visnyk" (The Herald), No. 2, New York, 1962, p. 24.

3) A. M. Belikov, "Sov'yetskiy tyl v gody Velikoy otechestvennoy voyny, 1941-1945" (The Soviet rear in the years of the Great Fatherland War, 1941-1945), Moscow, 1969, p. 15; "Ukrayinska RSR u Velykiy Vitchyznyaniy Viyni Radyanskoho Soyuzu 1941-1945" (The Ukrainian SSR in the Great Fatherland War of the Soviet Union 1941-1945), Vol. 1, Kyiv, 1967, p. 277; T. Derevyankin, "Radyanska ekonomika na sluzhbi frontu" (The Soviet Economy at the service of the Front). "Visti z Ukrayiny" (News from Ukraine), 5th December, 1974. German authors give higher figures: F. Radmer — 12.5 million, F. Habicht — 15 million; see S. G. Prociuk, op. cit., p. 44-45.

4) V. Kubyovych, "Zminy..." (Changes...), op. cit., p. 8.

5) "Ukrayinska RSR u Velykiy..." (The Ukrainian SSR in the Great...), op. cit., 276-287; T. Derevyankin, op. cit.

6) See "Zlochyny komunistychnoyi Moskvy v Ukrayini vlti 1941 roku" (The Crimes of Communist Moscow in Ukraine in the summer of 1941), New York, (1960. News about the bestial murders appeared in the Ukrainian press of the day. "Kraivski Visti" (Cracow News) wrote thus: "Terrible pogroms of Ukrainians", "Women and children — victims of the NKVD", "Bricked in alive among corpses", "Massacre in the NKVD prison in Dubno" (KV", 8. 7. 1941); "Bloody Bolshevik bestialities in Lviv", "Terrible massacre of 1,500 Ukrainians in Lutsk" ("KV", 9. 7. 1941); "The Bolsheviks burnt 180 Ukrainians alive in Stanyslaviv" ("KV", 15. 7. 1941). See also Alfred M. de Zayas, "Die Wehrmacht — Untersuchungsstelle", Munich, 1980.

7) Col. M. Omelyusik states that the effective force of the UPA in Volyn, in the second half of 1943, amounted to 20,000 people, "Litopys UPA" (Annals of the UPA), Vol. 1, p. 37. Another author believes that, at the time of the greatest fighting, the UPA numbered around 32,000 soldiers, "Narodna Volya" (National Freedom), 15. 7. 1982. Myroslav Prokop and Anatol Kaminskyi state, on the basis of the archives of the UHVR, that the strength of the UPA amounted to around 40,000 men, in 1944-1945, "Suchasnist" (The Present), No. 12/1977, p. 48 and No. 4/1978, p. 33. In November, 1944, the Germans estimated the strength of the UPA to be between 40,000 and 60,000 men. Other German sources quoted the figure 80,000-100,000 men as the strength of the UPA and 400,000 to 2 million as the number of auxiliary forces and people willing to participate in the Ukrainian nationalist underground movement, according to Ukrainian sources. See also L. Shankovsky, 'Pochatky UPA' (The Beginnings of the UPA), the Almanac "Provydinnya" (Providence) for 1972, Philadelphia, p. 111-114.

8) Earlier Soviet sources stated the overall figure of these partisans to be 220,000. (O. K. Kasymenko: "Istoriya Ukrainskoyi RSR" (The History of the Ukrainian SSR), Kyiv, 1960, p. 345). However, according to a rectification of figures dealing with the underground and partisan movement on the territory of the Ukrainian SSR, issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, on 13th March, 1975, it was estimated that all the partisan formations, including the reconnaissance-diversionary groups, as well as the underground groups, which did not fall under the structure of the partisan formations, consisted of 501,750 fighting men and political-command personnel. This large figure obviously includes all the people who were connected with the partisan movement. Thus from 1960, we have additional verification, on the basis of conclusions of the commission of the Party, of a large number of various underground personnel, underground committees of the Party, and various "participants of other forms of fighting against the German-fascist invaders", "Sovetskaya Ukraina" (Soviet Ukraine), op. cit., p. 240. Similarly, the underground personnel could also have been included in the figure 220,000 denoting the total members of the various partisan formations. We must bear in mind the mobility of the Soviet partisan groups, which emerged for a short period of time before the arrival of the front and dissolved themselves immediately after the front passed, or else included themselves into the structure of the Red Army. The true number of Soviet partisans at the given time was as quoted above in this paper; see "Ukrainska RSR u Velykiy vitchyznyaniy viyni..." (The Ukrainian SSR in the Great Fatherland War...), op. cit., Vol. 3, Kyiv, 1969, p. 71.

9) "L'Est Européen", No. 61, Paris, April, 1967, p. 20.

10) F. Lorimer. "The Population of the Soviet Union", Geneva, 1946, p. 181-182.

11) A. M. Belikov, "Sovetskyy tyl..." (The Soviet rear...), op. cit., p. 43; B. Uralnis, "Guerres et Populations", Moscow, 1972, p. 321.

12) See V. I. Kozlov, "Natsionalnosti SSSR" (The Nationalities of the USSR), Moscow, 1975, p. 159.

13) Report No. 37 from 23rd September. 1941.

14) IMT, 045-PS.

15) "Vermerk über die Tagung in Rowno", vom 26-28. 8. 1942. BA, R 6/70, f. 16-18.

16) "Ukrainska RSR u Velykiy..." (The Ukrainian SSR in the Great...), op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 150.

17) "Sovetskaya Ukraina v gody..." (Soviet Ukraine in the years...), op. cit., p. 257, 262, 277, 289, 290; "Nimetsko-fashystskiy okupatsiynyi rezhym na Ukraini" (The German-fascist occupational regime in Ukraine). A collection of documents and materials. Kyiv, 1963, p. 340, 347, 353, 354.

18) "Ukrainska RSR..." (The Ukrainian SSR), op. cit., p. 149.

19) "Nimetsko-fashystykyi okupatsiynyi rezhym..." (The German-fascist occupational regime...), op. cit., p. XIV, XV, 291, 292; "Litopys UPA" (Annals of the UPA), Vol. 2, Toronto, 1977, p. 162.

20) "L'Est Européen", No. 81, February, 1969, p. 21.

21) L. Shankovsky, 'Ukrainska Povstanska Armiya' (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) in "Istoriya Ukrainskoho Viyska" (The History of the Ukrainian Army), Winnipeg, 1953, p. 672, 676. See also "Pochatky UPA" (The Beginnings of the UPA), op. cit., p. 114, by the same author.

22) IMT, 1526-PS.

23) Reuben Ainsztein, "Les Juifs soviétiques pendant la deuxième guerre mondiale" in "Les Juifs en Union soviétique depuis 1917", Paris, 1971, p. 383-384, cf. p. 198; Serge-Alain Rozenblum, "Etre Juif en URSS", Paris, 1982, p. 44.

24) "Ukrainska RSR u Velykiy..." (The Ukrainian SSR in the Great...), op. cit., p. 150; "Sovetskaya Ukraina..." (Soviet Ukraine...), op. cit., p. 159. Civilians (not prisoners of war) died during the shifting of the front, and as the result of German repressions, diseases and famine. For example, the famine of 1941-1942 caused by requisitioning, led to the death of around 100,000 people. (V. Kubyovych, op. cit., p. 8).

25) "Radyanska Ukraina" (Soviet Ukraine), 18th October, 1974.

26) Calculated on the basis of data given in "Ukrainska RSR u Velykiy..." (The Ukrainian SSR in the Great...), op. cit., p. 150 and "Narodne hospodarstvo Ukrainskoyi RSR" (The National Economy of the Ukrainian SSR), Kyiv, 1971, p. 11, 12.

27) "Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal" (Ukrainian Historical Journal), Kyiv, No. 4, April, 1973, p. 120, and No. 3, March, 1974, p. 25.

28) "Ukrainskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal" (Ukrainian Historical Journal), Kyiv, No. 12, December, 1973, p. 8.

29) "Ukrainska RSR u Velykiy..." (The Ukrainian SSR in the Great...), op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 155; "Sovetskaya Ukraina v gody..." (Soviet Ukraine in the years...), op. cit., p. 529.

30) S. G. Prociuk, op. cit., p. 47, 49.

31) B. Uralnis, "Guerres...", op. cit., p. 320-321.

32) V. S. Koval, "Mizhnarodnyi Imperializm i Ukraina, 1941-1945" (International Imperialism and Ukraine, 1941-1945), Kyiv, 1966, p. 153.

33) "Radyanska Ukraina" (Soviet Ukraine), 13. 10. 1968.

34) "Ukrainska RSR u Velykiy..." (The Ukrainian SSR in the Great...), op. cit., p. 155.

35) T. Derevyankin, "Radyanska..." (Soviet...), op. cit.

36) Ibid.

37) B. Uralnis, op. cit., p. 316.

*Prof. Lev SHANKOVSKY*

## TEN YEARS OF THE UPA STRUGGLE (1942-1952)\*

### 3. The UPA versus the Kremlin

After the Soviet Russians, strengthened by the increasing flow of lend-lease material, began to expel the Germans from Western Ukraine, the chief task of the numerous UPA detachments was to pass the front-line with as few losses as possible. In the north, in the marshy forests of Polissia, and in the south, in the Carpathians, it was quite easy. Both territories presented rather advantageous conditions. However, the UPA detachments in the woodless terrains of Podillia had to withdraw to the mountains in order to pass the front. In July, 1944, there were large movements of the UPA troops in Halychyna. While moving, the troops of the UPA attacked and disarmed the retreating detachments of the German army and police, capturing arms, ammunition, and other war material and seizing ordnance stores. All over the country underground bunkers had been built to hide units of the UPA or to serve as underground hospitals and stores.

Having passed the front-line the units of the UPA did not attack the Red Army, which at this point consisted mainly of Ukrainians (the armies of the first, second, third and fourth Ukrainian front). They only defended themselves and circulated among the Red soldiers distributing leaflets summoning them to the fight against Hitler and Stalin. In addition, the activities of the UPA troops were directed against the restoration of Soviet Russian military and civilian authority. The UPA systematically opposed the mobilization of the Ukrainians for the Red Army and routed the NKVD units by sudden raids on administration centres and by causing heavy losses for the new occupant. This action was combined with the action against the local Red quislings and collaborators as well as against the agents of the NKVD among the local population. Simultaneously the UPA troops opposed the restoration of the collective farms and the transportation of wheat and other food out of Ukraine as well as the deportation of the Ukrainian population to semi-slave labour camps in Donbas and Siberia.

At that time the Soviet Russian war machine was engaged in the struggle against the Nazis and the Russians were unable to organise a serious military action against the UPA. They changed their mind, however, when the convoy of the Commander of the 1st Ukrainian front, Marshal Vatutin, was ambushed by a raiding UPA detachment, and the Marshal himself was severely wounded in the clash. (March 20, 1944). On April 15, 1944 Marshal Vatutin died from wounds in Kyiv.

\* Continued from Ukrainian Review No. 1, 1985.

Soon after the death of Marshal Vatutin, the Soviet Russians began to prepare their first big offensive against the UPA. Some ten divisions and motorized brigades of NKVD troops were brought into Western Ukraine in its northern part, Volyn, where the UPA originated. Volyn was the part of Western Ukraine that the Soviet Russians still held in January, 1944. The offensive started on April 2nd and lasted two months. Many of the battles of this offensive assumed proportions of a large-scale conventional shooting war.

UPA army groups from both the North and South engaged in these battles. The UPA army group from the North ranged its main forces between the rivers Sluch and Horen in the Stydinsky and Pustometsky forests. Some 10 battalions of the UPA were gathered here and they intercepted simultaneous attacks by the Red divisions from Sarny, Kostopil and Rivne. Behind the Sluch River there was another UPA group, led by Commander Dubovy. The UPA group from the South, with its 5 battalions, retreated from the Vynnytsia province where it operated during the German occupation, to the west, to pass the front-line into the marshy forests along the Vilya River. On April 23, 1944, most of the above mentioned battalions were encircled by the motorized brigades of the NKVD troops in the Hurbensky forest south of Mizoch. It was the biggest battle in the UPA history. Some 5000 Ukrainian insurgents faced encirclement by 30,000 NKVD troops. The battle lasted all day and the Ukrainian insurgents showed extreme bravery in repulsing attack after attack of the Red infantry, which was supported by artillery, tanks and airplanes. The fate of the encircled group of the UPA seemed to be sealed, but night came and the Ukrainians gathered all their forces to break out. They succeeded in inflicting heavy losses on the Red troops.

In September, 1944, heavy battles between the UPA and the NKVD took place in the area of Stanislaviv in Halychyna. For 6 days the attack of Russian columns against the "Black Forest" went on, but the Russians were repulsed. The battalions of Commander Ren marched 200 miles, both day and night, to come to the rescue of the UPA group "Black Forest".

On November 27, 1944, the Russians issued their second appeal to the UPA to surrender. A big propaganda campaign began in the cities in order to force the insurgents to surrender. Ministers, such as Manuilsky, scientists, writers and artists took part in this unprecedented campaign. However, the UPA troops remained in the forests.

On December 1, 1944, the Soviet Russians began their first action against the Ukrainian underground. Thirty thousand Soviet Russian troops set up garrisons in all the villages between Lviv and Khodoriv, and started searching for bunkers, stores and hideouts. Two UPA battalions, "Poltavians" and "Greyhounds", attempted to intervene and divert the attention of the searching garrisons onto themselves. But in vain. The Russians searched every square inch in all the villages, fields and forests and inflicted heavy losses on the Underground.

From the Khodoriv area they went along the Dnister River to the Halych area. The main supply base of the "Black Forest" group was situated there. Many stores with supplies and food were hidden underground as well as the fighters. And here the searchers met with stronger opposition. Battle after battle raged for six weeks with all the Ukrainian population participating. The losses on both sides could not have been counted.

However, the greatest ordeal of this kind fell on the UPA in the spring of 1945. Some 200,000 Russian troops were assembled for the big action against the UPA. It widened all over the country and stubborn fighting took place everywhere. There was a series of attacks and pushes and it was a hard fight for the UPA. The Soviet Russians used airplanes (some of them were shot down by the insurgents), artillery, and tanks to block villages, roads and forests. They tried to encircle the groups of Ukrainian insurgents and annihilate them. The latter defended themselves by mining roads, railway tracks, natural cross-roads and even stream beds.

By the summer of 1945, the action became intensified. The Soviet Russians called up units of the Red Army which were on the move from the West to the East after Germany's defeat. These troops were lodged throughout the country for the purpose of helping the NKVD to break the resistance of the UPA. Among these, the UPA developed an uncommonly strong political campaign which began to influence the troops. The Red Army's soldiers, and very often whole Red Army detachments, were unwilling to take part in huntings and terroristic actions directed against the UPA and they very often aided the UPA with information and weapons. The Soviet Russians, dismayed by this, were obliged to withdraw the Red Army troops from any direct actions against the UPA. As these troops had to be replaced with more trustworthy ones, all action against the UPA ceased by the end of September, 1945.

From January to September, 1945, 94 battles were fought by units of the UPA. During this time the UPA conducted 440 planned actions against the enemy and made 20 surprise attacks against centres of the Soviet Russian administration. Seven thousand three hundred and eighteen Bolshevik officers and men were killed and many more wounded. Ukrainian losses amounted to 5000, among them such commanders as Col. Dmytro Klachkivsky, Cpt. Shum, Lt. Col. Medvid-Kremianetsky, Mjr. Brylevsky-Borovy, Mjr. Yahoda-Chernyk, Lt. Ihor, Lt. Hrad, Lt. Omelan and many others.

However, the UPA was not destroyed. Underground publications continued to appear and to disturb the Russians. Both sides started preparing for the election campaign to the Supreme Soviet (February 1946). Among these preparations a surprise attack by 5 UPA battalions brought the province centre, Stanislaviv, into the hands of the UPA. On the night of October 31, 1945, the attacking force seized this town and inflicted much harm on the Soviet occupiers in addition to carrying off considerable trophies. This success brought great satisfaction to the Ukrainian population.

Knowing that the Ukrainian insurgents created big propaganda out of not participating in the Soviet elections, the Russians started preparing for another big action against the UPA. The aim of this action was to terrorize the Ukrainian population and to force them to go to the Soviet Russian urns. The "Ukrainian" Minister of the Interior, Lt. Gen. Vasyl Ryasny took on the responsibility of carrying out a new action, and Col. Gen. Moskalenko was appointed chief commander of the MVD-MGB troops selected for it.

One may wonder how little the Ryasny action differed from von dem Bach's, which was carried out two and half years earlier. Von dem Bach had first softened the ground with propaganda, now so did Ryasny. On November 15, 1945, he issued his amnesty appeal to the UPA and put out a large number of leaflets, just as von dem Bach had done. Von dem Bach slaughtered the Ukrainian population, so did Gen. Ryasny. Ryasny's troops were permitted to kill, to pillage, to rape women and to show no respect for the Ukrainian population regardless of age or sex. There were special units from Siberia consisting of men who were ill with Siberian syphilis. Their function was to spread this syphilis among the Ukrainian population, and to accomplish this, they were permitted to rape even minor girls. The only difference was that Ryasny's men did not burn people in churches as the Nazis did.

The action by Ryasny and Moskalenko lasted from January 7 (the Ukrainian Christmas) to the end of June, 1946. During this time 1500 battles and skirmishes were fought by the UPA. Another 5,000 officers and soldiers of the UPA were killed and many more wounded. Thousands of Ukrainian civilians were murdered and arrested. There were at least 15,000 Bolsheviks killed, but the result was that on February 10, 1946, the Ukrainian people refused to vote.

In the majority of villages, no one went to the elections. The Ukrainian people used the day of "elections" as a demonstration against the Soviet Russian totalitarian dictatorship. They boycotted the elections under a slogan of protest against the suppression of Ukraine and against the reign of terror and violence. Unfortunately, this protest of the Ukrainian people, a protest paid by the lives of thousands of Ukrainian men and women, was unnoticed in the West. The Soviets falsified the election results and the West, accepting this as the truth, remained silent.

Meanwhile the large-scale action against the UPA was in progress. In order to deprive the Ukrainian insurgents of their bases, the Russians burnt down all the forests in the insurgent territory. The devastation was immense. Furthermore, they started bacteriological warfare against the UPA. On the black market where medicines were bought for the UPA there appeared poisoned serums of typhus and other diseases. The soldiers of the UPA who were inoculated with these serums died in terrible pain. Beggars went to the villages occupied by the troops of the UPA and threw about typhoid lice in order to spread disease and to deprive the UPA troops of shelter. Immense

effort and energetic measures on the part of the UPA were needed to counter such inhuman methods.

On May 3, 1946, Col. Gen. Moskalenko, a colonel, and two majors were shot in an armoured car near the railway station of Tiaziv, province Stanislaviv, by missiles from an insurgent bazooka. The UPA detachment, which shot the General at close range, was attacked by a convoy of MGB general but escaped into the nearest forest.

At the end of June, 1946, the garrisons of the MVD-MGB troops withdrew from the country. As usual the Russians announced their "great victory" over the "remnants" of "Ukrainian-German" nationalists (as they called the UPA), and proclaimed the "definite liquidation" of the "Ukrainian partisan bands". But the Soviet leader responsible for this action, Lt. Gen. Vasyl Ryzny, received neither the Kutuzov nor the Suvorov medal. He was relieved of his post as Minister of the Interior and replaced by Lt. Gen. Mykola Kuzmich Kovalchuk. Even Khrushchev had to be relieved after some time as First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, and again the "iron commissar", Lazar Moyseyevich Kaganovich, was sent to take care of the situation. Ukraine had to be reploughed again.

Meanwhile, the UPA changed its tactics. It disbanded larger units and used its fighters to build strong underground cells all over the country. The dislocation of these cells was so planned that they could easily be mobilized for special actions in case of emergency. Stress was laid on the political actions by the underground network. An Information and Propaganda Centre was organized and assumed the task of issuing as many magazines, brochures and leaflets as possible. One of the most able underground publicists, Major P. Poltava, directed this underground propaganda.

Nineteen forty-seven and 1948 were the years of political action of the UPA and the Ukrainian underground. The most important actions consisted of a campaign against the forced "union" of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church as proclaimed on March 18, 1946, by the Russians; this led to the establishments of what foreign observers called "God's Underground" in Ukraine; action against the Russification and, especially, against the Russification of Ukrainian youth; and action of support for the hungry kolhozenyky of Eastern and Central Ukraine. By the spring of 1947, according to the Ukrainian underground, 500,000 kolhozenyky of the Central and Eastern Ukraine visited Western Ukraine and were aided by the Ukrainian people with large quantities of grain and food so the famine in Eastern Ukraine could be overcome; actions were undertaken against forced deportations of the Ukrainian population to the East; against "war criminals" from among the ranks of the Soviet Russian police and administration and their local supporters; against the collective farms and Soviet economic institutions: banks, co-operative associations, magazines and stores, dairies, factories, MTS (Machine and Tractor Stations) and others.

To carry out these actions a continuous small war was waged in Western Ukraine. As all Ukrainian insurgents and underground fighters were armed, their collisions with the Soviet authorities and police consisted of armed clashes and skirmishes. There were many such military clashes in 1947 and 1948.

The scope of partisan warfare waged by the UPA and the Ukrainian underground is illustrated by the figures shown on the following table, which were collected from underground reports:

TABLE SHOWING THE SCOPE OF GUERILLA WARFARE  
IN UKRAINE

July 1, 1946 — June 30, 1949

(A) Territorial Extent:

R e g i o n s (alphabetically arranged)	P e r i o d s			Total
	1946-47	1947-48	1948-49	
Brest-Litovsk	1	2	-	3
Chernihiv	1	1	1	3
Chernivtsi	32	9	15	56
Drohobych	164	330	254	748
Kamenets-Podilskyi	7	5	4	16
Kyiv	1	-	2	3
Lviv	110	205	170	485
Rivne	87	61	41	189
Stanislaviv	219	318	353	890
Ternopil	191	181	206	578
Trans-Carpathia	16	2	1	19
Volyn	54	46	14	114
Zhytomir	29	45	12	86
Total	912	1205	1073	3190

(B) Operations:

Defensive	464	694	531	1689
Offensive	136	118	82	336
Attempts	117	91	112	320
Sabotage	109	175	231	515
Against Kolhosps and MTS	10	51	70	131 <sup>1</sup>
Propaganda actions	76	76	47	199
Total	912	1205	1073	3190

<sup>1</sup> Only those operations which resulted in the total destruction of a kolhosp (collective farm) or Machine-Tractor Station (MTS) are included here. Other operations against kolhosps are included in "Sabotage".

## (C) Casualties:

Russian: Killed	1012	1031	565	2608
Wounded	324	411	188	923
Captured	26	6	24	56 <sup>2</sup>
Total	1362	1448	777	3587
Ukrainian: Killed	303	407	255	965
Wounded	15	13	10	38
Captured	25	14	12	51 <sup>3</sup>
Total	343	434	277	1054

In 1949-1950 the struggle of the UPA and of the Ukrainian underground continued. This struggle was often reported in the West and was commented on by Western journalists. A report by Hanson W. Baldwin in *The New York Times* (May 15, 1949) disclosed that two divisions of Soviet Russian troops in Ukraine were aiding local police to combat Ukrainian guerillas. Thus the activities of the Ukrainian insurgents still required military counter-measures by the Russians. In December 1949, the Minister of the Interior of the Ukrainian SSR, Lt. Gen. M. K. Kovalchuk, offered another amnesty to the UPA. The conclusions of his Amnesty Order, issued on December 30, 1949, in Kyiv are very important; they convinced everyone that (1) By the end of 1949, in Ukraine there existed a strong underground movement, (2) that the Ukrainian people supported this movement, (3) that Ukrainian youth left schools to join the UPA and (4) that the Soviet Russian Government made the families of the Ukrainian insurgents responsible for the activities of the UPA.

On March 5, 1950, Gen. Roman Shukhevych — Taras Chuprynka, Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, was killed in a battle near Lviv in Western Ukraine. It was a great loss to the Ukrainian underground. Gen. Shukhevych-Chuprynka was an able leader and, as such, he entered Ukrainian history. He was outstanding for his ability to organise the underground struggle in both its military and political aspects. Under his leadership, the UPA and the Ukrainian underground waged an entirely successful political struggle against the Kremlin. The Soviet press often confirmed the existence of this struggle, but the article which appeared in "Radianska Ukraina", the official

<sup>2</sup> These figures show only officers and soldiers of the Red Army or MVD-MGB troops. Civilians are not included.

<sup>3</sup> These figures are restricted to officers and soldiers of the UPA. Arrested and deported civilians are not included.

Soviet monitor in Kyiv, on August 12, 1951, is the best indication of its success:

“Ukrainian nationalists... are deeply inimical to the Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist theory of friendship and equality of peoples... They... attempt to favour the separation of the Ukrainian people from the Russian people, and to re-establish the capitalist system in Ukraine”. Furthermore the author said that the “bands of Ukrainian nationalists today are serving the American and British imperialists who by all means, including ideological diversions, are endeavouring to harm the communist system. For that reason they are trying to revive capitalism in the minds of the Soviet people”. He concluded his article by calling the Soviet citizens to vigilant struggle against the “bourgeois nationalist ideology”, that is anything which is or could be opposed to the Soviet communist way of life”<sup>4</sup>

Such is the picture of an “ideological diversion” by the Ukrainian underground. The scope of this “diversion” can be measured by the number of Ukrainian underground publications printed or mimeographed in Ukraine by the UPA and its affiliated organisations. Beyond the borders of Ukraine, there are known to be hundreds of underground books, newspapers, reviews, pamphlets, booklets, proclamations, posters, post-cards and wood-cuts, all aimed at unmasking the hateful Soviet regime. They depict the Soviet regime for what it is: a despotic and tyrannic dictatorship, a police state ruled by the Communist Party and its totalitarian police apparatus, a prison of peoples, oppressed by a master-race complex of Russian imperialists who aim at the destruction of the non-Russian peoples through unbelievable economic exploitation, forcible Russification and systematic genocidal practices.

The place of Gen. Taras Chuprynka was promptly taken by his assistant Col. Vasyl Koval who had been leading the UPA and the Ukrainian underground since March, 1950. In its final stage of the struggle for liberation the UPA was determined: (a) by every means to keep intact the network of the Ukrainian underground, built with such immense sacrifices of fighters, and to preserve it for future tasks; (b) to avoid costly military actions by concentrating on political and propaganda actions; (c) to prevent the enemy from blunting the morale of the Ukrainian people by terrorizing the most hated representatives of Soviet occupational forces and their collaborators from among the local population. Thus, not for one second did the enemy feel secure on Ukrainian territory.

In 1951-1952 the struggle was still going on. On his Sunday broadcast of January 21, 1951, Drew Pearson, a noted commentator, declared: “Moscow, exclusive: — Here is one of the most hopeful developments inside Russia. The American Embassy has just cabled word of riots in the Russian Ukraine. The uprising is so serious that two divisions of the Red Army have been

<sup>4</sup> Article by N. Ryaboklach under the title: “Indestructible Russian-Ukrainian Friendship” in “Radyanska Ukraina” from August 12, 1951.

sent to to Ukraine to quell the partisans now on the rampage in the Carpathians and around the Polissian marshes". Pearson was reporting the usual Soviet Russian winter campaign against the UPA and the Ukrainian underground. The Russians always chose winter time to deal the heaviest blows to the Ukrainians insurgents whose movements were considerably limited during the cold winter months.

In the winter campaign of 1951-1952, the Russians succeeded in killing another Ukrainian underground leader, Major Petro Poltava, who was one of the most able underground publicists and propagandists. In the U.S.A. Poltava is known for his articles and brochures written in the underground. He was the author of a letter to the US State Department about the broadcasts of the "Voice of America".

At the 17th Congress of the Communist Party of Ukraine, in September 1952, Leonid G. Melnikov, Secretary General of the Party and virtual Russian "gauleiter" in Ukraine, launched a fierce attack against the Ukrainian nationalists. He characterised them as "spies", "diversionists" and "agents" of "imperialist intelligence services", who have now "sold themselves out to new bosses, American and English imperialists". The vehemence with which Comrade Melnikov lashed out at the Ukrainian nationalists is ample indication of the deep and unending Russian concern over the political loyalty of the Ukrainian people. The Russians know that the Ukrainians, who, in the face of relentless Russian terror, were carrying on the struggle for liberty, would certainly, in the event of war, erupt and discharge their energies against the enemy, who had enslaved them. They also feared that systematic encouragement and staunch support of the anti-communist liberation movements, like the UPA by the USA and other countries of the West, would cause them immense internal troubles and would show that the Soviet Union is uniquely vulnerable to the modern strategy of disruption and sabotage it has pioneered and developed.

In Ukraine, the acute Russian sensitivity over the proposed support of underground movements in the Soviet Union (The Kersten Amendment) showed itself in provocative measures by the Soviet Russian Government in regard to the Ukrainian population. According to the underground reports, during the whole of 1952, the Ukrainian underground forces had to fight against provocative bands clad in American and British uniforms and set up by the Russians terrorise the Ukrainian population and to paralyse all their efforts to assist "parachutists" and "diversionists" dropped from foreign airplanes. In most cases the bandits, who posed as parachutists pillaged the villages for food, executed the people at random for alleged "collaboration" with the Russians, behaved altogether like hooligans and, at last, attracted Soviet Russian punitive expeditions, which, in their turn, punished the people for "collaboration" with the American "spies" and "diversionists". All this had the purpose of knocking out every thought about co-operation with dropped parachutists from the minds of the Ukrainian people.

The increasing onslaught by the Kremlin and its forces against the Ukrainians and their struggle for freedom was viewed with seriousness by the American press commentators. C. E. (Gene) Fisher wrote, on October 2, 1952, in the New York World Telegram and Sun, about the blows against the Ukrainians saying:

“But the violence of these blasts, particularly in Ukraine, hints that it’s not all hogwash. Moreover, along with “bourgeois nationalism”, the Kremlin’s organs of education and enlightenment are also discovering “US agents”. While Moscow has indoctrinated its people to believe the fellow next door may be an enemy of the state, it’s a serious admission for the Kremlin to say Americans have penetrated with their agents on a grand scale. The “agents” of course are not Americans at all. The people the Kremlin fears now are the nationalists. Only two years ago Stalin let it be broadcasted that “the worst enemies of the people”, the apparently unkillable Ukrainian nationalists had been liquidated. But now the Ukrainian party chief L. G. Melnikov is raging once more against them as “spies”, etc. Meanwhile the Soviet press has been full of criticism of the region’s coal miners, industrial workers, hydro-electric programmes, party leaders, etc. It seems the Ukrainians have risen, Phoenixlike, from their ashes to plague the Red rulers again”.

Certainly, it was not hogwash. The Kremlin had to think it over and over again. Recently the switch went the full 180 degrees: the Ukraine’s Communist Party boss, Leonid G. Melnikov, was fired for “profound mistakes in the selection and carrying out of national policy”. Melnikov was charged with mishandling the situation in Western Ukraine by placing Russians into administrative positions, taking a wrong line on collectivisation and ordering the Russian language to be taught in higher schools. For the first time in the history of the Ukrainian SSR, a Ukrainian, Kirichenko, was appointed First Secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party. Two noted Ukrainian writers, Korniyuchuk and Bazhan, were assigned posts in the Government of the Soviet Ukraine; Korniyuchuk was reinstated as Vice-Premier. Hryhoriy Ivanovych Petrovsky, an old Ukrainian Bolshevik, who was purged in 1938 received a medal. The son of a noted Ukrainian writer — Semen Vasylovych Stefanyk, was appointed Vice-Premier of the Ukrainian SSR. Another Ukrainian writer, Pavlo Tychyna, became chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Ukrainian Soviet. “Time” commented, on June 22, 1953: “Some very humble people somewhere have won a victory against Communism”. Alas, “Time” did not notice that the humble people had to win their victory by shooting at their enemies. However, nobody in the USA noticed that in May, 1951, in July, 1952, and in February, 1953, (cf. “Radianska Ukraina” and “Pravda Ukrainy”) M. S. Hrechukha, head of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of Ukraine, bestowed medals of the “Red Star” and other decorations upon several officers of the MVD and MGB for their “battle merits”.

For what "battle merits" did Hrechukha bestow these medals upon the officers of the Soviet Russian security service six, seven or eight years after VE Day? Did the representatives of the Soviet Russian power really need to be encouraged with war decorations in the fight against the "humble people"?

\*

This article has not dealt with the struggle of the UPA on the Ukrainian territories to the West of the Curzon line, i.e. in the areas of Kholm, Lubachiv, Yaroslav, Peremyshl, Sianok and Dukla, which now belong to Poland. From this territory, the Ukrainian insurgents made very successful raids on the territories of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, which reverberated in the parliaments of those countries and echoed in the press of Western Europe and the United States. The struggle was highlighted by the assassination of the Communist Polish Vice-Minister of Defence — Gen. Walter Swierczewski — an internationally known Communist leader (killed in battle on March 28, 1947). This led to the conclusion of a tripartite pact on May 12, 1947, by the Soviet Union, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia, aiming at mutual aid in the destruction of the UPA. After a series of highpitched battles against the armed forces of three countries, the main forces of the UPA broke the encirclement and passed into Ukraine to continue their struggle against the Russians. Three battalions of the UPA were ordered to cross into the US Zone of Germany. In the fall of 1947, some 400 Ukrainian insurgents surrendered to the American authorities after fighting their way through more than 700 miles of Polish and Czecho-Slovak territory. Other small groups arrived in 1948 and 1949. Of course, these events gained considerable publicity in the West.

Read

Read

## ABN Correspondence

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Dr. Roman MALASHCHUK

**“FOR WHOM THE BELLS DID NOT TOLL...”**

*(Reflections on the 40th Anniversary of Liberation from German Concentration Camps May 6, 1945 — May 6, 1985)*

*In memory of all Ukrainian political prisoners who died for Ukraine in German concentration camps.*

Time flows by... the days, weeks, months and years...

Life drives us on as a rider spurs his horse or a racer, his car: start, forward, speed up, fast, faster, faster... Every day, every hour, we are burdened with its affairs, problems, cares and troubles: they often seem to us to be life's great, difficult and complex problems and they, in turn, take away our strength and energy, captivating our thoughts, minds and feelings, occasionally even causing us sleepless nights.

With the everyday hustle and bustle, affairs, work and trivia, we do not even notice how quickly the days, weeks and months are passing us by. How months become years. Many years. We do not notice how those years leave their mark on us, on those closest to us and on our community.

There is no time to think about such things, no time to think about the future and even less or no time at all to think about the past. The present day with its supposed problems and affairs, which forever fill up our time, and, which we, ourselves, exaggerate and complicate, absorbs us completely. This high, walled-in enclosure, which we, ourselves, built — this present day — firmly separates us from the past.

Thus, days pass us by and each such day seems exactly like the present day, so that we do not even notice how many of these days — these todays — have already passed.

\*

In reality, however, it is not so. Our lives cannot be made up of the present day alone. Life is yesterday, today and tomorrow. Only the organic connection of yesterday and today with tomorrow constitutes the essence of real human existence. This refers equally to individuals, to mankind, to the community and to a nation. In the words of a true son of the Ukrainian nation, Taras Shevchenko, the whole universe is made up of the living, those already dead and those not yet born.

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Therefore, let us pull up our horse and let him rest awhile — let him graze in the green meadow and let us too, stop for a moment. Let us stop and look back. Let us stop the clock for just a moment. We shall not lose

anything of our present day by doing so. On the contrary, it is a necessary and vital factor in our lives, like the sun and spring showers — like air!

Let us turn our minds back to the past, when more often than not, one day, one hour seemed like years, like an eternity — and eternity seemed but a moment.

Those for whom eternity seemed like a moment are no longer with us. They have already passed on to the after-life. Yet we, for many of whom hours seemed like an eternity, are still alive today. We live on, we work — we function.

Let us turn our minds back to those past times, when life meant something and was of an inestimable value yet at the same time, was not worth a farthing; when men and nations had to fight for life — a life, which could neither be weighed, measured up nor estimated in dollars as it is today, when we hear of a given person being worth so many thousands of dollars.

No, even at that time, it was a question of existence, or real human existence, of men, of nations and of the values, which can never be estimated in dollars. The highest values — human existence, nations, freedom, states, independence were all placed at stake. Not our own current, everyday, exaggerated troubles with regard to ourselves, our family and community life, nor our everyday complaints about the conditions of life, the difficulties, the lack of time and energy overburdened by everyday work, nor our present day dissatisfactions and complaints about the small, trivial obstacles in our lives or some other business failures, which grow before our eyes, taking on excessive proportions and extraordinary importance. Neither our small everyday pleasures nor satisfactions derived from some achievement, which may seem to be something big today, but in reality is small and petty.

We tear ourselves away from the past and lose all sense of proportion regarding our everyday events, problems and affairs. On the one hand, we grossly exaggerate the less important things, often complicating them and allowing them to rule our everyday lives, while on the other hand, we do not place enough emphasis or value on the essential matters in life. We do not attach enough meaning and importance to them, nor do we measure them against life as a whole on the level, which they actually exist — on a level where they have always been and will always remain, in spite of how they are regarded and evaluated in the world in which we live today.

I am thinking of the days and years of the Second World War. I am thinking, too, of those eternal ideals and values for which people paid (and will always pay) the highest price — the price of their own blood and lives.

In 1985, 40 years will have passed since the end of the world armed struggle for those highest ideals and values in life.

The aims, which the Ukrainian nation fought for and, which millions of our brothers and sisters gave their lives for, be it on the battlefields or in hostile captivity — in prison, concentration camps, in hard labour camps or in exile; having been executed, murdered in gas chambers, emaciated through starvation, blown up by bombs, hung, destroyed, massacred and

tortured to death — men, women, youth, the elderly and even children — these great aims in our lives have not been achieved.

As a result, our nation continues to be enslaved. It goes on fighting and making sacrifices. Yet we, dispersed throughout the whole world seem somehow to be growing accustomed to and accepting our present situation silently. I am not saying that we have completely forgotten the past or that we are not doing anything for our great cause. On the contrary, we continue to work. We work for ourselves, for our own lives, our families, our community, for our nation and our cause. However, let us be honest. We do not work as much as we should nor as much as we could!

In 40 years much of what once happened has been forgotten. The events of that time, the people and the problems have all been forgotten. Even those closest to us appear before our eyes in a haze. Only occasionally — in the press, or in a book, or in someone's memoirs, or during a commemoration — someone, somewhere, will mention a past event or recall some person or another. Perhaps there is someone, who may be sitting alone behind closed doors, safe and secure, cut off from all the bustle and noise of everyday life, who will occasionally recollect and turn his mind for a moment to those with whom he once shared his misfortune and fate.

Many of them are no longer alive and nothing has been heard of many more. If they are still alive, then everyone is fully aware of the terrible and inhumane conditions, which they find themselves in.

For those, our mothers and fathers, our brothers and sisters, our sons and daughters, for all of them, the present day — 'today' — is something completely different than our 'today' here. Our everyday problems and affairs, all of our everyday troubles and worries, together with all our difficulties, griefs, dissatisfactions, disappointments, displeasures and failures and with everything, which comes with every day, every 'today'; all these things fade away and disappear bearing no importance at all when compared to that, which every day, every 'today', brings to those over there. To exist there, means to fight for life. Every day and every moment one's life is at stake. Can there be any comparison between our 'today' and the 'today' of those dear to us in Ukraine? I think not.

There are countless numbers of such 'todays' over there. Not one day, one week, one month, one, ten or twenty years...

We are a part of them. We are a part of our nation for it belongs to our recent past our 'yesterday'. What of it, if 40 years have passed since we managed to escape that hell? We escaped, but our dearest were left behind.

Do we need to use a lot of words — great words? It suffices to turn our thoughts for just a moment to the present and the past. One moment is enough.

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I see them all. Those, who have risked everything they had, including their own lives. I see how they fight for the greatest values which a person or a

nation can possibly possess. Everything else is unimportant, worthless. Everything else lies scattered beneath our feet — trampled on, destroyed and mutilated. The struggle for the highest ideals — for freedom and for life itself — continues. Everything else can be picked up, rebuilt, renewed, regained and raised from the ashes of destruction and ruin, but only in conditions of freedom and life. This is why the struggle goes on. There is no need, nor place, nor time left for anything else.

Among them I see those behind the barbed wire and barricades of the concentration camps. The enemy has already crossed them off life's register and cut them off from life completely. They are already destined for destruction. They have no hopes for the future.

I see how, on a dark night, tens of thousands of these condemned, stand, lined up in long rows after a whole day of torture. They stand in the Auschwitz concentration camp yard during the evening roll-call. The entire area of the small yard and all the roads and passages between the barracks are filled with people. A late autumn rain and snow are falling. The cold rain drips down their backs, they shiver in the icy wind and their feet sink into the mud. Yet, they go on standing. To one side, many are lying in the mud puddles — they are still alive, but no power on earth will make them rise again. Thick black smoke appears from the flues of the crematorium and the air is filled with the smell of the burning human bodies, who only yesterday lay in the mud during evening roll-call. Now they are being released — freed — via the flues. Ten thousand of them continue to stand. An hour passes, two, three... They go on standing. They fight for life deep within themselves.

Another roll-call. A group — twelve men are being led away. Bare-headed and bare-backed. Hands tied behind their backs. A squad of Gestapo with machine guns ready to fire — there is no escape. The rolling of drums. The condemned walk heavily with heads lifted proudly and lips, sadly pursed. Silently they step up on to the scaffold. Twelve gallows. For them the fleeting moment means eternity. Thousands of prisoners go on standing motionless, rooted to the spot. Only the sound of rustling leaves on the trees in the spring wind...

I recall the murder of two brothers — Oleksander and the robust, strong, Wasyl Bandera. It did not take one day for them to die, nor two. I see thousands of such sturdy and robust men. I see them persecuted, starved and completely exhausted. I see them fall, rise and fall again — from exhaustion, hunger, thirst, from beneath the blows. In the frost and rain, beneath the scorching sun, in the mud and snow. They are convoyed, dragged, carried and driven. I can still hear the orchestra playing at the entry gates of the camp, as if in derision of a march, and those walking by straightening up their ranks and walking in step.

I also see them wearing only shirts on a fierce winter day being driven away in trucks, to the gas chambers. How with one last effort of strength they wave their frozen blue hands in farewell to those who are being left behind alive.

They also part with those who are dearest to them, but being far away these people cannot foresee that someone dear to them is being led along the path toward death. I see those, whose young lives are cut short by the deadly poisonous needle. And also those, who climb on to the barbed wire themselves, in order to end their own lives...

I can visualize the evacuation of Auschwitz on January 18, 1945. Long rows of human shadows wading through the snow. Those who have no strength left, to keep in step, are shot on the spot — the gun barrel being placed against the nape of their necks. Then they are left to rot in the ditches beside the roads. The icy winter wind sings their requiem and the white snow is their undertaker... No!! “for them the bells did not toll...”. And no one put up a cross for them.

\*

I see how, with great losses, the procession reaches the Mauthausen concentration camp and how, after the long trek, the prisoners stand in the yard, in frost and snow, there being no place for them to go. They stand there night and day. Without a scrap of food or a drop of water. I see how people fall down into the snow and freeze to death. Those who are left are led naked and bare-foot across the snow to the barracks, where there is not even any room to stand and at night they have to lie down. How? The orderlies take care of that.

I see the remainder of the people in the concentration camp at Ebensee. How they burrow through the underground tunnels like moles. Ragged, covered in dust and soil, with bare legs, wearing only wooden clogs even though it is February outside. They break up the rocks, burrow in the ground under the cover of the guards’ revolvers — and under the watchful eyes of the SS men and the informers. I see how they fall. In the shafts, on the roads and during the roll-call. I see how they are dragged to the crematorium... How every day our ranks thin out. And how, finally, on May 6, 1945 — our Easter Day — freedom comes for some of them.

\*

We would like to pay our respects to those who perished and did not live to see this day of freedom.

They did not die on the battlefields — the fields of glory. No, they fell in other fields — they died for that same great cause, for which millions fell and gave their lives, in every part of Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian lands. Not all of them fell to bullets. It took a long time for them to die. Years!

\*

In a novel entitled — “Legion 1936”, by the Spanish author, Pedro Garcia Suarez, there is a chapter in which he writes about a young legionnaire, an aide named Antunez. After spending fifteen days in the Legion, this young aide reports to his Captain, Bernal. He says: “I’ve come to ask you, to request of you, to send me to the front. I want to go and fight, and die if

necessary". The experienced old Captain Bernal, who had been a Legion commandant for fifteen years, answered the young aide, scolding him: "...you want to die? What do you know of death?... We are living in such a tragic situation, amidst such tension, that were every legionnaire to die it would mean nothing... You, with all your youth, energy, health and being full of life, want to die without suffering? You want to be a hero without any anguish? You want glory, without going through hell?"

\*

We do not know the names of all those, who went through the hell of the concentration camps. Today, we only know that they did go through it. They went through it courageously and with the dignity of those, who know what it is all about and the price one has to pay. They did not complain or bemoan their fate. Nor did they beg for mercy. They did not tremble or bow to the enemy. When they fell it was not to their knees to beg for mercy, but from hunger, thirst or murderous gunshots...

The above-mentioned Captain Bernal says: "A legionnaire never says that he is weary until he drops dead...". Such were they!

We also do not know how many of them there were. We do not know all their names or how many of them are today going through the hell of the Russian occupier. Perhaps it is not yet the right time to make such an analysis.

Hell is not yet over, even though all of us, here, do not always remember it. The battle goes on and the warriors continue to fall. One thing we do know for certain is that their names are legendary. And that the Ukrainian nation cherishes and will cherish their memory forever. They died yesterday and continue to die today, so that their nation can live and be free tomorrow.

By recalling them all — those known and unknown — by paying them all the respect they are due, by always remembering them and by leading our lives and conducting all of our actions and affairs as they did — we can once again become like those, who do not only have this grey 'today', but have a yesterday, a today and a tomorrow. Thus, with all of our combined efforts, work and sacrifices — those of our people in Ukraine and those of us through the world — to help our country in its struggle, we will build a Ukrainian State and once again be an equal among the equal and free among the free. And the Ukrainian people will once again be the rulers in their own Ukrainian homeland!

Translated from Ukrainian by *Iryna Kapustynska*

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*Auschwitz Prisoner 57349*

**ON THE 40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LIBERATION  
FROM GERMAN CAPTIVITY  
1945-1985**

*THOSE HISTORICAL DAYS...*

On September 1, 1939, when German tanks moved out to the east at dawn and bombs fell on many towns, including the ancient capital of Western Ukraine — the princely city of Lviv — everyone might have felt that a new chapter in history had begun...

We — all the participants, of the Students' Congress, which had been convened in Lviv on A. Mitskevych Street, 11, opposite the Cathedral of St. George — were at the time imprisoned in the notorious *Brygidki* prison, having been arrested as early as March 21 of the same year.

Apparently, no one opening this new chapter had any notion of how it would end. Many associated this event with hopes and expectations of great political changes, especially for Eastern Europe. Perceptive analysts pointed out that Hitler's aim was not to conquer Poland nor Western Europe and England, but Moscow. At that time many nations were enslaved by Moscow and incorporated into the so-called USSR (just as today, with the addition of the so-called "satellite countries" and with the aim of "doing away with America"). Therefore hopes were raised for the liberation of those nations and their restoration as independent states. Such were the hopes, expectations and desires which were only the logical outcome of events.

Indeed, on June 22, 1941, Germany invaded the USSR. However, when Germany objected to the restoration of Ukrainian Statehood which had been proclaimed on June 30, 1941, in Lviv and struck out at Ukrainian nationalists, then one could already foresee how this chapter in history, opened up by the Germans, would end. The Germans had no intention of consolidating the hopes not only with regard to Ukraine, but of all the other subjugated nations in the USSR. Their policy was one of barbaric exploitation and destruction. These are all well-known facts.

Ukraine found itself between the hammer and the anvil: on the one hand our people were being destroyed by a retreating enemy, on the other, by an attacking one. In such a difficult situation the Ukrainian nation rose to defend its rights, namely, to rule over its own land and fate, and began to fight for its restoration as an independent state. The avantgarde of the nation — its organised forces, which led the revolutionary liberation struggle against the occupiers of Ukraine between two World Wars, rose in battle. This was the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). It raised its weapons first against Nazi Germany and later against Bolshevik Russia. In

its struggle, the OUN organised the armed forces of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which included besides its cadres, thousands of Ukrainian patriots, especially young people, who, for many long years, had led the liberation struggle against the occupiers for their own independent state.

The Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO) and the OUN between March 15, 1939, and June 30, 1941, and the UPA and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council in 1944, were the organised forces, which led this struggle. Ukraine gave them its best sons and daughters. It resisted and opposed both invaders with various tactics in different locations and parts of Ukraine.

This great struggle on two fronts required many sacrifices — the lives of fighters, not only from the organised armed forces headed by their Commander-in-Chief Roman Shukhevych-Chuprynka, but also fighters from other groups. I have already mentioned that on September 1, 1939, the whole Students' Congress was incarcerated at the *Brygidki* prison. We were still there when the Germans surrounded Lviv and the Red Army crossed the River Zbruch on September 17, 1939, as well as at the time of the German retreat and when the Bolsheviks had closed in on Lviv, until the Poles released us on September 30, 1939. Lviv was at that time under no one's command. Many Ukrainians passed through the Polish prisons and the Bereza Kartuzka concentration camp.

Along these other aforementioned lines, Ukrainian political prisoners languished and died in Polish, Russian and German prisons and concentration camps for the same cause. Many perished. We must also include in their numbers those Ukrainian prisoners-of-war, who had been forcibly deported to Germany at the beginning of the German-Russian confrontation. There were hundreds of thousands of them, who had hoped to fight against Russia, including women and children, who were tortured and then executed. Very many indeed perished. In a very short time they were murdered by the Germans either in prisoner-of-war camps or through other means.

Millions of prisoners perished in the "regular" concentration camps. Experts maintain that in Auschwitz alone 5 million people perished, and yet there were many other such Auschwitzes. Jews were not the only ones, who perished, but also Ukrainians, Poles, French, Belgians, Dutch, Czechs and many others from all the countries under German occupation.

Forty years ago in 1945, a chapter in history, which was begun by Hitler, came to an end. It ended tragically, not only for the Germans, but also for millions, whom fate had placed on the place d'armes of World War II.

A second bloody chapter in history, which is being written by Moscow today, has not yet come to an end, but it will probably end in the same way as the chapter, which had been begun by Germany. On the ruins of the Russian people-hating empire — the prison of nations — free and independent states will rise as liberated nations, including Ukraine!

Let us pay homage to all those Ukrainians, who died for Ukraine on various fronts, on Ukrainian and non-Ukrainian territory and, on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the liberation from German concentration camps, to those Ukrainian prisoners, who perished there.

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## *News From Ukraine*

### CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

#### Number 5

The Catholic church in the village of Mereshiv, Peremyshlyany district, Lviv region, was closed because the villagers did not accept a Russian priest. There is nothing in the law which states that only a priest, and a Russian Orthodox priest at that, has the right to conduct services in a church. The church was closed in 1983.

\*

In 1984, the functioning church in the village of Kemeriv, Peremyshlyany district, was closed on the same grounds. An undertaker's establishment was opened up in the church.

\*

On 23 May, 1984, in the town of Bibrka, the functioning church of the local Ukrainian Catholics was destroyed on the grounds that they did not accept a Russian priest. That day, a motor vehicle full of soldiers arrived outside the church and in 15 minutes there was nothing left of the church. The books, icons and banners, and all the other church property were completely destroyed.

\*

On Easter Day, in the village of Tuchne, district of Peremyshlyany, the public prosecutor of the district, Kovalchuk, drove around the village with a mob of militia. They forced their way into houses and if the people in the house were listening to the Holy Mass broadcast from the Vatican, then he personally switched off their radio and threatened the owners with deportation to Siberia. If this were to happen, who would be left in the village?

The faithful lackeys of the Muscovite occupants, the local Communists, were leaping out of their skin to earn Judas' silver pieces. But one should not forget that it does not matter in the slightest to the occupants, whom they destroy first. Having destroyed the Ukrainian Catholic Church, they will turn on the local Communists. This has happened before...

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In the village of Velyki Komyaty, a search was carried out in the house of Ivancho, Vasylyna, a Catholic. A Catholic catechism, a Bible and a prayer book "For All Needs" were taken away. After the search, Vasylyna Ivancho was taken to the district town of Vynohradiv.

\*

The Catholic believer, Petro Symko, is gravely ill. He has gone blind and is chained to his bed by a serious illness. Pray for brother Symko! In the past, Petro Symko was one of the greatest activists of the Catholic underground in Ukraine. Pray every day and at all times of need for our courageous brother.

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On 30th May, the relatives of Fr. Antin Potochnyak received a telegram informing them of Fr. Antin's death or, to be more precise, of his murder.

\*

In the village of Hrusheve, Tyachivskiyi district, Zakarpatska region, M. Mykulyanych, a Jehovah's Witness, was arrested. He was accused on the basis of art. 209-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. During a search, a Bible and several issues of the magazine "Watchtower" and "Awake" were confiscated. His trial took place at the end of March and he was sentenced to 3 years of concentration camps.

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In the village of Teresva, Tyachivskiyi district, the rural workers, Ivan Zyzya, was arrested for returning his passport to the authorities stating that he refused to have anything in common with the authorities of Satan. I. Zyzya is one of the Catholics who returned from "penitence". During the inquest a KGB man said to Zyzya: "It would have been better had you remained the way you were. We wouldn't have to put you on trial..." Zyzya was sentenced to two years of concentration camps. On the third day after his arrival in the concentration camp at Pischanka, Ivan Zyzya was confined to a punishment cell.

\*

In the village of Tereblya, Tyachivskiyi district, Ivan Roman, who worked for the forestry commission, was arrested. He was accused of the membership of the Church of the Evangelical Christians — Baptists, according to art. 138-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR. His trial took place in February, 1984.

\*

Case No. 3-1, 1984.

## DECISION

27th February, 1984.

The People's District Court of Stryi, Lviv region, composed of the following:

Presiding judge — Mamchur Ya. S.

People's assessors — Ratych M. M., Yunyk S. M.

Secretary — Yurkiv O. P.

in the presence of the public prosecutor — Yaroshchak P. V.  
and the attorney — Matsypura H. I.

examined at an open hearing in the town of Stryi, the proposal submitted by the administrative staff of the Berezhnytskyi inter-district psychiatric hospital of the Stryi district, Lviv region, to change the type of psychiatric hospital for Rafalskyi Victor Parfentiyevych, born in 1918, who is ill. He was charged according to art. 62-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR by the decision of 5th March, 1981, of the People's District Court of Sychevsk, Smolensk region, and directed to undergo treatment at a general psychiatric hospital.

#### DECISION :

The administration of the psychiatric hospital has asked that the type of medical treatment administered on Rafalskyi V. P. be changed from compulsory treatment in a general psychiatric hospital to compulsory treatment in a special psychiatric hospital, due to a deterioration in his condition. At the end of January, 1983, he escaped from the hospital and was apprehended in Moscow. After his return to the hospital, on 17. 3. 1983, his mental state failed to improve. He needs constant attention so that he does not repeat his socially-dangerous actions again. This is rather difficult to do in the conditions of a general psychiatric hospital.

From the conclusions drawn by the fixed legal-psychiatric commission No. 48 of 1. 2. 1984, it is obvious that Rafalskyi V. P. is suffering from mental illness in the form of schizophrenia with a pronounced defect in his will and emotions. The characteristics of the course of his illness and the nature of the dangerous acts, which he has repeatedly committed, indicate the necessity, in this case, of administering compulsory medical treatment on the ill Rafalskyi V. P., in a special hospital in the MVD<sup>1</sup> system.

Having examined the gathered evidence, poems written in a state of schizophrenic delirium, various expressions criticising the CPSU and the conclusions of the public prosecutor and the defending attorney, the court sees necessary to administer compulsory treatment on Rafalskyi in a special psychiatric hospital, and therefore, on the basis of the above evidence, and also due to the fact that in the conditions of a special psychiatric hospital it will not be possible for him to commit his next socially-dangerous crime, in accordance with art. 13 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR and art. 422 of the Criminal Procedural Code of the Ukrainian SSR, the court has decided to:

Change the type of compulsory treatment administered on Rafalskyi V. P. from a general psychiatric hospital to a special psychiatric hospital in the MVD system.

This decision may be appealed in Lviv Regional Court, within the next seven days.

Presiding judge — *Mamchur Ya. S.*  
People's assessors — *Ratysh M. M., Yunyk S. M.*  
Conforms with the original document :  
Head of the People's Court — *Ya. S. Mamchur*

<sup>1</sup> Ministry of the Interior of the USSR.

It is interesting to know why poems written in a state of “schizophrenic delirium” are dangerous to the CPSU and why an escape to Moscow is an immeasurable crime?

Is it possible that those who treat Rafalskyi so cruelly are so sure of their impunity? Is it possible that they think their attempts to destroy a Ukrainian patriot will be drowned in the Lethe?<sup>2</sup> Behind the psychiatrists and the Soviet Court stands the KGB — itself a terrible criminal. It is responsible for all the crimes committed by the authorities. The Catholic Church considers the sentence of compulsory treatment in a psychiatric hospital, passed upon Rafalskyi, to be a plain encroachment on the life of a Ukrainian poet, and we shall never forget the victim of the highhandedness of the KGB or those who torment him.

Pray for the martyr Rafalskyi! Protest!

\*

Ukrainians!

From the 3rd to the 9th of May, many Catholics and non-Catholics, on the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine, received notification from the Military Commissariat about the call-up of reservists, apparently due to the worsening situation of the USSR. What is this? This is an obvious provocation on the part of the Muscovite occupants. There is no situation of tension. They want to throw you into the carnage of Afghanistan.

The conscience of every member of the Ukrainian nation will be with him. Decide for yourselves which way to turn your weapons and your hate, according to your conscience and the faith of your fathers and grandfathers, which is scorned and destroyed by Moscow...

\*

Recently the authorities began to use the term “neo-Uniates”. What is this? Where do they originate from and do they exist? Basically, the authorities are presently seeking ways of discrediting our Ukrainian Catholic Church. Therefore, the KGB has brought into use the term “neo-Uniates” in place of the old name “penitents” [pokutnyky — in Ukrainian]...

It is perfectly obvious that a “Uniate” is someone who has united with Rome. In that case, with whom have the KGB’s “neo-Uniates” formed a union? This ill-considered provocation at the hands of the KGB eventually made its way to the texts of broadcasts by “Radio Liberty”. But, it is easier for them than for anyone else, to get the true facts from Patriarch Josyf I, the head of our Church. Even the fraction of “penitents” do not call themselves “neo-Uniates”. They do not call themselves “penitents” either, but true Catholics. What is more, after the departure of Fr. Antin Potochnyak from this “movement”, the main body of faithful returned to their previous positions, and the few dozen who remained on the instructions of the KGB, suddenly by someone’s ill-considered move, became “neo-Uniates”. Only

<sup>2</sup> Mythology — forgetfulness.

a person unversed in the matters of the faith can use the term “neo-Uniates”. Thus, it is even more unusual that the Ukrainian department of “Radio Liberty” found it possible to devote time to the “neo-Uniates”, who do not exist. However, someone has brought this information to the “Radio”!

Our faithful often ask why our (Ukrainian) department of the “Radio” does not devote its attention to the religious upbringing of our youth? They tell us to write to Nadiyka, but it is not Svitlychna, who puts together the programmes. They ask why there is so much “water” in the programmes, why the Russian department of “Liberty” is more interesting than ours, and thousands of other questions, “Why?”... We explain to them that we do not have any influence at all on the composition of radio broadcasts. The only thing we can do is to ask “Radio Vatican” for a Ukrainian section, so that after the service, it could broadcast more materials on Church unity, and also the artistic creations and musical compositions of our national poets, composers and writers.

\*

To the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR  
from citizen Kobryn, Vasyl Antonovych.

### STATEMENT

On the 1st of November, 1979, the people of Lviv, according to Christian tradition, came down to the Yanivskyi cemetery to visit the graves of their deceased parents and relatives, so that on that day they could remember them in their prayers. I also came to the cemetery to visit the graves of my relatives and close friends. When I was walking past the graves of the Sich Riflemen, I saw how the KGB and the militia walked around in lines kicking over with the toe-caps of their boots the candles and wreaths, which the people of Lviv had placed on the graves of their sons and fathers during the night...

I walked up to a demolished grave and replaced a candle, which had been trampled into the snow. I did as was required of a Christian. Then about 5 or 6 men in uniform jumped upon me and began to beat me up without uttering a single word. At the same time, the KGB men were forcing me to knock the candle off the grave. I refused...

After that, the militia led me away to the administrative building of the cemetery, where they searched me and began to interrogate me. I refused to answer their questions, stating that all this was a breach of Soviet law. They began to beat me once again, swearing and reproaching me as a nationalist. Then some official of the KGB walked in, took a bunch of flowers, which had been taken away from an old woman, from the table and said that he will place those flowers on the grave of her... (he expressed himself using an obscene word) Kozak (a Communist killed in the 1930s). I could not bear this and said that nobody talks about the dead like that, especially about their fellow Communist. The KGB man replied that everyone in “Bande-

rivshchyna”<sup>3</sup> is a “Banderite”<sup>4</sup> and if he personally was in charge then he would shoot everybody... There is nothing strange about this for the organs of the KGB are filled with people to whom nothing is sacred, and what is more, people who are the bitter enemies of Ukraine. The KGB are uncontrolled criminals in the service of the state, which cannot do without those “oprychnyky”<sup>5</sup>.

After the brainwashing, I was led away to the district court, where, without any of the normal customary procedures, the judge read out his decision — 15 days of arrest. When I asked for what reason and where in Soviet law it is stated that people should be put on trial for visiting the graves of the Sich Riflemen, he shouted out that they [the militia] should take me away and give me a good seeing to for I was too clever. After the trial, I declared a hunger strike in Russian.

On the 6th day, the public prosecutor came down and began a conversation with me. He put all sorts of provocative questions to me, called me a nationalist and finally gave orders that I should be taken to the regional psychiatric hospital. This was done by the militia and the murderers in white coats.

The doctors asked me why I had been arrested by the militia. When I replied that they arrested me for visiting the graves of the Sich Riflemen, they began to laugh. Then one of the doctors said that they will treat me for a while and I would be cured of the Banderite nonsense...

After 15 days, the senior doctor, Myziuk B. U., summoned me and said that if I did not go to the graves any more, I would be released. In his final report on me he put down “psychopathy”. I did not know that my relatives had raised their voices on my behalf and were anxious to secure my release. The doctor went on to say that if I had not been a Ukrainian Catholic, then most probably no one would have bothered me.

One should not think that the Communists of Moscow have destroyed only Ukrainian graves. No! The city of Lviv is full of graves from the tragic invasions of various nations, with the exception of Russian graves... Soldiers of the Polish armies were buried at the same time as the Sich Riflemen. Their graves have also been destroyed. I would like to add that these graves were built not long before the so-called Soviet rule in Russia itself. The Polish community, at its own leisure, erected magnificent monuments to the American, English and French officers who fought on the side of the Poles against the UNR<sup>6</sup>, but it never occurred to anyone to destroy these graves...

<sup>3</sup> Derogatory term applied to Ukraine by the Russians. It is derived from Stepan Bandera, leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) from 1940-1959.

<sup>4</sup> Derogatory term applied to Ukrainian nationalists, in this case to all Ukrainians. Also derived from Stepan Bandera.

<sup>5</sup> Private army of Ivan IV “The Terrible” (1533-1584), Grand Duke of Muscovy, which spread terror throughout the land by killing and torturing people on the orders of their master, during his reign of terror “The Oprichchina”.

<sup>6</sup> Ukrainian National Republic.

And yet, the KGB troublemakers not only destroyed, but dishonoured these graves as well. They built garages on top of them!

In the 1930s, the Ukrainian community built magnificent monuments to the Turkish and German soldiers of the First World War. They met the same fate as the Polish graves...

The Jewish cemetery was not left in peace either. The start was made by the Hitlerites, the former allies of Moscow, and now there are sand quarries in the place where the Jewish cemetery once was...

From long ago, the Ukrainian people has respect for the graves of its ancestors. This is one of our national cults. As far back as the era of the Cossacks, our people raised huge mounds over their graves and placed crosses on the top. Now there are no Cossack graves. They have been destroyed by the most terrible occupant that history has ever known... The respect for graves is part of our national culture, part of our integrity, which you destroy with such cruelty and hatred. The sin itself, of desecrating graves, committed by people is terrible in itself, but you have overstepped all the bounds of what is permitted. You have spat in the face of all the nations of the world. Such is your culture. But what can one say when the fresh grave of the composer, V. Ivasiuk, was burnt on the very night after he was buried. All this is the work of the criminals and bandits of the KGB. I will not mention the Constitution and the law for the USSR does not have them, it has never had them and it never will...

I have written this statement in the hope that the matter of the graves and monuments will be resolved positively. What has been destroyed cannot be restored... But, you should bear in mind what will happen in the near future to your graves, where unwanted Russian "guests" are buried on our land. The graves are part of the history of our ancestors.

22nd January, 1980.

\*

On the 21st of May of this year [1984], Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi died at the age of 88. On 23rd May, the fiercest national revolutionary of Ukraine was buried in his native town.

V. Horbovyi knew I. Franko personally and was acquainted with many activists of the national movement of Ukraine. In 1919, he was wounded at Koziatyn, in a battle with the Muscovite invader. In 1922, he was sentenced to death by hanging by the regime of Pilsudski. He escaped from prison. He spent his time in hiding and after some time escaped across the border into the territory of Transcarpathian Ukraine, which had been ripped apart into 4 parts. Subcarpathian Rus<sup>7</sup> was formed out of Western Transcarpathia.

He lived in Paris and Bratislava. He was a member of the OUN and at the same time head of the Ukrainian National Committee. During the war, the

<sup>7</sup> Rus' is the ancient historical name of Ukraine.

Gestapo arrested him along with S. Bandera<sup>8</sup> and Ya. Stetsko<sup>9</sup>. He was incarcerated in Maobitski prison<sup>10</sup>. In 1947, he was arrested in “new” Poland for escaping the punishment of Marshal Pilsudski in 1922. In 1949, the Polish authorities handed V. Horbovyi over to the Soviets. He was the only person ever to have been imprisoned at the decision of the Central Committee of the CPSU. He spent 25 years in Soviet concentration camps.

May the memory of the national hero of Ukraine, Dr. Horbovyi, be everlasting!

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On Easter Day, the functioning church in the village of Dobrianske, Tyachevskiy district, Transcarpathian region, was closed down by force. The motives were exactly the same [as in the other villages] — the villagers did not want a Muscovite priest. After a brawl with the militia and its assistants, the local Orthodox priest was arrested, supposedly for being a secret Uniate under whose influence the villagers started the fight with the authorities. Five villagers were also arrested...

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Who knows how many times the authorities have already threatened the head of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, Yosyp Terelya, with physical punishment. This time, after the last “chat” and a proposition by the district public prosecutor, Stepan Brayila, who has even set a date for this — the 10th of June this year [1984], Yosyp Terelya has to consider the whole issue and come out with a proposition for the secession of the Ukrainian Catholic Church from the influence of the Pope. As a result of this, the authorities will give freedom to the so-called “autocephalous Ukrainian Catholic Church”... Interesting! The authorities say that the Ukrainian Catholic Church does not exist — that it was thought up by the Ukrainian emigrants together with Patriarch Josyf Slipyj. If this is so, to whom does Moscow want to “give” autocephaly? What kind of Catholic Church would it be without the Vatican?

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Why was Fr. Antin Potochnyak murdered?

In the years 1958-1959, in connection with the ascent of the Catholic Church in Ukraine, the Kremlin had the intention of creating dissention among the ranks of the Church. With this in mind, agents of the KGB were implanted among the underground members of the Catholic Church. Of particular note was KGB Major, Volodymyr Demchenko, a Ukrainian from the Donetsk region, who said that he loved the Eastern rite of the Catholic Church and also that he was a former employee of the KGB but had now repented and understood everything... The KGB did not choose the time

<sup>8</sup> See note 3.

<sup>9</sup> Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government set up on the 30th of June, 1941.

<sup>10</sup> Probably a mistake. It is known that, at that time Horbovyi was in Montyliupikh prison in Cracow.

after the death of Pope Pius XII for nothing. The Pope's death served the purpose of covering up the long-term aims of Moscow, which it failed to achieve...

V. Demchenko acquired from somewhere a "document", which stated that Pope Pius XII had been poisoned. This was the base upon which the KGB built its long-term goals...

At the same time, informers from among the camp "squealers" were also implanted. They had the task of influencing the faithful with their authority under the cover of their past. In this way, Oleksa Hnydin, a citizen of Lviv born in 1929, made his way into the underground. This agent provocateur carried out a special task in the movement of "penitents" in Ukraine. O. Hnydin betrayed a group of patriots who were planning the assassination of Khrushchev in 1961. This was a double provocation. Three people were shot and the remaining 19 received varying sentences of imprisonment. But, the most important thing is that those who had led to this affair disappeared somewhere without trace. Oleksa Hnydin also disappeared.

In order to save the Church and to prevent the KGB from preparing a split, Fr. Antin Potochnyak joined the KGB's movement of "penitents", on the instruction of the OUN. The work carried out by Fr. Antin was immense. With his authority, he prevented those faithful who had been allured from going down the path along which the agents of the KGB and the whole net of agents provocateurs from among the "formers", were pushing them. In 1982, Fr. Antin stepped forward and opened the eyes of very many faithful, as a result of which the main body returned to their former position. At this time, Fr. Antin was already a member of the UNF (Ukrainian National Front), which was formed in 1964 by Dmytro Kvetsko, a teacher, and Zinoviy Krasivskyi, a poet.

At the moment, there are only 10 "penitents" in Transcarpathian Ukraine, who actually believe in the "revelations" of the KGB and remain in their present position. In addition, 117 such people remain in Halychyna and Pokuttya...

The final work of the agent provocateur, O. Hnydin, was the arrest of Semen Skalych. The agent provocateur handed over all his archives, poems and notes to the KGB, and S. Skalych was locked away in a concentration camp in Perm for 15 years...

On the 29th of May, Fr. Antin Potochnyak was murdered. He was murdered out of revenge and awareness of the fact that the KGB had failed to create a split [in the Ukrainian Catholic Church]...

On the 28th of May, after his last "lavage" of the stomach, the sick Fr. Antin Potochnyak began to feel better. But, this came from the mouths of the murderers. On the 29th of May, his stomach became unusually bloated. The prison doctors said it was from porridge and milk... At 9 o'clock local time, Fr. Antin died.

The 72 year-old Ukrainian Catholic priest was tortured to death — murdered. May his memory be eternal!

Fr. Antin was born in 1912. After completing the Ecclesiastical Academy, he studied in Rome. He was an active participant of the national movement. In 1944, Fr. Antin was a military commander of the UPA. In 1947, he was sentenced to 25 years of concentration camps. He carried out a whole line of responsible tasks of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. On the whole, Fr. Antin spent over 29 years in prison and concentration camps. In 1982, he became a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine. Along with this, Fr. Antin was a member of the Central Leadership of the UNF, as a member of its Executive Committee. He was a faithful son of Ukraine, who devoted his entire conscious life to Ukraine and his people.

The murder of the priest had been thought up and decided in advance. The camp doctor, Captain Talyzin, and the camp commandant, Lt. Col. Povshenko, both of whom live in Lviv, are responsible for his murder! Murderers, who fearfully hide their eyes, filled with blood, walk along the streets of our native city... They will not be forgiven! Only the Lord God can forgive them... but such people do not repent. They just prepare themselves for new crimes because that is what their Party orders them to do...

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Bern, Switzerland,  
The International Christian Solidarity.

Brothers! Friends!

The task of the Church is to bring people round to recognise the will of God. And every particular Church aspires to propagate the will of our God, Who died on the cross for us and for our sins, and Who rose from the dead on the third day, as was written in the Holy Scripture. Our Ukrainian Catholic Church also aspires towards this. Our Church is one of the servants of Jesus Christ, for just as Jesus was persecuted and crucified, so our Church has been persecuted and crucified by the atheist Communists. We do not have the right to live and to exist. We are persecuted and without any rights! Jesus Christ said: "...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..." (Mat. 10:17-18). Every true Christian desires to win Christ's love and favour in everything, even in His death, for it is by this very thing that true Christians are distinguished... And it is true that: "...who does not take up his own cross and follow in My footsteps, he is not worthy of Me" (Mat. 10:38).

No one can say how many martyrs have given their lives for the love bequeathed to us by Jesus Christ. The rulers of the Kremlin decided for us and for the whole world, that the faith must be destroyed, and the Catholic Church with it... Moscow took upon itself this mission of Satan. It took it and stepped out against truth, sowing seeds of wickedness and hatred among the peoples of our planet, setting alight quarrels and military conflicts and threatening the world with nuclear war in order to paralyze the will of the

people through fear, and to force the people to bow down before the Prince of Darkness, and to reduce everyone and everything to the same level, to brand everyone with the mark of callousness and the negation of truth.

How can Christian solidarity oppose the atheist Communists? It can do so with truth and the freedom of speech!

Why do the rulers of the Kremlin destroy with such cruelty everything that is merely connected with the name of God? Why is there such hatred towards the Ukrainian Catholic Church? Our Church has never bowed its head before violence and evil. It has always remained with its people. The Church has taught to love, but it also teaches to resist... Without our Church we would become like our brothers in Eastern Ukraine, where there is only one church between ten villages, if even that. Jesus has been stolen from our people, the spirit of love and the spirit of solidarity have been destroyed, and our faithful and priests, who are spreading the Christian mission throughout the whole of Ukraine and also in Russia, are persecuted with hatred. In 1982, during my stay in Moscow, I was arrested in the apartment of a Russian Christian, Lena Sannikova. The people, who arrested me, took me down to the 10th Department of the militia, where the KGB conducted a "chat" with me, during which they demanded that I agreed to emigrate and also threatened me for propagating the idea of unity of Churches. One of the KGB men said: "Is Ukraine not enough for you? Why the devil are you preaching papism to the Russians? We are Orthodox". Thus, the KGB include themselves in the Orthodox Church. To my question that in this case why do they destroy every Christian Church, he replied that we are spies and traitors. As if my friends and I swore allegiance to Moscow.

Ukrainian Catholics will never bow their head before evil and violence. We have chosen to love and to fight! Our Church is grateful to our friends from the International Christian Solidarity. We are grateful because you have not forgotten our difficult struggle for the establishment of truth.

A new trial is being prepared for me, and this time they have threatened me with death... They do not know what they are doing.

Yours always in Jesus Christ,

*Yosyp Terelya*

7. 6. 1984.

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On the 7th of June this year [1984], all the priests of the region were summoned to the Mukachiv eparchy, where the decision of the Church authorities was read out to them. They are no longer to conduct services on Sunday. Instead, they are to conduct Mass on Saturday evening. In this way, Bishop Savva (Oleksander Pavlovych Babynets, appointed Bishop of Mukachiv and Uzhhorod on 18. 3. 1977) destroyed in a single sweep everything that had been sacred to every Christian throughout all the ages of our national history.

On Saturday, the 8th of June, the priests were summoned by the district authorities to the District Executive Committees, where it was officially stated to them that they are to conduct Mass on Saturday and not on Sunday morning or Sunday evening. Those priests, who did not have a beard (they were in a majority), were obliged by the officials dealing with religion to have beards! That the authorities have launched a drive against religion on such a wide scale is not new, but even Stalin feared to move at such tempos. Maybe the present rulers of the Kremlin have forgotten that the Ukrainians can fight for their rights? Such are the agents provocateurs, like Bishop Savva, who was once an informer of the KGB and on whose conscience lie dozens of those who were tortured to death and shot in the vaults of MGB-KGB. Because of information betrayed by him, the Ukrainian insurgents, Ivan Drach and Ivan Sytar, who lived in the village of Kolochava, Mizhhorodskiy district, Transcarpathian region, were shot, and also because he revealed the holy sacrament of confession, the KGB destroyed the whole family of V. Pakanych, all of whom were burnt alive in their own house.

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### **RUSSIANS REJECT AID PACKAGE SENT TO YURIY SHUKHEVYCH**

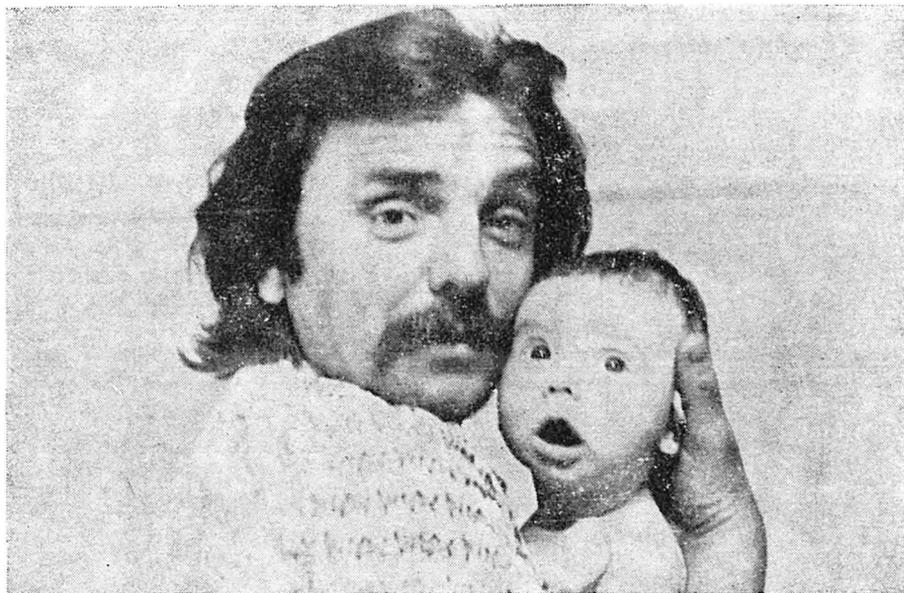
On February 2, 1984, the Cleveland Society for the Blind sent a package to Yuriy Shukhevych, a long-standing Ukrainian prisoner of conscience, who has gone completely blind after spending over 30 years in Russian prisons for refusing to denounce his father, General Roman Shukhevych, the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The package contained a white cane, a watch and cassette recorder for use by the blind, and cassette tapes containing a reading of the historical novel *Roksolana* by Soviet Ukrainian writer Pavlo Zahrebelny. The package was addressed to a home for the disabled in the Tomsk Region, where Yuriy Shukhevych is currently serving a term of exile. Almost six months later, on August 2, 1984, the package was returned by the Russian authorities to the senders, bearing a stamp indicating that its contents were prohibited.

This is just another in a series of cruel assaults by the Russian authorities against Yuriy Shukhevych, whose only crime was the refusal to denounce his father. Disabled by the torments he suffered in Russian prisons and concentration camps, he is now denied even the smallest, most harmless items that would help ease his fate.

This incident has disturbed many human rights and humanitarian organizations. Members of the U.S. Congress have already issued appeals to the Soviet Russian government, asking it to exhibit its proclaimed humaneness by allowing Yuriy Shukhevych to receive these items.

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## MYKOLA HORBAL SENTENCED TO 11 YEARS



*Mykola Horbal with his son Andriy*

Last month Mykola Horbal, a Ukrainian national and human rights activist, was sentenced to 8 years of camps and 3 years of exile on charges of “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda”, according to art. 62-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR (analogous to art. 70-2 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR). His trial was held in Mykolayiv, on April 8-10, 1985.

Mykola Horbal was accused of writing “anti-Soviet” songs (out of 87 manuscripts of songs confiscated from M. Horbal in 1979 during a search connected with the arrest of Yuriy Badzio, 45 were considered to be “anti-Soviet”). Witnesses stated that Mykola Horbal also put into practice what he had written in his songs. In addition, he was accused of writing poetry and the authorship of an article entitled “The Right to Defend Oneself”, an analysis of the materials of a previous fabricated legal case, which had been brought against him.

M. Horbal pleaded not guilty. However, he was deemed to be an especially dangerous recidivist and designated to serve his new sentence in a strict regime labour camp.

Mykola Horbal was born on 10. 9. 1941. He is a poet.

In 1970, he was arrested for the first time and sentenced to 7 years for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". After his release from a labour camp in 1978, Horbal was unable to find work as a teacher or composer and was forced to take a job as an electrician in Kyiv. There he took up residence with his wife and small child.

In 1979, after numerous attempts to gain permission to emigrate from the Soviet Union, Horbal joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group.

Shortly thereafter, dissident sources said, the KGB staged a bizarre street scene during which Horbal was attacked and beaten after turning down the sexual advances of a woman who worked as a secretary at the Kyiv office of Komsomol, the Communist Youth League. Immediately after the incident began, a police car pulled up and Horbal was taken to the police station, where he was accused of attempted rape. Found guilty, he was sentenced on January 21st, 1980, to five years in a labour camp, where he experienced brutal treatment. In a statement that reached the West in September, 1981, he said that he had never before experienced such suffering. He said there were times when suicide seemed like the only salvation.

He was arrested for the third time and sentenced to 8 years in a labour camp and three years of exile, in April, 1985, charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". He is presently serving his sentence in a strict-regime labour camp.

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## SOVIET JOURNAL ON RELIGIOUS DISSENT MAY EMBARRASS KREMLIN

A Soviet *samizdat* (underground) journal on religious dissent in western Ukraine that has recently reached the West could prove to be a source of considerable embarrassment to the Kremlin.

Ironically, it could also be a nettlesome factor in the Vatican's strategy regarding the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

The journal, called the Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine, focuses mainly on the plight of the outlawed Ukrainian Catholic (Uniate) Church in western Ukraine.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church was incorporated into the Russian Orthodox Church by an unsanctioned synod of 1946 in an effort to quell nationalist sentiments in Ukraine. At the time, virtually the entire hierarchy and clergy of the Church was arrested and subsequently killed by the Soviet Russians. The church, with an estimated 5 million adherents, functions underground today, with bishops and priests consecrated clandestinely.

The appearance of the Chronicle, eight issues of which have been smuggled out of the USSR, offers disquieting proof to the Soviets that four decades of vigorous persecution, coupled with the efforts of an elaborate atheist pro-

paganda apparatus, have failed to quash the Church or dampen the faith of its followers. The tales of arrests, trials and acts of civil disobedience outlined in the journal strongly suggest a marked resurgence of the Church, particularly in the rural and rugged Transcarpathian region bordering Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary and Poland.

Paradoxically, the widespread renaissance of the Church, which signed a union with Rome in 1596, may prove somewhat awkward for Pope John Paul II. He is an avowed champion of Roman Catholicism in the Eastern bloc and the man most responsible for emboldening Ukrainian Catholics and other persecuted Christians in Eastern Europe to profess their faith openly.

For decades the Vatican has had to play a delicate balancing act with Moscow, virtually writing off the Uniate Church in Ukraine in order to secure safeguards for Latin-rite Catholics in Lithuania and Poland. (The Ukrainian Catholic Church, technically part of the Roman Catholic Church, follows the Eastern rites.) The appearance of the *Chronicle*, and the resilience of the Ukrainian Catholic Church it represents, might force the Vatican to re-evaluate this strategy.

The journal itself consists primarily of reports documenting repression against Uniate activists in western Ukraine. First published in January, 1984, it was set up in 1982 by former political prisoner Yosyp Terelya to work for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and to publicize the plight of its members.

The monthly issues have also included details on the persecution of Baptists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostals, and other Protestant denominations, as well as reports on activities by the KGB (the Soviet secret police), incidents of armed resistance and sabotage, the number of men from Transcarpathia killed in Afghanistan, and the arrest of several Ukrainian Red Army officers for allegedly plotting to assassinate the late Soviet Defence Minister, Dmitri Ustinov.



*Yosyp Terelya*

Perhaps the most poignant accounts are those describing individual cases of persecution and suffering. There is the case of a man in the village of Dovhe who was arrested in January, 1984, severely beaten, and sentenced to two years in a labour camp for taking part in a traditional Christmas play. In another incident, young carolers in the small village of Lysychevo were attacked and beaten by militiamen.

The Chronicle details worsening conditions in psychiatric hospitals and labour camps, where men and women, sentenced for religious activities, are regularly placed in solitary confinement or tortured to get them to renounce their faith.

One labour camp, VL 315/30 in Lviv, is reportedly located on the site of a former Nazi concentration camp where 70,000 Jews and 42,000 Ukrainians, Russians, Frenchmen, Belgians and Gypsies were murdered. Today, the camp houses 300 Catholics, 29 Baptists, 2 Pentecostals, 15 Jehovah's Witnesses, five Seventh Day Adventists, and 39 Orthodox believers, according to the Chronicle.

The Chronicle also reports that some 900 Ukrainian Catholics either burned or surrendered their internal passports to protest the persecution of Christianity by the Soviet government. Mr. Terelya is quoted as saying that he expected some 3,000 others to follow suit. In another action, 59 men from Transcarpathia, 18 of them Jehovah's Witnesses, were recently convicted for refusing, on religious grounds, to serve in the military.

Despite a concerted effort by Soviet authorities to eradicate the Uniates, the Chronicle provides evidence of continued vitality. It notes that, from early 1981 to the beginning of last year, some 81 priests were secretly ordained in the Transcarpathian region alone, and that young children in the area receive a Christian education at an underground monastery.

The Chronicle appears at a time when the human-rights movement that gained momentum in the 1970s has been all but muted by arrests, deportations, and the exiling of dissidents to the far reaches of the country.

Moreover, the apparent revitalization of the Uniate Church in western Ukraine, historically a region of strong Ukrainian nationalism and deep-rooted anti-Soviet sentiment, must be disconcerting to the Soviets, because of the area's proximity to Poland. The Chronicle contains a letter from Terelya to Lech Walesa, leader of the banned Polish trade union Solidarity, in which he says that the struggle of the Polish nation for freedom "is the hope, which gives us strength for resistance". The Ukrainian Catholic Church is legal in Poland, where there is a large Ukrainian minority. Any links between Ukrainian activists and their counterparts in Poland would surely make the Kremlin uneasy.

According to Keston College in London, which monitors religious activity in the communist world, some 50 percent of the members of unregistered Protestant churches in the Soviet Union live in Ukraine, where they have been active despite official harassment.

Moscow has been trying to improve its image in the West, particularly as arms negotiations get under way. An underground journal depicting the brutal persecution of Christians will do little to enhance the nation's human-rights record. It seems likely that information provided by the Chronicle will be cited by the United States and its NATO allies at a meeting on human rights scheduled for this May in Ottawa.

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*M. SULATYCH*

## THE ETERNAL PATH OF HEROES

The month of March holds particular significance in the historical calendar of the Ukrainian people. During March, Ukrainians commemorate the birth and death of the great national genius, the poet Taras Shevchenko (March 9, 1814 to March 10, 1861). They also observe, in the same month, the death on the battlefield of the famous freedom-fighter, who spent his whole life struggling for national independence, General Roman Shukhevych, alias Taras Chuprynka. He was killed by Russian occupiers on March 5, 1950, near Lviv. And, also in March, is the birthday of Yuriy Shukhevych, the son of the late General, who is the embodiment of present-day Ukrainian freedom-fighters. He was born on March 28, 1933.

In the category of the most famous Ukrainians of the 20th century, one would include Patriarch Joseph Slipyj of the Ukrainian Catholic Church (1892-1984), Symon Petlura, President of the Ukrainian State in 1918-1920 (1879-1926), Stepan Bandera, Head of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (1905-1959), Yaroslav Stetsko, Prime Minister of the re-established Ukrainian state in 1941, who is the present Head of OUN, and quite certainly both of the Shukhevyches would have to be included in this category.

### **Under the Leadership of Stepan Bandera and Roman Shukhevych**

The period of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people when Gen. Shukhevych commanded the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), led the OUN in Ukraine, and was the Chairman of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) as well as being a member of the Ukrainian National Government of 1941 — was a period of mass heroism and of armed combat by thousands of men and women. On June 30, 1941, the Ukrainian State was re-established, but it was soon crushed by the Nazi-German imperialists. So, the people rose in a new liberation struggle.

As a child, Yuriy Shukhevych witnessed this freedom struggle by his own people — first, against the Polish invaders, then, against the German invaders, and finally, against the Communist-Russian invaders. When the Soviet Russian armies conquered the city of Lviv, in the summer of 1944, Yuriy, then 11 years old, was in hiding there with his mother, Natalia Berezynska-Shukhevych, while his father was engaged in mortal underground battles somewhere in the countryside.

The Russian invaders soon captured Yuriy and his mother and deported both of them to Siberia without any form of trial. Years passed, but the

liberation struggle in Ukraine did not cease. The Russians were suffering heavy losses in manpower, including the deaths of several generals. The rulers in the Kremlin then devised a scheme designed to apply psychological pressure and terror against the Commander-in-Chief, Gen. Shukhevych, by tormenting his family in order to force him into submission. According to a statement by Svyatoslav Karavansky, a participant of the OUN-UPA underground, "the prosecutor-general of the Ukrainian SSR, R. Rudenko, sanctioned the arrest of Yuriy Shukhevych, the minor son of General Shukhevych, in 1947".<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, three large, so-called 'Khrushchev' offensives by the occupation forces against the UPA failed miserably in their attempts to crush the Ukrainian Nationalist movement during 1945 and 1946. In 1947 millions of Ukrainians boycotted the farcical elections for the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR. Then Stalin removed Nikita Khrushchev from the position of colonial administration in Ukraine and replaced him with CPSU Politburo member, Lazar Kaganovich. The unsuccessful Chief of the NKVD forces in Ukraine, General Rysny, was also replaced by Lieut.-Gen. M. Kovalchuk.

Kaganovich soon realised that the OUN-UPA forces were much stronger than Moscow had estimated. Therefore, he urged the calling of a special Plenum of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the order of the day was: "Struggle against nationalism — the main threat to the Communist Party (bolshevik) of Ukraine!". As a result of this plenum, Kaganovich agreed to the terror tactics against the captured family of General Shukhevych. At a secret Special Meeting (OSO) of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR in Moscow, the decision to prosecute the adolescent Yuriy, was taken. Both he and his mother were arrested by the NKVD on August 22, 1948. At a mock trial he was sentenced to ten years of imprisonment in the ill-famed Russian prison at Vladimir on the Klyazma river. The only charge ever brought against Yuriy was that his father was conducting armed combat against the Russian invaders of his homeland.

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<sup>1</sup> To the College of the Supreme Court of the USSR, June 7, 1966, in *Lykho z rozumu*, Paris, 1967, p. 162-163.

Avraam Shyfrin, the prominent Zionist activist, who now lives in Israel, maintains that Yuriy was sent into a “children’s concentration camp” from which he was transferred to a regular one when he came of age.

In March, 1950, NKVD agents brought Yuriy to Ukraine to show him the corpse of his late father, who had been killed in battle in Bilohorshcha, near Lviv, on March 5, 1950. The Russian sadists expected the 17 year old Yuriy to break down. But instead, the boy became even more solemnly convinced of the righteousness of the revolutionary struggle as the only means to regain national independence for Ukraine. So, the infuriated NKVD officers sent him back to Vladimir prison.

The OUN-UPA underground continued to struggle against great odds in the 1950’s. In Soviet Russian concentration camps, uprisings were organized on a large scale and led primarily by im-



*Yuriy Shukhevych as a young man*

prisoned Ukrainian nationalists. A revolt occurred in East Berlin and another in the Polish region of Poznan. Following Stalin’s death, the Russian empire began to seriously come apart. A nation-wide uprising began in Hungary. Then Nikita Khrushchev, taking the reins of the empire into his bloodied hands, proclaimed the so-called theory of de-Stalinization in his speech to the CPSU Congress on February 12, 1956. One of the results of this speech was a decrease in the number of prisoners in concentration camps.

On April 12, 1956, Yuriy Shukhevych was released from the prison at Vladimir and allowed to return to Ukraine. The reason given for his release was that the ‘ukaz’ (order) of April 24, 1954, according to which he had been imprisoned was a mistake because he had been a minor.

### **Yuriy Shukhevych persecuted as a Nationalist in his own right**

After enjoying so-called freedom for less than six months, Yuriy was re-arrested by the KGB (formerly NKVD) on the basis of 'a protest' from R. Rudenko, who had by that time become the prosecutor-general of the USSR. Rudenko argued that as the "son of a nationalist activist", Yuriy Shukhevych must be imprisoned and kept outside Ukraine, because he is a dangerous enemy of the Russian empire. And so he was sent back to Vladimir prison to continue serving his earlier sentence.

The term of his ten year sentence was due to expire on August 21, 1958. On that very day, the KGB confronted Yuriy with a new warrant for his arrest which had been prepared by an OSO of the MGB of the USSR. This order confirmed that the Russians continued to consider Shukhevych as their enemy, because the liberation struggle was continuing with the OUN now under the leadership of Stepan Bandera. Throughout Ukraine, the occupation forces were discovering new cells of underground Nationalists and groups of nationalist sympathisers. The unrest, revolts and strikes were continuing to take place within the concentration camps and were still being led, in the main, by imprisoned Ukrainian nationalists.

The OUN also expanded its international and propaganda activities in the Western World. The Secretary of State of the USA, John Foster Dulles, became quite interested in the Ukrainian National freedom-struggle and he supported the adoption by the US Congress of the July 1959 Law regarding Captive Nations Week, which exposed the USSR as a Russian colonial empire.

The judicial case against Yuriy Shukhevych was being prepared by one of the top KGB specialists in the fight against the OUN-UPA, Klymentyi Halskyi (pseudonym: Klym Dmytruk), a Pole by nationality, originally from the Zhytomyr region of northern Ukraine. (For his subservience to the Russians he had succeeded in reaching the position of Colonel of the KGB). A hater and enemy of the Ukrainian people's national liberation struggle, he had joined the NKVD partisans who were terrorising the Ukrainian population during the Second World War. Halskyi was especially well-known for his brutal torture of Ukrainian freedom fighters who had been captured in Radekhiv county in 1944. Later, he was promoted to the KGB apparatus of the Lviv region.

In the spring of 1958, Halskyi-Dmytruk was sent to Vladimir prison to have "conversations" with Yuriy Shukhevych, which were intended to induce the prisoner to "publicly renounce his father and to condemn the organised nationalist underground". He categorically refused to do it! Having become convinced that Yuriy belonged to the category of unyielding Ukrainian nationalist idealists, the Russian authorities decided to condemn him to another ten years of imprisonment. The 'judicial' case was arranged in such a way that preceding the trial, two criminals were thrown into Yuriy's

cell. One was a demoralised thief and renegade from the Moscow region — Alexander Fomchenko — and the other was a Russian homosexual from the Voronizh region — Burkov — who had slit someone's throat with a razor. These two repugnant criminals later on signed a statement, under KGB pressure, that Shukhevych had taken part in hostile anti-state activities while in prison.

Yuriy was transferred from Russia to the prison in Lviv, where a mock trial was held, in camera, because the occupation regime was afraid to publicise the case, for fear of a mass sympathy demonstration on behalf of Shukhevych. The so-called court investigation was arranged by Halskyi but formally presented by Captain Vinogradov, "reputed to be a brutal torturer of captive nationalists during the Stalinist period. In particular, he has mercilessly beaten the women — Kateryna Zarytska, Oksana Husyak and Halyna Dydyk".

While Shukhevych had been in Vladimir prison, the KGB had found Olha Ilkiv's poetry in his cell and exploited this find as evidence of his illegal activity and connection with the OUN. Olha Ilkiv had been captured by the Bolsheviks and sentenced to a long prison term for alleged membership and activity in the OUN. Her poetry had been published in underground samvydav. The obvious partiality of the court was clear from the fact that the judges made no attempt whatsoever to ascertain the detailed impartial truth, but were only eager to execute the will of the KGB and the orders from Moscow to sentence Yuriy Shukhevych at any cost.

The trial ended on December 1, 1958, with the sentencing of Shukhevych to ten years in a concentration camp, where he was to be exposed to continuous degradation and subhuman treatment. Captain Vinogradov was very direct with Yuriy, saying that the "investigation" and formal court procedure were just the beginning of psychological terror and pressure on him by the organs of the KGB, as long as he remained unwilling to submit to signing a statement of complete moral submission and willingness to bend to the will of the Russian masters of Ukraine.

Indeed, after a few weeks, Halskyi had a meeting with Shukhevych. He smiled cynically when talking about the trial, not denying that it "was totally fabricated". He went on to say, that "when you (Shukhevych) agree to cooperate with the Russians and write articles against Ukrainian nationalism, then the sentence will not be approved". The KGB official openly confessed, "with your views, with your beliefs, we cannot let you go free...". The main demand of the Russians was that Yuriy Shukhevych agree to their domination over Ukraine and that he signify his loyalty to their rule. He was to appear at an appropriately arranged press conference, write some articles and pamphlets, as well as speak on the radio, condemning the OUN and his late father, and so on. Halskyi-Dmytruk concluded his revelations by saying,

“If we could be assured that you would talk with us on this topic, then we would not need to employ such methods as arrest and trial”.

At that moment Yuriy realised, “...it became clear to me: the trial was inspired by the KGB with the objective of blackmailing me, to extort an appropriate statement from me, having nothing in common with justice”. On the basis of these above-mentioned facts, it is obvious that Moscow considered Yuriy Shukhevych one of the prominent activists of the Ukrainian revolutionary nationalist movement, primarily from a moral point of view, as early as the 1950’s. The OUN stood throughout the 1950’s in a persistent underground struggle against the Russian forces of occupation. A public condemnation of the OUN by Yuriy Shukhevych would have been a mighty blow to the morale of the freedom fighters. Only at the end of the decade, in October, 1959, were the Russians successful in assassinating the Head of the OUN, Stepan Bandera. Thus, the KGB were hard-pressed to fulfill their assignment of psychologically and morally breaking the will of the prominent Ukrainian nationalists whom they were able to capture alive, among them Yuriy Shukhevych.

### **The Rise of the Moral Leader and Unyielding Nationalist**

Ahead of Yuriy lay the long, hard road to the Mordovian Penal Camp Ozernyi (Ozerlag), No. 042. In fact, Yuriy went into slavery as a victor. In Ozerlag, the Russians were holding many prominent political prisoners. Some episodes of life in this camp from the year 1959 were recorded by Avraam Shyfrin in his book “The Fourth Dimension”. He writes “In our zone some of the most prominent leaders of the Ukrainian nationalist movement came together: Horbovyi, Soroka, Hrytsak, Shukhevych, Dolishnyi, Duzhyi and Lebed, who had been re-arrested. They were courageous enough in quarrels over the Jews to openly side with us, and I had nice relations with them. All of them preserved their dignity in the presence of the administration and thereby set a good example to other fighters, who did not always retain appropriate dignity. With Horbovyi, Soroka, Shukhevych and Duzhyi we sometimes had long discussions about the heroic struggle of Ukraine against forced Russification. I found out that nationalist ideas were being transmitted from the western to the eastern regions of Ukraine, and this fact disturbed the Soviet Government more than anything else. Therefore, these Ukrainian leaders were often taken to Kyiv and enticed by various comforts to renounce

their convictions. They were given promises of immediate release, the moment they signed prepared brochures”.

Yuriy Shukhevych was likewise taken by the KGB to Kyiv in 1961, where the servant of Moscow, Halskyi-Dmytruk, had another talk with him promising “freedom” at the price of cooperation with the colonial enslavers of his homeland. The contrast between these two men (Halskyi and Shukhevych) is brought out in a description of the Chekist in the sixth issue of a “samvydav” (s e m i-underground) publication, “Ukrayinskyi visnyk”: “people who met Halskyi characterised him as a sly, insidious man, a cynic who does not hide his thoughts and intentions in front of a prisoner. He is a dogged and fierce enemy of Ukrainians, not as an administrator but as a believer. Perhaps his attitude is connected with his nationality”.



The transfer of Shukhevych from unfriendly Mordovia to his beloved Ukraine was intended to break his will to resist any longer. However, such trips only hardened his unshakeable idealism.

In his memoirs of the year 1960 or 1961, Avraam Shyfrin wrote that by then he had been transferred to a new camp, called Dubrovlag No. 07 at Potma, to which Yuriy Shukhevych was sent as well. Concerning their meetings there, Shyfrin makes the following remark: “From time to time I visited Ukrainian nationalists because I wanted to find out their news from the outside. There, I made friends with Yuriy Shukhevych, son of hero of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — General Roman Shukhevych. Yuriy Shukhevych was still young but he had been in prisons and camps more than ten years already. He was arrested at the age of 14 and sent to a youth camp (there are even such in the USSR!). When he reached 18 years of age, he was transferred to an adult camp. He was not tried by a true court, nor did any court give him a just sentence of imprisonment, but in his ‘case’, instead of a number from the criminal code, there were the letters ‘ChSVN’ — ‘member of a family of the enemy of the people.’”

Shyfrin continues: “Yuriy was cheerful and friendly; in the children’s concentration camp he did not have the opportunity to learn. Therefore, he now used every opportunity to gain knowledge from the camp intelligentsia

and did so with such enthusiasm, as though he had an actual thirst for knowledge. Older friends willingly gave him lessons in history, literature, philosophy, mathematics and poetry. In turn he himself brought vivacity and joviality and always tried to assist invalids to fulfill their work quotas”.

In 1963, the Russians ordered the camp officers to increase psychological pressure on Yuriy. According to A. Shyfrin, he was transferred from Dubrovlag in Potma to the Vladimir prison on the river Klyazma. Shyfrin calls this prison “the most severe political isolator”. He describes his last meeting with Shukhevych in the following words: “A kiss and a quick embrace. ‘See you in Israel’, — joked Yuriy and he disappeared behind the opening in the guardhouse”.



*Yuriy Shykhevych with son*

However, in his letter dated July 1, 1967, to D. Korotchenko, Shukhevych himself writes that in 1963 the KGB transferred him to Kyiv (not to Vladimir), to the main KGB prison at the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR. The move was another obvious attempt to force him to morally surrender to the occupation regime. Yuriy Shukhevych wrote about this episode as follows: “The employees of the KGB did take me from time to time to a theatre, to a museum, to various offices in Kyiv, and they also took me to the cities of Zaporizhia, Kakhovka,

Kherson and Kaniv... In 1964, the KGB officers, Col. Kalysh, Captains Lytvyn and Merkatanenko, requested me to sign a piece of paper, which could be published in the Soviet press showing that I was distancing myself from the nationalist views... I was to have written a paper condemning nationalism in general and condemning the activities of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), defaming the Ukrainian nationalists and I also was to have censured the activities of my father, Roman Shukhevych, who led the underground movement in Ukraine in the years 1943-1950”. When Yuriy Shukhevych refused again to write any such disgraceful article, he was sent back to the slave camp.

In his letter written two years later, Shukhevych remarked: “The KGB did not leave me in peace even afterwards, because a year later, in July 1965,

I was brought to the camp representative of the KGB, Captain Krut, who requested me to write a petition to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukr.SSR asking for pardon. I refused to write it... for a petition to pardon me would equal my acknowledgement of guilt... such a petition for pardon would efface all the traces of explicit violation of laws, all traces of crime.”<sup>2</sup>

“Yuriy Shukhevych did not only refuse to write ‘a petition’, but instead he wrote a statement, proving that his sentence was groundless and illegal. He did not receive any reply”.<sup>3</sup>

### **A Personal Victory of Shukhevych over the Occupational Regime**

The Ukrainian national liberation movement was showing signs of growth in the 1960s and also making an optimistic thrust at the ideological-political foundations of the imperial regime. The movement was joined by thousands of younger people, who became known under the general term: “the sixties’ generation”. In this atmosphere of an exciting rise in Ukrainian national forces, a member of the OUN, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi brought the outstanding personality of Yuriy Shukhevych to public attention, as a moral representative of contemporary national aspirations. Karavanskyi did it in the form of so-called letters of intercession (“klopotannya”), sent to various officials in 1966. Karavanskyi did it when he himself was incarcerated at the Vladimir prison. These letters of Karavanskyi became widely known in Ukraine and among Ukrainians living in the West. He called the methods by which Yuriy Shukhevych was tormented “the most loathsome remains of ‘Hensec’ Stalin”.<sup>4</sup> Karavanskyi expressed great moral recognition for Shukhevych’s perseverance in avowing national ideals and his staunchness under pressure from the Chekists. Karavanskyi stated: “There was the expectation that under the threat of a new term of imprisonment, a prisoner would ‘re-educate’ himself and agree to whatever is demanded from him. But Shukhevych did not take the expected road”.

The courageous OUN-member depicts the road of Shukhevych to his national Golgotha, enduring slavery up to his thirty-third year: “How many more similar ‘in camera’ cases await Shukhevych in the future? Is it possible that he is condemned until the end of his life to remain in prisons and camps?” Karavanskyi raised the significance of the fighters for Ukraine’s freedom and independence, throwing the accusation of pursuing cannibalistic and genocidal objectives against the brutal Russian oppressors.

Yuriy Shukhevych is not only well known to the generation of his father’s Ukrainians (born in 1907), but he also became a symbol well known to and

<sup>2</sup> He meant violations of the constitutional law and crimes, perpetrated by the KGB in respect to his person.

<sup>3</sup> Ya. Vilshenko, “Victims of the Muscovite terror in Ukraine”, in *Vyzvolny Shlakh*, London, March-April 1974, p. 327.

<sup>4</sup> ‘Hensec’ means ‘Secretary-General’ in its popularly abbreviated form.

honoured by Karavanskyi's generation (born in 1920), and also by the still younger generation, as for example, represented by Mykhaylo Osadchyi (born in 1936). The last two individuals mentioned experienced the liberation struggle period of the 1940's and 1950's as teenagers and adolescents. In his work "Bilmo" ("Cataract"), M. Osadchyi describes the period of his banishment by the Russian colonialists to Yavas, in the Mordovian ASSR, from the summer of 1966 until the summer of 1968. During his exile he became acquainted with Yuriy Shukhevych. Osadchyi reminisces in phrases which have great symbolic double meaning: "We are going to 'Hyde Park', says Shukhevych, tall round-shouldered, wearing glasses. His father was one of the leaders of the UPA Command. Because of his father, Yuriy has been imprisoned since he was 14 years of age in strict regime camps until now a total of 19 years... His father said to him: 'Grow son! Who knows what will be required from your generation!' — 'We are going to 'Hyde Park', says Yuriy"

Osadchyi shows the cruel conditions in which Shukhevych was living for many years on the example of the following scene: "After the whistle blows (after a rest period on a working day), the overseers cry: 'To your working stations, vagrants! Are you, Shukhevych, begging to be thrown into a 'Shizo'?'<sup>5</sup> Haven't you had enough yet?' Yuriy carelessly throws a jacket over his back and walks swaggering; he has nowhere to hurry to. 'If you were a decent man, you would be sunbathing in Crimea and carousing with women, but instead you are rotting here!' The overseer is right — if Yuriy were to renounce his father, he would have long ago been in Crimea. 'Go away, you scoundrel', says Yuriy, 'Go away, for otherwise I shall enroll you in the mausoleum!'"

From the above quotations of Karavanskyi and Osadchyi, we can conclude that many of the leading personalities in the general national (not only nationalist!) movement during the sixties were treating Shukhevych with respect and were according him the prestige he deserved.

On July 1, 1967, Yuriy Shukhevych wrote an acrimonious letter to the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, D. Korotchenko, from the camp Ozernyi in the Mordovian ASSR.<sup>6</sup> Yuriy did not ask for pardon, but on the contrary, he accused those Ukrainians who were subservient to the Russian colonial masters of being traitors. Shukhevych did not deny the existence of the OUN and instead attacked the occupation regime as illegal, unjust, anti-national and hostile to the interests of the Ukrainian people. This several-page statement by Yuriy Shukhevych has to be regarded as one of the outstanding ethical and ideological works produced by the Ukrainians during the 1960's. This document definitely made him a standard bearer for those contemporary Ukrainians who were continuing the uncompromising national liberation struggle.

<sup>5</sup> A special penal isolator.

<sup>6</sup> He sent a similar protest letter in 1965, but we do not possess its text.

At approximately the same time when Yuriy's letter became known, there appeared in the West a document describing the camp, at which he was held, entitled: "Letter from Camp No. 17 of the Dubravny Administration of Corrective Labour Camps of the Mordovian ASSR". The fact was revealed that in this Dubrovlag, Russian slave holders kept "people, who had no inclination at all to submit to the so-called educational work (conducted by the authorities) among the prisoners". These were either uncompromising nationalists, or religious believers or political prisoners imprisoned for other reasons. Some prisoners are mentioned in the document, such as Mykhaylo Soroka, Dr. Volodymyr Horbovyi, Svyatoslav Karavanskyi, Ivan Maksym, Yaroslav Hevrych, Dmytro Verkholyak. In that camp, "a policy of forced repression is being used on the prisoners, aimed at weakening their health and suppressing the slightest manifestation of a spirit of disobedience and protest. With that purpose in mind, production (of gloves and of building material) was organised, based on a system of compulsion, petulance and repression". A human being who has not experience such hell, has to be seized by anguish, when reading this document. This one camp alone contained approximately one thousand inmates. And there are countless similar camps in the Soviet Union.

After Yuriy Shukhevych was returned by the KGB to the slave camps from a tour of Ukraine, there was an increase in his persevering opposition to the Russian tyrants. In February, 1968, he became a co-sponsor and participant in a ten-day hunger strike at Camp No. 17 against the brutal camp system by the political prisoners. The Chekists were even forced to agree to some of the prisoners' demands.

### **Shukhevych Transferred to the Sub-Caucasian Town of Nalchyk, Close to Ukraine**

Moscow became convinced that if it wanted to morally change Yuriy Shukhevych, it had to change its tactics towards him, because no terror or enticements had worked. Therefore, when in August, 1968, Yuriy's 20 years in prisons and slave camps terminated, he was sent to the town of Nalchyk, Stavropol region, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, to linger there for the next five years, allegedly serving a sentence of exile outside the borders of the Ukrainian SSR. (Some sources mention October, 1968, as the date of his arrival at Nalchyk).

Fearless and jovial as always, the 35-year old Yuriy immediately became active in the Ukrainian movement from Nalchyk. He soon married Valentyna Trotsenko, and they had two beautiful children. The oldest was named after Yuriy's father — Roman. At approximately that time, his letter of July, 1967, reached Ukrainians living in Western countries. If anybody in Moscow believed that a family life would make Yuriy opportunistic as far

as his ideological aims were concerned, then they made a mistake. The highest goal in life for Yuriy Shukhevych was the struggle of the Ukrainian people to regain their independence and freedom.

By spring 1970, he was engaged in activities supporting the persecuted historian and journalist, Valentyn Moroz. Various individuals participated in this campaign from Lviv, Odessa and Nalchyk. In a public statement, the group expressed their conviction that "everyone has the right to intervene in matters concerning the people... painful were the current matters of the arts, cultural monuments and scholarly needs, the preservation of national traditions etc." Everyone who signed the statement was of the same generation as Yuriy Shukhevych.

*(to be continued)*

A NEW PUBLICATION

**"HIS BEATITUDE PATRIARCH JOSYF"**  
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## A BRIEF BIOGRAPHY OF MAZEPA HETMAN OF UKRAINE AND PRINCE OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE, 1639-1709

(Conclusion)

Today it is no longer necessary to defend Mazepa's policy and his alliance with the Swedish King. Already, contemporary credible foreign eyewitnesses regarded Mazepa as a Ukrainian patriot and hero.

For example, a Scottish General in the Russian service, Alexander Gordon (1669-1752), remarked in his memoirs that Mazepa made an alliance with the Swedish King, who "undertook to make him sovereign of the whole of Ukraine".<sup>1</sup>

The English Envoy to Moscow, Charles Lord Whitworth emphasised in his memoirs that because the Russian administration made "several encroachments" on the liberties of the Cossacks in Ukraine, from hence sprung a universal discontent and the Revolt of Mazepa with the King of Sweden.<sup>2</sup> Peter Henry Bruce, an English Captain in the Russian Service, repeated in his memoirs the opinion of a German General in the Russian service, Nicholas von Halliard, who at the war council (June 14, 1711), regarding a letter from Demetrius Kantemir, the Prince of Moldavia, said that the King of Sweden's misfortune did not serve as a sufficient warning; for the prince had been misled by the advice of the "traitor Mazepa".<sup>3</sup> Was Mazepa really a traitor?

First of all, the Ukrainians were treated by the Russian army so badly that this treatment was more reminiscent of a punitive expedition than of a friendly action. In fact, the Russian behaviour was so outrageous that the Tsar himself in his letter of June 24, 1707, to Mazepa, wrote that he had issued to the Russian troops an order "to pass by modestly without doing any harm or destruction to the inhabitants of Ukraine [in the original "Little Russia], under penalty of our extreme anger and punishment by death."<sup>4</sup>

Despite the Tsar's favour, there were serious indications that Peter I wanted to abolish the autonomy of Ukraine and oust Mazepa from office.<sup>5</sup> In addition, the Tsar refused the Hetman's request for military aid against a possible

<sup>1</sup> A. Gordon, *The History of Peter the Great...*, (1755), Vol. I, p. 283.

<sup>2</sup> C. Whitworth, *An Account of Russia as it was in the Year 1710*, (Strawberry Hill, 1758), pp. 25-6.

<sup>3</sup> *Memoirs of Peter Henry Bruce, a Military Officer in the Services of Prussia, Russia, and Great Britain*, (Dublin, 1783), p. 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Pisma i bumagi*, Vol. V, p. 334 ("prokhorodit skromno, ne chynia nikakikh obid i razorenja malorossijskago kraju zhyteliam pod opasnjem zhestokago nashego gneva i kazni").

<sup>5</sup> Kostomarov, *Mazepa*, p. 550

Swedish attack. In fact, the Tsar expressed his refusal "...I can give you neither ten thousand nor even ten men. Defend yourself as best as you can".<sup>6</sup> However, many of Mazepa's regiments were insufficient for the defence of Ukraine. The Tsar's refusal to defend Ukraine meant that he violated the Treaty of Pereyaslav and consequently this agreement no longer bound Mazepa and the Cossack officer-corps (*starshyna*), who intended to maintain and defend their rights.

Mazepa was not the only one who tried to protect the rights and privileges of his country. For example, Johann Reinhold Patkul from Livonia rebelled against the Swedish King (1697); the Transylvanian Prince Ferenc Rakoczi II led an uprising against the Habsburgs (1703-1711); Stanislaw Leszczyński, representing the republican traditions of Poland, aided by the Swedes, fought against the autocratically minded Saxo-Polish King Augustus II; Demetrius Kantemir, Hospodar of Moldavia, a vassal of the Porte aided by the Tsar, rebelled against the Sultan (1711).<sup>7</sup> Yet none of them was branded as a "traitor", but Mazepa was.

The English diplomats, such as Dr. John Robinson in Danzig, Captain James Jeffryes at the Swedish headquarters, Philip Meadows in Vienna, and Charles Lord Whitworth in Moscow, wrote about Mazepa in their reports in an unbiased manner, merely giving facts. Especially the latter, writing his report of November 21, 1708, expressed his doubt that Mazepa, as a man of nearly seventy years of age, very rich, childless, enjoying the confidence and affection of the Tsar, and exercising his authority like a monarch, would have joined the Swedish King for selfish or other personal reasons.<sup>8</sup>

Not only Whitworth, but also other contemporary eyewitnesses expressed their positive opinion about the alliance of Mazepa with Charles XII. The Prussian envoy in Moscow, Baron Georg Johann von Kayserling, wrote in his report of November 17-28, 1708, the following comments on Mazepa: "There could not be a doubt that this man is loved as well as respected by his people, and that he will have great support from his nation... Especially the Cossacks like him very much, because the present government treats them very badly and they are robbed of their liberties. Therefore, it is rather to be believed that either all the people, or at least the bigger part of them will follow the example of their leader".<sup>9</sup>

Johann Wendel Bardili, a German eyewitness and historian, who met Mazepa in person at the Swedish headquarters, a man doubtless acquainted with Mazepa's objectives, considered him a Ukrainian patriot and hero,

<sup>6</sup> Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 567, *op. cit.*, Vol. XV, 1894.

<sup>7</sup> O. Subtelny, *The Mazepists*, pp. 25-26. He also treated this argument in his article: "Mazepa, Peter I and the Question of Treason", *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, Vol. II, No. 2. (1979), pp. 158-193.

<sup>8</sup> PRO, SP 91, Vol. 5; Cf., *Sbornik*, Vol. 50, p. 108.

<sup>9</sup> Kayserling's reports were published by B. Krupnycky under the title "Z doneseni Kayserlinga 1708 i 1709 rr.", *PUNI*, Vol. XLVIII, p. 17.

whom even his former foe, the Turkish Sultan, refused to extradite to the Tsar, in spite of the latter's insistent requests and even threats. The Sultan justified his stand because of an old law of asylum, and according to Barkili, he did not see any "reason of importance for extradition of such a person, who because of freedom, liberty, and rights of his own people endeavoured so much and suffered so many persecutions and tortures to promote the liberation of his people from the Moscovitian yoke. For this reason at first [Mazepa] had to ask for the Swedish and now the Turkish protection..."<sup>10</sup>

The Swedish eyewitness and historiographer, Gustav Alderfelt, also pointed out that Mazepa had good reason to join the Swedish King. He, too, maintained that the Russian administration treated Ukraine badly.<sup>11</sup>

Philip Johann von Strahlenberg, a Swedish officer who spent thirteen years in Russia as a prisoner of war after the battle of Poltava, remarked in his work about Russia that after Mazepa had found out about the Tsar's intention to destroy the autonomy of Ukraine, he told this to his officers and tried to persuade them to join the Swedes in order to preserve it.<sup>12</sup>

This was recognised already by the Tsar's closest associate, A. Menshikov, who immediately understood all the political importance of Mazepa's step, when he reported to Peter on October 17, "...if he Mazepa did this, it was not for the sake of his person alone, but for the whole of Ukraine."<sup>13</sup>

Mazepa's alliance with the Swedish King could have been successful if Charles XII had marched into Russia on the Smolensk-Moscow route, along the border between Ukraine and Russia, as he had originally planned. If Charles XII had proceeded on this route, Mazepa having been cut off from the Russians by the Swedish army, could have continued to act more or less as an observer and could have made the final decision accordingly in the moment of victory. Charles was not able, however, to march directly towards Moscow, for the Tsar had destroyed everything in his retreat and the Swedish army lacked food.

The cause of the failure of the campaign of Charles XII against Moscow and his defeat at Poltava was neither his alliance with Mazepa, nor his decision to enter Ukraine. In fact Charles XII was warned by his advisor, Count Charles Piper, not to go into Ukraine. On the contrary, he urged his King to retreat in order to secure for General Lewenhaupt's Corps necessary military equipment and food, which was on the way from Riga to join the Swedish army.<sup>14</sup> It is true, however, that in the spring of 1707, Mazepa asked *ZNTS*, Vol. XCII, pp. 70-71.

<sup>10</sup> J. W. Bardili, *op. cit.*, pp. 106-107.

<sup>11</sup> G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 16.

<sup>12</sup> P. J. von Strahlenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

<sup>13</sup> *Pisma i bumagi imperatora Petra Velikogo*, Vol. VIII, Part 2, pp. 864-865 ("...ponezhe kogda on [Mazepa] seye uchynil, to ne dla odnoj svojej osoby, no vsej rady Ukrainy...").

<sup>14</sup> Norderg, *op. cit.*, pp. 87-8. See also: S. Tomashivsky, "Iz zapysok karolinciv",

the Swedish King through Leszczyński to come to Ukraine, but in October 1707, Charles XII politely rejected the Hetman's offer, advising him to keep this in secret and wait for further instructions.<sup>15</sup> The Swedish historian, A. Fryxell rightly accused the Swedish King of making a blunt mistake, because at that time (1707), together with Mazepa's army, he had more chance of defeating the Tsar than in 1709.<sup>16</sup>

First of all, the Swedish King underestimated the Russian army and thought it would be easy to remove Peter I from his throne.<sup>17</sup> When the Swedish army entered Ukrainian territory, the Swedes were careful not to antagonise the population and offered to pay for the provisions they needed. However, in some places it came to conflicts and resistance.<sup>18</sup>

The German eyewitness J. W. Bardili, wrote the same in his memoirs.<sup>19</sup>

Furthermore, Charles XII hoped that the Turks would join him against the Tsar, that Peter I would be tied down with uprisings in his state, that the Ukrainian people would support the Swedes, that General Lybecker would take Petersburg, but none of these things happened.

Mazepa crossed the Desna River on October 25, 1708, and was received by Charles XII on October 26. The Swedish king was disappointed with the small number of Cossacks who joined the Hetman, but he did not show it. Mazepa and his high ranking officers (generalna starshyna) were received with all due respect. Furthermore, in the Swedish headquarters Mazepa was considered an experienced advisor and expert in Ukrainian and Russian affairs. In the meantime, Menshikov stormed Baturyn on November 3, burnt the city, destroyed stores of food and arms, which was a blow for the Swedes, who hoped to compensate for the loss of Loewenhaupt's defeat at Lesna. In addition, the massacre of the population in Baturyn by Menshikov had an alarming effect. The Ukrainian people were afraid.<sup>20</sup>

Moreover, Charles XII believed in the prophecy of the Swedish court physician, Dr. Urban Hjärne, who, basing his beliefs on those of the Swiss physician and alchemist, Dr. Philippus Paracelsus and other foretellers 170 years before, prophesied that the Golden Lion from the North with few troops would defeat the Eagle, would blunt his claws, would spread his own power over Asia and Africa, would destroy Catholicism and would establish Protestantism everywhere. Charles XII was a mystic and believed in these prophecies. Although the Tsar proposed favourable terms of peace to him, Charles XII rejected them and answered that he would conclude a peace

<sup>15</sup> Nordberg, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 43-44.

<sup>16</sup> A. Fryxell, *Lebensgeschichte Karls des Zwölften*, (Braunschweig, 1861), Vol. II, p. 80.

<sup>17</sup> R. M. Hatton, *Charles XII*, p. 283.

<sup>18</sup> Subtelny, *The Mazepists*, p. 46.

<sup>19</sup> Bardili, *op. cit.*, pp. 425-36.

<sup>20</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, p. 178.

treaty in Moscow when he had defeated the Tsar.<sup>21</sup> Charles XII's campaign against Moscow could have been successful if, first of all, the Swedish generals had carried out their King's orders at the right time and place. Charles XII's field secretary, Peter Schoenstroem, blamed the Swedish commanding generals, "who commanded separate bodies of the army, committed diverse mistakes, and were most unsuccessful everywhere".<sup>22</sup>

The cause of the failure of the campaign of Charles XII against Moscow and his defeat at Poltava was neither his alliance with Hetman Mazepa, nor his decision to enter Ukraine. He was simply forced to enter Ukraine to save his army from famine.

As far as the campaign against Moscow is concerned, General Lybecker, who "had sufficient forces to invade the provinces of Novgorod and Pleskow (Pskov)", and tie up the Tsar's army, needlessly retreated from Ingria to Riga, without his King's order, thus leaving the Tsar a free hand to attack General Loewenhaupt's Corps (at Lesna, September 29, 1708).<sup>23</sup> General Loewenhaupt moved too slowly, and his "fatal delay... beyond the day fixed, was the real cause of misfortune, which afterwards befell the King of Sweden".<sup>24</sup> The King himself, being unaware of General Lybecker's retreat, did not hurry to help General Loewenhaupt, but instead, upon entering Ukraine, sent his General Lagercrona to seize the fortress in Severia. General Lagercrona by his "own Fault and Negligence" failed to do so.<sup>25</sup> General Crassau with his corps never arrived from Poland to join the main Swedish army.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the other general, Field Marshal G. Renshoeld, who commanded the Swedish army at the battle of Poltava (because the king was wounded), according to the Polish General S. Poniatowski, "was so at a loss here that he did nothing but run from one side to the other, without giving one necessary Order".<sup>27</sup>

Because those Swedish generals failed to carry out their assignments, because the winter of 1708-1709 was extremely harsh, because the Russian army was spread over Ukraine and severely punished Mazepa's followers and threatened vengeance on those who would support the Swedes, and because the Swedes through their harsh treatment of the Ukrainian population did not win its support, the result was the catastrophe at Poltava (July 7, 1709), where Charles XII and Mazepa were thoroughly defeated.

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<sup>21</sup> A. Fryxel, *op. cit.*, pp. 93, 107, 109, as quoted by Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, pp. 612-13.

<sup>22</sup> G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 198; cf.: *Remarques d'un seigneur Polonais sur l'histoire de Charles XII*, (The Hague, 1741), I used the English translation: S. Poniatowski, *Remarks on M. de Voltaire's History of Charles XII*, (London, 1741), pp. 18, 21, 22.

<sup>23</sup> Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 191.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 107.

<sup>25</sup> S. Poniatowski, *op. cit.*, p. 18; G. Adlerfelt, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 210-211.

<sup>26</sup> O. Haintz, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

<sup>27</sup> S. Poniatowski, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

Although Kostomarov branded Mazepa as a traitor<sup>28</sup>, the Hungarian-German historian, Johann Christian von Engel (1770-1814), in his "History of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Cossacks" expressed doubts that Mazepa should be condemned.<sup>29</sup> The Ukrainian historian, Fedir Umanets in his work "Hetman Mazepa", (St. Petersburg, 1897) came to the conclusion that Mazepa should not be condemned as a traitor. The Russian historian of German descent, Alexander Brückner, not only justified Mazepa's policy, but even regarded it as masterpiece (ein Meisterstück") and his attempt to liberate Ukraine as an heroic act<sup>30</sup> ("ein heroischer Akt". The German historian, Otto Haintz, remarked in his work about Charles XII that "it would be a contradiction in itself to see the almost seventy-year old, childless Hetman as a characterless adventurer and traitor".<sup>31</sup> The English historian, R. M. Hatton, mentioned in her work on Charles XII that "the ambition of Mazepa (was) to free Ukraine from the Russian overlordship".<sup>32</sup> Massie remarked in his work that Mazepa's "secret desire was that of his people: Ukrainian independence".<sup>33</sup>

In general, all the Russian historians before the Revolution (1917), as well as the Soviet historians such as E. V. Tarle,<sup>34</sup> V. E. Shutoj,<sup>35</sup> B. G. Beskrovnyj, A. I. Kozachenko, V. A. Romanovskij<sup>36</sup> and others condemn Mazepa and regard him as a "traitor". Yet some Russian historians abroad, such as G. Vernadsky, S. Pushkarev, A. Belopolskij and others do not call Mazepa a "traitor" in their recent works.<sup>37</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Kostomarov, *op. cit.*, p. 706.

<sup>29</sup> von Engel, *Geschichte der Ukraine und der ukrainischen Kosaken*, (Halle, 1796), p. 322.

<sup>30</sup> Brückner, *Peter der Grosse. Onckens Allgemeine Geschichte*, (Berlin, 1879), Vol. VI, p. 405.

<sup>31</sup> Haintz, *König Karl XII, von Schweden*, (Berlin, 1936), Vol. I, pp. 247-8 ("Es ist aber nicht anhängend und ein Widerspruch in sich, in dem damals wahrscheinlich bald siebzehnjährigen kinderlosen Hetman einen charakterlosen Abenteurer und Verräter zu sehen").

<sup>32</sup> Hatton, *Charles XII*, p. 240.

<sup>33</sup> Massie, *Peter the Great*, p. 459.

<sup>34</sup> E. V. Tarle, *Severnaja vojna i shvedskoje nashestvije na Rossiju*, (Moscow, 1958), pp. 146, 222, cf.: "Karl XII v 1708-1709 godakh", *Voprosy istorii* (1950), No. 6, pp. 22-56.

<sup>35</sup> V. E. Shutoj, *Borba narodnykh mass protiv nashestvija armii Karla XII*, (Moscow, 1958), pp. 66, 292, cf.: "Ismena Mazepy", *istoricheskije zapiski*, Vol. X, XI, pp. 154-190.

<sup>36</sup> See their essays in *Poltava* (A collection of articles and essays, published by the Soviet Academy of Arts and Sciences, (Moscow, 1959), pp. 60, 303-305, 322, 350.

<sup>37</sup> G. Vernadsky, *A History of Russia*, (New Haven, 1961), pp. 154-156; S. G. Pushkarev, *Obsor russkoj istorii*, (New York, 1953), pp. 292-293; A. Belopolskij, *SSSR na fone proshlogo Rossii*, (Washington, 1973), pp. 213-214.

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## MISERY, DESTRUCTION, AND DEATH UNDER POLISH, GERMAN, AND RUSSIAN OPPRESSORS\*

Zbarazh County was located in the northern part of the Podillian plateau on the upper reaches of the left-bank tributaries of the Dnister River. It was bounded on the east by the Zbruch. The Hnizna, flowing into the Seret, passed through the western part. According to its elevation, Zbarazh County could have been divided into two uneven parts: the smaller western part, which was higher and more hilly, and the larger eastern part, which was a slightly undulating plain, gently sloping to the southeast in the direction of the Zbruch River valley.

The location, together with the mild continental climate and good black soil, determined to a large extent the county's history, economic development and demography. A predominantly agricultural area with some sixty-two villages and small settlements as of 1939, Zbarazh County covered 740 square kilometres of which sixty-five per cent was under cultivation. There were about 230 kilometres of rivers, the Hnizna, Hnizdechna, Zbruch, Mlynsky Potik, Vovchok and Samets. These supplied water for agriculture and therefore almost all villages were situated along them.

The county with its administrative offices was established under Austrian rule in January of 1867 and its administrative division was preserved without significant change until 1939.

Under Austrian rule Zbarazh's villages improved economically and their population increased significantly as did their cultural level. "Prosvita" reading halls were established in many villages and began attracting old and young, who found them convenient in order to increase their national consciousness, to improve their literacy, and to learn how to cultivate the land more progressively.

With the coming of Polish occupation in 1920, the overall picture changed radically. The Ukrainian population began to feel serious economic pressures and brutal oppression. The Polish government suppressed traditional Ukrainian institutions and all other manifestations of the Ukrainian national spirit. To quell the Ukrainian drive to live freely and to develop nationally, Polish authorities carried out a pacification, which in Zbarazh County caused significant destruction of property, bodily harm to the population, and, in

\* This is an English Summary of the book *Zbarazhchyna: zbirnyk stattey, materiyaliv i spomyniv* (Zbarazhchyna: A Collection of Essays, Materials and Memoirs), ed. Wolodymyr T. Zyla and Yar Slavutych, vol. II; to be published in 1985 in Toronto. The book is patently documentary. It is written by eyewitnesses and it brings to light all of the facets of the struggle of Ukrainians, peasants and intellectuals alike, in the County of Zbarazh in Ukraine (1919-1947), against their Polish, German, and Russian oppressors.

some cases, death. Ukrainians were deprived of their schools, reading halls, and participation in the civil service and in political affairs. In Chernykhivtsi and other villages they were not even allowed to purchase land. Such purchase was forbidden by the decision of the Polish Ministry of the Interior on January 22, 1937.

Pavlo Lubyanyetsky in his article "Hnylychky — a Village that never yielded to the Enemy" gives us the following account of the pacification in his native village:

In 1930 the village of Hnylychky suffered great destruction during the savage Polish pacification. On the first day of the pacification a group of special police destroyed the property of Ukrainian peasants by scattering their grain stacks, ruining the interior of their reading hall, the co-operative store, and any property of value. At dawn on the second day, a unit of the 22nd Regiment of *uhlans* encircled the village. The inhabitants were rounded up like cattle and thirteen of the most dedicated were selected according to a list previously prepared. Some inhabitants managed to escape on that day and avoided the brutal torturing. The above mentioned thirteen were driven to the village office building and here they were forced to play orchestra instruments (since the majority of them were village musicians) for the whole day without rest. With the approaching evening their instruments were taken away and the tired people were assembled in a special room. There they were undressed completely, tied to the benches (hand and foot) with their heads down and then were beaten with heavy sticks. When anyone fainted the torturers poured water over him and continued to beat him without mercy. How long this torture lasted no one could remember, because all were lying in another room unconscious.

The tortured people were Pavlo Lubyanyetsky (the author), Hryhoriy Osadchuk, Mykhaylo Rudyk, Andriy Kharkavy, Vasyl Brynyak, Stepan Kozub, Ivan Halaburda, Semen Kozub, Ivan Slobodzyan, Andriy Klyuchka, Teodor Vavrukh, Teodor Rudyk, Mykhaylo Rubakh (the last eight are now deceased). The victims were attended by the medical doctor, Ivan Yavorsky, a Ukrainian. Polish doctors refused to give medical help as ordered by the Polish police. The instruments of the orchestra were destroyed.

The Polish police intensely persecuted Ukrainian youth and the active and leading citizen Ivan Osinchuk in the village of Holoshyntsi. The young men were not allowed to sing Ukrainian songs publicly in the evenings. The citizens were very often fined for trifles. The pacification of 1930 reached in this village major proportions. Roman Osinchuk testifies in his "Along a Thorny Path to National Consciousness" that the cavalry unit of the K.O.P. (military units for the protection of boundaries) had driven the population to the square in front of the co-operative, where active and nationally conscious Ukrainians were beaten without mercy and the co-operative merchandise was destroyed completely. At that time Ivan Osinchuk, then approximately sixty-five years old, was tied to a rope and driven in front of cavalry horses for two and a half days without rest. It is patently a miracle that he survived. Many young men spent weeks in bed recovering from wounds inflicted by the soldiers and their officers.

Ukrainians were hated in the villages of Hrytsivtsi, Kretivtsi, Valakhivka and Zaruddya where the Polish population formed the majority. This situation

as described by Mykhaylo Danylevych in his "Villages where Hatred smouldered against Ukrainians" lasted until 1944, when the Poles, according to the agreement between Poland and the Soviet Union, were resettled in Poland.

In the village of Hushchanky, as stated by Kost Mazurenko in his article "A Miraculous Election in the Village of Hushchanky", pacification occurred on two occasions. The first was staged by the Polish police and the second by Polish military units. During the first the Poles tortured Professor Kozak who arrived in the village from Czecho-Slovakia and they damaged the school, destroying portraits of Ukrainian national leaders and some sculptures. The military tortured the sixty-four-year-old Lutsko Savchuk, who refused to disclose the whereabouts of his son Vasyl, a worker in the Ukrainian co-operative. Lutsko Savchuk left the following account of his torture:

They brought me to an empty grain storage place where I saw a long bench. To the sides of it sat two soldiers with heavy cherry-wood sticks. In front of the bench stood two soldiers, two more at the rear of it. In the corner at the entrance door sat a sergeant who was in charge of the ordeal. He ordered me to pull down my pants and my underwear and to lie on my stomach on the bench. One soldier sat on my feet, another one, senselessly drunk, sat on my head and kept it between his legs. The latter soldier immediately began to generate smelly gases. At the sergeant's command they started to torture me. I was hit four times, very hard. I groaned and howled. There were sixteen such commands. I felt the skin on the lower portion of my body burst and blood begin to stream. They covered me with a rough wet canvas. I did not feel further torturing; I was unconscious. After one hundred blows they brought me back to consciousness, covered me with a wet canvas, and continued to torture. Soon I again lost consciousness; they carried me outside and laid me on the grass.

The tortured Savchuk's wife was allowed to take him home. Four women carried him on a clean canvas. Savchuk was the only one in the village who received three hundred blows that day; all the other Ukrainians listed to be tortured received ten, fifteen, twenty-five, and fifty. That night no Ukrainian doctor could attend Savchuk and give him medical help. Only during the second night could Doctor Pavlo Tarashchuk visit Savchuk and attend to his wounds. In the meantime his buttocks became gangrenous. Doctor Tarashchuk had to operate, cutting part away, in order to save his life. Lutsko Savchuk is a true hero who suffered terrible pain and barely escaped death but never disclosed to the Poles the hiding place of his son.

Pacification occurred also in the village of Kapustyntsi as recalled by Petro Tevnyak in his article "The Village of the Large Cabbage Gardens". On Sunday, September 28, 1930, Polish cavalry surrounded the village. One unit entered and started to look for Ukrainian patriots of whom they had a list. The arrested people were brought to the "Prosvita" reading hall and whipped without mercy. Seriously beaten that day were Fed, Ivan and Dmytro Harmatyuk, Stepan Tevnyak and Mykola Holubovych. The tortured people were then tied to a cart and dragged to the pond in the village of Krasnosiltsi. Here they were ordered to roll in the mud. Finally they were left around the

pond. The wild soldiers took the books from the library in the reading hall, together with the portraits and furniture, and burned everything outside. Other cavalry soldiers ran from house to house destroying embroidery and everything else they could find of value.

The behaviour of the Polish authorities was just as atrocious in the village of Kobyllya. They severely limited the rights of the Ukrainians and made them second-class citizens. They persecuted them for national and social work within the community. However, the peak of the persecutions was the pacification of 1930. In the fall of that year, as described by Yevstakhiy Yasenovsky in his "To Cultural, Social and Political Conscience through Books", there arrived in Kobyllya a penal unit of cavalry, who brought all the population to the square in front of the village mill. Here the unit's commandant read the order and the unit began beating innocent people. Among them were community headman Yakiv Kotyk, a staunch defender of human rights as well as a cultural and educational activist, and Matviy Shafransky, a local teacher. Both were severely tortured inside the mill. In order to muffle the wailing and screaming of the victims, the soldiers outside sang songs. Shafransky and Kotyk were on the verge of dying for six months; finally their lives were saved but they had lost their health. This shameful and inhumane punishment was intended for many Ukrainian village activists, but some of them were able to hide and escape Polish "justice". In the spring of 1939, some six months before the outbreak of the Second World War, the Polish authorities decided again to destroy Ukrainian organisational life in Kobyllya. Many active members of the "Prosvita" reading hall were arrested; Ukrainian organisations were silenced and some were destroyed completely.

A great tragedy occurred in the village of Koshlaky on June 7, 1919, when the Polish military arrested Mykola Krysovaty, an active Ukrainian patriot. They took him into the fields and, despite the pleas of his compatriots to free the innocent man, shot him there on the spot. Before the shots were fired, Mykola, knowing what was coming, shouted at his executioners: "I am not a bit sorry to die for my beloved Ukraine". These last words still echo in the ears of Volodymyr Krysovaty, the author of "When it is necessary to die for Ukraine, one dies without Regret".

A very sad case was the action of the landowner Malecki in the village of Krasnosiltsi. Of Ukrainian origin himself, Malecki invited the Polish *uhlans* to the village. The invitation resulted in the destruction of the Ukrainian co-operative as well as some private property, and in the torture of some Ukrainian patriots. It is extensively described by Mykola Nalezhyty in his article "The Village of a Great Benefactor and Patriot".

In 1930, in the village of Lysychyntsi the Polish authorities destroyed a monument dedicated to the great Ukrainian poet, Taras Shevchenko. (In 1914, during World War I, this monument had already been destroyed once by the Tsarist Russian government; then it was rebuilt and, on June 11,

1917, unveiled in the presence of some five thousand people.) The Poles acted like vandals. They attached a heavy chain to the monument, brought a team of horses, and pulled it down. Then, laughing and ridiculing Ukrainian national causes, they hammered it to pieces. This was the beginning of the pacification. Soon came the second wave. The cavalry surrounded the village. One of its units overran the farm of Stefan Hulovsky (the village secretary) and scattered one of his grain stacks. They also ruined the village co-operative and whipped some of the innocent peasants. Hulovsky complained immediately about this lawlessness to the landowner Konopacki who by telephone was able to persuade the "wojewoda" to call off the troops. Konopacki, though a Pole by origin, respected Ukrainian customs and traditions, was humane in his dealings with the peasants, attended the Ukrainian church, and greatly respected law and order. Mykola Heynysh gives a good account of these events in his "They opened the Burial Mounds and stole their Secrets". This title further reminds one of how, in 1934, the Poles opened in Lysychynsi two mounds, one smaller and one larger. The mounds were the subject of numerous stories that circulated in the village. The people thought of them as dating back to the Tartar invasions or to the war of liberation during the times of Khmelnytsky. The Poles opened the mounds secretly and, as the curious villagers narrated, carried from them something packed into boxes. What they stole no one could explain. But the people were very much upset and began suspecting the Poles of carrying off their historical secrets. The Polish authorities also destroyed another Shevchenko monument in the village of Lozivka.

Mykhaylo Shtoyko, in his article "There is always Room for Greatness" has much to say about the pacification, which took place in the village of Medyn on September 28, 1930. On that day, beginning at eight o'clock in the morning, Polish military and police forces tortured many Ukrainians and destroyed much property. Severely tortured was Petro Smoliy, a native of Roznoshynsi and a principal of the local public school. His multiple wounds were so severe that he did not survive for long. After terrible suffering he finally died on May 9, 1931, still with open wounds. His coffin had to be sealed with wax to avoid its leaking.

Also tortured on this tragic September 28 were Mykola Yavny (another teacher and a choir director), Mykola Riznyk, his wife Ahafiya and daughter Olya, Oksana Osychka, Yevhen Hutsaylo (a salesman in the co-operative) and others. The Poles did not spare even Kazymyr Verbytsky, an old man. His fault was that, when stopped by the soldiers, he answered their questions in Ukrainian because he did not know Polish. They whipped him without mercy. Whipped also was the woman, Horpyna Zhylan, who refused to disclose to soldiers where the Ukrainian village library was located. At the end of the day the village was a complete ruin; many people had been beaten while others were hiding at home, in the fields, or in the neighbouring villages.

Nove Selo had already suffered once from Polish occupation as early as 1920, when the Polish army nearly destroyed its Ukrainian National Home and caused serious damage to many households. Then, as Mykhaylo Bereketa writes in his article "The Village modelled after a City", it suffered again when the pacification took place on September 23, 1930. At six in the evening a police punitive expedition of about 130 men arrived. At first they went to the Polish restaurant for a drink and some food. Around eight o'clock they began searching houses of active and dedicated Ukrainians. That evening they completely destroyed the Ukrainian co-operative, removed the wooden floors in the National Home, destroyed books in three libraries, ruined the portraits of Ukrainian national heroes, and vandalised expensive stage decorations, including the curtain, props, and marble plaque that commemorated the 100th anniversary of Shevchenko's birth. The village itself was left in ruins: the thatched roofs of the buildings were torn apart, the grain stacks were destroyed, and the harvested grain itself was scattered on the ground. Rugs, embroideries, flour, and millet meal were lying in piles in the streets and in individual front yards. To make sure there would be no salvage, petroleum and sour borshch were poured onto everything. All equipment in Ukrainian offices, private and public, with typewriters included, was ruined. In addition, that evening thirty-five people were tortured. Among them were Dr. D. Senyk, eng. Turyansky, Dr. L. Holinaty, Dr. Kalyna, Dr. Kokodynsky, Hrytsyna, M.A., M. Sokil, H. Sokil, V. Vesolovsky, M. Tkach, I. Zubka, P. Moskalyuk, Anna Palamar, Ivan, Yaroslav and Yevhen Pidgursky, C. Pluhavka, M. Komenda, A. Verhun, I. Moroz, N. Ishchuk, I. Gontar, D. Kryvak, M. Palamar, P. Teslyk, Teodor Bereketa (father), Mykhaylo and Myroslav Bereketa (sons), M. Osinchuk, V. Tkach, M. Yuzyuk, I. Skots, M. Shuran (the village headman). Twenty persons were badly wounded. The outrage lasted until three in the morning. In addition, the Polish torturers shouted: "If you want a Ukraine, go to the other side of the Zbruch River (i.e., to the Soviet Union); "If you have a co-operative, what will the poor Jews do?"; "Back to your manure, you pigs!"; "Take your complaints to God, not to us"; and so on. At that time the Polish authorities dissolved and forbade the reorganisation of the village sport and recreational organisation "Luh". The Polish police often made arrests in the village, as they did three times in the single case of Volodymyr Tkach. At the beginning of August, 1939, eight people were arrested, among them Volodymyr Bilensky (a young boy, the janitor in the National Home), Volodymyr and Mykhaylo Bereketa, Volodymyr Radzikh, N. Levko, Rodion Verhun, and others. They were held under miserable conditions in the Ternopil prison.

The Polish landowner, Stanisław Kozłowski of Okhrimivtsi hated the Ukrainians and often called them "cattle". He brought to the village Polish punitive forces who severely tortured Maksym Atamanchuk and Demko Kuzyk (see Onufriy Tsebrynsky's "Polish Cruelty").

In Roznoshyntsi, the pacification of 1930 was a terrible and unendurable orgy of cruelty. A score or two of innocent Ukrainian peasants were tortured

to death and the meagre property they had worked all their lives to acquire was destroyed. Roman Vorobets in his article "Unforgettable Events" cites a letter written to Canada :

Dear children, I am writing you this letter with a trembling hand and with tears on my face. You are happy. Please thank God that you are living in the land beyond the ocean. You have surely read in the press about the barbarous assault of the Polish hordes on our villages. Here I will describe for you what happened in our village of Roznoshyntsi.

The Polish cavalry (a punitive expedition) came and surrounded us. The people did not know why they came and therefore no one tried to hide. Our Ivan as usual was driving to work in the fields and here suddenly the Polish soldiers stopped him, dragged him to the woods, beat him viciously, and ordered him back to the village. In the village the Polish officer ordered all peasants from the age of thirteen through thirty-five to assemble immediately in the nearby valley. When all were there, he asked in Polish, "Are you all here?" Then he ordered his brigands to turn four machine-guns upon the assembled people. His other men were ordered to bring two benches and he shouted to the crowd: "You want a Ukraine? We will give you one, this minute". After having separated the old people from the young, troopers grasped by the hair as their first victim a man named Lyzun. They forced him onto the bench and hit him without mercy twenty-five times. Then they seized Taras Zahoryansky, Bobesyuk, Ivan Kostyshyn, the Todosiv brothers, both Lysohirs, and Petro Ratetsky; each of them received twenty-five blows. They were beaten like cattle. Six Polish vandals turned on the standing crowd and beat as many as they could reach, mainly on the head and feet. Slavko, who lived with Ivan Tarashchuk, received such a hard blow that his skull was crushed. Others were beaten as heavily as the vandals could swing the rifle butts they used.

We older people stood defenceless, neither alive nor dead, watching the terrible suffering of the innocent. Older women and girls lamented in the gardens as one does during a devastating fire: "Help, help!..." The village had been turned into hell. The torturing lasted for an hour and a half. Then the barbarians ordered us to bring food for them and forage for their horses. In addition they forced us to pay contributions in the amount of 100, 200, and 280 zlotys.

During the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross on September 27, the Polish bandits beat Pavlo (a son of Yakiv) and Kravchuk. Ivan Yaremchuk was beaten for a second time, when he did not hide. He pleaded that he had already been beaten but they did not pay attention and tortured him again. They had also beaten both of the Sokil brothers. Some who succeeded in hiding avoided this torture and suffering.

Water was thrown on those who fainted during the torturing and then they were beaten again. Stepan Televyak from the village of Kapustyntsi broke away while he was being beaten and started to run. A Polish murderer caught him, however, and hit him with a rifle butt on the leg and he fell. Then they threw him again on the bench and continued to torture him without mercy. As he began to lose consciousness they threw him into a cart. Then Fedir and Holubovych were tied to the cart and dragged behind it as it was taken to the village of Krasnosiltsi. When the cart reached the mill in Krasnosiltsi, all three men were thrown into the mud and stomped into it. Here finally the Polish bandits abandoned them. The local people pulled the abused victims from the mud. Stepan Televyak was so badly hurt that they took him to the hospital in Zbarazh. Here the doctor wanted to amputate one of his legs, which had become badly infected. But Ivan did not permit him to do this. He spent three weeks in the hospital. Finally, pale, exhausted, and in pain, he returned home.

In the meantime, the people in the neighbouring villages were becoming envious that the Ukrainians in Roznoshyntsi were getting only twenty-five blows each, while in the villages of Shyly, Dobromirka, Terpylivka and Shelpaky, the tortured were stripped and given a hundred blows or more. When one of them fainted, they wrapped him in a wet canvas and continued the beating. When he could not groan any more, their Polish doctor finally called a halt.

In addition, the vandals forced the poor people to ruin their thatched roofs and to spread the thatch so that it could not be used anymore. They forced them to scatter their grain stacks. When the bandits searching the house found flour, they scattered it immediately and mixed it with dirt. They ripped open pillows and feather beds and scattered the feathers. When they found marmelade or any type of preserves they smeared the beaten victims and shouted, "See what a Ukrainian looks like".

The beaten people were in great pain. None could touch their bodies. They could not turn in their beds. We had to support their bed clothes on specially bent sticks in order to diminish their pain. In some cases flesh was falling off their bodies.

It is painful even to think that a human being in the twentieth century could take a piece of wood with nails in it and beat the soles of another person's feet. But it happened in our village.

The vandals caused terrible ruin in the village. They removed the tin roof from the village co-operative. They mixed the merchandise from the co-operative with dirt, scattered it all around, and destroyed the rest of the store. They arrested both sons of Oleksa Yaremchuk and Hryts Dobryden some time before the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary and no one knows where they are held. Somehow we were able to save the reading hall and the library. All books were removed from the shelves and hidden at Stepan Shust's place. Stepan hid himself as well, and they could not find him and so everything remained intact.

Here I still want to tell you about the cruel treatment that occurred on the landowner's estate in Roznoshyntsi, where the arrested peasant leaders of the village, decorated shamefully with tin cans, were tied to the threshing machine. To the sounds of ridiculing and offensive shouts — "See what the Ukrainian leaders of Roznoshyntsi look like" — they were forced like horses to turn the machine. Among those ill-starred were Nazarko Kalba, Zakharko Dyatsun, Andriy Levchuk, and Ivan Zahorodny. People, who witnessed these terrible deeds crawled on their knees to the gate of the estate and, with tears on their faces, pleaded with the landowner to free the victims. But the damned Pole laughed boisterously at them. Has anyone in the world heard that such cruel treatment of innocent people, planned and executed by the Polish government, took place in the twentieth century on Ukrainian territory?

Also to be noted is the tragic death of the Reverend Tsebrovsky (a native of the village of Romanove Selo and parish priest of the village of Davydiv, near Lviv), his wife, and the engineer Teodor Kachaluba at the hands of Polish partisans near Davydiv in 1944 (see Petro Luchka's "Each has his or her own").

Yakym Redchuk, in his article "No, they could not take the church by force", portrays the events that occurred in 1933 in Stary Zbarazh when the local Poles decided to take possession of an old Ukrainian church. On November 21, on the feast of St. Michael, when the mass began, a group of Stary Zbarazh's Poles entered the church and interrupted it, shouting obscene

words and singing Polish chauvinistic songs. A fight began. This occurred in the presence of the following people: the Reverends Hryhoriy Alekseyvych, Yevhen Matselyukh, Vasyl Bolinovsky, Josyf Kodelsky, and Ivan Shvydyky. The church was closed and remained so until Christmas. During the third day of Christmas, the Ukrainians tried to reopen it, but the Poles again prevented them. Then came Pentecost and the Ukrainians were determined to celebrate the mass and the "panakhyda" in memory of their compatriots, who died fighting for their country's independence. The Poles learned about this and decided to strike once more. However, their leader, Pavlo Konysh never came. He had died suddenly and, without him, the Poles gave up their intentions to take the church by force.

The Polish paramilitary organisation "Strzelcy" ("The Riflemen") caused much trouble for Ukrainians in Zbarazh County. They often attacked Ukrainians directly, causing serious physical and material damage. They also wrought vengeance upon families whose members had fought in the Polish-Ukrainian War (1918-1920). In the village of Stryivka their wrath was directed against the Buchak family whose son Andriy had served as a lieutenant in the Ukrainian army. In the 1920s Riflemen made an attack on the Buchak home. The father shouted for his three sons to come to his defence and the Poles were repelled and seriously hurt. The three Buchaks were arrested, tried, and sentenced to three weeks of imprisonment but their brave action put a halt to further molestation by Poles of Ukrainians in Stryivka (see Ivan Buchak's and Mykhaylo Pylypchuk's "They were able to defend themselves").

The Polish authorities followed a well established pattern in suppressing all manifestations of Ukrainianism in Sukhivtsi. In the fall of 1930 a reign of terror began there. A unit of cavalry surrounded the village and assembled all its inhabitants in the square. Here they selected victims according to a special list prepared by the local police. Many innocent people were tortured. Among the severely beaten were Fed Yanchak, Mykola Kosyuk, Roman Vodzitsky, Mykhaylo Valkiv, Volodymyr Terendekh, and others. Having left their victims unconscious, the Polish vandals went to damage their property. They ruined the roofs of the living quarters, scattered grain sheaves, the flour was all over the yards, the furniture in many houses was wrecked, the merchandise in the co-operative was soaked with petroleum. As Petro Kondzolka writes in his article "From Sukhodolya to Sukhivtsi" the village was subjected to barbaric treatment, but this did not crush its spirit. On the contrary, it hardened its will.

The Reverend Andriy Zayats writes as follows in "Suffering and Endurance":

My article would be incomplete should I not mention the pacification, which took place in Terpylivka on October 6, 1930. In the early morning of this cloudy fall day the *uhlan* unit of the 22nd Regiment from Brody surrounded the village. The unit was under command of Captain Głowinski (a native of the neighbouring village of Dobromirka), Lieutenant Plaksa, and Corporal Rozkrut.

The inhabitants were assembled in the square at the church. The Poles and Jews were sent home; the Ukrainians remained. From these the *uhlans* selected (according to a list prepared by the policemen Klima, Łoński, and Kudoni) the nationally active people — the leaders and members of the cultural and educational organisations and the leaders and workers of of the co-operative. They brought all their victims to a large barn. There they ordered them to undress and began to torture them. They beat them with heavy cherry-wood sticks. When one bandit was tired, another stepped in and continued the beating. Those, who fainted were given water and then beaten again. Badly tortured were over sixty people, among them Oleksa Furyk (the church deacon and choir conductor), Ivan Spivak (a salesman in the co-operative), Ilyariy Matkovsky (a member of the executive of the "Prosvita" reading hall), Ivan Zayats (an executive of the co-operative and a member of the political parliamentary party of the Ukrainian National Democratic Association), Hryts Tykhonya (the president of the reading hall), Mykhaylo Tavrydzky (the head of the "Luh" organisation), Andriy Zayats (a high school student), and many others. Special mention must be made of Mykola Palanytsya, a former soldier of the Ukrainian Galician Army but a Canadian citizen. He had come to Terpylivka to take his wife and son back to Canada. Among those, who were very severely hurt, he was confined to bed for weeks and unable to seek aid from the Canadian embassy in Warsaw. Finally, however, he managed to go there, the Canadians photographed his wounds, and the Canadian ambassador made formal inquiry about his case at the Polish Ministry of the Interior.

The Polish authorities made life as miserable in the village of Chahari Zbarazki as they did elsewhere. They persecuted everyone, who had served in the Ukrainian army or worked in the Ukrainian administration during the time of Ukrainian independence (see Mykhaylo Danylyevych's "Shall we see each other again?")

In dramatic contrast to what happened elsewhere, there was no pacification in the village of Chernykhivtsi. The landowner Kwiatkowska, a woman, did not allow it. Since her son was a member of the Polish government in Warsaw, neither Zbarazh's "starosta" (county head), nor Ternopil's "wojewoda" tried to challenge this determined and humane lady (see Volodymyr Boyko's, Ivan Mazurenko's and Vasyl Osadchuk's article "Chernykhivtsi — the Ukrainian Switzerland").

Pacification took place even in such a small settlement as Chorny Lis, where Semen Voloshchuk was badly tortured (see Osypa Yushchysyn's "A Reminiscence about my Native Village"). In the village of Shelpaky the Polish authorities tortured an old woman, Marta Horan, and many other innocent peasants (see Ivan Horan's "The Village where Stepan Kachala Rests"). In Shyly the Poles tortured Damyan Borak (the school principal), his son Yevhen, Semen Chychota and many others (see the Reverend Vasyl Stebelsky's "Shyly — The Village with the Unconquerable Spirit"). Pavlo Senyshyn (the village headman) was another victim. He suffered serious kidney damage and died in 1932 after two years of terrible illness (see Yevhen Senyshyn's "The Economical and Cultural Achievements of the Village of Shyly").

Though the Germans under Hitler fought the Poles (1939) and the Soviet Russians (1941-1945) and therefore might well have looked upon the

Ukrainians as ready-made allies, they never associated themselves with the Ukrainian cause. On the contrary, they perpetuated the oppressive policies already practiced in Ukraine by their enemies. In Zbarazh County their rule was harsh, there was the same lack of justice, and the Ukrainians continued to suffer as before. The Germans plundered the county of its foodstuffs and deprived it of its work force by conscripting Ukrainian youth for labour in Germany. Between the villages of Kapustyntsi and Musorivtsi the German authorities re-established the old Russian-Austrian boundary. In Volyn, on the northeastern side, however, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) held control and the Germans rarely penetrated into this territory.

Early in 1944, the German boundary police spotted a large column marching from the village of Musorivtsi toward the village of Kapustyntsi. They thought it was a column of the UPA and opened fire on it. However, it was a group of Hungarian soldiers, who thought the peasants were shooting at them. Thus began a serious fight. The Germans, fewer in number, finally withdrew and the Hungarians entered the village. Here they shot at everyone in sight, threw grenades into homes, and finally set fire to the village. Many innocent people were killed, among them the former head of the "Prosvita" reading hall, Mykola Televyak, who fell victim in his own yard to a Hungarian bayonet (see Televyak's "The Village of the Large Cabbage Gardens").

In the village of Kydantsi a German soldier named Grunwald shot a Ukrainian boy, Yaroslav Voloshyn, who was innocent of any crime except that his father was in Canada (see Bohdan Zenon Datskivsky's "*Sic transit gloria mundi*").

Stepan Zadorozhny, in his article "Not an Easy Way of Development" writes about the extermination of Jews in the village of Klebanivka and about saving the life of a Jewish woman and her three children. The peasants risked their lives to harbour them. At present they live in New York.

By late 1943, the UPA was becoming more visible in the village of Nove Selo. Here they confiscated salt and, in the village of Hnylytsky, butter destined for the German army. They removed the telephone and telegraph stations in Nove Selo and transferred them for their use in Volyn. Once, during the winter of that year, UPA soldiers suddenly appeared in Nove Selo not far away from a unit of the German army. The Germans panicked and hid, showing fear of the Ukrainian underground movement.

The Nazi-Soviet non-aggression pact of August, 1939, the coming of the Soviet Russian "liberators" into Western Ukraine on September 17, and the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact of September 23 for the division of Poland deeply frustrated the hopes of Ukrainians in Zbarazh County. It was obvious to everyone that the total destruction of Ukrainian organizations and the patriotic population itself would soon become the order of the day. Time and again such predictions proved correct and the Soviets started their uncompromising destruction in a county, which, for decades, had struggled to live in peace, security, and better economic conditions.

In the village of Bazaryntsi, the Soviet Russians rounded up the hardest working people and shot them. Among them were Dmytro Dovhan, Ivan Gonta, Stepan Budnyk, Ivan Romanchuk, Taras Lesyuk (a son of Yevhen), Stepan Adamovych, Antin Pyekh, Fed Krasnovsky, Ivan Mandryk, Vasyl Valkiv (a son of Antin), and Ostap Dovhan. The Soviets then banished to Siberia Yevhen Dovhan and Humenny for eleven years. Also banished were the following innocent women: Ivanka Pyekh (the wife of Ivan), Rozaliya Ruska-Gonta (the wife of Ivan), Sofiya Budnyk (the wife of Stepan), Marusya Dovhan and Yevheniya Humenna (née Dovhan) see Ivan Khrin's article ("A Village or a Suburb").

The destruction of Ukrainians in the village of Stryovetski Hory as described by Mykhaylo Danylevych in his "Brutal Retribution against an Innocent Population" is an example of barbarism at its peak. It occurred on March 7, 1944, (the third day after the Soviets occupied the village). On that day, the Soviet military assembled some forty or fifty men in the village square. After a check they freed the Poles and drove the Ukrainians in the direction of the forest in the village of Kydantsi. Before they reached the outskirts of the forest, a command was given to hurry. At that moment machine guns opened fire and the innocent people began to fall. It was said that some were shot through the head at very short range. In 1973, two incomplete lists of victims reached the Ukrainian community in Canada:

#### *The First List*

Pavlo Antonyk	Mykola Lysobey
Mykola Drobot	Volodymyr Lyashkovsky
Petro Horychun	Mykhaylo Martsinyuk
Petro Herasymyk	Pavlo Osarchuk
Bohdan Horychun	Mykhaylo Osarchuk
Hryts Hnatyshyn	Vasyl Slobodyuk
Pavlo Hnatyshyn	Volodymyr Tymoshyk
Yuzef Ganovsky	Mykhaylo Tvoryshchuk
Semen Kovalchuk (village of Kydantsi)	Petro Tvoryshchuk
Vasyl Tsalik	Vasyl Parkhin
Stefan Lipnitsky	Semen Veresyuk
Pavlo Lipnitsky	

#### *The Second List*

Stefan Veresyuk	Gustyn Voloshyn
Oleksa Khodachok	Dorko Zarubynsky
Vasyl Vosarchuk	Andriy Zarubynsky
Ivan Vosarchuk	Oleksa Zarubynsky
Petro Vovchuk	

In December, 1939, an insurrection against the Soviet Russians began in Zbarazh County. The organized youth in the village of Ivanchany fought courageously as shown by the Reverend Andriy Dvorakivsky in his "Noble Deeds will never be Lost". But their efforts were in vain. The Bolsheviks wrought an exceptionally inhuman vengeance on the village. Many, who were unable to escape first to the forests and then from their occupied homeland were shot on the spot. Others were hanged publicly in order to terrorise the population. Their families were banished to compulsory hard labour in Siberia, where only a few survived to return years later to their homes. Banished also were the parish priest, the Reverend M. Ivanchuk, and his youngest son, Roman. They were never heard from again. The two Makohin brothers, the two Mandybura brothers, and many others suffered the same fate.

In 1940, in Kydantsi the Soviets arrested the village headman, Antin Robak (a Pole by origin), and subsequently banished his family to Siberia. The Soviet Russians left the area during the German occupation in July, 1941, but returned in March, 1944, and mobilised men for the front. Some escaped by joining the underground forces, which were active in the village until 1947. By the fall of 1944, the Soviet Russians had begun a massive transportation of innocent people from Kydantsi to Siberia. Beginning in 1945, the Poles were allowed to move to Poland and the Ukrainian Lemky (inhabitants of Western Carpathia) began arriving in Kydantsi (see Bohdan Zenon Datskivsky's "*Sic transit gloria mundi*"). During the Soviet Russian rule in Kydantsi, all crosses and statues of saints, which had stood for many years in the village (there were six of them) were destroyed. And yet no one had the courage to destroy one last statue, of the Trinity, which stood at a crossroads near the property of Vozny. A special group of workers was therefore sent from Zbarazh to dismantle it. They did so and took away all the parts with them, thus furnishing a vivid example of how the Soviet Russians respect the traditions and religious beliefs of their peoples as guaranteed in their constitution.

Another example of Communist Russian lack of respect for traditions and history is the abolition of the village of Kurnyky. They removed its name from geographical maps and its territory and population were arbitrarily incorporated into the village of Ivanchany (see Yevstakhiy Yasenovsky's "The Village of Kurnyky Disappeared from a Geographical Map"). The Soviet Russians also banished a number of Ukrainian peasants and the courageous landowner Konopacki, who had stood up for them against the Poles, from the village of Lysychyntsi to Siberia, where they disappeared without a trace.

The bloodiest years in the history of Nove Selo, even more terrible than those of the Tartar invasions, were 1944-1947, when the Soviet Russians returned to those areas after having retreated from the Germans. The prison was filled beyond capacity with innocent victims from the civilian population.

Men, women, and children were thrown indiscriminately into cells designed to hold a fraction of their number. What had been a court became a torture chamber. Naked, bullet-riddled, twisted and mutilated bodies of men, women, and children alike were brought from various places to Nove Selo and piled around the Roman Catholic church. The corpses lay there for days, exposed to public view. Then they were hauled away and buried *en masse* in anti-tank ditches. Many mothers recognised among the corpses their sons and daughters; wives recognised their husbands. To avoid the same fate, none had any choice but to remain publicly composed and silent. The parents of one young man, who had been murdered learned that he had been buried in the forest. They went to the place secretly one night, dug up the body, carried it some six kilometres, still secretly, and buried it in their cemetery. Many people of Nove Selo and neighbouring villages were banished to Siberia. Some of them lived to return home years later but the majority perished in the cruel cold (see Bereketa's "The Village Modelled after a City").

As early as 1920, the Soviet Russians had caused great suffering in the village of Penkivtsi. At that time Stefaniya Trembach was killed and her sister wounded. After having advanced as far as the Vistula, the returning Soviet Russian troops stripped the village of everything they could carry, down to kitchen utensils (see Petro Fabiyan's "There, Where Once the Forest Howled").

In 1944, following their policy of eliminating potential leaders in lands occupied by them, the Soviet Russian authorities arrested and destroyed all active and patriotic Ukrainians in the village of Sukhivtsi. They shot Andriy Onysko, his wife, and his son and daughter-in-law. Mykyta Sokil fled to the village of Palchyntsi, but was caught and banished to Siberia. His wife and son were shot in Sukhivtsi, as was Ivan Vodzitsky. Ivan Yanchak was sent to Siberia and he died there. Hladky and all members of his family were shot in his own yard, as was Taras Sen. Volodymyr Nahadzhyna and Sukhy with his family were sent to Siberia, where all of them died (see Kondzolka's "From Sukhodolya to Sukhivtsi").

Stepan Mazur, the peasant hero, waged ceaseless warfare on all Communists and helped those women whose husbands were serving in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. He was gallant and generous by nature, courageous and ready to avenge his enslaved compatriots. The Soviet Russians, tipped off by an informer, caught him in the open, while he was helping a woman in her fields, and shot him down. He took one of them with him. Stakh Buhay gave us an honest and sincere portrayal of Mazur, who unquestionably "will live in the memory of the people".

Communist cruelty in 1940 and later in 1944 was memorable in the village of Chahari Zbarazki. Among the victims there were Mykhaylo Danylevych's wife and his three children, aged two, four, and six years. They endured two months in cold wagons on starvation rations while they were transported to the forests around Irkutsk (see "Shall We See Each Other Again?").

As has already been made abundantly clear, the events of the December, 1939, uprising were tragic in Zbarazh County. The Soviet Russians savagely put down the uprising. Active and patriotic people were shot, hanged, or imprisoned in thousands. Their families were transported to Siberia. The Reverend A. Dvorakivsky and (in part) P. Televyak write that their villages joined in the uprising without doubting or questioning the wisdom or expediency of it. Televyak, however, was an eyewitness and is one of many, who raise the question of deliberate Communist provocation. He blames a certain Dzhula from the village of Krasnosiltsi. He states that "Dzhula in those days kept appearing in public and disappearing while acting as an agent provocateur". The uprising simultaneously took place not only in Krasnosiltsi but also in the villages of Ivanchany, Kobyllya, Chahari Zbarazki, Chernykhivtsi and in the city of Zbarazh. That is to be sure too much territory for Dzhula to have covered alone, and he is not mentioned by other authors, but he certainly could have been effective as a Soviet Russian agent. Yevstakhiy Yasenovsky, Mykhaylo Danylevych, and the Reverend Yevhen Matselyukh, furthermore, all see the uprising as having been engineered by the Soviet Russian security forces (NKVD) in order to eliminate patriotic and nationalistic Ukrainians.

It is truly unfortunate that, almost forty-five years after that tragic evening of December 18, 1939, it is still not known with certainty who planned the uprising and what were his motives and expectations. The pattern, however, is that of classic Soviet Russian provocation in an occupied land where the purpose is to eliminate those patriots who might provide focal points for resistance to Soviet tyranny.

\*

This book is patently documentary. It is written by eyewitnesses. It brings to light all of the facets of the struggle by Ukrainians, peasants and intellectuals alike, against their Polish, German, and Soviet Russian oppressors. It shows in detail how, in a single county, which is to be understood to represent many, three foreign powers repeatedly and with unspeakable cruelty sought to extinguish once and for all the flame of Ukrainian nationalism. And yet, for all the excesses of the Poles and the Germans, that flame continued to burn. Even the Soviet Russians, with an inhumanity beyond that to which their predecessors had sunk, could not extinguish it altogether. Free Ukrainians everywhere refuse to abandon hope that one day, on the inevitable ruins of the Soviet Russian empire, the flame will again be lighted and that Ukraine for which so many of their relatives, friends, and loved ones suffered and died will take her rightful and independent place in the family of nations. On that day, Zbarazh County, again and ever representative of many, will hold her head high.

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## REPRESSED UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

*(Continued from the Ukrainian Review, No 1, 1985)*

470) RADCHUK Mykola — Born 2. 11. 1956 in Zhytomir province; finished secondary school; arrested 27. 5. 1976 and sentenced under art. 232-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 3 years imprisonment for attempting to obtain arms.

471) RAKETSKYI Volodymyr Kuzmowych — Born 1947; publicist and poet; arrested 12. 1. 1972 in Kyiv and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment for nationalist sentiments and anti-Soviet poems.

472) REBRYK Ivan — Born 30. 6. 1938 in Ivano-Frankivsk province; teacher; arrested in March 1974 and sentenced in August of the same year in Ivano-Frankivsk to 7 years strict regime imprisonment and 3 years exile for political matters.

473) REZNYKOV Oleksa Serhiyevych — Born 24. 2. 1937 in Donetsk province; writer; arrested 9. 11. 1971 in Odessa and sentenced under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 5½ years imprisonment.

474) RODOSLAVIV Evhen Konstantinovich — Born 1949; married; member of the Evangelical Christians — Baptists; arrested 18. 10. 1968 in Odessa and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and 5 years exile under arts. 138-2 and 209-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

475) ROHYNISKYI Volodymyr — arrested in March 1972 in Kyiv and sentenced under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 5 years in concentration camps.

476) ROMANCHUK — Minister of the Evangelical Christians — Baptists; married, father of 6 children; arrested 16. 6. 1979 in the town of Makayivka and sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment. Before this he had already served 13 years imprisonment in concentration camps.

477) ROMANIUK Ivan — Born 1930 in the village of Zaluchi, Western Ukraine; member of OUN-UPA. Arrested and sentenced by the Bolsheviks to 25 years imprisonment. He served 15 years of his term of imprisonment, and now lives in his home village, continually persecuted by the KGB.

478) ROMANIUK Vasyl Omelianovich — Priest; born 1925 in Chernivtsi; served as a priest for many years in Kosmach, Ivano-Frankivsk province. Married, father of one son. Between 1944 and 1954 he was held in Stalin's concentration camps; his father died in Siberia and his younger brother was killed by the MVD. He was again arrested on 12. 1. 1972 and sentenced in July of the same year by the court of Ivano-Frankivsk to 10 years imprisonment and 5 years of exile. He was accused of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" because he called upon the faithful to maintain their ancestors' faith and customs.

479) ROMANIUK Yuriy — Leading member of the OUN; sentenced in Ivano-Frankivsk province under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 25 years imprisonment.

480) ROMANIV Mykola — Sentenced in 1952 to 25 years imprisonment for nationalist activities under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

481) ROMANOVYCH Hryhoriy Yakymovych — Born 1928; married, father of 8 children, member of the Evangelical Christians — Baptists; arrested 24. 2. 1973 and sentenced under art. 138-2 and art. 209-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 4 years imprisonment and 4 years exile.

482) ROZUMNYI Petro — Born 1926; teacher of English; arrested 19. 9. 1979 in Dnipropetrovsk, accused of “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda” and sentenced to 3 years in concentration camps.

483) RUBAN Mykola — Born 1940; arrested in 1968 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment for founding an underground “nationalist organization” which distributed leaflets.

484) RUBAN Petro Vasylyovych — Born 1940; sculptor; father of 2 children; was first arrested and spent 13 years in concentration camps for urging Ukraine to secede from the USSR. He was again arrested in 1976 and sentenced in 1977 in Chernihiv to 6 years of imprisonment and 3 years of exile. He was tried on the basis that he had not changed his views and was still demanding “Ukraine’s right for a free and independent life and her secession from the USSR”. In 1979, he wrote an appeal to the President of the USA, Jimmy Carter.

485) RUBAN Vasyly — Born 1942; poet; arrested 1972 and sentenced in 1973 in Kyiv to an unspecified term of imprisonment in a psychiatric prison-hospital for “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda”.

486) RUBLENKO Anatoliiy Tymofiyovych — Born 1949; married; arrested 23. 1. 1974 in Mykolayiv and sentenced under arts. 138-2 and 209-2 for his active participation in the Evangelical Christians — Baptists to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years of exile.

487) RUDENKO Mykola Danylovych — Born 19. 12. 1920 in the village of Yuryivtsi, Luhans region; writer and philosopher; married, member of Amnesty International in the USSR and head of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Arrested on the 5th of February in Kyiv and sentenced on the 1st of July, 1977, in the town of Druzhkivka, Donetsk province, to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years of exile under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. Rudenko is a wartime invalid and is seriously ill.

488) RUSYN Ivan Ivanovych — Born 1937 in Lviv region into a peasant family. Engineer, married, and father of one daughter. Arrested 1965 and sentenced in 1966 in Kyiv to one year of imprisonment for alleged “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda”. He is a nationally conscious Ukrainian. In Kyiv in 1977 he was again sentenced to 7 years imprisonment for his Ukrainian patriotism, for which he had been continually persecuted whilst at liberty.

489) RYBACHUK P. Y. — Born in Volyn province. In August, 1980, he was sentenced to death by the Russian occupation court in Starovyzhiv for allegedly belonging to OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) and UPA (Ukrainian Insurgent Army). During the trial he did not recant and accused Moscow of committing the alleged crimes.

490) RYSHKOVENKO Valeriy — Sentenced in Zaporizhia in 1962 under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 6 years imprisonment.

491) SACHUK Yurko — Sentenced in 1963 in closed court in Lutsk to 5 years imprisonment and sent to the Mordovian prison camps.

492) SAHAYDAK Vasyl — Journalist; worked at the Odessa radio station; fired from his job for criticising the russification of Ukraine.

493) SALAMAKHA Stepan — Born 6. 5. 1930; married; father of 8 children; member of the Fifth Day Adventists. He was arrested for this in 1972 and sentenced under art. 209-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 5 years imprisonment and 4 years exile.

494) SAMOFAL Petro A. — Born 1923. Arrested first in 1945 for having taken part in the Ukrainian liberation struggle and was sentenced in 1946, under art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, to death. This was commuted to 25 years imprisonment. In 1970, he was given an additional two years imprisonment, so that by the time he was freed in 1972 he had served 27 years in concentration camps. He has now been arrested again, under the accusation that he “has not divested himself of his nationalist beliefs” and has been sent for an unlimited period of time to a psychiatric prison.

495) SAPELAK Stepan E. — Born 26. 4. 1952 in Ternopil province. Arrested in 1973 in the region of Chortkiv and sentenced in 1974 in Ternopil under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years of exile. He was charged with belonging to an underground youth organisation, for distributing leaflets and for raising the blue and yellow flag over government buildings. His mother is also continuously threatened.

496) SARANCHUK Petro — Born 26. 10. 1926 in Ternopil province. Sentenced to longterm imprisonment for belonging to the OUN-UPA (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — Ukrainian Insurgent Army).

497) SAS-ZHURAKOVSKYI Myron M. — Born 1934; Orthodox priest; was imprisoned in concentration camps for his political beliefs. In 1965, he was arrested and sentenced to imprisonment in a psychiatric prison. On the 27. 2. 1980 he was again arrested by the KGB in Vynnytsia — the charges are unknown.

498) SAVCHAK Oles' — Born 1923 in Lviv region; arrested and sentenced in 1969 to many years of imprisonment under charges of belonging to the military division “Halychyna” and of taking part in the battle near Brody.

499) SAVCHENKO Pavlo — Born 1923; arrested 1979 and sentenced

to 1½ years imprisonment for having formed the "Committee of former prisoners of fascism".

500) SAVCHENKO Viktor — An assistant at the Dnipropetrovsk institute of metallurgy. Sentenced in January 1970 to 2 years imprisonment suspended for 3 years. He was charged with writing and distributing a "Letter by the Dnipropetrovsk creative youth" in which the russification of Ukraine was unmasked.

501) SAVCHENKO Volodymyr — Arrested and sentenced in 1962 to 6 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

502) SAVCHYN Oleksiy F. — Imprisoned in concentration camps for his religious beliefs.

503) SAVYNKYN Oleh M. — Sentenced under art. 70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR to 3 years imprisonment and 2 years of exile.

504) SAVYTSKYI P. — Longterm political prisoner; is now in the central Dnipropetrovsk zone for invalids.

505) SVARNYK Ivan I. — A student of Lviv University, from which he was expelled in 1973 on the pretext of having taken part in the publication of the underground student magazine "Koryto", for having distributed leaflets defending the Ukrainian language and traditions, for honouring the memory of Shevchenko, etc.

506) SVERSTIUK Evhen Ol. — Born 13. 12. 1928 in Volyn; graduated from Lviv University and from postgraduate studies in Kyiv University in pedagogy; publicist and writer; married; father of children; has been persecuted for many years. Arrested 14. 1. 1972 and sentenced on the 24. 4. 1973 in Kyiv under art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 7 years imprisonment and 5 years exile. He was charged with having written literary works in the Ukrainian national spirit. He was due to be released in 1984.

## THE AGONY OF A NATION

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## Documents and reports

### UKRAINIANS SAY "ENOUGH!"

Such was the attitude of approximately 600 people from the Ukrainian community, who took part in a one-day conference dealing with "Ukraine and Ukrainians During World War II: History and its aftermath". The Conference took place at the St. Volodymyr Ukrainian Institute in Toronto on Saturday, March 2, 1985, and was a fitting rebuttal to the deluge of defamatory material currently circulated against Ukrainians in Canada under the guise of hunting down Nazi war criminals. Simon Wiesenthal's Documentation Centre and its representatives in North America have targeted for this action veterans of the Ukrainian Division "Galicia" [*Halychyna*], while Moscow has concentrated on defaming the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The aforementioned two sources overlap in their accusations.

#### **Ukrainians in World War II**

The first three sessions of the conference outlined the situation in pre-World War II Ukraine, the period of the first occupation of Western Ukraine by Soviet Russia (1939-1941), the Nazi occupation of Ukraine, the participation of Ukrainians in military formations in World War II, and Ukrainian-Jewish relations under Nazi occupation. In their presentations the speakers highlighted the Ukrainian two-front struggle against both Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia led by the OUN and UPA and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR). It was also stressed that the proclamation of the re-establishment of the Ukrainian State on June 30, 1941, in Lviv took the Nazis by surprise. This fait accompli precipitated Berlin into revealing its real intentions and marked the beginning of the Ukrainian anti-Nazi resistance.

The purpose and role of the Ukrainian Division "Galicia" was also discussed, with particular stress placed on the fact that this unit was purely military and had never participated in any war crimes — as it is being alleged today. The Division as a frontline unit, fought *against* Stalin's Russia, and never *for* Hitler's Germany. By the same token, millions of Ukrainians fought *against* the Nazis as members of the Soviet Army rather than *for* Stalin's Russia. It was also pointed out that tens of thousands of Ukrainians fought and died for the preservation of Democracy in the Allied armed forces — including some 40,000 in the Canadian forces alone. A reputed American journalist wrote in January, 1945, from Kyiv, that World War II in Europe was basically a "Ukrainian war" rather than a "Russian glory".

In the first three sessions of the Conference the following historians and political scientists took part: Prof. Orest Subtelny, Dr. Bohdan Krawchenko, Prof. Taras Hunchak, Prof. Petro Potichnyi and Dr. Myroslav Yurkevych.

### **Ukrainian political refugees**

In this session of the Conference, Mark R. Elliot (professor and author of the well-known book "The Pawns of Yalta") exposed the false allegations about World War II Ukrainian refugees being "Nazi collaborators" or "war criminals" — an outright Soviet provocation. Lubomyr Luciuk (a specialist in post-World War II Ukrainian emigration) spoke about the experience and travails of the Ukrainian Division "Galicia" after the war. In his well documented presentation Dr. Luciuk pointed out that the Division as a unit, and every individual soldier, were thoroughly screened by the Allies for any possible war-time wrongdoings, were cleared and released from POW camps, and allowed to emigrate to various countries in the free world including Great Britain, Canada and the United States.

In view of the current situation, the panel dealing with the topic of "Investigating War Criminals Today" was indeed the most timely. The panelists agreed that the real criminals against humanity, including Soviet, should be brought to justice — regardless of their nationality or ethnic origin. The main topic, however, was the validity and acceptability of "evidence" supplied by Moscow against alleged suspects. An American attorney-at-law from Chicago, S. Paul Zumbakis, spoke about "The relationship between the Office of Special Investigations (OSI) and the KGB". He simply charged the OSI with collaborating with the KGB. One of his convincing arguments was that for Moscow all OSI cases are political in nature, and that all political cases in the USSR are handled by the KGB. This means that the KGB controls the "documentation", the "evidence" and the "witnesses" used by the OSI to prosecute its cases in the USA. In fact, Zumbakis convincingly argued that the KGB has actually managed to influence the American judicial system.

Roman Kupchinsky (President of Prolog Research Corp.) in his presentation clearly showed that Soviet disinformation is, indeed, a factor at the present stage of the search for Nazi war criminals. He stated that "because the Ukrainian underground, the UPA fought on two fronts — against the Nazis and against the Soviet Russians, it became a target for Soviet disinformation and covert action".

Romas Vastokas (professor of Anthropology in the USA) called for "Nuremberg-2" to bring to justice Soviet criminals against humanity. He also pointed out several reasons for the "wall of silence" in the free world regarding the crimes perpetrated by Moscow, which, in their magnitude, surpass in many respects even those committed by the Nazis. Among the reasons for the "wall of silence" suggested by Vastokas were: "realpolitik", the "liberal mind", which sees the Soviet Union through the looking glass of "socialist realism", a prevailing "romantic view" of "mother Russia", "selective outrage" of a

public rightfully sensitive to the Nazi crimes, but, which turns a blind eye on the crimes committed by Moscow, a policy of intimidation pursued by Moscow against emigre communities in the free world in order to undermine and compromise their anti-Soviet stand and their activities to promote freedom and independence for the homelands under Moscow's dominations; etc. The ultimate goal of the KGB is to create in the Western mind an impression that to be a nationalist, anti-Soviet and anti-Moscow is tantamount to being a "fascist" a "Nazi collaborator" or a "Nazi war criminal". That problem was basically addressed by the former Special Assistant for Ethnic Affairs to President Gerald R. Ford, Dr. Myron Kuropas from Chicago, in his analysis of a recently published book "Quiet Neighbours: Prosecuting Nazi War Criminals in America", which is "aimed at discrediting anti-Communism among Americans of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Estonian descent, especially those who fled Communist oppression after World War II". The author of this book is Allan J. Ryan, Jr., former director of the Office of Special Investigations (OSI).

David Matas, Chairman of the League for Human Rights (B'nai B'rith) spoke about "Bringing Nazi war criminals in Canada to justice" and indicated that "the Nazi Holocaust was not unique. History is replete with tragedy. There was, for instance, the Soviet forced famine in Ukraine in the 1930s... Millions starved. Forgetting tragedy means forgetting history". He also supported the idea of "bringing to justice of all the other, non-Nazi criminals against humanity".

Professor Roman Serbyn of Montreal, and Chairman of the Information and Anti-Defamation Commission, lectured on the "Alleged 'War Criminals', the Canadian Media and the Ukrainian Community". In his analysis of the defamatory media statements against Ukrainians he also chastized the Ukrainian community in Canada for being too slow in reacting to this anti-Ukrainian campaign.

The conference organizers also held a successful meeting with the media, which, nevertheless, responded with only passable coverage of the event. This is another indication that many a gentlemen of the fifth estate — with very few exceptions — prefer sensationalism over impassionate and solid information for their reporting.

The conference was organized in less than three weeks by a number of Ukrainian academic, professional and student organizations, which received wide support from the community. The programme chairman and conference chairman was Professor Yuriy Boshyk of the University of Toronto. The initiators and the organizers of this conference undoubtedly deserve much credit for a most successful and informative event.

It is widely hoped that this conference becomes an indication of the Ukrainian community's anger at the current round of anti-Ukrainian slander, an indication that it has had enough, and that it will not take this lying down!

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## STATE DEPARTMENT WILL BE MORE SENSITIVE TO UKRAINIANS

*Washington, D.C. (UNIS) March 20.* In a recent meeting between Ukrainians and State Department officials, a Ukrainian-American delegation was told that the State Department will be more sensitive to their issues in future reports dealing with compliance of the Helsinki Accords.

The meeting, which was held on Wednesday, March 20, in the White House, was arranged by the Ukrainian National Information Service (UNIS), the Washington Office of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA). The purpose of the meeting was to voice Ukrainian concerns regarding the President's 17th Semi-Annual Report to the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The report, which was released last December, had outraged several Washington area Ukrainian activists.

According to a statement released by the UCCA, the report was "clearly unbalanced". The UCCA further states that, "while Ukraine is the largest of the non-Russian captive nations, its concerns have gone virtually undocumented" in the President's report.

The White House and State Department were bombarded with hundreds of letters from Ukrainians and several Congressmen protesting the lack of attention to Ukrainians. Accordingly, Linas Kojelis, Associate Director of the White House Office of Public Liaison contacted various State Department and National Security Council Officials to meet with various Ukrainian organisations that voiced strong concern over the report. As a result the 90-minute meeting gave Ukrainians the opportunity to voice their concerns regarding the reported data.

State Department Officials stated that the information gathered for the report had come from the US Embassy in Moscow. Unfortunately, the fact that the US Consulate in Kyiv was closed by Jimmy Carter after the Russians invaded Afghanistan, was clearly a reason why it has become more difficult to get information regarding oppressions against Ukrainian human and national rights advocates.

Attending the meeting were representatives of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America and the Ukrainian National Association. Also represented at the meeting were members of the Ukrainian-American Coordinating Council, the Ukrainian Student Association (TUSM) and Americans for Human Rights in Ukraine. According to several of the Ukrainian representatives, the meeting was beneficial and helped make inroads to increased cooperation and dialogue with the State Department.

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## UCCA CALLS FOR CONGRESSIONAL OVERSIGHT HEARINGS INTO OSI

*New York, N.Y.* — At its quarterly National Executive Board Meeting, the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America unanimously adopted a resolution, which urges the House and Senate Judiciary Committees to call for immediate oversight hearings into the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations (OSI).

The resolution, which was adopted upon the recommendation of the UCCA's Committee on Foreign Affairs, details UCCA's dialogue with the OSI since 1979. The resolution concludes that over a six year period, "the OSI's collaboration with agents of the Soviet Union have led to the violation of individual rights and lack of due process for defendants".

The UCCA's Committee on Foreign Affairs was delegated to monitor activities of the OSI and take necessary actions to ensure congressional oversight hearings. The Committee on Foreign Affairs is chaired by Bohdan Fedorak and has eight members, which include: George Nesterczuk, Bohdan Futey, Joseph Lesawyer, Askold Lozynsky, Myron Wasyluk, Marta Kokolsky, Roxolana Potter and Orest Szczudluk.

In other action, the National Executive Board will send a representative to the Ottawa Human Rights Conference, which will be held from May 7 to June 18. Also the National Executive Board approved the text of a resolution commemorating the Ukrainian Millenium and a statue in honour of Prince St. Volodymyr the Great. The National Executive Board also commended Mykola Semanyshyn for his leadership and dedication in organizing the Ukrainian National Fund (UNF) and the substantial increase, which has resulted in the past year. The UNF has recorded donations of \$147,994 in 1984, which is a 6% increase over the 1983 amount. Although final figures have not been released, the grand total of UCCA's donations and World Congress of Free Ukrainians donations will easily surpass the 1983 level of \$160,411.57.

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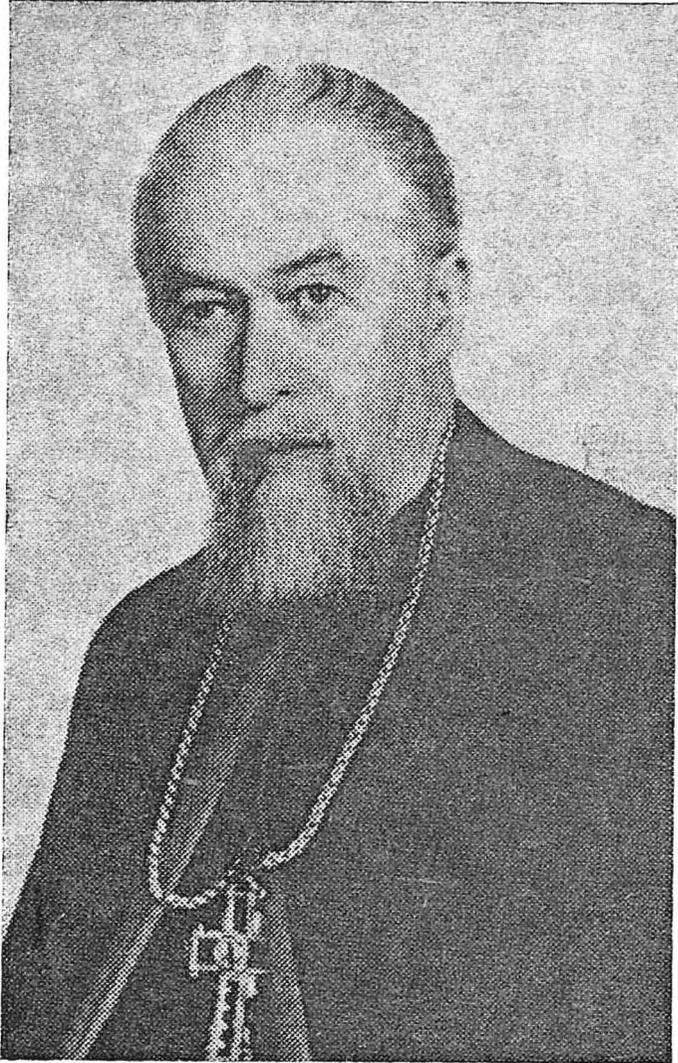
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His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky  
Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church

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## **HIS BEATITUDE MYROSLAV IVAN, SUCCESSOR TO PATRIARCH JOSYF, ELEVATED TO CARDINAL BY POPE JOHN PAUL II**

On Wednesday, April 24, 1985, His Holiness Pope John Paul II elevated His Beatitude Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky to the rank of Cardinal of the Catholic Church; the newly-designated Cardinal was formally installed at the consistory in Rome on May 25, 1985, along with 27 other nominees (including US Archbishops O'Connor of New York and Law of Boston).

His Beatitude was born in Dolyna, Western Ukraine, on June 24, 1914, the son of Eustachius and Anna (nee Oliynyk). After completing two years of philosophical studies at the Ukrainian Catholic Theological Academy in Lviv, Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky was sent to Innsbruck, Austria by the then Archbishop of Lviv, Andrey Sheptytsky. The Servant of God ordained him a priest on September 21, 1938. He continued his studies in Rome, obtained a Master's Degree in Scripture Studies at the Biblical Institute, and later a Master's Degree in Philosophical Studies. After two additional years of medical studies, he came to the United States on May 29, 1947, and continued his work among God's people. Pastoral parochial and literary work followed.

Fr. Lubachivsky became the Spiritual Director of St. Josaphat's Ukrainian Catholic Seminary in 1968; in 1971 he was appointed Professor at St. Basil's Academy for Girls in Philadelphia. In 1977 he was appointed Spiritual Director at St. Basil's Seminary in Stamford.

His Holiness Pope Paul VI elevated Fr. Lubachivsky to the rank of honorary prelate in April, 1978. On September 13, 1979, Pope John Paul II appointed him Metropolitan-Archbishop of Philadelphia; he was consecrated in Rome on November 12, 1979, by Pope John Paul II and appointed Coadjutor Major Archbishop on March 24, 1980, and, consequently, transferred to Rome. Upon the death of His Beatitude Patriarch Josyf, Lubachivsky assumed the position of Archbishop-Major of Lviv.

His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan is the fifth hierarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to be made a Cardinal. His predecessors were Cardinals Isidore, Sylvester Sembratovych (1882-1898), Michael Levytsky (1816-1858), and Josyf Slipyj (1892-1984).

The appointment of Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky to the College of Cardinals reflects the unabating solicitude of the Holy Father for the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The fact that Patriarch Myroslav Ivan Lubachivsky is also the Metropolitan of Lviv is also highly significant because the Holy Father in honouring the Patriarch is also honouring the Ukrainian Catholic Church in the catacombs, and underscores the unity of that branch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the one in the West. The appointment of His Beatitude Myroslav Ivan to Cardinal is doubly significant because

it has occurred practically on the 40th anniversary of the liquidation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church by the Soviet Russian regime. In that sense, the elevation of His Beatitude is also an eloquent testimony of the vitality and endurance of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, both in Ukraine and in the diaspora.

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*“Therefore, on the occasion of this memorable date, the 11th of April, 1945, let us all, once again, together with the spirit of Pope Pius XII, raise our protest against all the repression that red Moscow has committed on our land. Let us protest against the persecution of our brothers, priests, monks, nuns, and faithful. This persecution has not ceased from the beginning of red rule on our territory and continues to this day. Let us demand freedom for our Church and the release of all our persecuted brothers, who suffer for their faith in God. Let us demand the rectification of all the harm that has been done, and the return of all the acquisitions of our fathers. Let us call upon the whole Christian world to think about this and listen to the groans of our persecuted and martyred brothers, and to stop being indifferent to their suffering. Let our prayers become more forceful and our faith in God and our hopes for His help be stronger, so that the day when this salutary moment will come would be nearer; so that the end would come for our way of the cross and our Golgotha, and that we could meet our day of the Resurrection; and so that we could welcome the beginning of our second millennium when the sun of our freedom will rise.”*

*(Excerpt from Cardinal Lubachivsky's epistle on the 40th anniversary of the arrest of the hierarchy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church on April 11, 1945.)*

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## **THE NATIONAL QUESTION IN THE USSR: AN UNRESOLVED DILEMMA**

**(As illustrated by Leninist theory and practice in Ukraine)**

From its inception, the Soviet Union has been haunted by the spectre of nationalism. Now, over sixty years after the October Revolution, the regime is still worried about the strength of nationalist forces. Indeed, the nationality question in the Soviet Union, allegedly solved "once and for all on the basis of Lenin's policy"<sup>1</sup> remains one of the major and fundamental obstacles to the advancement of the Marxist-Leninist notion of a "classless society" moulded into one single "Soviet people".

In order to understand the importance, the nature and the complexity of the national question in the Tsarist Russian Empire on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, one should first take note of its multinational character. The statistical reference of the population census of 1897 gives us an adequate illustration of the situation in 1917 since the proportional national variation remained generally the same. The Russians formed 44.3% of the population compared to 55.7% of non-Russians, of which the Ukrainians formed the largest single group, comprising 17.8% of the population. In precise numbers, there were 22,380,600 Ukrainians in the Empire of the time compared to 55,667,500 Russians<sup>2</sup>. This in itself reveals the importance of Ukraine in the formation of any national policy that advocated a change in the national relationships within the empire.

Furthermore, the national question was not just a problem of pure political ideology. It also contained living national movements of vital change affecting actual structures and practical policies. It embraced a complex variety of ethnic, cultural, political, social and economic questions which had not only local, but international European reverberations as well. Within the framework of the Russian Empire the national question, particularly in Ukraine, was interlaced with social and economic questions. In Ukraine, all economic and social exploitation was viewed by the people as exploitation by the Russian nation and not by a social class.

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<sup>1</sup> *Canadian Commentator*, "Ukrainian Nationalism", (Toronto) X, No. 11 (November, 1966), pp. 13-15.

<sup>2</sup> Pipes, Richard, *The Formation of the Soviet Union — Communism and Nationalism, 1917-1923* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 2 and 30.

When one considers the national question in Ukraine as reflecting also the socio-political conflicts of the urban versus the rural elements of a nation, one finds that there flows from it an interesting development. Due to the distribution of the population in Ukraine, the conflict of the "urban" against the "rural" segments of the population is synonymous with the conflict of the Russians against the Ukrainians. With the outbreak of the revolution, this parallelism in turn represented the conflict between the Bolsheviks and the nationalists, later to be transformed into the conflict between a Russian Communist Party against a Ukrainian Communist Party. Oddly enough, even the split between the "left" CPU and the "right" CPU was also based on the extension of the same parallelism.

This historical evolutionary pattern is an illustration of both the complexity and the nature of the national question in Ukraine. Its importance was realized by Lenin who pointed out the words of Savenko (a member of the Duma) speaking to the "All-Russian National Association" on February 2, 1914,

"The Ukrainian movement constitutes a specially great menace to the integrity of Russia... If the Ukrainians really succeed in tearing their thirty million away from the Russian people, it would mean the end of the Great Russian Empire"<sup>3</sup>.

To assess and analyze the national question adequately, it is necessary to separate its theory, as developed by Lenin and Stalin, from its practice, as implemented in Ukraine from 1917 to 1922. Let us first turn to Lenin's views which provided the basis for the Bolshevik theory on the nationality question. Lenin who was perhaps the most doctrinaire of all the prominent Russian Marxists, was also the most flexible in his tactics. Once he realized the value of the national movement as a weapon for fighting the established order, he stopped at nothing to use it for his own ends.

There were three phases in the development of his views on the national question. In the first phase, before 1913, he formulated his basic views. In the second, between 1914 and 1917, he developed the general plan for the utilization of national movements. And in the third period, from 1917 to 1922 Lenin concentrated on the application and the adaptation of the plan to practical realities. This resulted in schemes that varied in their contradictions, vacillating with the practical problems of power and rule.

In his "Critical Remarks on the National Question", written in 1913, Lenin summarized all his basic views, proclaimed since 1903. Through his acute sense of political realities Lenin adopted the main tenet that national movements represent a force that is suitable for exploitation in the Bolshevik struggle for power. He realized the possibility of an alliance between socialists and "minority nationalists". This alliance, however, would have to be conditional and temporary, from which nothing would be expected and to

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<sup>3</sup> Lenin, V. I., *Collected Works* (Moscow, 1964) XX, p. 20.

which nothing should be conceded. Lenin pointed this out quite clearly when he said that "the Proletariat cannot support any entrenchment of nationalism; on the contrary, it supports everything which destroys national barriers... and everything which leads to the fusion of nations"<sup>4</sup>.

Moreover, Lenin maintained that in the party programme a statement was needed on the "right" of all nations to "self-determination", conditioned and qualified in the interests of the proletariat, that is, in the interests of a centralized Russian Bolshevik Party. This second tenet is well illustrated by Lenin's definition of "self-determination" for Ukraine. He said that

"...given the united action of the Great-Russian and Ukrainian proletarians a free Ukraine is possible; without such unity it is out of the question"<sup>5</sup>.

He attacked the Ukrainian Socialists Yurkevych and Dmytro Dontsov because they placed "first the national and then the proletarian cause". To Lenin, "the proletarian cause must come first, because it not only protects the lasting fundamental interests of labour and humanity, but also those of democracy; and without democracy neither an autonomous nor an independent Ukraine is conceivable"<sup>6</sup>.

Finally, the third basic tenet is opposition to federalism and cultural autonomy. He opposed federalism as economically retrogressive because it would mean that the Bolshevik Party in the imperial territory of Russia would have to be based on a federative and not a centralist basis. He opposed cultural autonomy as tending to divide the proletariat, because it would undermine the political unity of the Russian Bolshevik Party's control of power which depended on the assimilation of the non-Russian majority through Russification. Lenin himself admits that "cultural autonomy, would mean only one thing: the splitting of educational affairs according to nationality"<sup>7</sup>.

Lenin's position is well illustrated by the content of his "Bill on the Equality of Nations" which was to be read to the Fourth Duma on May 6, 1914. The bill itself merely advocated a meaningless change of administrative divisions on the basis of national composition. Self-government meant only a representative "county system" of government whereby the autonomous "regional Diets" were to be subjected to the Duma. What is of relevant interest is its advocacy of native representation in Boards of Education. This did not mean the implementation of native schools, but only of the right to speak the native language<sup>8</sup>. Lenin clarified this point four days

4 *Ibid.*, *Sochinenie* (Moscow, 1932), XVII, p. 143.

5 *Ibid.*, *Questions of National Policies and Proletarian Internationalism* (Moscow, 1963), p. 37.

6 *Ibid.*, p. 38.

7 *Ibid.*, p. 43.

8 Lenin, *Collected Works*, XX, p. 281.

later in an article stating that "Marxists emphatically condemn the idea that educational affairs should be taken out of the hands of the State and transferred to the respective nationalities"<sup>9</sup>. Lenin "demonstrated the nature of the issue" by pointing out the contemporary situation in the United States:

"In the South there are separate 'national', or racial, whichever you please, schools for Negro children. I think this is the only case of 'nationalization' of schools in actual practice"<sup>10</sup>.

In Lenin's mind, then, the evil of Southern racial segregation in the American multinational state is similar to the evil of national separatism in the Russian Empire.

Of all these basic tenets in Lenin's assessment of the national question, only his views on federalism and cultural autonomy seem to change by 1922. Yet even here one must be careful not to exaggerate this change since the Socialist Russian conceptions of federalism and cultural autonomy differ drastically from those traditionally held by the Western democracies. The fundamental premise which does not change but is only further elaborated is Lenin's theory of "the right of self-determination" and "right of secession" which he synthesized by 1917.

Essentially, Lenin attempted in his plan to reconcile the Marxist premise of internationalism with the premises supplied by political realities. In the framework of Social Democratic theories, he attempted to follow a middle road by opposing the Rightist preservation of intrinsic values in nationalism (Renner and Bauer), and by opposing the Leftist complete rejection of nationalism as an irrelevant phenomena (Rosa Luxemburg). This resulted in a solution to the national problem which seemed at times neither consistent nor practical. It reflected an element of contradiction since national self-determination was to be political but not cultural or economical. Furthermore, it stood for the right of separation from Russia with the simultaneous preservation of the "proletarian unity" with Russia. But Lenin clarified this contradiction in a letter to Shumian, where he assured his party colleagues that they need not be disturbed by the inclusion of the "right to secession" as contrary "to our general premise of centralism" in the party programme. He said that "except for the word 'right', there is absolutely nothing else, there is not, there cannot be"<sup>11</sup>.

The solution reflected also an element of impracticability since it contained a potential danger of causing genuine separatism and a real dissolution of the empire. Lenin argued, however, that the centripetal forces of economy as determinants in history worked against separatism which was only a

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 290.

<sup>10</sup> Lenin, *Questions of National Policies*, p. 44.

<sup>11</sup> Smal-Stocki, R., *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union* (Chicago, 1952).

psychological phenomenon of oppression<sup>12</sup>. Once oppression ceased, there would be no nationalism and no separatism. Lenin seemed to have “forgotten” that force and violence were basic premises for the establishment and preservation of Bolshevik rule. Consequently, the synthesis of the Bolshevik revolution would in turn produce a new antithesis of nationalist reaction.

Lenin further argued the conditional aspect of the rights of separatism before the supremacy of proletarian interests. In a February 1914 editorial he stated that

“the class conscious workers do not advocate secession. They know the advantage of large states and the amalgamation of the large masses of workers. But large states can be democratic only if there is complete equality; that equality implies the right to secede”<sup>13</sup>.

This fine distinction between “secession” and the “right of secession” is “sacred” to the present day in the articles of the Constitution of the Soviet Union.

Lenin stubbornly clung to his views even though by 1916 he was opposed by the entire Zimmerwald group of Bolsheviks, by Bukharin, Piatakov, Radek, Stalin, Kolontai, and Dzerzhinskyi. His position was gradually accepted and the obvious contradictions in his principles, or what after 1917 may seem to be deviations of practice from theory, really formed a coherent policy that was only camouflaged in its external expression or clearly manipulated in its application, but essentially its features never changed. To see these clear features one must perceive the set of prerequisites or socialist criteria which underline Lenin’s notion of national sovereignty. One can detect at least five of these criteria.

First, there is a social “class criteria” with which Lenin viewed nationalism as opposed to an ethnological, psychological, or idealistic base. To Lenin national interests meant class interests to either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. “Bourgeois nationalism” was viewed as pursuing “under the slogan of national culture the policy of splitting the workers and emasculating democracy”, while in “proletarian nationalism” “the slogan is not a national but an international culture of democracy”. Consequently, “the bourgeoisie in its various positive national programmes was deceiving the people”<sup>14</sup>.

In this context, any conception of national sovereignty in the full sense, encompassing language, culture, education, economy, diplomacy and military power, cannot be acceptable to Lenin. This was his first reservation. Lenin demanded “the unconditional unity and complete amalgamation of workers

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12 Pipes, *The Formation of the Soviet Union*, p. 44.

13 Lenin, *Collected Works*, XX, p. 110.

14 *Ibid.*, p. 21.

of all nationalities in all working class organizations... in contradiction to any kind of bourgeois nationalism"<sup>15</sup>.

Once this "unity and amalgamation of workers" becomes a political power associated with one Party and once this "one and only indivisible Party" sets a claim to a multinational area of control, the resulting discrepancy becomes quite obvious. Certainly, the contra-distinction between class interests and rights on an international level cannot be confused with the national interests and national rights on a local level. It seems that Lenin could not conceive such a distinction. It seems impossible for a Marxist to conceive that the class interests of the proletariat varied with the geographical and economic make-up of a locality, or that the national territorial factors which are positive to the interest of one section of the "toiling masses" could be detrimental to another. This has become quite obvious today, especially among the "Satellite" countries. Hence, the national interests of one locality could be made to reflect the class interests of that particular locality and no other. But once the unified class interests of a multinational superstructure are set as a standard to supercede all various local and regional interests but even inequality of class interests. Yet this obvious truth is completely distorted under the social "class criteria". Consequently, under Lenin's principle complete independence and separatism as an ultimate goal of self-determinism is not only impossible but even absurd.

The next criteria that one detects is the "cultural unity criteria", especially stressing the "unity" of the Russians and Ukrainians. Lenin stated that

"it would be a betrayal of socialism and a silly policy even from the standpoint of the bourgeois national aims of the Ukrainians to weaken the ties and alliance between the Ukrainian and the Great Russian proletariat that now exists within the confines of a single state"<sup>16</sup>.

Furthermore, Lenin noted that the assimilation of the two peoples

"is an indisputable fact... Even if we assume that, in time, there will be a state frontier between Russia and Ukraine, the historically progressive nature of the assimilation of Russian and Ukrainian workers will be as undoubted as the progressive nature of the grinding down of nations in America"<sup>17</sup>.

This "sacredness" of the "unity" of workers was used as a slogan for the unity of the Party whereby all the national parties were later subjected to the Russian. As a derivative step, this same slogan was also used for the unity of a government structure that would replace that of the Russian Empire. In an article entitled "Corrupting Workers with Refined Nationa-

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<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 30.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

lism", written in May of 1914, Lenin stated that "the advocacy of the division of nations is absolutely incompatible with proletarian internationalism"<sup>18</sup>.

All these statements were just a round-about way of expressing only one simple fact — an indivisible Party in an indivisible "Russia". Again, this second criteria further clarifies Lenin's conception of sovereignty.

The third prerequisite in understanding Lenin's notion of self-determination is the "economic criteria". Lenin constantly stressed the point that "the national state is the rule and the norm of capitalism" and that a Marxist "should not lose sight of the powerful economic factors that give rise to the urge to create national states"<sup>19</sup>. This is why "the proletariat confines itself only to the negative demand for recognition of the right to self-determination without giving guarantees to any nations, without undertaking to give anything at the expense of another nation"<sup>20</sup>. In economic terms, this simply means that the Ukrainian proletariat, for example, cannot demand anything at the expense of Russia. This becomes obvious when one realizes the vast economic dependence of Russia on Ukrainian industrial and agricultural resources.

In his article "The Right of Nations to Self-Determination" Lenin distinguishes political independence from economic independence. He maintains that the proletariat must be economically interdependent. He states ironically that it is "just as intelligent" to advocate political self-determination in harmony with economic independence as it is to argue the supremacy of parliamentary democracy in harmony with the economic despotism of capital"<sup>21</sup>. In other words, from Lenin's point of view, economic independence contradicts his conception of political sovereignty. This fits with all the other criteria in understanding Lenin's definition of such terms as "sovereignty", "succession" or "self-determination", and one begins to see that Lenin did not contradict himself in his practical policies after 1917.

Furthermore, another trait of the Leninist solution to the national question was the political "tactical criteria". Lenin warned his followers that

"if in our political agitation we fail to advance and advocate the slogan of the right of secession, we shall play into the hands, not only of the bourgeoisie but also of the feudal landlords and the absolutism of the oppressor nation"<sup>22</sup>.

Therefore, he urged Marxists to support anything that was anti-tsarist, as today the Soviet leaders "support" anything that is anti-colonial and anti-imperialistic.

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18 *Ibid.*, p. 290.

19 *Ibid.*, p. 400.

20 *Ibid.*, p. 410.

21 *Ibid.*, p. 399.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 412.

Lenin, however, was careful in pointing out the qualifications of such support. He noted that

“the bourgeois nationalism of any oppressed nation has a general democratic content directed against oppression, and it is this content that we unconditionally support...”

but he also declared — “at the same time we strictly distinguish it from the tendency towards national exclusiveness”<sup>23</sup>.

The waging of any form of tactical propaganda certainly lacks noble traits, as proven by the manipulatory aspects of Leninism. According to Lenin, a Bolshevik can be in favour of “both the political independence of his nation and its inclusion in a neighbouring state”<sup>24</sup>. In other words, the Marxist of a ruling nation (Russia) must fight for the right to secede, while the Marxist of an oppressed nation (Ukraine) must struggle against the right to secede<sup>25</sup>. The first should be a nationalist while the other must be the enemy of nationalism. This may seem to be an obvious contradiction but it is quite sound to a Russian Marxist who recognizes it as the approach from two poles towards one goal, namely, the triumph of “Russian Internationalism”. This confirms the purely opportunist tactical use of the slogan “right to secede” by Lenin.

Finally, the last prerequisite which characterized Lenin’s particular views on the national question is the “historical criteria” qualifying the relevance of nationalism with the “bourgeois stage” of justification. Following the philosophical tenets of Marxist historical determinism, Lenin co-ordinated the development of nationalism with the stage of capitalism. According to this theory, the first stage of the initial growth of capitalism was synonymous with the birth of national consciousness and national liberation movements. In the second stage of fully formed capitalism, national maturity is transformed through the wider development of international relations, and there is a breaking down of national barriers towards the creation of international unities both economic and political. The third stage consisted of the final victory of Communism and international dictatorship of the proletariat<sup>26</sup>.

This is the only aspect of Lenin’s assessment of the national question which underwent a change. In his early policy before the summer of 1917, when Lenin believed in the bourgeois democratic stage within the development of socialism, he might have been more lenient towards a more genuine and less qualified view of sovereignty. But even this speculative conclusion does not hold ground when one realizes how firmly Lenin applied his social, cultural, economic and political criteria in defining his socialist conception of sovereignty. When in 1917, Lenin decided to miss out the capitalist stage,

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 413.

<sup>24</sup> Lenin, *Questions of National Policy*, p. 183.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>26</sup> “Natsionalne Pytannia”, *Ukrainska Radianska Entsyklopedia*, 1962, X, p. 14.

the first stage of evolutionary nationalism was never allowed to reach its fruition among the nationalities of the Russian Empire. The second stage, consequently, could not be realized. Contrary to all historical developments both stages were not allowed to develop, only the third stage was to be implemented through the “justifiable law of inevitability” of the Bolshevik force.

From this, one can deduce the hypocrisy in Lenin’s conclusion that the proletarian revolution, under his terms, was embracing the national liberation struggle of nations. Lenin’s party, by inheriting the imperial structure of the tsarist regime and the power control inherited in such a structure under the cloak of proletarian internationalism, contradicted even Marxist historical determinism. The theoretical dictatorship of the proletariat became, in practice, the dictatorship of one nation over other nations within the framework of imperial power structure.

Consequently, how could genuine traits of national sovereignty have existed or how could they have been implemented in the Bolshevik policy when Lenin’s party completely rejected the stage of a “bourgeois democratic revolution” — a stage encompassing an era of many decades rather than a few months? Just as the stage of a liberal democratic regime was never fully realized in the political and economic field of Russia proper, it was never realized in the imperial structure and relationship between Russia and the other nations within the Empire.

What conclusion can be drawn from this general analysis of Lenin’s views on the national question? Richard Pipes, for example, believes that Lenin’s theory of national self-determination as a solution to the national problem in the Russian Empire was entirely inadequate since it offered no choice to the minorities between assimilation and complete independence, and ignored the possibility that they might reject both extremes<sup>27</sup>. This was a perfect tactic since it completely disrupted balanced opinions among the nationalities. Pipes further points out that Lenin underestimated the power of nationalism by treating it as a problem to be solved by merely using it as a means to an end<sup>28</sup>. This is true but only of certain periods of Lenin’s thought. Lenin realized the deep complexity of the national problem more than any other Russian Bolshevik, particularly when he reassessed his views on federalism and cultural autonomy.

Dubious and contradictory though Lenin’s theory of self-determination might be, when systematically analyzed it was nevertheless an excellent psychological weapon in the struggle for power. In addition to social and economic slogans, this was the main weapon of the Bolsheviks in winning the support of at least a good part of the non-Russian masses in the Empire. Lenin’s method of propaganda was appealing to the masses who accepted the slogans at face value without any philosophical analysis of their deeper

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<sup>27</sup> Pipes, p. 49.

<sup>28</sup> Tyktor, Ivan, *Velyka Istoria Ukrainy* (Winnipeg, 1968), p. 772.

implications. Such slogans as "self-determination by the right of secession" were openly producing genuine belief in complete independence.

One must also note that that Lenin's party was the only group among the Russian Socialists that openly stressed the right of secession for self-determination which despite its hidden contradictions and intentions was misinterpreted by many nationals as genuine separatism. This was particularly illustrated during the first Bolshevik campaign in Ukraine in January of 1918<sup>29</sup>. Kerenskyi and the Provisional Government were opposed to such slogans and both the Russian Revolutionaries and the Social Democrats stressed the "indivisibility of Russia" in their proclamations of federalist concepts.

Yet Lenin's centralism and anti-nationalism is often overlooked by many critics of Leninism who themselves are deceived by the seeming leniency and toleration of his "original" slogans. This is well illustrated by the short-sighted comment of Carew Hunt who says that "it is difficult to find in Lenin's writings any trace of national bias... His advocacy of revolution was not even remotely connected in his mind with the territorial aggrandizement of Russia"<sup>30</sup>. But Lenin's own words which have been quoted throughout this essay in the formulation of his theory of self-determination, sufficiently point to the contrary.

Lenin's basic view of absolute economic centralism, his complete political centralization of the Party, illustrated by his almost fanatical opposition to such separate national Communist Parties as the Ukrainian "Borotbisty", his moral tenet that the end justifies the means — all this had ultimately lead to the chauvinistic aggrandizement of Russia. In Leninism, the idea of genuine national independence, the only solution to the national question, went to the winds together with the ideas of independent trade unions and "all power to the Soviets", since it was only a means of attracting the masses to the Bolshevik programme. Once all the political power was mustered behind one Party, the idea of full national sovereignty was liquidated and became mere fiction.

Stalin, in his "Marxism and the National Question" did not add anything new. He repeated Lenin's clichés about the inevitable disappearance of national differences and the priority of class interests. He attacked extra-territorial national and cultural autonomy since "it imprisons nations within old shells... hindering their rise to higher levels of culture"<sup>31</sup>. This argument proved to be quite weak, and Lenin later opposed it as a logical contradiction.

By 1917, there was a definite difference of view between Lenin and Stalin who opposed separatism even for tactical purposes. Stalin said that

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29 Pipes, p. 49.

30 Hunt, Carew, *The Theory and Practice of Communism* (Victoria, 1963), p. 241.

31 Fedenko, Panas, "Nationality Question", *Studies on the Soviet Union*, II (Munich, 1963), p. 98.

“the national movement of the oppressed countries should be appraised **not** from the point of view of **formal democracy** **but** from the point of view of the **actual results**”<sup>32</sup>.

In other words, when the “actual” economic and political results are negative to the Russian Bolshevik Party, a national movement must be opposed. “When the national movement in certain oppressed countries comes into conflict with the interests of the development of the proletarian movement”, says Stalin, “in such cases support is, of course, entirely out of the question”<sup>33</sup>.

It is also interesting to note Stalin’s clear and precise style in defining “secession” by going to the root of the problem without the confusing philosophizing that characterizes Lenin. In a report on the national question on May 12, 1917, Stalin stated that

“the question of the right of nations freely to secede must not be confused with the question of whether a nation must **necessarily** secede at any given moment. The latter question must be settled by the Party... according to circumstances.

...I may recognize the right of a nation to secede, but that does not mean that I compel it to secede”<sup>34</sup>.

Stalin does not mention, however, that he may compel it **not** to secede.

Lenin, in a speech delivered on that same day, expressed a slightly different view. He said :

“...as regards the separatist movement we are indifferent, neutral. If Finland, if Poland, if Ukraine break away from Russia, there is nothing wrong about it... Anyone who says there is, is a chauvinist”<sup>35</sup>.

Yet further in his speech Lenin guarantees that there will be no secession, stating

“...We want a fraternal union of all nations... If the Ukrainians see that we have a Soviet Republic they will not break away”<sup>36</sup>.

Essentially, then, Lenin and Stalin do agree on the necessity of preserving the unity of the Russian Empire. The only difference is that Lenin was too certain while Stalin was too skeptical. In the case of Ukraine, the situation by the end of December, 1917, proved that Stalin’s grasp of realities was truer.

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32 Stalin, Josef. *Problems of Leninism* (Moscow, 1953), p. 76.

33 *Ibid.*, p. 74.

34 Stalin, *Lenin-Stalin 1917, Selected Writings and Speeches* (Moscow, 1938), p. 108.

35 Lenin, *Selected Writings and Speeches — 1917* (Moscow, 1953), p. 114.

36 *Ibid.*

In the final analysis, both agreed that only the "proletariat" could determine whether a given nationality had the right to self-determination or not. As Victor Mamatey points out in his book, the non-Russian Bolsheviks certainly had the right of self-determination. However, they were bound by "Bolshevik discipline" to obey the leadership in Moscow. Any attempt for an independent republican Communist party unrelated to Moscow (for example Vynnychenko's "Borotbisty" in Ukraine) was to be completely destroyed<sup>37</sup>. This is precisely what Lenin did with the "Borotbisty" by the end of 1919. One can now recognize the clear and precise definition of sovereignty and self-determination as held by both Lenin and Stalin. Both men refrained from "compelling nations from secession" but they prevented any such attempts simply by declaring them as being opposed to the interests of the proletariat, that is, the Russian proletariat, and not necessarily opposed to the interests of the proletariat of the seceding country. To the present day, this remains to be the dialectic of the Bolshevik theory of self-determination.

But in order to understand the nature of Soviet Russian relations with Ukraine, it is necessary to realize the extent to which the Russian Communist Party's power was interwoven with the traditional imperial state structure. Although Lenin perhaps never realized its full power, Great Russian chauvinism was deeply rooted among his supposedly internationalistic Bolsheviks. The Imperial tradition and superstructure was interwoven with the Russian state power politically and economically, and was indispensable on both the domestic and international level.

As Roman Smal-Stocki points out, the "one and indivisible Russia" of the Russian bourgeoisie as a vast economically unified territory was to the Bolsheviks a natural step forward towards the future "one and only indivisible proletarian republic"<sup>38</sup>.

To the Bolsheviks, therefore, internationalism was not an egalitarian inter-balancing of nationalism, but a complete extinction of it, gradually to be replaced by a super-national Soviet Russian nationalism, with its "Soviet Man" and its "Soviet Culture".

Furthermore, imperial economic interdependence was indispensable for the survival of any Russian government in power, whether Bolshevik or not. This fact was particularly perceived by the Ukrainian Social Democrats. In a communiqué from their central committee they declared on January 7, 1919, that

"...As far as Ukraine is concerned, the struggle of Soviet Muscovy against its independence — an independence primarily in the economic not political sphere, reveals the entire imperialistic features on the part of Muscovy...

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37 Mamatey, Victor, *Soviet Russian Imperialism* (New York, 1964), pp. 29-30.

38 Smal-Stocki, p. 68.

Therefore, even a socialist revolution in Russia and in Ukraine does not liquidate the economic exploitation of one country by the other, unless the exploited country will secure for itself full political independence, together with an independent economic policy. Over and above the national interests of the Ukrainian people, it is its economic interests that demand a sovereign and independent Ukraine<sup>39</sup>.

It is the economic motivation that was at the root of Trotsky's stubbornness to relinquish Ukraine at the bargaining table of Brest-Litovsk. The concern of having lost Ukraine was reflected by a statement at the Congress of Regional Committees for National Production on May 26, 1918, in Moscow:

"...As a result of the loss of Ukraine, Russia has lost 92% of its sugar, 55% of its wheat, 77% of coal, 55% of its metal works..."<sup>40</sup>

When in the Second Bolshevik campaign, the entire Ukraine was reconquered, Lenin confirmed his imperialistic goals with the first words of his speech on February 6, 1919:

"With the conquering of Ukraine we have strengthened our forces. Now we have a Soviet Ukraine and this means that we have bread. The supplies of bread in Ukraine are massive"<sup>41</sup>.

By February 26, 1919, *Pravda* rejoiced that "Ukraine has already given us 175 box cars of bread and almost 2 million pounds of sugar"<sup>42</sup>. Except for the word "given" this statement was perfectly accurate. The economic hegemony and interdependence within the former Russian Empire of the tsars was indispensable for the military victories of Bolshevism and remains as the basic tenet of Russian Communism to the present day.

Furthermore, there is a prevalent view among critics of Soviet imperialism like Victor Mamatey who explain the Bolshevik preservation of the Russian Empire as inevitable not so much for their survival in power but for their creation and preservation of a "base" for a "world revolution". In the opinion of Mamatey, the Bolsheviks "were the patriotic mantle of defenders of Russia's national patrimony" only "whenever expedient"<sup>43</sup>. This is a false assumption. Lenin and the Bolsheviks never defended Russia's national heritage merely for tactical reasons — they whole-heartedly believed in it. It is difficult to believe that the interests of the Russian state were sacrificed for the interests of the Communist movement. On the contrary, it would be truer to say that the "interests of Communist movements" were often sacrificed for the primary interests of the Russian state. Lenin himself affirmed this in his concluding speech at the close of the Third Congress of Soviets on January 18, 1918. To Lenin, the greatest slander and calumny

39 Solovey, D. F., *Ukraina v Istorii Sovietskoho Kolonializmu* (Munich, 1959), p. 35.

40 *Ibid.*, p. 30.

41 *Ibid.*, p. 40.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 52.

43 Mamatey, p. 31.

was to be accused by the "Whites" of dissipating Russia's national imperial heritage. He said:

"...Comrades, you remember, when not long ago the bourgeois press kept on shouting unceasingly that we are tearing apart the Russian state [meaning the Tsarist Empire], that we are incapable of governing and that this is why all the nationalities are breaking away from us — Finland, Ukraine, etc.... We proved that our deeds spoke better than our words. We now see that our principles have won victories in Finland and in Ukraine... We are ruling not by dividing, as was the law of Ancient Rome, but by unifying all the toilers with the unbreakable chains of living interests"<sup>44</sup>.

In other words, Lenin pointed out that Russia was still to remain as the "Third Rome" whose greatest "civic virtue" was to proclaim that "*my ne razrushaem Russkoe Gosudarstvo*" (We are not dismantling the Russian state). To Lenin, naturally, the fact that the "unbreakable chains of living interests" were forged in Moscow and Petrograd and were bestowed by the Bolshevik benefactors only by force of arms was of minor importance.

While Lenin was delivering this speech, his Red troops were brutally bearing down on the Ukrainian people whose civilian population was the first among the nations of the world to pay the price of "proletarian unity" with the Russians with five thousand innocent civilians savagely massacred on the first day of the occupation of Kyiv, on February 9, 1918<sup>45</sup>. Lenin's theories were being effectively implemented, and Ukraine was the first testing ground.

After the October Bolshevik coup, the Ukrainian autonomous government, the Rada, wanted a promise by the Bolsheviks to refrain from an uprising in Ukraine. The Bolsheviks, who were too weak for such a revolt, were successful in having the Rada neutralize all the pro-government troops, thus preventing "reactionary troops" in the south-western front from being sent to Petrograd to overthrow Lenin<sup>46</sup>.

This co-operation in Ukraine, however, was not long-lasting. The next day, because of pressure by the Russian Social Revolutionaries, the Mensheviks, and the Jewish "Bund", the Cabinet or "Small Rada" passed a resolution disapproving the Petrograd uprising and refusing to recognize it as a legitimate authority. The Bolsheviks then withdrew from both the Rada and its Revolutionary Committee<sup>47</sup>. Yet, when the Provisional Government's troops arrested the separate Bolshevik Revolutionary Committee, it was the Rada's intervention and the Rada's troops that liberated it<sup>48</sup>. Ironically, the

<sup>44</sup> Lenin, V. I., *Sochinenie* (Moscow, 1962), XXXV, p. 287.

<sup>45</sup> Tyktor, p. 774.

<sup>46</sup> Reshetar, J. S. *The Ukrainian Revolution, 1917-1920* (Princeton, 1952), p. 109.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 83-84.

<sup>48</sup> Pipes, p. 72.

rule of the Provisional Government ended because of the combined efforts of the Ukrainian Central Rada and the Kyivan Bolsheviks.

The final split in Kyiv occurred after the convention of the Military Congress which wanted the Rada to take full civilian and military authority in Ukraine and oppose the Bolsheviks' efforts to transfer power to the Kyiv Soviet. It took a middle stand between censuring the Petrograd authority and favouring Ukrainian separatism when it demanded a "federation of sovereign equal democratic republics with protection of the rights of minorities"<sup>49</sup>. This is precisely what the Rada set out to do in its proclamation of the Third Universal on November 20, 1917. It proclaimed the Ukrainian People's Republic but "without separating ourselves from the Russian Republic and respecting its unity... so that all of the Russian Republics shall become a federation of equal and free peoples"<sup>50</sup>.

How did the Russian Bolsheviks view this? At first they recognized the Ukrainian Rada's Revolutionary Committee since on the first days of the coup they had to reveal at least a minor commitment to Lenin's and Stalin's joint "Declaration of Rights of Nations of Russia". Its contents promised the "rights of nations of Russia to freedom of self-determination including the right to secede and form independent states"<sup>51</sup>. It was understood that no other form of government but the Soviet type was to be "guaranteed these privileges" in the republics. Yet Trotsky, on his way through Kyiv on November 24, 1917, tactfully stated that "the Russian government recognizes the Ukrainian People's Republic fully and most sincerely"<sup>52</sup>. However, the preparations for a Bolshevik coup in Ukraine were already well under way.

Their plans, however were soon disrupted when the Rada effectively began to create separate Ukrainian military units subjected to the Rada representative at the Russian Army Headquarters. But the climax was reached when the Rada suppressed the Kyiv Soviet, arrested its Bolshevik leaders and expelled all the Red military units from Ukraine<sup>53</sup>. Lenin had but one alternative now — to reveal the real meaning of "self-determination" and his so-called new policy of "federalism" which the Commissar of Justice, Reisner, frankly admitted as being a "hidden centralism under the cover of a federal structure"<sup>54</sup>.

Lenin revealed this in his "Ultimatum Request to the Ukrainian Rada" on December 5, 1917. In it Lenin repeated the old cliché again that "all that touches upon the national rights and the national sovereignty of the Ukrainian people is confirmed by us, without reservations or limitations". Then he set forth countless reservations and limitations:

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49 Reshetar, pp. 84-85.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 89.

51 Stalin and Lenin, *Selected Writings and Speeches of 1917*, p. 639.

52 Pipes, p. 118.

53 *Ibid.*, pp. 188-189.

54 Pipes, p. 111.

“We accuse the Rada on the grounds that hiding behind national phrases, it carries a double-faced bourgeois policy reflected by its non-confirmation of the Council of Soviets and Soviet authority in Ukraine”.

Lenin then concluded that “this two-faced policy bars us from affirming the Rada as the full representative of the toiling and exploited masses of the Ukrainian Republic”<sup>55</sup>. In other words, whether the Ukrainian masses considered the Rada fully representative was of no importance. Lenin and the Soviet of the People’s Commissars were attempting now to decide for the Ukrainian people.

The contradiction here is quite clear. If the Ukrainian Republic was indeed sovereign, then it had a right to carry out any policy it wished. However, one should note that the clever wording of the “Ultimatum” addressed not so much a sovereign nation with its own government, but only some self-imposed political group. This was Lenin’s clever ruse used by the Bolsheviks to set up “governments” of their own choice. Ukraine was the first country chosen for the application of this method of conquest. The same tactic was applied in the destruction of the Byelorussian Rada, and in the coup in Transcaucasia. It was also used by Stalin in 1945 and remains to the present day a basic strategy of Russian Communist expansion.

Once the Bolshevik coup in Kyiv had failed, they proceeded to foment local rebellions, setting-up pro-Bolshevik “Congresses of Soviets”, and providing them all with Red troops and sailors from Moscow. Having seized power in the major cities, a “Soviet” Ukrainian “government” was proclaimed in Kharkiv. The stage was set, and on January 17, 1918, the Bolshevik army units under Muraviev and Antonov proceeded to occupy Ukraine.

In the diplomatic field, on December 24, 1917, the Rada sent a note to all belligerent and neutral states, objecting to the signing of the armistice of December 15 by the Council of People’s Commissars without its consultation. It also insisted that it “must be regarded as an independent unit in international affairs and participate with other states in all peace negotiations, congresses, and conferences”<sup>56</sup>. With the invitation by the Central powers, the Rada sent four delegates, on January 1, 1918, to negotiate a separate peace at Brest-Litovsk. Fearing an independent diplomatic status for Ukraine, Lenin announced “the Central Executive Committee of Soviets of Ukraine as the only legal government”. The Red Army was sent to occupy Kyiv to prevent the election of a Ukrainian Constitutional Assembly which was to convene on January 22, 1918. On that day, the Rada replied to the Bolshevik invasion by proclaiming the independence of Ukraine in the Fourth Universal. This was the only way of confirming the independence that already existed before January 22 as the country already had a separate Ukrainian army and established diplomatic relations with the Entente<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>55</sup> Lenin, *Sochinenie* (Moscow, 1962) XXXV, 1430144.

<sup>56</sup> Reshetar, pp. 103-104.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 111.

With the fall of Kyiv to the Bolsheviks on February 6, 1919, the world witnessed Lenin's solution to the National Question in the Russian Empire.

The relationship between the Bolsheviks and the Central Rada followed an opportunistic pattern on the same lines as the relations with the regime of Hetman Skoropadskyi (April to November, 1918) and the government of the Directory (November, 1918, to June, 1920). This meant holding official tactical negotiations along with unofficial subversion followed by armed invasion under the guise of supporting a "legal" Ukrainian Soviet "government". This also meant the formation of temporary alliances with political groups, movements and social elements to be exploited for the internal subversion of the government in power, all of whom were destroyed once Bolshevik rule had been established. The fall of each of the three Ukrainian governments was brought about by a Bolshevik military campaign. The third re-occupation in the fall of 1919, finally sealed the fate of Ukraine.

If the Bolsheviks and Lenin adopted a stubborn and antagonistic stance towards the non-Communist Ukrainians, what then was their relationship with the Ukrainian Communist groups, the Ukrainian Bolsheviks and the Ukrainian Soviet "governments"? To answer this question one must first analyze the nature of the Bolshevik movement in Ukraine. The nature of Ukrainian Bolshevism and its relationship with its Russian centre was best expressed by V. Zatonyskyi, a member of the Central Committee of the first Ukrainian Bolshevik government. In an article in the 1918 edition of *Communist* he stated that "the lofty principle of self-determination is a nice thing when you deal with India and Egypt where the party is made up of nationals". Zatonyskyi went on to point out that:

"This is not the case in Ukraine. Here the Bolshevik party and the majority of the industrial proletariat consists mainly of Russians, many of whom sincerely believe that Ukraine was invented by Hrushevsky<sup>58</sup> [a Ukrainian historian and first President of the Rada].

One can conclude from just this quotation that any hopes of even a semi-autonomous status for a Soviet Ukraine were purely utopian.

The power of the Bolshevik Party in Ukraine was always insignificant. On November 14, 1917, the results of the elections to the All-Russian Congress of Soviets revealed that while in Russia 40% of the votes were Bolshevik, in Ukraine only 10% were Bolshevik<sup>59</sup>. Within the Russian Bolshevik Party the members from Ukraine in July, 1918, made up only 3.2% of its total membership before they founded the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine<sup>60</sup>. Yet even when this party was founded, Ukrainians

<sup>58</sup> Solovey, p. 38.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 32.

<sup>60</sup> Lawrylenko, J., *Ukrainian Communism and Soviet Russian Policy* (New York, 1953).

<sup>61</sup> Yurchenko, O., *KPU ii Rolia i Zavdania v Borotbi Komunistychnoi Dyktatury za Opanuvannia Ukrainy* (Munich, 1962).

constituted only 8% of the party in 1919<sup>61</sup>, and 19% in 1920, while forming 80% of the population in Ukraine<sup>62</sup>. This almost entirely Russian character of "Ukrainian" Bolshevism was further seen in 1919, when out of the fourteen members in the Central Committee of the CP(b)U only two were Ukrainians (Zatonskyi and Khmelnytskyi). Basically the Bolshevik Party in Ukraine was made up of urban Russians and of other minorities. In this way, Lenin disguised his anti-Ukrainian policies with internationalist phraseology, while in reality opposing Ukrainian control of major policies in Ukraine in order to prevent them from following national interests separate from Russia.

Lenin's position was clearly illustrated at the Second Ukrainian Congress of Soviets in March, 1918, at Ekaterinoslav, where for purely tactical reasons an "Independent Soviet Republic" was proclaimed as a cloak to continue the aggression against Ukraine without affecting the Russian promise in the Brest-Litovsk treaty. But when the resolutions of the Tahanrih Conference in April, 1918, proclaimed a Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Ukraine, independent from the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) with a separate seat in the Third International, the game was getting out of hand and Lenin was not going to tolerate any notions of independence within the Party. Hence at the First Congress of the CP(b)U, in June of 1918, the Ukrainian Party was made a part of the Russian Communist Party's Central Committee with no separate representation at the Third International. It was to be "autonomous" only on local questions<sup>63</sup>.

In October, at the Second Congress of the CP(b)U, even party autonomy in local matters was to be completely liquidated. Kamenev censured the Party of its tactical reliance on the peasantry by pointing out the failure of the Bolshevik-sponsored peasant uprising in the summer of 1918. He ordered the Ukrainian Bolshevik partisan detachments to be sent to the Caucasus, declaring that "a Communist is not a man who merely defends his home"<sup>64</sup>.

To crown everything, Stalin was made a permanent member of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U. The Party now existed only as a means "for the entry of the Russian Soviet Army into Ukraine"<sup>65</sup>.

The Ukrainian minority at the Congress could now be consoled by the fact that the idea of a separate Ukrainian Communist Party had at least gained nominal acceptance. All they could do now was hope that in the future genuine independence could be achieved through their own efforts and with the assistance of the Comintern. They were to be disappointed even in this area.

Lenin's replacement of Piatakov by Rakovskyi as Chairman of the Ukrainian Soviet "government" was the next step in the implementation of this

62 Solovey, p. 55.

63 Yurchenko, p. 26 .

64 Pipes, p. 136.

65 *Ibid.*

policy with the launching of the Second Campaign. Rakovskiy who a few weeks earlier was representing Russian interests in the negotiations with the Directory, was ironically now "defending" Ukrainian interests. Lenin's complete centralization of the political structure was well under way. Any attempts by the Ukrainian "left" to influence party policies were checked by its Central Committee which, except for Piatakov, was entirely staffed by members of the RCP(b). This is best illustrated by Artem's address to Piatakov at the Third Congress of the CP(b)U in Kharkiv:

"You are slandering in our presence all the work and policy of the Party. Why don't you simply admit — 'We are Ukrainian separatists, we wish to play here in Ukraine our own brand of world politics'.

...Forgive me, but you will not play such politics. There will be only one Russian Communist Party, and only it will decide policies"<sup>66</sup>.

These policies resulted in forced collectivization, large scale economic exploitation, forced food requisitions, and persecution of the Ukrainian culture and language.

Ukraine's separate republican status and even the CP(b)U's "autonomy in local affairs" were now empty words. The Eighth Party Congress of the RCP(b) affirmed its centralistic structure and the central committees of national parties could enjoy the privileges only as mere "oblast (provincial) committees". The former Commissar of the Interior in the R.S.F.S.R., Petrovskiy, was appointed simultaneously as the Head of the Ukrainian Central Executive Committee, as well as Chairman of the Ukrainian Politburo<sup>67</sup>. Both the Ukrainian government as well as the Party were now placed under a unified foreign control.

On October 2, 1919, the Bolshevik leadership in Moscow realized that even a Soviet Ukrainian "government" as well as the CP(b)U were mere showpieces and unnecessary organizational burdens. It therefore dissolved the Central Committee of the CP(b)U, all its civil soviet administration in Ukraine, the Ukrainian Council of Defence as well as all other Ukrainian institutions. Even Lenin's organizational "concessions" to Ukrainian nationalism had now become mere shadows.

The Ukrainian Bolshevik Mamilskiy, sharply criticized this policy. He pointed out the cause of Bolshevik failures in Ukraine — the prevention of an independent policy and the constant interference by Moscow. He compared the Communist regime in Ukraine to a typical colonial administration, where the few native appointments to government positions were made only to create the impression of local support<sup>68</sup>.

Lenin's manipulation of the national question and his opportunistic stance for the benefit of Russian Bolshevik control was now illustrated by his

66 Yurchenko, p. 41.

67 *Ibid.*, p. 42.

68 Pipes, p. 145.

handling of the issue of including the "Borotbisty" (Ukrainian national Communists) into the "united" Communist front. Since the "Borotbisty" had a peasant following in Ukraine on the eve of Denikin's offensive, Lenin was willing to comply with their demands for separate Ukrainian Red Armies and a separate position in the Comintern. He therefore, pressed for their admittance when the situation was desperate, and he allowed their liquidation when the military situation was under control. Thus in March of 1920, they were ordered by Zinoviev to leave the Comintern and to merge with the CP(b)U. The "Borotbisty" accepted this with the hope that as members of the CP(b)U they would be able to transform it into a genuine Ukrainian Communist Party.

This event illustrated both the firm centralist hold on the Soviet Ukrainian regime by Moscow with the re-establishment of the Russian domination at the end of 1919, as well as the penetration into the Communist Party and state apparatus of a Ukrainian movement that refused to perish.

Just as the Rada was the first government to witness the clash between Communism and democratic tenets, the first Communists to recognize the opposing nature of Russian and non-Russian brands of Communism were the Ukrainian "Borotbisty". Although numerically small and very dependent on Moscow's armies, the Ukrainian Communists later managed, for a time, to convince a substantial number of Ukrainians that they represented national interests. Their belief in this had both positive as well as negative effects. On the positive side, they succeeded in "persuading" the Russian Party that the encouragement of Ukrainian cultural and linguistic development was the wiser policy. Through their efforts, the twenties were marked as a period of "Ukrainianization" of all public institutions.

The tragedy of Ukrainian Communism or the detrimental effects of Communism for the national interests of Ukraine lies in the later physical liquidation of the original Ukrainian Communists who aided Moscow's forces during the National Revolution and the Ukrainian War of Liberation. These Ukrainians had hoped that by collaborating with Moscow they would be able to lead a genuine Ukrainian State that would be either independent or a member of a Soviet "confederation" or "federation". By the 1930's, the decision to collaborate became irrevocable with the establishment of Stalin's party control. It then became apparent to most of these men that they were caught in a trap. They met the same fate as Imre Nagy, Dubcek and Gierak, in later years.

Yet the centralism that made Stalinism possible was moulded by none other than Lenin. Was there, then, a contradiction between Lenin's theory and Lenin's practice on the national question? To answer this, one must link Lenin's policies with the fundamental question of the unity or diversity of Communism. To put it differently, it is the question of Communism as a ruling ideology, an absolute criteria based on a monolithic structure and control.

To Lenin, Communism was a ruling ideology which, if it had to survive, had to be built on a concrete regional basis and had to deal with concrete historical development. To the extent that Lenin believed in centralized Party control, it meant centralized political control.

Today, after abolishing the national states which had been established after the downfall of the tsarist empire, Moscow continues to subjugate many nations, among them over fifty million Ukrainians, by using the same ideological and political framework as that established by Lenin.

The fact that the national question is still an unresolved dilemma in the Soviet Union derives from the conflict which exists between the policies of the present Soviet Russian regime and the struggle of subjugated nationalities. The issue will continue to haunt Moscow unless centralist and oppressive practices in the political, economic, religious, cultural, and intellectual fields are discontinued.

One of the major issues contributing to the national question within the Soviet Union is the relentless persecution of dissidents, who, among the non-Russian nationalities, set parallel demands for national freedoms with the demands for civil freedoms. But as a result of Moscow's uncompromising policies in these areas, the strong movement of opposition which has emerged in the last decades continues to escalate and has the potential of becoming a mass movement. It must be remembered that the present struggle of the subjugated nations follows after large scale military confrontations, including an armed insurgent struggle, during the Second World War and in the post-war years<sup>69</sup>.

The participants of the movements of opposition, be they Ukrainian or Lithuanian nationalists, Zionists, Pentacostals or Baplists, continue to face the same cruel fate — imprisonment, psychiatric confinement, labour camps and death<sup>70</sup>.

Recognizing their common antagonist, both nationalists and religious believers in different non-Russian republics have recently united to form various Helsinki monitoring groups<sup>71</sup>. These groups, perceiving the regime's failure to observe the Helsinki Accords, attempt to report the various violations which have been committed by Moscow. Each group has a similar focus: the defence of cultural, as well as national, and religious values against efforts by the Soviet Russian regime to impose Russian political, cultural and linguistic dominance over the non-Russian republics. Hence, the dissidents point to the unjust trials, the harsh treatment of political and religious prisoners, the separation of families and the right to emigrate, persecution of believers and of nationalities, as well as of whole nations.

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69 Browne, Michael, *Ferment in the Ukraine* (London, 1971), pp. 123-124.

70 Rubenstein, Joshua, *Soviet Dissidents — Their Struggle for Human Rights* (Boston, 1980), p. 228.

71 *Ibid.*, p. 215.

Even with the imprisonment of men like Yuriy Shukhevych and Lev Lukyanenko (a Ukrainian Helsinki monitor)<sup>72</sup> and despite the threat of incarceration, the dissidents continue to insist that human and national rights be recognized. But the fundamental threat that they pose to the Soviet Russian regime is the fact that their demands are given the scope of international importance, coupled by the successful campaign of soliciting support in the Western world for their demands.

It should be noted also that over 65% of the incarcerated civil and national rights activists represent the non-Russian nationalities, of which the greatest component are Ukrainians<sup>73</sup>

The national question becomes even more explosive given the contradiction between the concept of "man" and "state" as laid down by the Marxist-Leninist framework and that perceived by the various national groups within the Soviet Union. Unlike the acknowledgement of the special role of man in the life of a nation as recognized by Ukrainian and other national groups, the Soviet Russian regime sees man as a faceless part of a mass. The nationality question is unresolved to this very day because the present regime in Moscow refused and still disregards the concept of national sovereignty, as perceived by the Ukrainian nationalists including the Ukrainian Communists, is to be understood to mean not only political independence from external forces but also economic and cultural independence from such forces which undercut its independence from within to make it a "satellite", the Russians would have to abandon the notion of a "universal Soviet people".

Ironically, considering its "support" for Asian and African national independence movements, Moscow's policy towards the nations it subjugates within the framework of the USSR constitutes an internal contradiction. Today, following the invasion of Afghanistan and in the face of the opposition and unified national oppositions expressed in the Hungarian, Czecho-Slovak, and recent Polish crises, there will undoubtedly be an internal impact on the Soviet Union as a Soviet Russian imperial state structure. A part and parcel of this is the growing demographic change in the non-European, non-Slavic population of the Soviet Union (with a 15% birth rate of the non-Slavic population compared with a 3% birth rate of the Slavic population)<sup>74</sup>. The Russians have already become a minority.

Any changes within the Soviet Union will inevitably be linked with any future changes in the Politburo as well as the potential of a major international confrontation with Red China or the West, but most likely with the former<sup>75</sup>. Just as the national question came to the forefront in a time

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<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 248.

<sup>73</sup> Reddaway, Peter, *Uncensored Russia: Protest and Dissent in the Soviet Union* (New York, 1972).

<sup>74</sup> Shapiro, Aaron, *Russia: How will it survive?* (New York, 1975), p. 159.

<sup>75</sup> Hayward, George, *Soviet Communism: The New Confrontations* (New York, 1976), p. 188.

of war, it may climax again in future circumstances of potential crises of a military nature. The national movements inside the Soviet Union are becoming increasingly stronger. With moral and political support from the Free World they can bring about the destruction of the Soviet Russian imperial state system from within. The ultimate aim of these movements is the restoration of sovereign national and democratic states on the former territories of the Soviet Union.

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## CURRENT TRENDS IN SOVIET NATIONALITIES POLICY

The latest turns in the dialectical zig-zag of Soviet nationalities policy are manifest in various fields. Due to pervasive party influence, such diverse areas as literary criticism, historical interpretation and political polemics illustrate party policy on the persistent nationalities question.

A new turn in theoretical thinking on the nationalities issue appeared late in 1982 in an article by Edvard Bagramov *Pid praporom leninizmu*, (Nos. 22, 23, November, December, 1982). A foremost authority on nationality affairs, Professor Bagramov in his article departed somewhat from the overtly Russifying line of the Brezhnev years. Stating that the USSR had inherited the Russian oppression of the Tsarist regime, he emphasized the national development of the non-Russian republics. Disappearance of national distinctions of course remains the ultimate theoretical goal; nevertheless, Professor Bagramov's article may point at least to a temporary shift in policy.

An example of the Brezhnev-Suslov approach to the nationalities question is an article by Dr. A. Kholmogorov that appeared in the journal *Komunist Ukrayiny* ("Yaskravi hrani rozvytku novoyi istorychnoyi spilnoty", June, 1982). A collaborator of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the CPSU Central Committee, Dr. Kholmogorov emphasized the process of internationalization that would lead to the creation of a new society devoid of national distinctions. As an example of the internationalization of the individual republics he mentioned the Kazakh SSR where non-Kazakhs constitute 64% of the population; the Tadjik SSR, where they make up 41.2%; and the Latvian SSR, where non-Latvians number 46.3%. According to the author, in the Ukrainian SSR 26.4% of the population is non-Ukrainian.

A major role in this "internationalization" — or, more accurately, assimilation or Russification — is played by mixed marriages. These were the topic of an article by V. Ivanova in the English-language publication *Soviet Union* (No. 8, August, 1982). According to the author, every seventh marriage in the USSR is mixed, and the number of such marriages is increasing. One in four marriages in the Ukrainian SSR is mixed. As the author suggests, this phenomenon results directly from the presence in a republic of persons of other nationalities. Thus, in Armenia, where Armenians constitute 90% of the population, mixed marriages are less common than in Latvia or Kazakhstan. Large-scale project sites, the author notes, serve to bring together young people from various republics, resulting in a large number of mixed marriages. Thus in the city of Naberezhniye Chelny, the site of a large truck factory, half the marriages are between persons of different nationalities.

Mixed marriages affect language preference. While noting that mixed

families are often bilingual or trilingual, the author mentions that Russian "is spoken throughout the Soviet Union by people of different nationalities".

According to Ivanova, despite the inherent problems in marriages between people of different cultures, mentalities and ways of life, such marriages have a much lower divorce rate. This she explains by the fact that the prospective spouses of a mixed marriage are likely to be more careful in arriving at their decision.

The one example cited by Ivanova is a marriage between an Uzbek woman and a Russian man. She notes that the Uzbek wife does cook Uzbek as well as Russian dishes, and that one room of the couple's flat is furnished in an Eastern style. One of the two children has an Uzbek first name. The author does not indicate what language or languages the family speaks.

It was in Tashkent, capital of the Uzbek republic, that a major all-Union educational conference was held in 1979, at which measures for the intensified teaching of Russian in schools of the non-Russian republics were announced. One aim of such measures is to prepare young people for service in the Russian-speaking armed forces. Thus, Russian-language study circles have been introduced in the senior grades of Uzbek schools (V. I. Andriyanova & V. I. Gamulov, "For Those Who Are to Serve in the Army (Russian Language Circle for Boys in Senior Grade)", *Russkiy Yazyk i Literatura v Uzbekskoy Shkole*, No. 5, September-October, 1982). The circles emphasize military vocabulary.

In the Ukrainian SSR, instructions issued by the USSR Ministry of Education to the republic-level education ministries refer to the Tashkent conference and note the need to perfect the teaching of the Russian language as a part of the convergence of Soviet nations and nationalities ("Povsyak-denna turbota vsikh navchalnykh zakladiv krainy", *Radyanska Osvita*, January 25, 1983). Teachers are urged to emphasize the progressive historical significance of the incorporation of various nations into Russia and to explain the progressive nature of the relationships between Russian culture and the cultures of the peoples incorporated into Russia.

Later in 1983, the CPSU Politburo issued additional measures to improve the teaching of Russian in the union republics (*Radyanska Ukrayina*, May 27, 1983). The publication of reference works, dictionaries, literary editions and other books was planned in order to satisfy "the hearts of youth which is studying to master the Russian language".

In line with this policy of intensified teaching of Russian, the Ukrainian youth newspaper *Molod Ukrayiny* recently stressed the importance of the Russian language as a means of access to "spiritual values" as well as general information from around the world (July 12, 1983). The article quotes sociologist Maskhud Dzhunusov, who underlines the convergence and consolidation of the various ethnic groups of the Soviet Union. Thus, notes Dzhunusov, whereas in the 1920's there were over 200 nations and nationalities in the USSR by the 1970's there were just over 100. According to the article, the Russian language plays a major role in this process of national and ethnic fusion.

The new stress on the teaching of Russian in the non-Russian republics, and the elevation of Russian culture as the door to world culture, raises the question of party policy towards the development of national literatures and other cultural phenomena in the union republics. An article in a Russian-language newspaper published in Minsk, the Byelorussian SSR, discusses the "special dynamism of internal development" of Soviet literatures (Ales Adamovich, "Common Path — Common Wealth", *Sovetskaya Belorossiya*, October 9, 1982). The author explores the various tendencies towards independent growth and blending of national literatures in the USSR. On the one hand, he excludes the prospect of "prolonged creative stagnation and marking time" in a national literature, and points out that various non-Russian literary traditions have developed specific genres. On the other hand, the author advocates the mutual enrichment of these literatures, and points to early historical inter-relations. He also differentiates the early stage of Byelorussian literature, when its influence on Russian and Polish literature was largely folkloric, from the modern stage, where it exercises its influence as a mature literature among equals. The author also advances the thesis that under the special conditions of multinational cultural development, a comparatively young literature can accelerate its progress to international stature. Such a conclusion does not fit well with the party's glorification on Russian culture and its plans for fusing the non-Russian cultures through emphasis on the Russian language. Ironically, the article appears in Russian.

In view of this tension between the party's Russifying linguistic policy and the development of non-Russian cultures, the appearance of the Ukrainian magazine *Kyiv* is of interest ("Meet the magazine *Kyiv*" *Pravda Ukrayiny*, October 12, 1982). A new "literary-artistic and socio-political magazine", *Kyiv* is the organ of the Ukrainian Union of Writers and the Kyiv Writers' Organization. According to editor-in-chief Volodymyr Drozd, the role of the city of Kyiv as "cradle of the brotherhood of Slavic peoples" will receive attention in this publication which will include historical articles on "the origins of the inviolable friendship between the great Russian people and all the fraternal peoples".

The city of Kyiv has in fact become a focal point of the campaign to establish the historical "brotherhood" of the Russian and Ukrainian peoples. Personified as a "hero-city" in Soviet mythology, Kyiv has now been dubbed the "cradle of three fraternal peoples", the Russians, Byelorussians and Ukrainians. Between the recent celebrations of the 1500 anniversary of the city's founding and the upcoming millenium of Rus' Christianity (1988), a new campaign is apparently planned to battle any Ukrainian separatist tendencies. Thus, in an article polemicizing with "bourgeois nationalist falsifiers" of history, R. Symonenko argues that the Ukrainian people desired, and benefited from, unification with Russia ("In the Distorted Mirror of Anti-Communism", *Radyanska Ukrayina*, April 13, 1982). Attacking the nationalist position — that Kyivan Rus' was an exclusively Ukrainian state and not a precursor of Muscovy — Symonenko avoids the more important issue of the subsequent subjugation of Ukraine by Muscovy. The symbolic

use of the history of Kyiv in promoting the drawing together of "Soviet" nationalities under Russian tutelage was also a theme of the 9th International Congress of Slavists which opened in Kyiv on September 7, 1983 ("Forum of Scholars in Slavic Studies", *News from Ukraine*, September, 1983).

Other periods of Ukrainian history provide opportunity for interpretations suited to the immediate needs of party policy. Thus, the depiction in a *Pravda* article of Ivan Mazepa as a traitor to the Ukrainian people, as well as to Peter the Great, serves the thesis that Ukraine could only benefit from union with Russia (S. Pastukhov, "The Moon Over Bila Tserkva", *Pravda*, July 31, 1982). The author attempts to demonstrate that hatred of Mazepa is a part of Ukrainian folklore by recounting how his mother would scold him by calling him "Mazepa" which allegedly became a local "swearword". (It does not occur to the author that vernacular use of the name "Mazepa" may simply have referred to the Hetman's legendary reputation for rebelliousness and refusal to submit to oppressive authority).

The peculiar dialectic of Soviet nationalities policy, affirming on the one hand the brotherhood and equality of the "Soviet peoples", and on the other hand exalting the role of the Russians, is visible even in such specific areas as cinema. In an article in *Pravda*, Aleksandr Karaganov, secretary of the Board of Directors of the USSR Cinematographers' Union, asserts that the influence of Russian culture has nothing to do with tsarist Russification, but is a natural phenomenon that helps rather than hinders the development of other national cultures ("Similarities and Differences — Soviet Multinational Film", *Pravda*, October 10, 1982). While Russia has a "special role" in the life of the "Soviet peoples", he says, the "truly Russian working person" is free from chauvinism and nationalism. The author goes on to criticize two diverse tendencies of the non-Russian republics. On the one hand, some directors are "carried away by the ornamental aspects of national style". On the other hand, others eschew a national style for a generally European one, avoiding any national or social uniqueness. The author advocates not a position in between these extremes, but a cinematography that reflects "social convergence" and "mutual enrichment of the unique national cultures".

In pursuing the policy of convergence and ultimate fusion of national cultures, the Soviet government is acutely sensitive to criticism from abroad and particularly to exposes of the Russifying effect of this policy. Thus the practiced polemicist K. Ye. Dmytruk seeks to discredit Ukrainian nationalist emigres and their critique of Marxist analysis by asserting their link to monopoly capital and the ruling strata of capitalist countries ("Bourgeois Nationalism — Enemy of Friendship Among Peoples", *Ukrayinskyi Istorychnyi Zhurnal*, No. 11, November, 1981). To this class link he adds the alleged alliance with "international Zionism" and Maoism. While continually alleging the nationalists' "Nazi past", Dmytruk explains their alliance with the Zionists by a common class interest and a common anti-Soviet stance. The Maoist connection remains unexplained.

The Soviet Ukrainian authorities seem sensitive to the effects of Zionist ideas on the Jewish population of Ukraine as well. Thus, A. Krym, writing from Chernivtsi (Jews make up about 5.4% of the population of the Chernivtsi Region), assails the "Zionist propaganda" being mailed to addressees in the Soviet Union compiled from telephone books ("Conveyor Belt of Lies", *Radyanska Ukrayina*, July 16, 1983). Unlike polemicists discussing the situation of the nationalities within the established republics, however, Krym cannot point to any specific Soviet nationalities policy that could arguably accommodate Jewish demands.

As the preceding examples illustrate, current trends in Soviet nationalities policy follow a familiar pattern. Because the supposed dialectic between the development of national cultures, on the one hand, and their convergence and ultimate fusion, on the other, is not a true dialectic, it produces no synthesis. Rather, the theoretical discussion remains confined to a barren conflict between an alleged flourishing of non-Russian cultures and real assimilation. In reality, Soviet nationalities policy cannot overcome the contradiction between the two mutually irreconcilable tendencies: a disguised but antiquated imperialism, and the historical necessity of national independence.

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## CHRISTIANIZATION UNDER DUKE ASKOLD

It is generally known that Old (Kyivan) Rus' was Christianized in 988, under Grand Duke Volodymyr of Kyiv (who went down in history as Volodymyr the Great or St. Volodymyr). Widespread as it is, this thesis requires specification. The fact is that the assertion of the new creed amongst the Slavs began much earlier.

The penetration of Christianity to Eastern Europe started in the first centuries A.D. Evidence of this is to be found in the writings of authors of the third and fourth century, such as St. Athanasius, St. John Chrysostom, St. Jerome and others. But all of these mentioned the population of what was then Scythia in general terms, without any ethnic particularization. For the first time, the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity was concretely testified to by a Roman poet in the fifth century.

The fall of Rome must have made a negative impact on the positions of Christianity in separate regions of the Empire — particularly to the north of the Black Sea. It is also possible that, between the sixth and eighth century, this creed found less recognition there than previously. The early ninth century brought a new impetus to the spread of Christianity as, for example, Slavic Duke Bravlin was baptized at that period, according to *The Life of St. Stephen of Surozh*.

Thus, Christianity had rather deep roots in the Eastern Slavic lands and the ground for its establishment in Old Rus' as an official religion towards the end of the first millenium had been well prepared throughout the preceding centuries.

In 860, Duke Askold of Kyiv made his famous expedition to Constantinople which made a tremendous impression on his contemporaries and found reflection in many literary sources of that time. The campaign ended in favour of the Slavs. The Greeks were forced to pay a huge levy and undertook to continue to pay the victors. It was then that Duke Askold decided to Christianize Rus'. This act had long become imminent, profoundly motivated by the entire course of historical development.

In the history of the Eastern Slavs, the ninth century became a turning point. It was then that the statehood of Old Rus' was generally formed. Kyiv became a recognized political, economic and cultural centre — a "rival of Constantinople".

The rule of Duke Askold was a period when all walks of social life experienced a great elevation. Old Rus' took a firm hold of the banks of the Black Sea which contemporary Moslem chroniclers called the Rus'ian Sea, and made a number of important foreign political steps, emerging as a worthy partner in so far as Byzantium, the Arab Caliphate, the Khazar Kaganate (Kingdom) and the other strongest powers of the Middle Ages were concerned. Introducing Christianity as an official religion was, under the circumstances, a timely, natural measure.

A letter signed by Patriarch Photius who was a direct participant of Christianization is the main source of evidence of the Orthodox conversion of Old Rus' under Duke Askold. In the mid-sixties of the ninth century, Photius sent a circular to all dioceses subordinated to Constantinople in which he wrote that the people of Rus' "have converted from the originally behold heathen creed to the purely Christian teaching, entering the number of our devoted friends, although not so long ago they robbed us and displayed unrestrained insolence. Such thirst for the only true beliefs and such ardent dedication to them have inflamed their hearts that they have accepted a shepherd and perform Christian rites with utmost zeal". Rus' was henceforth regarded by the civilized world as a Christian state.

From the above quotation, it is evident that what happened at that time was not merely the personal baptism of the Kyivan Duke and his closest associates (which some of the researchers claim to have been the case) but the conversion of the entire people. The patriarch stresses that the Slavs "have accepted a shepherd". In other words, a diocese was established in Kyivan Rus'. It was entered, under No. 61, in the list of Greek Orthodox sees subordinated to Constantinople under Emperor Leo VI the Philosopher (reign: 886-912). In a similar register, drawn up under Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (912-959), it is numbered 60. Hence the absence of any information about the foundation of a Rus'ian diocese after St. Volodymyr's Christianization in 988. It could not be set up for the simple reason that it had already been in existence for over a century. This must have also accounted for the fact that the Act of 988, finally asserting Christianity as a state religion in Old Rus', passed unnoticed by other countries and left no trace in Byzantium, Western European or Oriental sources (the only exception being Jahia Alexandriyskyi who wrote under Yaroslav the Wise and was influenced by contemporary Kyivan publicists).

A very interesting version of the enforcement of Christianity in Old Rus' in the third quarter of the ninth century was left by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. He gives a detailed account of the mission of an archpriest sent to Rus' and accurately mentions his archbishop's rank. The author makes it clear that the whole of Rus' was converted to Christianity, and not its separate representatives. This data is confirmed by other Greek chroniclers, among them the so-called Successor of Feofan, Skylytsya-Kedrin, also Zonara, Mykhaylo Hlyka, and others.

It is believed in modern literature that Old Rus' sources knew nothing about the Christianization of Rus' in 860. Some researchers consider this to be sufficient to doubt the evidence of Greek authors. However, such presumptions are far from true.

While it is true that the available edition of *The Story of Bygone Years* contains no information about the first Christianization of Rus', there are still traces left which undeniably corroborate the hypothesis that the original manuscript, made by Nestor the Chronicler, must have included a story about the Act of 860.

Studies by Academician B. Rybakov have not only made it possible to substantiate this hypothesis, but have also revealed the ideological essence of the arbitrary interpretation of the authors of the *Story's* final version. In fact, other codes of annals tell about the first Christianization of Kyivan Rus' which took place under Duke Askold.

For example, a special chapter, dedicated to this event, is found in the chronicles of Nikon. Similar information was provided in the codes used by V. Tatishchev in the early 18th century (e.g., the *Code of Joachim*) which, unfortunately, have not seen our days. *The Chronicles of Hustyn*, the *Kyiv Synopsis* and other historical compendia also mention the Askold Christianization. The same applies to Arab sources which confirm the introduction of Christianity in Old Rus' in the third quarter of the ninth century. Thus, back in the eighties of the ninth century. Ibn Khordad Beg wrote that Rus'ians arriving in Baghdad "present themselves as Christians and, as ones, pay the jizia tax". Al Masudi, Al Marvazi and other authors inform us about the existence of Christianity in pre-Volodymyr Rus' as well.

All this proves that the fact of partial Christianization in Old Rus' in the sixties of the ninth century is beyond doubt. It is clearly apparent that Christianization extended not only to a part of the ruling circles but also to the common folk.

Immediately after conversion, Old Rus' began to create church literature of its own, necessary for conducting services. Already in the winter of 860-861, Cyril the Philosopher, a prominent Slavic enlightener, saw the Old Rus' versions of the Gospel and the Psalter in the Chersonese. That was two years before the beginning of the Moravian mission of Cyril and Methodius and the invention of a special Slavic alphabet.

Askold's assassination in 882 and the seizure of the Kyivan throne by Duke Oleh basically changed the situation in Old Rus'. Obviously, the coup would have hardly been a success if the usurper had not received support from within Kyiv. Even V. Tatishchev understood that the duke from the city of Ladoga had relied on anti-Christian opposition. The latter must have been strong enough at the time, since the new creed had not been recognized by the population overnight, nor had it been accepted by the upper feudal echelons. Oleh's policy, therefore, acquired a clearcut anti-Christian orientation to a certain extent, it took shape as anti-Christian terror.

Next came the reign of Duke Ihor (912-945). In contrast to Oleh, the new ruler proved tolerant. There were two parties in the country at that period — the Christian and the heathen. Formally, both were equal, but the text of the agreement which Ihor signed with the Greeks in 944 ensured the Christians every possible advantage. Under Duchess Olha (now St. Olha), the wife of Duke Ihor (945-969) who was a Christian, the Orthodox party grew even stronger.

The short reign of Duke Sviatoslav (969-972), a convinced pagan, was marked by a new outburst of anti-Christian terror, accompanied by the destruction of churches and mass human sacrifices. Quite a different situation developed after the coming to power of his successor, Duke Yaropolk (972-

980). His adherence to the new creed is emphasized in historical sources. Having accomplished an armed coup in Kyiv (980), Duke Volodymyr, son of Sviatoslav, made an attempt to reform heathenism but before long became aware of its futile social prospects. This understanding resulted in the issue of the Act of 988 which finally established Christianity as a state religion in Kyivan Rus'.

Throughout this period, despite all the peripeteias of the ideological struggle, the diocese of Kyiv continued to exist and discharge its functions.

Christianization bore tremendous importance for Old Rus' in that it gave an impetus to the further progressive development of the state. It replaced paganism which had long ago become obsolete, turning into an obstacle on the road of historical advancement. Christianity as a religious, as much as philosophic, system bestowed the Slavs with monistic concepts and the understanding of nature as one whole. It asserted feudal — then quite progressive — relationships within society and actively facilitated the strengthening of the Kyivan state. It served as a powerful stimulus in the development of Old Rus'ian culture — brick architecture, literacy, literature, education, the fine arts, music, and so on. One must also point out the outstanding role of the new religion in the moral sphere, since it asserted an ethic imperative in place of the cult of rude physical force, inherent in the so-called Heroic Period in the history of the heathen peoples.

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## 35th AF ABN Congress

### **CONGRESS OF THE AMERICAN FRIENDS OF THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS**

The national Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations was convened on May 18 and 19, 1985, in New York on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the AF ABN.

Two hundred and forty-three delegates from 18 nationalities (Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Byelorussia, China, Croatia, Cuba, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Nicaragua, Poland, Rumania, Turkestan, Ukraine, the United States and Vietnam) and 14 AF ABN branches in the USA (Albany, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Miami, New Jersey, New York, Phoenix, Rochester, Syracuse and Washington), representatives of the ABN from Canada (Toronto and Montreal) and Europe (Great Britain and West Germany) as well as about 500 invited guests participated in the Congress and the Congress banquet held at the Vista International Hotel on Saturday evening.

The main theme of the Congress was "The West's Strongest Allies" — the nations subjugated in the USSR and its satellites.

The programme included speeches on the following: "The tragic consequences of Yalta" — Mrs. Slava Stetsko (Executive Chairman of the ABN, Munich, West Germany), "Aid to the Captive Peoples" — Mr. Robert Morris (executive member of the US Council for World Freedom), "Unchanged Russian drive for world domination" — Dr. Jack Stukas (Professor at Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J., USA) and "The ABN and the Political-Psychological Warfare" — Mr. Sviatoslav Karavanskyi (inmate of Soviet Russian concentration camps for 31 years).

Three panels were also held during the two days of the Congress: a youth panel entitled "The ideas by which the young generation is inspired today — in the Free World and behind the Iron Curtain", with panelists from the USA, Canada, Europe, Rumania, Ukraine, Afghanistan, Cuba and Vietnam; a panel on "National liberation processes behind the Iron Curtain", with panelists from Albania, Bulgaria, China, Hungary, Cuba, Poland and Ukraine; and a panel on the "Armed struggle of the subjugated nations for their survival", with panelists from Afghanistan, Vietnam and Nicaragua.

In the evening of Saturday, May 18, a banquet was held which opened with the reading of greetings from President Ronald Reagan and Vice-President George Bush. The main address was delivered by the Hon. Yaroslav Stetsko — former Prime Minister of Ukraine and ABN President. Guest speakers were US Congressman Mario Biaggi, Mr. Wayne Merry — UN representative, Advisor Political and Security Affairs and Mr. John Nikas — representative of Governor M. Cuomo and chairman of ethnic groups, State Legislature. The banquet programme also included the reading of the New

York State Senate Resolution and greetings from Senators and Congressmen. Dr. B. A. Zikria who has just returned from Peshawar, Pakistan, greeted the participants of the banquet on behalf of the Afghan mujahideen. The banquet included cultural entertainment.

During the Congress, Prof. Nicholas Chirovsky was elected President of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Chirovsky, a Professor at Seton Hall University, South Orange, New Jersey, USA, is also President of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine and is active in many other Ukrainian American community organizations.

The Congress ended on Sunday, May 19, with the election of the governing bodies and the passing of the Statement and Resolutions.

The AF ABN fully supports the concept of national liberation of the nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism. Member nations uphold the basic ABN principle espousing a firm commitment to the subjugated nations in the USSR and the satellite countries in their common struggle against Russian imperialism and Communism. This common principle is founded upon the member nations' mutual respect of national independence and sovereignty within their ethnographic boundaries.

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### **THE WEST'S STRONGEST ALLIES** **Statement of the 35th Congress of the AF ABN**

In 1985, on the fortieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War, civilization finds itself at a perilous crossroads in its history. The threat of an impending thermo-nuclear Armageddon continues to haunt the free world. Its source is Moscow's expansionist drive to establish its Soviet Russian imperialist hegemony over the entire world.

Forty years ago, in May, 1945, the Free World finally rid itself of the Nazi threat to freedom at the expense of incalculable loss of life and an immeasurable amount of human suffering. Despite Hitler's military defeat, however, the end of the Second World War was politically inconclusive. The menacing spectre of Bolshevism, of Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism, arose on the ruins of Nazism and cast its ominous shadow over the Free World. Ironically, this perilous turn of events transpired with the implicit acquiescence of the Western Democracies which pursued a political and military strategy designed to eliminate only one of the two imperialist powers of that time, Nazi Germany. Bolshevik Russia, the other imperialist power, was left to pursue its own objectives with virtual impunity.

At the same time, the East European nations subjugated alternatively by Nazism and Bolshevism lead a concerted and undaunted two-front war of liberation under the revolutionary aegis of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) against **both** imperialist, totalitarian powers. Unfortunately, the ABN's appeal to the West fell on unreceptive ears.

Since 1945, every new act of aggression undertaken by Moscow to implement its imperialist, expansionist goals — whether overtly or through means of covert subversion of democratic societies and whether directly or through one of its “proxy” satellites — has reconfirmed the validity of the ABN’s concept of liberation along with its underlying political and military strategy.

Although the Allied victory in the Second World War can be attributed directly to the military superiority of the United States, the political fruits of this victory were almost unilaterally reaped by Moscow. As a result, the West has been relegated to an increasingly ambiguous defensive strategy. In the context of balance of power politics, for example, the West, in unilaterally carrying the burden of averting a nuclear war, has been continuously forced to redefine existing spheres of influence in accordance with each new Soviet Russian act of aggression.

### **The Subjugated Nations — An Untapped Reserve of Strength**

With virtually no support from the governments of the Free World, the liberation movements in Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Byelorussia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Hungary, Poland, North Caucasus, Turkestan, Rumania, Albania, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Serbia, Czechia, Croatia, Slovenia, East Germany, Cuba, Idel-Uran, North Korea and other subjugated countries, have demonstrated their commitment to cast off the Russian colonial yoke. These liberation movements and the liberation wars of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Angola, Vietnam, Cambodia, Eritrea, Zimbabwe and Mozambique should be a cornerstone for a policy of rolling back and ultimately dissolving the last remaining colonial empire in the world into nationally independent and sovereign states.

An inherent flaw in the West’s politico-military strategy towards the Soviet Union is the West’s failure to utilize the potentially paralyzing force of the national liberation struggles behind the Iron Curtain, such as the broad Solidarity resistance in Poland, all-embracing liberation movements in Ukraine, Lithuania, Turkestan, Georgia and strong anti-Communist activities in Cuba, Rumania, Latvia, Byelorussia, Czechia, Slovakia, Croatia and elsewhere; to recognize that these subjugated nations yearn to break away from Moscow’s colonial bondage, and that they constitute the West’s strongest and most reliable allies.

NATO’s military strategy, based on the concept of “mutually assured destruction” (MAD), is perhaps the most striking example of the West’s failure to appreciate the crucial role that subjugated peoples in the Soviet Union and the satellite states can play in its strategy towards the Bolshevik regime. In furtherance of its strategy of deterrence, the US military command has targeted the bulk of its strategic nuclear force at Soviet SS-20 missiles located on the territorial homelands of the subjugated nations. In the event of war, this translates into almost certain devastation of a large portion of these territories by American missiles.

The United States and its NATO allies should instead pursue a Grand Entente with the subjugated nations, and as a sign of good faith and support for their liberation struggles the United States should target its ICBMs, GLCMs and "Pershing" missiles at the power base of the Soviet Russian empire, the Russian ethnographic territories. The aim of such an alliance would not be to deter a threatening nuclear confrontation, but rather to eliminate altogether its only potential source, the presently existing *causa belli* of World War III: Soviet Russia's imperialist drive to conquer the world.

The subjugated nations reject any policy or military strategy which targets their own homelands in the event of nuclear war. The ABN has chosen instead to develop its own strategy based on the dissolution of the Russian empire and Communist system from within by means of co-ordinated national revolutions. Indeed, this is the only sensible alternative to nuclear Armageddon.

Through its resolutions, the Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (AF ABN), held in New York City on May 18-19, 1985, reaffirmed its support for the national liberation struggles being waged by the nations subjugated by Soviet Russian imperialism and Communism in the USSR and the satellite countries. The Congress has pledged its continued support for the leadership of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations as the only force in the international arena today which represents the genuine aspirations and interests of the subjugated nations. Furthermore, the Congress fully embraces the policy and strategy formulated by the ABN as the only means of achieving a lasting peace and an international order based on justice, freedom and independence for all nations.

### **The Alternative**

The subjugated nations outnumber ethnic Russians by a ratio of 2:1, and this same breakdown is reflected in the national composition of the Warsaw Pact Armed Forces. As a result, Moscow is forced to arm young men of the subjugated peoples in order to achieve its imperialist-expansionist objectives. Ironically, however, this provides the subjugated peoples with the implements necessary to hasten the empire's inevitable demise.

The evolving revolutionary processes of national liberation will lead to the internal dissolution of the Soviet Russian empire and to the rise of independent and sovereign democratic nation-states, each within its own ethnographic borders. As these processes intensify, the already acute internal contradictions within the empire will become even further exacerbated culminating in a series of simultaneous and co-ordinated multi-national uprisings on the respective territories of the enslaved peoples.

A political and military strategy of insurgent-liberation warfare, designed to strike at the very core of the Soviet Russian empire, offers a viable alternative to the threat of nuclear war. These liberation movements in order to be successful, however, must be forcefully effectuated by the revolutionary underground movements in the subjugated nations with the external assistance

of the NATO member-states. In recognition of the danger inherent in the MAD doctrine, President Reagan's Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) is a step in the right direction. However, the SDI "High Frontier" programme, once implemented, can prove to be effective only if it is supplemented with an offensive "Low Frontier" component, a strategy of insurgent-liberation warfare which would paralyse the Soviet Union from within.

Only with the unqualified support of the West for these national liberation processes can such a "dual track" strategy prove effective. Most importantly the subjugated peoples need to be strengthened and mobilized. Western radio broadcasts are crucial in this regard. Radio broadcasts are listened to on a daily basis by the subjugated peoples and by their underground revolutionary leadership. The content of these broadcasts must reflect the intrinsic values of the subjugated nations and support their yearning for national independence and statehood. To adequately further this goal, the emigre representatives of the liberation movements in the West should be consulted in the process of formulating policy directives at Radio Liberty, Radio Free Europe, Radio Marti, and other similar institutions. In addition, the NATO-member states should help establish an autonomous ABN radio-broadcasting station, so that the flow of information to the underground leadership of liberation movements will not be affected by the periodic fluctuations in the foreign policy priorities of Western Democracies.

We should remember that the Communist Russian empire was built by Russian armed forces, under the guise of the false internationalism of the Russian October Revolution, with the help of some international bodies, and it can be destroyed by the national revolutions of the subjugated nations with the help of the free nations in a common political front.

One day the subjugated peoples will be free. They will not be denied the right to live in their own national, independent and sovereign democratic states. In advancing the ABN's alternative to a nuclear Armageddon we caution the Free World not to sit back passively and wait for the subjugated nations to rescue it from the throes of the Soviet Russian imperialist threat. Our alternative is meant to help only those who actively seek to help themselves by coming to the aid of the enslaved peoples in their national liberation struggles. These nations are indeed the West's strongest allies.

FREEDOM FOR NATIONS.      FREEDOM FOR THE INDIVIDUAL.

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**ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE ABN  
HON. YAROSLAV STETSKO**

Ladies and Gentlemen!

Forty years ago, the roar of guns finally ceased on the European fronts. The end of World War II brought about a shattering defeat of Nazi Germany and the victory of an unnatural coalition between Western democracies and the totalitarian Soviet Russian Bolshevik regime. Western Europe would once again enjoy peace, freedom and justice. Yet at the same time, on Eastern and Central Europe there descended the dismal shadow of the Iron Curtain which to this day continues to separate the free from the enslaved. Instead of liberty, the nations in the USSR and the satellite states were burdened with new chains; instead of justice and the right to assert their national identity, they faced continuous national enslavement and violations of human rights; instead of peace, they faced an escalating arms race and the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

National liberation struggles are being fought continuously. The intimidating and agitating uprisings and strikes of Ukrainian and other national prisoners throughout the 1950s, the 1953 Berlin workers' uprising, the Poznan uprising in Poland, the Hungarian revolution in 1956, the Prague Spring of 1968, the Ukrainian renaissance in the 1960's and 1970's, the liberation war of the Afghan people against brutal Russian aggression and the recent developments in Poland demonstrate the fact that these subjugated nations yearn to break away from Moscow's colonial bondage. Yet the barbarous and cruel methods used to crush these individual uprisings also indicate that the Soviet Russian empire can be toppled only through the united efforts of a common front of subjugated nations. This liberation strategy based on the concept of a common front of the Free World and the subjugated nations against both totalitarianisms — the Nazi German and Bolshevik Russian — was proposed as early as 1943 at a conference of subjugated nations in the forests of Zhytomyr, Ukraine.

In June, 1941, Ukraine and Lithuania proclaimed the renewal of their independence.

In Ukraine, an armed struggle was led by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (UPA-OUN), aimed at both the Nazi German and Bolshevik Russian occupiers. The Lithuanian armed struggle was spearheaded by the Lithuanian Liberation Army. Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians and other peoples organized similar resistance movements. The heroic freedom fighters of these and other East European nations contributed significantly to the decisive defeat of Nazi Germany.

According to Russian sources, only seventeen per cent of the territory of the RSFSR (which also includes non-Russian ethnic territories) was occupied by the Germans. At the same time Ukraine, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Poland were completely occupied by Hitler's armies.

A large part of World War II was fought on Ukrainian territory for the possession of the country and its vast material riches. Ukraine suffered more human losses than any other European country, including Germany. There were 7 million casualties amounting to 16.7 per cent of the entire population. Of these 7 million, 2.5 million were military casualties and 4.5 million civilian casualties. Thus, Ukraine suffered the greatest number of losses out of all the nations in the Soviet Union. Poland lost 5 million people, while Byelorussia's wartime loss amounted to about 33 per cent of its population. By contrast, during the war the RSFSR lost approximately 5-6 million civilian and military casualties. Thus, the 20 million losses so often attributed to the "Russian nation" include the total losses of all the nations in the Soviet Union.

The Germans instituted a mass destruction of the civilian population and prisoners of war in Ukraine. The world is well aware of the fate of Lidice (Bohemian village) and the French village of Oradour-sur-Glane, but the world does not know that Ukraine suffered some 250 Lidices and Oradours.

Today, as we commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the victory over Nazi Germany, the freedom fighters who defended their homelands against **both** tyrannical regimes are paradoxically branded as Nazi collaborators, anti-Semites and persecutors. What their accusers do not understand is that a massive KGB-devised disinformation campaign is the source of these defamatory, malicious accusations. The accusers and prosecutors are ready to repeat these fabrications, yet they forget that it was Stalin himself and the entire Bolshevik leadership along with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) who collaborated with the Nazis by signing the non-aggression pact in 1939. With their co-operation Hitler unleashed the Second World War and all its horrors.

The accusers also forget about Katyn, Vynnytsia, Lviv and countless other places where the Russian Communists murdered tens of thousands of prisoners; they forget about the tens of millions who died in the Gulags; they forget about the mass deportations, and they forget about the artificial famine in Ukraine in 1932-1933, organized by Stalin and the Russian imperialists in which 7 million people died. Nor are these events of an apparent interest to the Western media. Instead, they are willing to accept without hesitation the falsified evidence supplied by the perpetrators of these horrors behind the Iron Curtain as accurate representations of the events of the Second World War.

Nazi Germany and Nazism are dead and buried and will never rise again. Russian Bolshevism, on the other hand, is very much alive and poses a continuing threat to the Free World. Yet, country after country falls its prey with no interference or concern on the part of the Free World and with practically no recognition in the Western media. It is absurd and foolish to focus their attention only on the extinct and obsolete principles of Nazism. They should also concentrate their efforts towards rousing world public opinion to the dangers that presently confront the Free World, and they should rise in defence of the liberty of the nations presently enslaved or

threatened by Moscow. It is indeed puzzling and disconcerting that the Free World is so unwilling to stand in defence of the national and human rights of the persecuted Afghans, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Bulgarians, Byelorussians, Croatians, Cubans, Czechs, Estonians, Georgians, Hungarians, Latvians, Lithuanians, Nicaraguans, Poles, Rumanians, Slovaks, Turkestanis, Ukrainians, Vietnamese and other nations within the USSR and its satellite states throughout the world.

The lessons of history and the benefits of hindsight show that although the Allies were militarily victorious in May, 1945, the political fruits of the triumphant victory over Nazism were unilaterally reaped by Moscow. Tehran, Yalta and Potsdam divided the world in two. Furthermore, the West's failure to counter the countless acts of Russian aggression since World War II demonstrates the West's implicit acquiescence in the perilous events that have since led to immeasurable human suffering. On the occasion of this fortieth anniversary we are also sadly reminded of the misguided post-war policy of the Allies which led to the tragic forced repatriation of hundreds of thousands of refugees and prisoners who were deported to the USSR to face hard labour and almost certain death in Stalin's camps.

The present dangerous situation that confronts the Free World could have been avoided had the Western democracies listened to the voices of the liberation movements of our nations during World War II. We proposed a simultaneous two-front war against German National Socialism and Russian Bolshevism. At the Conference of subjugated nations in 1943 in the forests of Ukraine, representatives of thirteen enslaved nations called upon Western nations to support them in a joint anti-imperialist and anti-totalitarian front. Unfortunately, their appeal fell on unreceptive ears. Even without Western support, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists were, nevertheless, able to wage an heroic fight against Moscow for 10 long years.

For more than four decades now the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) has been advocating a joint front of the freedom-loving nations of the West with the liberation movements of the enslaved nations of Eastern Europe and Russian-dominated Asia against Russian Communist imperialism, Bolshevism.

A Third World War is being waged at this very moment. While its tactics change continuously, Moscow's strategy remains the same — it seeks to divide the free world, to juxtapose the underdeveloped Third World from the developed democracies of the West, to break up NATO by sowing discord among the Allies, to corrupt Western morality and undermine its will to resist, to subvert public opinion by every possible means of disinformation and propaganda, and to destroy the liberation organizations of the captive nations by discrediting leaders of the emigre groups and to silence them by a campaign of lies, fabricated accusations and intimidation.

We raise our voices in warning the leaders and people of the Free World against falling into this trap. In the name of God, in the name of the highest ideals of truth, freedom and justice, we demand that in its own interests of

survival and as the only realistic alternative to nuclear war, the West support the co-ordinated national liberation movements of the nations enslaved within the Soviet Russian empire and in the countries dominated by its puppet regimes.

*We demand:*

— unequivocal recognition of the rights of all the Captive Nations to full national independence within their own ethnic territories;

— full moral and material support for the liberation struggle of the underground movements behind the Iron Curtain;

— encouragement and support of government and privately sponsored information and publicity campaigns employing all available media resources to enlighten the public of the Free World on the situation of the enslaved nations and Moscow's expansionist policies;

— international recognition of the central liberation organizations of the enslaved peoples as the only genuine spokesmen of their nations, providing every opportunity for them to voice the aspirations of their nations at representative international forums;

— we demand that Western governments, the United Nations and other international organizations condemn Russian imperialism and Communism, totalitarianism and Moscow's Russification policies as genocidal and colonialist; that they similarly condemn Moscow's persecution of religion;

— we demand the liquidation of the concentration camps, the psychiatric asylums and all instruments of oppression and terror;

— we demand that Western governments exert pressure on Moscow by all possible means to withdraw its troops from all the subjugated countries;

— we demand the adoption by Western countries of the U.N. Resolution on Decolonization towards the USSR as the last remaining colonial empire; and

— we demand the dissolution of the Russian empire into national, independent and democratic states of all the subjugated nations.

These are the lawful, unwavering demands of our proud nations. As there can be no compromise with evil, the "Empire of the Great Lie" must fall! And we will do everything in our power to hasten its demise; its ignominious downfall.

*"Imperium Moscoviae delendum esse!"* Freedom and justice will prevail. Victory will be ours. May the day of liberation come soon for Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Byelorussia, East Germany, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Ukraine, Rumania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cuba, Slovenia, Albania, North Caucasus, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Turkestan, Idel-Ural and other subjugated nations. May the armed struggles of Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Vietnam, Cambodia and Angola be triumphantly victorious!

## UNCHANGING RUSSIAN DRIVE FOR WORLD DOMINATION

*Remarks by Dr. Jack J. Stukas, of Seton Hall University, South Orange, N.J., USA, and Vice-President of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, to the Congress of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, May 19, 1985.*

Good morning, ladies and gentlemen united in the fight against Russian imperialism. At the outset may I thank Dr. Nicholas Chirovsky, my colleague at Seton Hall University, for inviting me to address this august gathering, on the "Unchanging Russian Drive For World Domination".

My I first, as Vice-President of the Supreme Committee for the Liberation of Lithuania, based in Washington, D.C., greet you on behalf of our President, Dr. Kazys Bobelis, and the entire Council and Officers of this organization. We sincerely hope and pray that our common efforts to restore freedom and independence to the nations held captive or subjugated by the USSR will bear fruition in the not too distant future.

The Soviet Union today, with 8,599,000 square miles of territory, is the largest state in the world. nearly 40 times the size of France, three times as large as the United States, and twice the area of China. From north to South, it measures more than 2,750 miles, from west to east more than 5,500 miles — almost one quarter of the earth's circumference.

The USSR is presently, as you know, a federation of so-called 15 "autonomous states" which are: the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic, and the Ukrainian, Estonian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Byelorussian, Moldavian, Armenian, Kazakh, Georgian, Azerbaijanian, Tadjik, Kirghiz, Turkmen and Uzbek Soviet Socialist republics.

Let us glance, now, all the way back to the year 1328, when Ivan I moved his capital to Moscow. He was the originator of the centralized administrative system which prevailed until the reign of Peter the Great. In 1480, the Tatars were expelled by his successor Ivan III, surnamed the Great, who ruled from 1462 to 1505.

The reign of Ivan III and his successor Vasily III, 1505-1533, marked the expansion of the Muscovite state and the growth of Moscow's absolutism. The principality of Yaroslav was annexed in 1463, and Rostov in 1474; Novhorod was conquered in 1471, Tver in 1485, Pskov in 1510 and Ryazan in 1521. The peoples of Mari, Yurga and Komi were subjugated at the end of the 14th century and the Pechora and Karelians at the end of the 15th century. Ivan ceased to pay tribute to the Tartars. In 1547, at the age of 17, Ivan IV, surnamed the Terrible, was crowned Tsar of all Russia and reigned until 1584. He conquered the Tartar khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan, establishing Russian rule over the huge area of the middle and lower Volga, thus laying the basis for the colonization and annexation of Siberia, begun

after the conquest by the Cossack Yermak. The conquered border territories were colonized by Russian settlers and defended by the Cossacks.

In 1613, a zemsky sobor chose the boyar, Michael Romanov, as tsar, and this began the Romanov dynasty which ruled Russia until 1917. Michael was succeeded by Alexis Mikhailovich whose chief acquisition was that of Eastern Ukraine and Byelorussia from the Poles. In the meantime, the Cossacks of Ukraine were compelled to recognize Russian supremacy.

The consolidation of central power in Russia was effected not with the help of the almost non-existent middle class or by social reforms, but by forcibly depriving the nobility and gentry of their political influence. The nobles were compensated with grants and with increasing rights over the peasants. Thus, serfdom engulfed growing masses of people and approached the form of slavery.

Russia's greatness may be said to date from the accession to power in 1689 of Peter the Great who revolutionized Russia politically and culturally. Peter, who assumed the title "emperor", created a regular army and navy. In abolishing the Patriarchate of Moscow and creating the Holy synod, directly subordinate to the emperor, he deprived the Church of the last vestiges of independence.

Seeking to make Russia a maritime power, Peter acquired Livonia, Ingermanland, Estonia and parts of Karelia and Finland as a result of the Northern War, 1700-1721, thus securing a foothold on the Baltic Sea. He made St. Petersburg the new capital of Russia, as a symbol of his new conquests. Peter also began the Russian push to the Black Sea, taking Azov in 1696, but his war with Turkey in 1711-1713 ended in failure and the loss of Azov. He even sent out Vitus Bering to Alaska which was later to become a Russian colony.

The Russo-Turkish wars of the following two centuries resulted in the expansion of Russia at the expense of the Ottoman Empire and in the growing influence of Russia on Ottoman affairs. Russia also took an increasing part in European affairs. Empress Elizabeth Petrovna, daughter of Peter the Great, successfully sided against Prussia in the Seven Years War, but her successor, Peter III, took Russia out of the war.

On his mysterious death, 1763, his wife assumed power as Catherine II, also known as Catherine the Great. Under her rule, Russia became the chief continental power of Europe. She continued Peter's policies of absolutist rule at home and of territorial expansion at the expense of neighbouring peoples. The three successive partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, in 1772, 1793 and 1795, the annexation of Crimea in 1783, and of Courland in 1795, also two treaties with Turkey gave Russia vast new territories in the west and south, including Byelorussia, Ukraine west of the Dniipro, and the Black Sea shores.

In her memoirs, Catherine the Great wrote as follows: "To join the Caspian Sea with the Black Sea and link both these with the North Sea, to allow commerce from China and Oriental India to pass through Tartary, would mean elevating the Empire to a greatness far above other Asiatic and European empires".

Russia became involved in the French Revolutionary Wars under Catherine's successor, the demented Paul I who was murdered in 1801. His son, Alexander, reigning in the period of the Napoleonic wars, led Russia through many campaigns, and effected far reaching changes in her borders. A meeting between Alexander and Napoleon at Tilsit resulted in an agreement between the two rulers, in accordance with which Alexander received a promise of non-interference in Sweden and Turkey. Finland and the Aland Islands were thereupon wrested from the former in 1809, and the territory lying between the Dnister and the Prut was ceded by Turkey in 1812, after six years of war. The accord with France foundered, however, and in 1812 Napoleon launched his ill-fated invasion of Russian soil. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, the newly established kingdom of Poland came under Russian suzerainty.

Alexander had also begun the subjugation of the Caucasus, bringing Georgia under Russian rule in 1801. In wars with Turkey and Persia, Alexander gained Bessarabia and the Caucasian territories of Daghestan, Baku and Shivan.

Nicholas, a younger brother, succeeded Alexander I. Nicholas waged war successfully against Persia, adding Armenia to Russia's spoils in 1828. The tribes of the Caucasus were brought further under Russian rule by the successful conclusion in 1829 of a campaign against Turkey, and Moldavia and Wallachia were established as protectorates of the tsar.

Alexander II, 1855-1881, son of Nicholas I, continued to make great territorial gains for Russia. China ceded Amur to Russia in 1864. Alexander completed the subjugation of central Asia, begun under Peter the Great over a century before. Samarkand came under Russian rule in 1868, and Bakhara became a vassal state in the same year. The Transcaspien region was fully conquered by 1881. Russia had, thus, reached the frontiers of Afghanistan and China and the shores of the Pacific.

The Civil War, between the Reds and Whites in Russia, ended in 1920 with the victory of the Soviet regime. Poland, Finland and the Baltic states of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia emerged as independent countries. Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Transcaucasian countries of Azerbaijan, Georgia and Armenia also proclaimed their independence, but by 1921, were conquered by the Red armies.

Yes, we all well know what has happened since World War II, the war that was to end all wars, and to restore independence and freedom to all peoples and states... The West, especially Western European countries and the United States, has done its share in giving its former possessions the privilege of self-determination and freedom... But what of the last remaining imperialist power, the USSR, who, as I have just outlined, has through the centuries conquered various peoples, subjugated and oppressed them, and taken their lands... Just to mention a few — the imperialistic policies of Communist Russia — have led through direct and indirect aggression, to the subjugation of the national independence of Afghanistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Czechia, Croatia, Cuba, East Germany,

Estonia, Georgia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Nicaragua, North Caucasus, Poland, Rumania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Turkestan, Ukraine, and other countries.

In his work, *Soviet Empire — the Turks of Central Asia*, Olaf Caroe writes, "More people in history have managed to keep a flame burning against oppression of body, mind and spirit, and even against generous treatment at the hands of those to whom they have been subject... The burning light at the heart of a people depends on qualities of spirit, either revealed or bequeathed to them through heredity and upbringing, and a torch of that kind will be extinguished if there are not those who come to trim it or to supply fuel to keep it alight".

And that is why we are here this morning, ladies and gentlemen, — to keep alive the aspirations for freedom and independence of the Captive and subjugated nations, by brutal Soviet Russian Bolshevism, to encourage them to survive the immense pressure set in force to muffle them.

We recognize the fact that Soviet Russian imperialism is a threat to the peace and security of the world, and we are doing what we can to help the oppressed peoples regain their human rights which are denied them.

We must continue to support the right of each people to govern themselves and to shape their own institutions which, coincidentally, has been an important principle guiding United States foreign policy.

The oppressed peoples are struggling within the USSR for their right to freedom, justice and self-determination, as their Soviet Russian masters attempt to destroy them with violence and force. We in the Free World must use diplomatic and other pressures in order for the Soviet Union to withdraw its military forces and secret police apparatus that even functions in the West, especially in the United States, often with government approval. The USSR must release from its jails and concentration camps and psychiatric wards people who struggle for human rights and freedom for their country. The sad fate and memory of the victims of ruthless and godless Communist persecution must never be forgotten.

The Communist tyrants continue to brutally suppress our freedom fighters, degrade our national movements, distort our political and cultural leaders, and deride the activities of our immigrants in their adopted homelands. However, the Soviet Russians may conquer the lands, take the possessions of our peoples, but they can never conquer their **souls!** They will never surrender to an aggressor or compromise with evil... You may pacify these countries on the surface: make them a solitude, and call it peace; you may exterminate or deport populations, but the volcano, the undying spirit of freedom will always be there. We will all win this fight for freedom, ladies and gentlemen, for Almighty God is on our side. Let us continually call on Him for assistance, and let us keep our heads high for our peoples, tortured and desecrated, but alive and resistant. They will not remain Soviet vassals... The future is in **their** hands.

Thank you kindly for your attention.

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*Sviatoslav KARAVANSKYI*

### **THE ABN AND THE POLITICAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE**

There is a theory of a Western professor, James Burnham, that World War III began in 1945. "At this time the Soviets started a unilateral war against the rest of the world. This war is fought by proxy, by political and psychological war, by terrorism and subversion and by other covert techniques".<sup>1</sup> The main methods of this warfare are disinformation. Evil is pictured as good and good as evil.

The Soviet Political World War III has its strategy — to weaken and destabilize today their potential opponents of the future. This main strategy also has many smaller objectives. The psychological warfare is fought in diplomatic circles, in Western parliamentary institutions, in the mass media, in the circles of anti-Communists, in religious movements, among all political, religious and national groups in the West. One of the goals of this warfare is the stirring of hatred among different groups and, in the first place, the stirring of national hatred.

It is known, for instance, that certain national prejudices are alive among some leaders and members of Jewish organizations in the West. One such prejudice is related to East-Europeans who allegedly were Nazi collaborators. These East-Europeans and, in particular, the Ukrainians are described by some Jewish sources as the most anti-Semitic peoples. Here is the point where Moscow's Communist mafia can benefit. Their goal is to reinforce this prejudice — to develop it to the level of national intolerance. How do they achieve this?

Soviet laws do not allow anyone in the USSR to express their anti-Semitic views or commit anti-Semitic acts. But Soviet propaganda invented a substitute for anti-Semitism — anti-Zionism. Soviet citizens are allowed to condemn Zionism, as well as any other nationalism and racism with the exception of the Soviet Russian one. So, in the USSR the publication of anti-Zionist books and the conduct of anti-Zionist scientific research are permitted. And where do you think such research is carried out and such literature published? This is done nowhere else but in Kyiv, in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences.

Everyone who lived in the USSR as a rank and file man, knows that no one academic institution in the USSR can elaborate its own areas of study. All the scientific and academic activity in the USSR is planned and centralized just as any other activity. The centre which supervises these centralized activities is the Politburo of the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union). This very centre plans and initiates everything that happens in any part of the Soviet Union. Thus, it is the Politburo of the CPSU in Moscow

which decides that the anti-Zionist research should be carried out nowhere else but in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. It is the Politburo of the CPSU in Moscow which decides that the anti-Zionist publications should be published nowhere else but in the Ukrainian capital, in Kyiv.

Do they gain some benefit from their perfidious decisions?

Yes, they do. Some Jewish public figures conclude that the activity of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences is the result of the incurable anti-Semitism of Ukrainians. Simon Wiesenthal says: "Anti-Semitism in the Ukraine is stronger than anywhere else in the Soviet Union. Even the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences has published a number of anti-Semitic books"<sup>2</sup>.

This is what Moscow's psychological warfare has achieved.

Here is another example. Two Frenchmen visited the USSR. They came to meet some Jewish refuseniks in Moscow. There was no reaction from the side of the KGB. After that, they went to Kyiv and tried to do the same there. But in Kyiv they were arrested, searched, interrogated and held under arrest for 3 days. The conclusion they drew was that Jewish people in Ukraine are the most depressed. But can it really be true that the KGB in Kyiv acted independently of the Moscow KGB? Before any measures are taken towards any foreigner, Kyiv KGB officers refer to Moscow. Thus the order to arrest the Frenchmen in Kyiv came from Moscow.

These examples show the cunning techniques of the psychological warfare and the results that it achieves. The whole country, the whole administrative and Party staff is involved in this warfare. In reality, it is difficult to recognize the political warfare in some of the actions of the Soviet authorities since even the participants of these actions are not aware of the meaning and the goal of their doings. They only carry out orders from above.

The Nazi-hunting in the free world, initiated by the KGB, has the same goal — to split the Western forces of freedom and to stir national hatred among them.

It is true that the Soviets have some information about war criminals. But it is also true that, in addition to the true information, they will add a lot of false and slanderous evidence in order to discredit the emigrants from Eastern Europe. This was proved during the trials of some of the "war criminals" in America. It was revealed in the course of these trials that the Soviets:

1. Falsified documents.
2. Used perjurious witnesses,
3. Limited the right of defendants for cross-examinations, and
4. Authorized doubtful documents.

Unfortunately, the Soviets are successful in their psychological initiative. Some American lawyers of Jewish origin, especially the officers of the OSI (US Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations), blindly believe in Soviet evidence. This is most strange, because the OSI itself possesses evidence of Soviet falsifications.

It is pertinent to mention here the case of Hryhoriy Cebriy (17-31 Grove St., Ridge Wood, N.Y., 11385, USA; tel. 212-456-0823). Mr. Cebriy was

accused by the Soviets of killing Jews. The KGB provided videotaped depositions of witnesses who affirmed that they had seen Mr. Cebriy shooting Jews. But Mr. Cebriy placed persuasive evidence at the OSI's disposal that at the exact time when the Soviet witnesses "saw" him shooting Jews, he was in a German concentration camp. The OSI was compelled to stop the case. This case and a lot of other closed cases should have opened the eyes of OSI officers to the nature of Soviet evidence. But, nevertheless, the OSI officers continue to use Soviet evidence without any due verification.

On the other hand, in the case against Frank Walus from Chicago 11 witnesses from Israel stated that Mr. Walus was a SS hangman 40 years ago. As it turned out, their evidence was false because Mr. Walus, as a fully innocent man, was acquitted. So, the OSI has evidence that it is impossible to believe witnesses after 35-40 years. But, nevertheless, OSI investigators continue to use and approve this kind of witnesses.

The main reason of the OSI violation of the due process of the law is the lack of impartiality in the majority of OSI officers, because of their ethnic origin. The participation of impartial persons in the procedure of justice is a direct violation of the due process of the law.

Besides this, some intolerant public figures used the OSI trials for the stirring of national hatred. Here is what Israel Singer, executive director of the World Jewish Congress says: "Hitler's annihilation of 6 million Jews was carried out not by the Germans alone, but rather with the extensive collaboration of Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians, Estonians and other Europeans".

First of all, why did the stateless nationalities that were forcibly occupied and cruelly deprived of their national independence by the Soviet Union come to be included on the list of the main collaborators? Can it really be true that Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians and Estonians were responsible for 6 million victims of genocide, including victims in France, Belgium, Holland, Poland, Romania, Austria and Germany itself?

Secondly, why does Israel Singer not speak about "Lithuanian, Latvian, Ukrainian and other European collaborators", but about "Lithuanians, Latvians, Ukrainians, Estonians and other Europeans"? By such a wording all the Lithuanians, all the Latvians, all the Ukrainians, all the Estonians and all the other Europeans are labelled as collaborators. This borders on the direct stirring of national hatred. Such a stirring is of much benefit to the KGB and the Kremlin mafia, but it is of no benefit to the case of peace and co-operation among the peoples. The accusation of entire nations of the deadly sins was practiced by Hitler and Stalin, but it is hard to believe that Israel Singer shared their views.

It should be mentioned here, in connection with Israel Singer's accusations, that during World War II The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) operated in Ukraine. An armed resistance movement was also active in the Baltic republics. These forces fought against **both** the German and the Soviet occupants. Hundreds of thousands of insurgents packed the Soviet concentration camps in the post-war years. On the other hand, is it conceivable that

the soldiers and officers of Ukrainian nationality in the Soviet Army who were fighting not for Stalin and the Soviet Russian empire, but against Nazism lent Hitler their exclusive support?

There is much talk now about Allan Ryan's book *Quiet Neighbors*. This book is directly aimed against East-European emigrants and in particular against Ukrainians as a nation. To achieve his goal the author deliberately concocted and misrepresented facts and quotations. This was very clearly shown in an article by Prof. Taras Hunchak, published in *The Ukrainian Weekly* No. 7, February 17, 1985, entitled "A Disquieting Book: *Quiet Neighbors* by Allan Ryan, former OSI Director".

All these facts are the result of the political-psychological warfare conducted by the Soviets. Besides the stirring of national hatred, their goal is also to put an end to the reciprocal warfare initiated by some Western politicians through Radio "Liberty" and Radio "Free Europe" and, by shifting Nazi crimes onto the East-European freedom-fighters, to discredit them and their organizations in the West.

The Soviets use their influence in the media, in Jewish organizations and everywhere else that their intelligence personnel have access. They may have influence even among some extremely right-wing circles. It is difficult to fight this unseen army, but there is no other way for the members of the AF ABN to commence the counter-attack against it.

What can the ABN do in this situation?

The AF ABN can and should reveal the manoeuvres of the KGB. Here is a list of possible activity:

1. The public should be informed about all known facts through the press by writing letters, articles and commentaries. If it is difficult to publish such material in the "big" newspapers, one can send such material to the local press.

2. Some of the most revealing material should be published in the form of brochures and even as leaflets and pamphlets. Here the most recommended piece of material is the article by Prof. T. Hunchak.

3. ABN branches should also convene conferences, panels and debates to discuss political warfare, to which well-known public figures, such as Prof. T. Hunchak or lawyer Mark O'Connor, may be invited.

4. There are many sober voices in the American press that protest against the violation of the due process of the law by the OSI. It is the task of the AF ABN to gather this material and publish it in book form.

5. It is necessary to involve members of Jewish organizations in the dialogue.

6. Support should be given to all the public bodies that oppose the Soviet political-psychological warfare and, in particular, the violations of the due process of the law in American courts.

7. Demands for the control of OSI practices should be made.

8. Members of Congress and Senate should be informed about all the facts and should be engaged in the movement for the due process of the law.

9. Use should be made of every occasion, where it is possible to express one's views and to condemn Soviet political-psychological warfare.

10. All the published material should be sent to the mass media: newspapers, magazines and so on.

#### FOOTNOTES

1) Bertil Häggman "The Need for a Western Political-Psychological Offensive Against Russian Imperialism and Communism as an Essential Element of Modern Warfare" (The speech delivered on September 25, 1982, at the ABN/EFC Conference in London, Great Britain) in *The West's Strongest Allies*, Press Bureau of the ABN, Munich, 1985, pp. 78-81.

2) Simon Wiesenthal *Bulletin of Information* No. 25, Vienna, January 31, 1985, p. 8.

3) *The Star Democrat*, April 3, 1985. "Baltic groups blocking Nazi collaborator probe". (Associated Press Information), p. 2.

#### RESOLUTIONS of the AF ABN Congress

*Whereas*, the national liberation processes inside the Soviet Russian empire are growing in strength and undermining the empire and its Communist system; and

*Whereas*, the Bolshevik tyrants confirm this in their emphasis on the necessary struggle against so-called bourgeois nationalism and against religion; and

*Whereas*, the *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Ukraine* and the *Chronicle of the Lithuanian Catholic Church*, the armed struggle of the Afghan mujahideen and the struggle of the Polish people testify to this fact with regard to all other nations; and

*Whereas*, the young generation raises the flag for the struggle in defence of national dignity and traditions, the cult of national heroes, religious values, inherent national ideals, institutions and cultural treasures and courageously and fearlessly combats an imposed Russian Communist way of life based on total terror; and

*Whereas*, the nations are rising up in a struggle against the empire and its system, with the youth as its vanguard and Yuriy Shukhevych — named by President Reagan as the "lonely hero, imprisoned Ukrainian patriot" — as its symbol;

*Whereas*, this struggle is invincible because the nations defend their very existence as separate organic spiritual entities; and

*Whereas*, this endeavour will reach its zenith through the armed struggle against the occupant — the Russian imperialist colonial yoke; and

*Whereas*, armed clashes against the occupant are already taking place as it was revealed by the *Chronicle of the Ukrainian Catholic Church*; and

*Whereas*, the bankruptcy of the economy of the USSR is confirmed by its own leaders when they state that this system is only at the beginning of the

first phase of so-called developed socialism, emphasising the necessity of introducing individual initiative into the economic process; and

*Whereas*, the constant shortage of bread in the USSR is proof of complete disorder; and

*Therefore*, our demands to the Free World are :

1. To cease to supply grain, technology, credits and arms to the Soviet Union and its satellites. Western trade has only served to sustain the tyrannical Russian empire.

2. The AF ABN Congress condemns the systematic Russification of all subjugated nations by Russian imperialism, a process which seeks to create a Russian supernation — the so-called “Soviet people”. Russification is not only linguicide, but also culture- and ethnocide, namely, an attempt to kill the inherent spirit of a nation, its national culture, its own image of God, and its social and legal institutions. The mosaic of national cultures is the richness of world culture.

3. The AF ABN Congress condemns Soviet Russia for its total denial of religious freedom and the persecution of religious leaders.

4. The AF ABN Congress unwaveringly stands for the dissolution of the Russian empire and the subsequent re-establishment thereof of national, independent, democratic states in their ethnographic territories, freedom for all subjugated nations, and the elimination of the Communist system.

5. The AF ABN Congress demands the application of the 25-year old UN Resolution on Decolonization to the last existing empire — the Communist Russian empire — in order to bring it to its final dissolution. On the 40th anniversary of the creation of the United Nations, the USSR and its satellite countries should be excluded from this international body as the USSR is a colonial empire which continues to violate the UN Charter and conducts mass genocide and wars of aggression.

6. The AF ABN Congress demands full respect for the human rights of national minorities in accordance with the UN Declaration on Human Rights, the Declaration of the European Parliament, the Atlantic Charter, and other international agreements which guarantee the rights of nations and the individual.

7. The AF ABN Congress appeals to the US Government to make use of the UN forum for initiating psychological warfare against the tyrannical Bolshevik empire. The UN must cease to be a forum for disinformation campaigns conducted by the USSR and its henchmen which are aimed at discrediting the freedom-loving world, particularly the USA.

8. The AF ABN Congress demands the development of an overall global strategy by the free world against the global attack of Russian imperialism and Communism which seeks to conquer the entire world.

9. The AF ABN Congress appeals to the US Government, on the basis of existing legal precedents, to demand the acceptance of the national liberation revolutionary anti-Bolshevik organizations, their centres and spokesmen, into the framework of the UN as the true representatives of the nations subjugated by Bolshevism.

10. The AF ABN Congress demands that the UN Resolution on Namibia referring to an international legal obligation to render military aid to the people fighting colonialism also be applied to the nations subjugated in the Russian empire. We also appeal to the US Government and Congress and to all free nations of the world to offer military support to nations which are conducting military struggles against Bolshevik tyranny and invaders (i.e., in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Vietnam, Cambodia, Angola, and others).

11. The AF ABN Congress demands that the International Red Cross Convention on the legal equal treatment of insurgent armies be respected in the struggle against the Bolshevik invaders.

12. The AF ABN Congress appeals to the nations of the Third World, many of which liberated themselves during the last decade, to support the anti-colonial liberation struggle of nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism as a modern form of neo-colonialism. We call on the Third World to stand in a united front with them and the Afghan mujahideen against the aggressive armies of the Russian Communist invaders who spread their colonial rule through proxy wars in Asia, Africa, and Latin America under the guise of "national or social liberation" and false Communist ideology. We appeal to the countries of the Third World to support the freedom, justice, national independence, and human rights against the evils of tyranny, despotism, colonialism, and totalitarianism.

13. The AF ABN Congress supports the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) programme of the Reagan Administration which aims to liquidate weapons of mass annihilation and to establish a defence for human beings against Bolshevik aggression. The Congress emphasizes, however, that the Russian empire cannot be dissolved and victory for the Free World against Communism cannot be attained without the use of offensive forces.

The offensive weapon which can achieve this is the liberation struggle of subjugated nations. Without a Low-Frontier strategy, a High-frontier defence is but a variant of the balance of power system.

14. The concept of balance of power does not take the third superpower — the subjugated nations — into consideration and is anachronistic to an epoch experiencing a global rise of national liberation struggles against Russian Communist imperialism. The only alternative to a thermo-nuclear holocaust is a co-ordinated national liberation revolution by nations subjugated by Bolshevism thereby destroying the empire of evil from within and abolishing the Communist totalitarian Orwellian-type system. The AF ABN Congress recommends this strategy as the only reliable means of saving mankind from thermo-nuclear destruction.

15. The AF ABN Congress appeals to the West to break the Orwellian-type totalitarian system of terror which, by modern means of technology as well as barbarism, attempts by all possible means to transform the human spirit into a slave of the Communist system. The United States and other nations of the free world must work towards the liquidation of slave labour concentration camps and psychiatric prisons, the cessation of genocide, and

the liberation of political and religious prisoners. The means to achieve this is through economic boycotts of the USSR, its exclusion from international organizations, and the development of powerful psychological warfare.

16. The AF ABN Congress appeals to the US Government, the US Congress, and to all free nations to establish a centre for psychological warfare within NATO or the Pentagon which would include spokesmen for the national liberation organizations of the subjugated nations. We ask that a Freedom Academy be created specializing in the analytical study of the problems of the subjugated nations and the training of cadres as a counterpart to the Lumumba University in Moscow.

17. The AF ABN Congress appeals to the US Congress to condemn the USSR and its Bolshevik aggressors for the violation of international treaties, for wars of aggression, the use of chemical and bacteriological warfare against women and children, for the famine siege of Ukraine, for the deportation of whole populations, for mass genocide, the liquidation of churches, and for the terror which this evil empire brings, including international terrorism. The Congress appeals to the US Government to include these issues on the agenda of the next UN General Assembly.

18. The AF ABN Congress notes that the centuries old traditions and cultural values of the great Chinese nation, the teachings of Confucius and the reformatory ideas of Sun Yat-sen are being increasingly upheld by the Republic of China. These ideals are gaining more and more support on the mainland and are inspiring the younger generation through the hope and promise of the victory of democratic ideas over Communism; a system which is alien to inherent Chinese values.

19. The American Friends of the ABN fully support the demands of the Central Committee of the ABN to Western nations, announced before the Belgrade Conference, to proclaim the Helsinki Accords officially null and void. The said accords affirm the status quo of Russian Communist expansionist occupations and thus render *a priori* the issue of human rights of the subjugated nations unattainable. Human rights cannot be attained or enforced without national independence. The defenders of national and human rights in the Soviet Union who were hitherto clandestine fighters made themselves vulnerable to persecution by publicly appealing to the Helsinki Accords. As the West did not come to their support or even offer a token of pressure on the Soviet Union, these heroic fighters are being exterminated by the Muscovite despots.

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## CONGRESS RESOLUTION

### On the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II

The AF ABN Congress states that :

The provocateurs and warmongers of the Second World War were both Hitler and Stalin, Berlin and Moscow, as a result of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact. For two whole years Moscow gave all-out aid to Hitler during his aggressive war against the so-called "plutocrats" (in Nazi terminology) and "capitalists" (in Bolshevik terminology).

The Russian Bolsheviks who supported Hitler's war of aggression and divided the prey amongst themselves are responsible along with the Nazis for the Nazi concentration camps, the liquidation of Jews and the mass extermination of people of other nationalities. The Bolsheviks supplied the Germans with natural resources, grain, oil for the German tanks and bomb carriers which, in turn, were used to bomb France and Great Britain. The AF ABN Congress demands that Molotov and his co-gerontocrats — the authors of the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact and, in particular, the Communist Party, the Government of the USSR, the general staff who, to this day, invariably endorse this agreement of aggressors and genociders — be placed before an international tribunal for their part in the provocation of World War II and their unleashing of it.

The AF ABN Congress states that the smear campaign — Moscow's psychological war of today, intensified after 40 years since the end of the war, in particular, against nations which had waged a two-front war against National Socialism and Bolshevism, e.g. Ukraine, Lithuania and others, including the liberation formations of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and the Lithuanian Liberation Army, as well as against the Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians and other nations — aims to negate their will to sovereign existence, to realize Moscow's own political strategic concept and to defame the heroes of this war as Nazi collaborators and criminals. Moscow's main intention is to render it impossible for the USA to rely on the subjugated nations and to pursue a policy of their liberation.

Simultaneously, Moscow wishes to avert the attention of the West and that of the Third World from the annihilation of many millions of Ukrainians — 7 million in only one year (1932-1933) during the collectivization and organized famine, — from the mass murders by the NKVD of tens of thousands of political prisoners in 1941, from the crimes committed in the prisons and concentration camps today, from the mass genocide in Afghanistan, from the international tribunals on Moscow's crimes against humanity which are now being prepared by the Balts and Ukrainians.

The AF ABN Congress demands that the nations of the Free World put before a new Nuremberg Trial the CPSU, the government of the USSR, the KGB, the general staff of the Soviet Army and all the Bolshevik organizers

of terror for their crimes of genocide, the violation of national and human rights, for their wars of aggression, for the holocaust and mass murder of at least 60 million people, in fact, the same crimes for which the Nazi genociders were being convicted in Nuremberg and which the Bolsheviks have been perpetrating to this day for over 65 years.

The AF ABN Congress states with indignation that certain circles in the West, including the United States, are deceived by the Bolshevik disinformation campaign and in detriment to their own nations, they join in the campaign of defamation against Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians and other nations subjugated by Bolshevism, accusing them of crimes committed against the Jewish population. Among the accused are the liberation organizations, such as the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which saved many Jews from Nazi extermination. There were also Jewish-Ukrainian citizens in the ranks of the UPA. The participation of Jewish circles in the defamation campaign (the World Jewish Congress and the Wiesenthal Centre) is detrimental to the Jews themselves and does not gain any sympathy for them. Moscow also accuses Zionists for crimes against the Jewish population who, together with nationalists of other nations, are struggling for their rights.

The AF ABN Congress demands the conviction of all war criminals, not only of Nazism, which is dead, but also of the more dangerous Bolshevik war criminals. However, the AF ABN Congress rejects the trustworthiness of witnesses controlled by the KGB, as well as KGB documents, similarly as it would reject the testimony of the Gestapo against the Jews.

The AF ABN Congress urges members of the United States Senate and House Judiciary Committees to call for immediate congressional oversight hearings to investigate the Office of Special Investigation's activities regarding constitutional issues and national security.

The AF ABN Congress demands the investigation of entrance into the United State of Communist Party members and KGB functionaries as emigres, just as there is an investigation of Nazi party members which is now no more than a rotten corpse.

The AF ABN Congress considers that only in a common front with other anti-Bolshevik nations can the Jewish nation achieve its aim to safeguard the Israeli State and secure the rights of the Jewish population, with whom all nations subjugated by Bolshevism desire to maintain good relations of friendship.

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**GREETINGS TO THE CONGRESS OF THE AF ABN****The President of the USA, Ronald Reagan**

I am very happy to extend warm greetings to the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations as you gather for your Congress in New York.

Your organization is part of the rich ethnic diversity that enhances our culture and is so essential to America's strength. Through your many worthwhile programmes, you help to preserve the rich heritage of your Eastern European forebears while simultaneously encouraging dedication to the ideals upon which this nation was founded. I applaud the efforts of organizations like yours which contribute in so many ways to the well-being of America. You add substantially to the efforts to foster self-determination and independence. I applaud your endeavours and assure you that this administration and the American people share your continued dedication to the principles of international justice and freedom.

Nancy joins me in sending best wishes for every success in the years ahead.

*Ronald Reagan*

The White House,  
May 17th, 1985

**The Vice-President of the USA, George Bush**

May 14, 1985

Mr. Bohdan Fedorak, President  
American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, Inc.  
26601 Ryan Road  
Warren, Michigan 48091

Dear Mr. Fedorak,

Barbara and I extend our best wishes for a successful Conference of the American Friends of Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations on May 18-19.

Your association is a vital one, insisting that the world remember that there remain nations still held captive by an unwanted occupier. By remembering, we strengthen our conviction never to stand silent and defenceless in the face of forces that would extinguish the light of freedom.

Sincerely,  
*George Bush*

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## *News From Ukraine*

### CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

Issue No. 6 of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine* — a recent samvydav document from Ukraine, has now been translated from Ukrainian into English. The *Chronicle* is the information bulletin of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church in Ukraine, which came into being in September, 1982. The *Chronicle* was first published in 1984.

This issue reports on an interview held in Uzhhorod on April 23-24, 1984, during which representatives of the government authorities attempted to persuade Josyp Terelya, the founder of the Initiative Group, to convince the Ukrainian Catholic Church to split away from the Vatican and declare autonomy. In return, the Church would be “legalized”. This was merely a ploy on the part of the authorities to dominate the Ukrainian Catholic Church. For a split with the Vatican and “legalization” would lead to the complete control over the Church by the authorities. As the Church would come out from the underground into the open, the state would have control over the appointment of priests and bishops. Having filled the ranks of the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with its own nominees, the state would have full control over the Church and its activities, and the Church would become dependent on the state, like the legal Russian Orthodox Church. The aim of the Soviet Russian authorities is, in the short run, to dominate the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and in the long-run, to destroy it completely.

Josyp Terelya realized this and refused to accept the offer, despite the fact that he was promised various personal rewards for compliance with the state. He has now been arrested on 8th February, 1985, charged with “anti-Soviet agitation and propapaganda”.

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#### Number 6

On 17th April, 1984, an article by H. Danyliuk, entitled “Bookkeeper in a Cassock”, appeared in the newspaper *Zakarpatska Pravda*. Shortly before this article was written, a unit of militiamen and KGB broke into the home of Fr. Oleksander Tovt, a Ukrainian Catholic priest, and carried out a complete *pogrom*. During this *pogrom* a certain number of books from the priest's private library were destroyed and almost 400 copies were illegally confiscated. The decree on the violation of the statute on religious cults was

read out to the priest and he was fined 50 rubles. Of course, everything that had happened did not appear in Danyliuk's article. In addition, the article also failed to mention that the villagers were indignant at the actions (crimes) of the militiamen. In this way, the Transcarpathian village of Zastavne witnessed the everyday "work" of the militia and KGB which toil daily in the field of atheism. But the most frightening thing of all is that among the books were also some published in Rome. This is where the dog is buried [an idiomatic expression] — a prayer for the non-believers, a Bible for young people and others! This is what the authorities fear. Ukrainian Catholics supposedly have the right to pray and fulfil their religious needs openly! Thus, only because a person fulfils his needs in his own home he is arrested for this. In truth, up till now no other occupational regime in Transcarpathia has ever killed or sentenced anyone to suffering for praying to God...

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On the 15th of June, in the village of Dovhe which is situated in Transcarpathia, Senior Lt. of the militia, Yu. Yu. Starosta, attacked in broad daylight Maria Trykur, a Catholic, who had returned from a Soviet concentration camp two months ago, grabbing her by the hair and dragging her like a corpse through the centre of the village to his administrative office for a "talk". During this "talk" Yu. Starosta screamed that the militia will knock down her house and, if need be, he would rape her. "And nothing will happen to me", said the criminal. Maria Trykur and her husband surrendered their passports to the Communists, noting at the time that they did not want anything to do with authorities that persecute Catholics.

Maria Trykur has already served 3 terms of imprisonment in Moscow's concentration camps and her husband, Mykhaylo Trykur has been imprisoned 5 times. The Communists have taken away the Trykur family's children and placed them in a boarding school where the children's crucifixes were torn off their necks and where they were forced to condemn their parents. When Maria's daughter stated to her teachers that they were Satanists, the little girl was locked up in the cellar! Maria received a warning that within a month she and her husband will be taken away in custody and tried for the umpteenth time.

Ukrainians! Remember that there are men and women believers who remain faithful to the death to our Catholic Church and Ukraine. So pray, pray every day, eternally. God will come to the aid of crucified Ukraine. The tears and blood of the innocent people who have been killed, murdered in the prisons and camps for their faith and for Ukraine, have not been shed in vain!

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Information has been received about Pavlo Kampov, a Ukrainian political prisoner who is groundlessly punished and is presently in a concentration camp in Russia. P. Kampov is gravely ill, but when his parents sent this ailing man medicine, camp authorities smashed it telling Kampov that he

will die there [in the camp]. Pavlo Kampov is being held illegally on the territory of Russia where the fate of Oleksa Tykhyi<sup>1</sup> is being prepared for him. Presently, P. Kampov is in a camp hospital. The doctors told him they had no medicine, but if his parents sent the sick man medicine, they could begin treatment. Terelya [Josyp] sent the ailing man medicine, but whether it will be given to the sick man no one knows.

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11th June, 1984

Glory to Jesus Christ!

Good day, my dear friends! I yearn to meet you if just once in our native land before I die. But this is no more than a wish, a yearning. It is only talk... God, how many times have I turned to the governments of the USSR and the Ukrainian SSR asking them to return me to Ukraine even as a captive. But all in vain... How many torments have I accepted trying to get transferred to my native land! But the [prison] walls are cold and their [the authorities'] hearts are of moss-grown stone. But everything happens according to God's will. I am now in a hospital. I have heart and lung ailments and overall weakness. I wrote to my sister, Maria, asking her to ask you to help her get some medicine. But to date she has not fulfilled my request. In truth, she is already a woman of pensionable age. Maybe she does not care... Still, I have been a prisoner for so long that apart from my mother and father everyone else has forgotten about me. Josyp, please do not send me the photograph — I am blind. My left eye is completely blind and my right eye has only 10 per cent vision.

I do not want to die in a strange land! One wants to believe in the impossible. One would like to believe that fate will be kind even to me and that I will be transferred to a concentration camp in Ukraine and there I will go to my rest... Everything around me is foreign even the air I breath. The head of the camp told me that I will be here to my death. "You will not leave alive", he said.

I kiss and embrace you. May God help and protect you.

Yours,

*Pavlo Kampov*

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<sup>1</sup> Oleksa Tykhyi was a prominent Ukrainian political prisoner and a founder of the Ukrainian Helsinki Monitoring Group who was seriously ill in a Russian concentration camp and was made to die by the authorities in 1984 by depriving him of indispensable medical facilities and treatment.

To the Chairman of the  
Central Committee of  
Austrian Catholics.

Mr. Chairman,

May peace and the blessings of God be upon you and the people of Austria!

In connection with events that unfolded themselves around the tragic question of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, I want to express my thanks to you personally and to the Austrian Catholics for your solidarity and Christian love for the enslaved Ukrainian nation and our blood-soaked Church.

Both the righteous and the sinners are eternally indebted to God. From the former, God expects pioussness and good deeds throughout their life, and from the sinners — repentance. And we, Christians, continually, both in our prayers and through our good deeds, ask God to forgive our tormentors and to soften their hearts of stone... Everything depends on the will of God! Jesus said go among the wolves of the world which means that not only must we pray, but we must also take an active part in life and strive to the limits of our power to create good and sow the seeds of love among the evil of this crippled world...

The Ukrainian Catholic Church is living through a terrible time of repression and persecution. A day does not go by without someone from the Catholic community being arrested, beaten or fined because we pray in our language and because we believe in our blessed Holy Father in the Vatican. For over 60 years, our nation has suffered unheard of abuse at the hands of the Communist rulers in Moscow for upholding the faith of our forefathers. We are compelled by the atheist Communists to believe in those gods in which they themselves do not believe; we are forced under the threat of a death sentence into Russian Orthodox churches and in practice we are not allowed even to drag out a miserable existence... And, that is why tears of joy and a scintilla of human happiness bathe our hearts when we hear that there is a people, sincere and Catholic — that endures our pain as its own. Once we were together, forming one united state. And, if sometimes everything did not go according to God's will, we nevertheless aspired to love, to God's salvation. The result of our past relations is the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Vienna, the Church of St. Barbara. Today, Ukrainians are scattered like orphans around the whole world beyond the reach of the Muscovite invader, and this nation [Ukraine] which has the third largest population in Europe is bloodied and plundered, reduced in culture and development, ridiculed and mocked. But there is a God who sees all and there is our hard-working and sincere people that believes in the future and perseveres with hope in its heart upon the Lord God Jesus Christ.

The government of Moscow has put out a new circular about the total annihilation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. We are beyond the law. The officials and the militia can do all they want with Ukrainian Catholics. Hence, on the 15th of June, in broad daylight in the centre of the village of Dovhe which is situated in Transcarpathia [Zakarpattia], a local militiaman, Yu. Starosta, attacked the Ukrainian Catholic, Maria Trykur, and dragged her by the hair to the administrative office. O, blind and dumb people! There was no hero to protect the Catholic woman... For they know that anyone who dares to raise a voice of protest will not escape punishment.

One Church activist<sup>2</sup> who was imprisoned in a concentration camp in the region of Vynnytsia was, for two months constantly led out into the freezing cold, doused with water and kept outside in the cold wind. The camp authorities waited in the snow and rain for him to recant and voluntarily remove his crucifix from around his neck. But when they saw that their efforts were in vain, they sentenced him and locked him up in the Mordovian camps. He wrote about his ordeal in an open letter to Yuriy Andropov, Head of the KGB.

We constantly hear the words, "Crucify Him!" But the day of the Resurrection will come and we believe that this day is not far off.

With respect and love, your brother and servant greets you and a free Austria.

*Vasyl Kobryn*  
7. 6. 1984  
Lviv

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To Marshal Ustinov,  
The Minister for Armed Forces  
of the USSR.

### STATEMENT

In connection with the escalation of the war in Afghanistan, where, as is well known, our Ukrainian children whom the Russian military administration has forcibly and without their consent, sent into the Afghan conflict to die for the great-power interests of Moscow, are part of the USSR's army of occupation.

We, the members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, protest against the established tradition of the Moscow government to exploit Ukrainians in military campaigns beyond the borders of the Soviet Union in colonial wars waged by the government of the USSR for its own aims. The Afghan people have never done any harm or mischief to the Ukrainian SSR, have never taken a single inch of our territory, and have never threatened Ukraine either by

<sup>2</sup> The writer is almost certainly talking about Josyp Terelya who wrote such a letter in 1976.

their existence or by their desire to win their freedom from the foreign occupant which is Moscow.

This is why we, as Christians and members of the Ukrainian nation, and as the clergy of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, lodge our protest against the forcible and illegal dispatching of our Ukrainian young men to the unjust war in Afghanistan which is being waged by the government of the USSR against the freedom-loving Afghan people.

The Ukrainian Catholic Church defends and protects all Ukrainians who are now in Afghanistan, with the exception of those Ukrainians serving in units of the KGB. Appealing to the influential international circles, we ask that Ukrainian servicemen who are in Afghanistan against their will not be counted as war criminals: the full blame should fall on the government of the USSR.

This statement is an official document by which Ukrainians who are forcibly sent to Afghanistan will be judged and exonerated at a future international tribunal. Russian chauvinism is fully responsible for the adventurism of higher Soviet military circles in Afghanistan, and, as is well known, 80 per cent of the officers in the Soviet armed forces are ardent chauvinists and misanthropists.

Ukraine has felt and continues to feel the political genocide of the Ukrainian nation perpetrated by Moscow. If the Ukrainian SSR had its own armed forces that were waging war in Afghanistan, then everyone who took part in this unjust war would carry the burden of being occupants. Ukrainians do not want to fight nor [do they want] this criminal war; we need freedom, good will among the nations of the world, and a peaceful life for our children, as for today, so for tomorrow.

Initiative Group  
to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church  
*Vasyl Kobryn*, Chairman  
*Fr. Hryhoriy Budzinskyi*, Secretary  
*Josyp Terelya*, member.  
Lviv, June 21, 1984.

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On April 23rd, 1984, an interview between representatives of the authorities and Josyp Terelya, a member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, was held in the town of Uzhhorod. This meeting took place in the premises of a restaurant called "Edelweiss".

Present at the meeting were: the Secretary of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, Mykola Hryhorovych Khomenko; a scientific assistant of the Institute of Atheism of the Academy of Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the CPSU, V. Bondarenko; the Secretary of the Regional Committee of the Party of the Zakarpatska region, M. M. Semeniuk; and another person who remained anonymous and stated merely that he was a philologist<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> The anonymous person will from now on be referred to as philologist.

We will notice that, throughout the long period of time taken up by the meeting, Terelya refused to enter into discussion with the authorities, believing that there was nothing for him to talk about with those who destroy the faith.

J. Terelya was lured into Uzhhorod apparently in connection with his work. But on his arrival it became clear that a meeting between the authorities and himself had been arranged instead. The discussion went on for four hours.

*M. Semeniuk:* Josyp Mykhaylovych, the comrades from Kyiv wish to have a few words with you. What do you think of this?

*Philologist:* Is this one of our lads, a worker?

*Terelya:* You're wrong. I have never been one of your boys and I am not a worker. I am a slave of the Soviet collective farm. What is more, I don't know to whom I'm speaking.

*Philologist:* I work as a philologist at one of the institutions in Kyiv. I am a scientific assistant...

*M. Semeniuk:* But why don't you sit down and we'll have some of what God has provided for us, for dinner. We can talk at the same time. This will be better.

*Terelya:* It is interesting to know since when have Secretaries of the Regional Committees begun to turn to God?

*M. Semeniuk:* It's a stupid habit from the past.

*Philologist:* There's nothing wrong with it — it's ours, it's Ukrainian.

*Terelya:* If the KGB man says so, then it's alright.

*Philologist:* You insult me, Josyp Mykhaylovych, after all I don't say that you're a nationalist.

*Terelya:* Well say it. For I am truly a nationalist. And then, why be ashamed of being a "Chekist"? Look at Yulian Semenov. He's almost leaping out of his skin just to earn praise from the steel "Dzerzhinskymen".

*Semeniuk:* Maybe we should eat first and then utter all sorts of unpleasantness to each other.

*V. Bondarenko:* If it's possible then tell me, are you no longer the Chairman of the Group?

*Terelya:* It is possible. It's no secret. Even you know this, regardless of the fact that we are not associated.

*M. Khomenko:* If you don't mind, could you explain to us your departure from the Group?

*Terelya:* I am still a member of the Initiative Group, as I was before. I am just no longer the Chairman. But why are the authorities interested in matters of the Church? If I am not mistaken, we are separated from one another forever.

*Khomenko:* You are mistaken. We take an interest in all matters and so we need to know what your Group is after.

*Philologist:* They want an independent Ukraine and go on fooling themselves.

*Terelya* (in Russian): I think that Ukraine has been an independent state since 1917, or so we have been taught at school. But I could be mistaken?

*Philologist*: And why have you turned to speaking Russian?

*Terelya* (in Russian): When talking to officials of the people, it is better to use their own native tongue. It is much closer to their understanding. Besides, I have my own opinion about dealing with you as a philologist.

*Semeniuk*: We shouldn't quarrel. This is a businesslike discussion and, anyway, what difference does it make what language we use. We're internationalists, after all, aren't we, comrades?

*Khomenko*: Josyp Mykhalovych, you have not yet told us why the *Halychany*<sup>4</sup> removed you from your "post". Surely you didn't let them down in their confidence in you? Or did they just use you and that's it?

*Terelya*: We have democracy here, not like the CPSU.

*Bondarenko*: You are a most unpleasant person. You are going to have difficulties in life.

*Semeniuk*: Come on, let's eat. We'll carry on talking later.

*Terelya*: Yes, really, I am hungry and, after all, it's not very often that one gets the opportunity to sit with one's superiors and eat all sorts of food that one can't usually find in the grocery store.

*Philologist*: I can see that you're not really all that vicious. It's just on the surface.

*Terelya* (in Russian): It's dogs that are vicious and, on the surface, I am just an ordinary peasant... (*Terelya* then started to pray after which he began to eat).

*Bondarenko*: It can't be that a young man like you believes in God? How strange?

*Terelya*: It's strange that someone should ask such questions. Besides, we are not here to establish who believes in what, so we'd better get straight to the purpose of this meeting. But before that, I have a question — what is the aim of your discussion, or, more precisely, of this meeting?

*Philologist*: This will become clear in the process of our discussion with you.

*Terelya*: And what if nothing comes of this discussion?

*Semeniuk*: It will. We're all Ukrainians, so why quarrel?

*Khomenko*: Tell us, please, are you a priest?

*Terelya*: I will not answer this question.

*Khomenko*: What's the problem here? If you were the Chairman of the self-styled little group then you must have been a priest. So? Go on.

*Terelya*: I've already told you that I will not give you an answer to this question.

*Bondarenko*: Then it appears that you are a priest.

*Terelya*: Did you come here to establish who I am? Anyway, there is nothing for you to talk about with "imposters".

*Philologist* (angrily): We are conducting official government daily business and we'll be talking with you many times in the future — but not here.

4 People from Halychyna — Western Ukraine.

*Terelya:* And when do I talk to you over there? I have my bag with me already packed, so I'm ready to go to prison.

*Semeniuk:* Nobody is going to arrest you.

*Bondarenko:* Tell me, do you have a wife and children?

*Philologist:* His wife is exactly like him.

*Terelya:* (in Russian): The "philologist" knows everything.

*Khomenko:* We have discovered that you left the Group, so we decided to talk with you once again, so that in the future things would not become worse. You are a young person and could be of great use to the nation. But instead you have got together with the enemy and write all sorts of libel against our Soviet authorities which the foreign bourgeoisie uses to warm its hands.

*Terelya:* Nobody has left the Group. I am still a member. Everyone is useful where he thinks is necessary. You, for example, found it necessary to serve the Russians, and to you this seems better. As regards the bourgeoisie, in 1920, your Lenin called you *sovburemtsi*, that is, — Soviet bourgeoisie. As we can see, the leader of the proletariat was at least right in this instance, if in nothing else.

*Bondarenko:* Where did you read this? I have certainly never read it.

*Terelya:* I haven't completed Soviet institutes like you, but you ought to know every single fact and detail about your "leader".

*Semeniuk:* The public prosecutor of the region informed us that you agreed to write an article in the press about your departure from the Group. Here you could reveal all the facts.

*Terelya:* You seem so eager for me to write this. When the time comes, I will write something, but I don't think that you'll get much joy from it.

It's true, I did have a talk with the public prosecutor, Stepan Brayila. He came down to the field where I worked on a collective farm plantation. He arrived with a proposition for me to write a letter of repentance. In return for this, I would receive a garden plot and lighter work. But when I replied to Brayila that I would stay at home with my child, and my wife would go to work instead, for we cannot live on the wages paid by the collective farm (on average I receive 60 Russian rubles, on which, in actual fact, we can't live), Brayila said that they do not need doctors. "Let Olena stay at home and you, Terelya, will work in the collective farm and will never receive more than 50 rubles. We won't help *anty-Radianshchyky*<sup>5</sup> and you will die here on the collective farm..."

*Semeniuk:* I'll explain that — It's direct discrimination.

*Terelya:* Brayila wouldn't come to me of his own accord. He was sent by the KGB. You only know how to bargain, but when your bargaining fails to work you kill people or else send them to prison. We've said all there was to say. So, farewell.

*Philologist:* Josyp Mykhaylovych, you haven't understood us properly. We came here with a specific plan regarding the fate of your Church. So, sit down again. We have just a few more questions for you...

<sup>5</sup> Anti-Soviet people.

*Terelya:* As a matter of fact, after the new year the authorities have closed down 30 Catholic churches where the congregation rejected the Russian priests, and you have come here to conduct discussions. About the fate of the Church you need to talk to the Ukrainian Patriarch, Josyf I, and not to me.

*Khomenko:* Slipyj has fled abroad. How can we talk to him? Let him come here.

*Terelya:* At the time when the Moscow government expelled Cardinal Slipyj from the USSR, I was in a concentration camp and my relative stayed in the same cell as the Cardinal, in the 10th camp of the "Dubrovlag" which is situated in Mordovia, and so I am better informed of the circumstances in which the Cardinal left and what he said, than you.

*Philologist:* How do you look upon the proposal of the government of the Ukrainian SSR to allow your Church to conduct its activity freely. I repeat freely, in accordance with Soviet legislation?

*Terelya:* Negatively.

*Philologist:* Why? After all, you yourself did talk and write about this matter...

*Terelya:* The Ukrainian SSR exists only on paper. The so-called government of the Ukrainian SSR is completely inactive. You're unable to protect Ukraine even from Russification, and what's more, there are no guarantees for even the slightest national development under Moscow. So, who will guarantee our freedom? Besides, it would be very convenient for you to transform our Church into what the Russian Orthodox Church already is. Presently, the Ukrainian Catholic Church is not under your control and we make the decisions concerning our own matters.

*Khomenko:* In that case, what do you and your clergy want?

*Terelya:* Freedom.

*Khomenko:* But we're offering you freedom. Why do you refuse?

*Terelya:* At the present time it is pointless to conduct any sort of discussion on this issue. When the Ukrainian SSR is indeed a sovereign republic, that is when we will make our own decisions about our problems without Moscow, then everything will fall into place. This will only be possible when tariff barriers are erected between Russia and Ukraine, when the Ukrainian SSR will be in possession of its own currency, its own armed forces which will defend the interests of the nation against the encroachments of Moscow and, what is most important, when the parliament of the Ukrainian SSR will not consist solely of Communists, of whom there are considerably far less than Christians.

*Khomenko:* So, you want an independent Ukraine?!

*Terelya:* You trumpet that Ukraine is independent, but I said before and will continue to say that it is a colony of Moscow.

*Semeniuk:* But the government of the Ukrainian SSR is genuinely offering freedom to the Ukrainian Catholic Church. So, come out of the underground and register yourselves. If you want Slipyj, then write to him, let him come to Ukraine. But there is one condition — you have to announce

the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Catholic Church and that you are breaking away from Rome.

*Terelya:* How am I supposed to understand this? Is this an official understanding, or is it just a rumour?

*Philologist:* Take it as an agreement. You must understand that we do not wish to be associated with Rome. Rome is the ancient enemy of Ukraine — remember your history.

*Terelya:* First of all, in this case the Church would no longer be Catholic, and secondly, it would not harm you to read some history yourself, but not one written by Moscow — there's no history there at all... Also why have you chosen me for such discussions?

*Bondarenko:* The formation of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church was a provocation on your part, and thus you should write in the press stating that you no longer wish to be united with Rome. You must understand that this will be better for the faithful and for the Church as a whole. Right now we are talking to you and urging you — think about it.

*Khomenko:* Think about it and maybe you will write a statement even today. The government of the Ukrainian SSR will support you in this matter.

*Terelya:* By myself I am not worth anything. The Initiative Group does not consist of me alone.

*Khomenko:* Well, there's you for a start and we'll find some more people. But you started all this and you hold all the cards. The government will return all the property of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, but on the condition that you will separate yourselves from Rome — agreed?

*Terelya:* I am not competent to make decisions on such matters and what's more, I have to listen to what my bishop tells me. Secondly, such questions as the legalization of the Church are decided by Patriarch Josyf I Slipyj, so you must talk to him.

*Semeniuk:* Do you wish to work on the collective farm forever? You have children, your wife is a doctor, and you work on a collective farm. Aren't you ashamed? Think about it and agree with what we are saying. We're offering you an apartment in Uzhhorod, we'll print your ethnographic work and your poems, your wife will get employment. If she wants to she can go and lecture at the University, after all she worked as a lecturer in Konotop.

*Terelya:* So, what is this, a trade?

*Semeniuk:* See it as you wish.

*Terelya:* Find someone else, I'm a Catholic.

*Philologist:* We've spoken to Budzinskyi. He's not as inconsistent as you. One moment you want legalization and the next you don't.

*Terelya:* I do want legalization, but not the one that you're offering.

*Philologist:* Take care, Terelya, that you don't come to regret this. You won't get such an opportunity again. Oles' Pavlovych<sup>6</sup> is already free. You

<sup>6</sup> Oles' Berdnyk — Ukrainian writer and poet and prominent political prisoner.

don't have far to go to catch him up. He is being published and the world clamoured after him. He came to understand what is what.

*Terelya:* Well go to Oles' Pavlovych, let him write nicely for you. He is an experienced writer.

*Khomenko:* Terelya, if you are thinking of carrying on your activity which is hostile to our Soviet state you will be deprived of the citizenship of the USSR, and then you will be punished as a spy and diversionary. Our government can be quite humane, but to such people as you, we can also be most severe.

*Terelya:* Thank you. I will repeat what I said before. I have been awaiting prison at any moment ever since my last release from imprisonment. In fact, Brayla stated that this time they will kill me.

*Philologist:* Nonsense, nobody is going to kill you. But why don't you go to your mother in Prague?

*Semeniuk:* Marhareta Ivanivna is presently in the Soviet Union. She's such a pleasant and well-educated lady and her son is a nationalist.

*Terelya:* I'm alright at home. And besides, we don't wish to emigrate — except if we are forcefully expelled. However, so as not to put you through any trouble, I renounce Soviet citizenship myself. As regards the education of my mother, it's the same as yours — a Party education which in plain language means none at all. I'm tired already and I think that we've understood one another. I believe that we have no reason to meet again.

*Khomenko:* Don't get so heated up. We know that you're a hot-blooded person. Today, our discussion didn't go too well, so we'll continue tomorrow — agreed?

At this point the discussion was adjourned for the day, due to resume the day after.

## 24th April

*Semeniuk:* Josyp Mykhaylovych, tell us please, has the village Soviet designated a garden plot for you and your wife? Also, does your wife, as the village specialist, receive any assistance? For according to the norms of the law, she ought to have certain privileges.

*Terelya:* When I asked for a hundred square metres for a garden plot, the head of the village Soviet told us to go to Reagan and there they will give us land. But then again, we don't need any help. The only thing we want is for people to stop prying into our souls. It was only this week that Marholina, the senior nurse of the hospital where my wife works, said these exact words at a trade union meeting: "We have here in our collective farm a doctor who believes in God and goes to church. Can we tolerate such a person on our collective farm?"

It is without doubt that such statements originate only from the KGB and not from Marholina personally.

*Khomenko:* We'll take this into account even if we don't reach an agreement on the main issue. Such incidents should be quashed, for such acts should not be committed by a state. Don't think that we Communists only go around destroying churches and want to destroy the faithful as well! Our basic work is re-education and the aspiration towards a harmony between worker and peasant.

*Terelya:* Listening to you, one would think that there are no camps, no psychiatric prisons and no poverty in Ukraine, and that there is no fierce Russification in progress. The Muscovite does everything he wants in Ukraine and you, the government, remain silent. Once the government is silent then we will speak out instead. The Helsinki Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church was formed for this very purpose. This means that the official social-religious Helsinki Group has the opportunity to speak from the high platform of the UNO. As regards education, how many people does the Party intend to re-educate into Communists, and do our people want this "re-education"? Nobody takes this into consideration.

*Lt. Col. M. Dzyamko:* I have known Mykhaylovykh for many a year. He has brought us much unpleasantness, but I am not angry with him, as a Muscovite would say. But this was all in the past, and from today we all need to achieve some kind of co-operation. We have concrete evidence that China has a secret alliance with the USA. And thus, we need to unite all our healthy forces and not to become disunited. This plays into the hands of Zionism and the forces which stand behind it.

Without doubt, it's difficult to forget all that happened in the prisons and camps. But we really do need to forget everything and start again.

*Terelya:* So, it appears that we, Ukrainians, should serve as cannon-fodder in Moscow's future conflict with China. And what do we get for this — Russification and genocide! Personally I will never take up arms against a Chinese Catholic. The Russians have no need to fear China. All they have to do is to return the lands they captured from the Chinese.

*Khomenko:* This matter is far more serious than you think. You can see that we are working towards the restoration of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with only one condition. The opportunity is here — there won't be another one. If the government was planning to use terror against your Church, then we wouldn't be speaking with you. Believe me, everything that has happened have been thoughtless acts of local organs which only provoke hatred towards the authorities. This is the only way to explain the particular acts of individual leaders. As far as China is concerned, you're mistaken. The Chinese government is holding all Catholics without exception in its prisons and camps. Even the Western press is writing about this.

I have read three issues of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine* which is published by the Initiative Group. There's a lot of truth in it, but still you portray several issues from a one-sided clerical point of view. But there are also atheists in Ukraine. And then, one can mention your reproaches of "the Russian". For the present, the time is not right for this. You asked the government for permission to publish the journal *Boykiv-*

*shchyna* in Uzhhorod under the aegis of the Writers' Union of Ukraine. This matter will be dealt with positively — don't laugh, I give you the word of a Communist. As regards the autocephaly of the Ukrainian Catholic Church — discuss the matter with your faithful and clergy. I would advise you not to publish statements in the Western press. This could have a negative impact on the matters of the Church. For some groups in the West, the conflict between the government and the Ukrainian Catholic Church is indispensable. The statement of the Initiative Group about the release of a certain number of state criminals is under consideration. Whether these people are freed or not depends on you. Your friends are among them too. If we don't make concessions to one another then what kind of negotiators are we? To add to this, you are in a worse position than us. We are the authorities and you are a minority. Not everyone thinks in the same way as you, not even among your closest adherents. All the churches closed during the period 1983-1984 will be handed over to you (Catholics) for your own use in the event of a positive resolution to this problem. Think about it, but time does not wait. And finally, if you should reject the government's proposition, my advice to you is — go where you please, but the government's patience can easily break down.

*M. Dzyamko:* In the event of any difficulties with the local authorities telephone me, or else come and see me or Comrade Secretary Semeniuk. And don't think that we are trying to frighten you or, God forbid, to warn you. I would advise you to sever all links with Budzinskyi.

*Terelya:* It would be better if we didn't meet again. But it's true, we do need to make some mutual concessions, but how can this be done?

The conversation continued with vain attempts on the part of the officials to convince Terelya to disclose information about Fr. Hryhoriy Budzinskyi and other of his close friends. At this point the discussion came to a close.

\*

To the Chairman of the Military  
Committee of the Political  
Consultative Council, Den Siao-pin.

Mr. Chairman!

In the present international situation no one has the right to stand aside from the events which take place in the contemporary world. After the Helsinki Accords which raised many hopes, nothing changed at all... However, the world did come to realise the danger which the USSR presents to the future generations. One mistake was made — great China did not take part in these agreements. Ukraine found itself in the same situation as China after the death of Sun Yat-sen. And all this happened because of foreign intervention. In 1927, the genius of generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek was necessary to achieve the timely stabilization of the situation in your country. After that, China stood alone against two great powers... And China emerged from this situation as the victor, guided by the genius of Mao Tse-tung.

At the present time, Moscow's chauvinism has reached the very last moments of its oppression over the subjugated peoples of this huge socialist empire. By its policies, Moscow has clearly demonstrated its amorality and its non-adherence to the existing legal norms of human co-existence. Pseudo-humanism and complete lack of principles in the realization of its egoistic interests, and amoral means of attaining Moscow's chauvinist desires, form the basic characteristics of the present rulers of the Kremlin. Moscow has no sense of gratitude.

The Afghan venture is a carefully thought-out action to seize foreign territory under the pretext of a non-existent Communist brotherhood and mutual friendship... This state has no sense of any mutual human friendship whatsoever...

The events in Poland frightened the rulers of the Kremlin to such an extent that they decided to break with the whole world just to preserve the empire by any means and any methods they could, despite the fact that Moscow's methods of oppression have never changed.

In 1904, the retreating Russian army robbed the Chinese National Bank in Peking. Robbery is the principle of existence of the socialist empire. Not a single criminal or military adventurer of the present time has committed, and it has never occurred to him to commit, such a terrible crime as present-day Moscow has committed — the shooting down of the Korean airliner.

Exactly a month ago, Moscow decided to evict 3 million Ukrainians from the mountain districts of Ukraine and to settle faithful Russians from the Urals in their place... Why? One thing is clear — Moscow fears new stirrings in Ukraine in connection with the assault of chauvinism on our rights and our culture. If today the world does not stand up as one solid wall to block the encroachments of Moscow, tomorrow will be too late.

Ukraine is torn apart into 5 parts. In addition, Ukraine, supposedly a sovereign state, does not possess a single embassy of its own. We are without a voice and we are threatened with complete destruction at the hands of the Muscovite occupants. And yet, the United Nations Organization does not take any measures, as if Ukraine does not exist in this world. In my opinion, it would be necessary, indispensable even, to transfer the residence of the UNO to Moscow so that its members could see for themselves and understand what Moscow really is...

Mr. President, I think that great China will offer a helping hand to Ukraine. We are in danger! We are threatened with destruction! I, the representative of my 50 million-strong nation, ask you, on behalf of my people and myself, to raise your voice in defence of the rights of my people. I ask you, and China in your person, to raise your voice on the high platform of the UNO on the issue of the present situation in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian people knows how to be grateful to its friends and remembers its enemies well. The genocide against our people, carried out by the rulers of the Kremlin, will not pass without trace. We shall never forget the 10 million Ukrainians starved to death by Communist Moscow. It is either life or death! Either we fight or we face eternal slavery and the complete destruction of our nation. We have chosen the former!

The Free World, including great China, should constantly intervene in everything that the Kremlin initiates which is directed towards the strengthening of its hegemony over little planet Earth.

I believe that the day is not far off when free peoples, presently oppressed by the Muscovites, will sit in judgement of the world's aggressor, Moscow, for the crimes against humanity which it has committed.

With sincere respect for you and your people,

*Josyp Terelya,*

Chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics  
and member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights  
of Believers and the Church.

21. 5. 1984.

Dovhe, Transcarpathian Ukraine.

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To Jaroslaw Schabat, Otto Schick  
and Zdenek Mlynarz.

#### OPEN LETTER

from the Chairman of the Central Committee  
of Ukrainian Catholics,  
Josyp Terelya.

Friends!

We are neighbours, and close neighbours at that, but we are separated by barbed wire which the Muscovite occupant has made the criteria of his own ideas and actions.

Although the past remains constantly on the spot, it has continuation in the future, and thus everything that we have today is merely a "continuation of the past". Existence gives rise to all kinds of vital activity. In this case, life compels us to think and, what is most important, not to remain silent.

Not so long ago, our peoples were building their future together. We were the citizens of one state — Czecho-Slovakia. However, the last war and the events which followed brought in their own changes and we became slaves of Moscow... Part of the blame for this lies also with the Free World which gave us up as prey to the tyrants of the Kremlin. Our peoples were faced with a dilemma — to be or not to be? The hangman is hoping that his victims will not rise up and come forward with accusations [against him] because they shall be dead. Nevertheless, we still go on hoping that our future will be different from today — we are waiting for the judgement of history.

Having put down everybody and everything that was, and still is sacred to the peoples of the Earth, Moscow proclaimed its credo to be usurpation

and subjugation. They [the Muscovites] do not have and have never had any understanding of ordinary human friendship, good neighbourliness or mutual understanding... After the events of 1956 in Hungary and the events of 1968 in Czecho-Slovakia, Moscow realized that its actions were free from punishment — the world did not react to these events in an altogether completely Christian manner. The occupation of Czecho-Slovakia and the undeclared war against the peoples of this republic were, therefore, not condemned from the high platform of the UNO — not a single word of any significance was said against the aggressor...

The Human Rights movement in the subjugated sector of Eastern and Central Europe frightened the rulers in Moscow — people do not submit to them! Why then, did Moscow sign the Helsinki Accords? One thing is clear, it was with the aim of disinformation. The rulers of the Kremlin did not expect that people would begin to demand from them the realization of what had been signed... What did the Human Rights groups in Ukraine achieve by their peaceful pleadings with the rulers in Moscow? [They achieved] practically nothing. However, we did succeed in bringing to the attention of everyone on the wide international arena the terrible breach of human rights in the USSR. One should not fall into despair. The legal Human Rights movement for national, economic and political rights was necessary, if only to show the world the real face of Moscow. The essence of Moscow's expansionism is the subjugation of foreign nations.

In 1982, I wanted to visit my relatives in the Czech SSR and explain to them the circumstances surrounding the murder of my brother, Mykhaylo Terelya, in Prague, in 1967, where he had an apartment in the Hradchany area of the city. Before this, I wrote an official statement to the Minister of Internal Affairs of the Czech SSR, and the local organs of the KGB apparently did not object to my visiting my relatives... But I did not receive permission to make this journey because I refused to "help" the KGB by visiting certain human rights activists in the Czech SSR, thereby carrying out a provocation. The official bodies with which I corresponded in connection with the death of my brother in Czecho-Slovakia, also called a halt to the inquiries... But what was there to inquire about when the Czech KGB killed my brother?... Who was there to punish?

My elder brother, a monk of the Basilian Order, was sent, in 1945, to work in the eparchy of Pryashiv, where he worked as a priest until 1963. After 1963, he left priesthood and entered the school for officers in the city of Prague. At first he lived with our sister in Kobylytsia, but later on he got an apartment in Hradchany, where he was killed in 1967 by the KGB of the Czech SSR. My uncle, Yurko Terelya who works in the organs of the KGB, originally as the head of the outpost in Shumava and now in Prague, also took part in this operation. The blood of his nephew lies on him personally... My brother was accused of being an agent of the CIA — the usual stereotype charge when it becomes necessary to find a fault and deal with someone who does not agree with them [the KGB]...

We, Ukrainians and Czechs, and also the Slovaks, have an old tradition of relations, starting from the last century until this day, and thus it would

be expedient on the grounds of solidarity to conduct the Human Rights movement directed against the encroachments of Moscow.

Together we should expose and broadcast the breach of human rights both in the USSR and in the Czech SSR, for they are fundamentally in solidarity in methods of suppressing the freedom of thoughts. Communists are the same both here and there... "Charter 77" is equally hateful to Moscow as it is to Husak.

Moscow has probably forgotten the lessons of history. It thinks that its victims will become silent forever, but this will not be so. The full burden of responsibility for the heavy crimes against our peoples lie with the rulers in Moscow. We will not become silent forever, and no repressions will destroy the Human Rights movement either in your country or here in Ukraine.

*Josyp Terelya*

Dovhe, Transcarpathian Ukraine,  
21. 5. 1984.

\*

*Secret*

**Resolution of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Transcarpathian region, and the Regional Soviet of People's Deputies concerning the actualization of methods to combat manifestations of nationalism and Zionism.**

Uzhhorod, July 3rd, 1984.

Of late, Western propaganda organs have intensified their anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda. In the first place, US imperialism is counting on the Banderite lackeys<sup>7</sup> and the so-called underground Ukrainian Catholic Church. Unfortunately, the regional Party organization has waged an ineffective struggle against manifestations of nationalism and Zionism on the territory of our region. This applies, to the same degree, to anti-Catholic propaganda and to the militantly atheistic upbringing of youth in the spirit of Leninist internationalism and faith in the Party. Just in the last half year, the Catholic underground has mobilized its activists for the so-called legalization of the Church. Under the guise of religion, the activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church intensified their anti-Soviet agitation which was exploited by our enemies abroad. The KGB has information that the Banderite underground, under the guise of a new label, the Ukrainian National Front, carried out a series of actions the consequences of which were already discussed at the May, 1981, meeting of the Regional Committee and in October, 1982.

<sup>7</sup> The name given to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), under the leadership of Stepan Bandera.

For instance, in the village of Muzhiyev, Berehivskiy district, on 24th May, 1981, the terrorist band of "Chornyi" derailed a military train carrying radar from the Vilokskiy military base. This held up the "Polish action" for nine months<sup>8</sup>. At the Jewish cemetery in the town of Mukacheve a cache of anti-Soviet Zionist literature and explosive cartridges filled with trotyl were discovered during construction work. These are only isolated instances showing the activization of the Banderite and Zionist groups.

The highland operation [in the Carpathians], in 1982, to liquidate terrorist-deviationist groups in Lavochna and Volovets was not completed. The bandit group of "Chornyi" was not completely liquidated. To this day, our friends in the KGB have yet to uncover those responsible for robbing two collectors in our region, or those who took 10,000 cartridges and 99 hand-grenades from an army unit in the town of Mukacheve. There are many shortcomings and one can enumerate a whole list of unpleasant incidents, but beyond all the obvious shortcomings, the KGB has had a qualitative success in its work — the liquidation of Borys Mykhaylo Terelya<sup>9</sup>, a member of the bandit group of "Chornyi". Unfortunately, with the death of this bandit, a link of his contacts with the Banderite lackeys in the neighbouring region was cut. In the Irshavskiy district there was a successful operation to liquidate an underground printing press of the Catholic and Baptist communities. During this particular operation, about 1,000 editions of various religious literature were confiscated. All this demands from us continued efforts and precise actions towards the liquidation of even the slightest manifestation of nationalism and Zionism on the territory of our region, and that is why, in light of the decisions of the 26th Congress of the CPSU, subsequent plenums of the Central Committee of the CPSU, and statements by the Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the CPSU and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, comrade K. U. Chernenko, the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Regional Soviet of People's Deputies resolve:

a) to strengthen anti-nationalist propaganda in the press and expose all the negative aspects of bourgeois nationalism and Zionism by using the recantations of former dissidents and anti-Soviet clerics;

b) as obliged by the Party organization, to open a section for forced psychiatric treatment alongside the existing sections of the regional psychiatric hospital, and to relegate two-thirds of the Ukrainian Catholic activists to forced treatment; for the present, it is not desirable to hold trials of Ukrainian Catholics; to provide a separate section for some 250 people at the regional investigative prison, where forced treatment would take place, and to draw in cadres from proven friends in the medical services, including 5 doctors and 60 nurses;

<sup>8</sup> It is not clear what "action" is referred to.

<sup>9</sup> Borys Terelya was killed on June 10th, 1982, in a gun-battle between members of a Ukrainian underground group and KGB security troops. He was the brother of Josyp Terelya, a well-known dissident and member of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church.

c) to move carefully in the villages, where the influence of the Ukrainian Catholic Church is strong; during searches and detentions, not to confiscate Bibles, prayer books and other religious literature, actions that could have a negative impact on relations between the believers and state organs; to avoid, wherever possible, publicizing political cases against Catholics; to use criminal sentences against members of the Ukrainian Catholic Church which would discredit the Church and its members, particularly in dealing with activists; to extensively use the recantations of former political prisoners before people of our region, publicly at village clubs and town cultural centres;

d) to prohibit Sunday religious services, justifying this by the fact that the summer period is a hectic time for the collective and state farms of the region; to use administrative punishments — fines, withholding premiums and bonuses — against the real “loud mouths”; to put their children in public nurseries, kindergartens and boarding schools, and to subject especially active individuals to forced psychiatric treatment;

e) to use the law that was published in Instruction No. 81 on May 28th, 1984, against Catholic activists that are members of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics and members of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church.

Copies of the given resolution will be referred to the regional KGB administration and the militia so that they can familiarize themselves with it.

Signed :

*Bandrovskyi*  
*Voloshchuk*

July 3rd, 1984.

\*

An action in our town directed towards the destruction of the ancient monuments ended with the decision of the Lviv Regional Council to liquidate the Jewish cemetery and to use the gravestones for “construction”.

However, not a single building site accepted the gravestones. The town council then left them to the discretion of the prison warden. And, oh, what a surprise! A place was found for these old gravestones inside the prison. They were used to pave the prison yard. Now they are under full “protection”. So the Communists have even locked up the spirits of the dead Jews in a Soviet prison. Judeophobia truly has no bounds and no limit...

\*

In the town of Bolekhiv, the Jewish synagogue (a Ukrainian architectural monument from the end of the 17th century) was turned into a forge...

\*

In the town of Dolyna, the synagogue now serves the town authorities as a bakery... As we browse through the section entitled “Ukraine” in Ihor Hrabar’s *History of Architecture in Russia*, we find that the synagogue in Dolyna dates back to the 18th century.

## PERSECUTION OF THE INITIATIVE GROUP TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF BELIEVERS AND THE CHURCH

We have received information that Josyp Terelya, Fr. Hryhoriy Budzinskyi and Vasyl Kobryn, leaders of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, have been arrested.

According to a statement issued on May 17, 1985, by the US delegation at the meeting of human rights experts in Ottawa, Josyp Terelya, founder of the Initiative Group, was arrested on February 8, 1985. He had been in hiding since last year. Terelya is reportedly charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR.

*Samvydav* sources, on which the US delegation at the Helsinki follow-up meeting in Ottawa based itself, also state that the secretary of the Initiative Group, Fr. Hryhoriy Budzinskyi, was arrested in October, 1984, and confined in a psychiatric hospital for six weeks. Fr. Budzinskyi, a priest of the underground Ukrainian Catholic Church, is eighty years old.

Vasyl Kobryn, the chairman of the Initiative Group, was arrested in December, 1984. His trial took place on March 22, 1985, and he was sentenced to three years in an ordinary regime labour camp under Art. 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR ("dissemination of knowingly false concoctions defaming the Soviet state and social system").

**Josyp TERELYA** was born on October 27, 1943. He is a worker. He was first arrested in 1962 on fabricated evidence. While in a labour camp, a political case was brought against him in 1969. He was confined in the Vladimir prison. In 1972, while serving his term of imprisonment, Terelya was declared mentally ill, and was confined in special psychiatric hospitals until 1976.

In 1977, he was again arrested this time for reminiscing about his experiences during imprisonment. He was once again confined in a psychiatric hospital. He was released after 4 years.



*Josyp TERELYA*

In 1982, Josyp Terelya formed the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church and became its first chairman. At the end of 1982, he was arrested, charged with "parasitism". He spent his 1-year sentence in a corrective labour camp in the Lviv region. After his release, Terelya returned to his post as chairman of the Central Committee of Ukrainian Catholics, the executive body of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church. However, due to his poor state of health, Terelya had to hand over his post to Vasyl Kobryn.

Josyp Terelya's wife, Olha Tymofiyivna, is a doctor. She lives with their daughter in the village of Dovhe in the Transcarpathian region.

Josyp Terelya is suffering from the effects of a broken spine, an ailing heart, and kidney failure.

## THE NORILSK UPRISING

by

**Yevhen Hrycyak**

This book records the events of the uprising in the Norilsk concentration camps in 1953. It describes the brutality and unbelievably cruel excess to which prison guards resorted. The author played a leading role in the uprising.

**The Norilsk Uprising** was published in 1984 by the Ukrainian Institute for Education, Munich, and should be required reading for anyone who believes there are merits in the Soviet Russian system which justify "certain errors". The callous disregard for the most basic human rights is stamped on every page, every paragraph and every sentence of these memoirs.

Price: UK £3.00; USA and Canada \$6.00.

Orders to be sent to:

Ukrainian Central Information Service,  
200, Liverpool Road, London N1 1LF  
Great Britain

## REPRESSED UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

*(Continued from the Ukrainian Review, No. 2, 1985)*

507) SEMENIUK Roman. A student at Kyiv University. Arrested in 1972 and sentenced in 1973 in Kyiv under Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 4 years imprisonment.

508) SEMENENKO — Has been imprisoned in Mordovian concentration camps for many years.

509) SEMENETS — Born in the village of Saranchuk, Berezhanskyi region, province of Ternopil. Continuously persecuted, accused by the Russian Bolsheviks of being a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and fighting against the Bolsheviks in 1948.

510) SEMENIUK Roman Z. — Born 1927 in Lviv region. Arrested and sentenced in 1949 under Art. 58-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 28 years imprisonment. A member of the OUN. He was sentenced to an additional 3 year term of imprisonment for trying to escape in 1965.

511) SENKIV Mykola. Born 1932. Arrested and sentenced in Uzhhorod in 1947 to 25 years of imprisonment. Arrested for the second time in 1973 and sentenced according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 5 years imprisonment.

512) SENKIV Volodymyr Y. Born 1954. Arrested in 1973 and sentenced in Ternopil according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years of exile.

513) SENYK Iryna M. — Born 20. 4. 1925 in Lviv. Poet. She was first imprisoned in Stalin's concentration camps between 1946 and 1957 for allegedly belonging to the OUN. She was again arrested on 17. 11. 1972 and sentenced in February, 1973, to 6 years imprisonment and 3 years of exile for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

514) SERBENCHUK Rostyslav. Comes from: Odessa. In 1965 he was sentenced to 7½ years of concentration camps for forming "anti-Soviet organizations".

515) SERHIYENKO Oleksander F. Born 25. 6. 1932. He restores paintings. Married with a son. Arrested on January 15, 1972, and sentenced in Kyiv in June of the same year to 7 years imprisonment and 3 years of exile according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. He was charged with writing an article entitled "Ukraine's Right to Self-Determination" and criticism of Moscow's imperialism. He is suffering from tuberculosis.

516) SHABATURA Stefania M. Born 5. 11. 1938. Artist. Arrested on January 12, 1972, and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment and 3 years of exile in Lviv, in August 1972. Released on 2. 12. 1979. She is still being persecuted.

517) SHABRAVSKYI. He has been confined to psychiatric hospitals for many years for political matters.

518) SHALAY Mykola. Born 1949. Expelled from Lviv University and persecuted for his public appearances against Russification.

519) SHALKO Petro. Member of the OUN for which he was imprisoned for 10 years.

520) SHEKMAN Oleksa. Born 1928 in the Ivano-Frankivske region. In 1955, he was arrested for membership of the OUN and sentenced to 25 years of concentration camps.

521) SHELEPAYUK Mykhaylo H. Comes from the village of Turivka, district of Volodymyr-Volynskiy. Participated in the liberation struggle of the OUN-UPA. Arrested and sentenced on June 7-8, 1978, in the town of Ustyluha, Volyn region, to 15 years of strict regime camps according to Art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

522) SHELIUDKO Henadiy I. Born 1955. Arrested in 1977 and sentenced in Leningrad to 15 years imprisonment according to Art. 64 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR for hi-jacking an aircraft in Petrozavodsk together with a friend and forcing it to land in Finland, where they asked for political asylum. Finland handed them back to the Soviet authorities.

523) SHERPEN. Sentenced in 1962 to 6 years imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

524) SHEVCHENKO Ivan. Born 1905. Arrested in 1954 for nationalist activity and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment according to Art. 64-70 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

525) SHEVCHENKO Oleh. Journalist. Arrested in Kyiv in 1980 in connection with the Moscow Olympic Games.

526) SHEVCHENKO Oleksander M. Born 1942. Arrested on 18. 10. 1968 and sentenced according to Arts. 138-2 and 209-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR to 5 years of strict regime imprisonment and 5 years of exile. He was charged with religious beliefs and the spreading of the faith of the Evangelical Christians — Baptists.

227) SHEVCHENKO Vadym. Sentenced to long-term imprisonment for political matters.

228) SHEVCHENKO Vitaliy. Journalist. Arrested in Kyiv in connection with the Olympic Games.

229) SHEVCHUK. Worked as an engineer in the collective farm "Druzhba", Transcarpathian region. Arrested in 1974 and sentenced to 4 years imprisonment for spreading literature of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

530) SHEVCHUK Anatoliy O. Born 1931. Lived in Zhytomyr. Prose-writer. Up to his arrest he worked as lino-typist in the Zhytomyr publishing company. Arrested in May, 1966, and sentenced on 7. 9. 1966 to 5 years imprisonment according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR, during a closed trial. After his release he was still persecuted.

531) SHOMON T. Baptist-Pentacostalist. Confined in an ordinary regime concentration camp.

232) SHOVKOVYI Ivan V. Born on 7. 8. 1950 in the Ivano-Frankivske region. Engineer. Arrested in March, 1973, and sentenced in Ivano-Frankivske to 5 years imprisonment according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR for belonging to an underground group.

533) SHTEFAN A. D. Confined in a concentration camp for his religious beliefs.

534) SHUHAYLO N. Born 1928. Arrested in 1970 and sentenced to 5 years imprisonment according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

535) SHUKHEVYCH Yuriy R. Born 28. 3. 1933 in Lviv. Publicist. Married, father of two children. From 1948 to 1968 he was imprisoned because he was the son of Gen. Roman Shukhevych, the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA and the Head of the Executive of the OUN in Ukraine. After his release he was forbidden to live in Ukraine. Therefore he settled in the Kabardyno-Balkarsk ASSR where he was constantly bullied and persecuted. Again arrested on March 26, 1972, and sentenced on Sept. 9, 1972, in the town of Nalchyk (Kabardyno-Balkarsk ASSR) to 10 years imprisonment and 5 years of exile according to Art. 70-11 of the Criminal Code of the RSFSR. Altogether he has spent over 30 years in imprisonment. He is now completely blind. Due to be released in 1987. He continues to be under constant police pressure to recant his views.

536) SHULIAK Oleksa. Arrested in 1953 and sentenced to 25 years imprisonment for political matters. Should have been released in 1983.

537) SHUMKA-FEDIUK Volodymyr. Born 1919 in the village of Kaydantsi, in the Ivano-Frankivske region. Member of the OUN from 1939 and officer of the UPA. First sentenced to 8 years of imprisonment. Again arrested in 1971 in the town of Kursk and sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment in Ivano-Frankivske — together 15 years.

538) SHUMUK Danylo L. Born 20. 2. 1914 in the village of Boremche in Volyn. Married, the father of children. Served in the UPA. Starting in 1945 with two short breaks he served 40 years of imprisonment. Due to be released in 1987.

539) SHUST. Born 1962 in Lutsk. Sentenced to long-term imprisonment for "Ukrainian national anti-Soviet propaganda". Presently he is at the following address: RSFSR, Tarat ASSR, town of Chystopol, No. UZ-148/4.

540) SHVEDOV. He was confined in a psychiatric hospital for many years for political matters.

541) SHYNKARUK Trokhym Yu. Born 1932. Poet. First imprisoned from 1949 to 1971 (22 years) for shedding light on the colonial status of Ukraine. Arrested for the second time in 1971 and sentenced to 12 years of imprisonment for not changing his views and for warning the world about Communist ideology. Thus Shynkaruk was imprisoned for a total of 34 years. He should have been released in 1983.

542) SHYPEL A. Born 1900. Sentenced for his religious beliefs to 3 years of imprisonment in 1966.

543) SICHKO Petro V. Born 18. 8. 1926 in the Ivano-Frankivske region. Married, father of three children. He participated in the national liberation struggle. Former officer of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Arrested in 1947 allegedly for forming an "Organization of Fighters for a Free Ukraine". Sentenced to 25 years. Released in 1956. On 30. 4. 1978 he became

a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group for which he was persecuted. He was arrested again by the KGB on 5. 7. 1979 and confined in Lviv prison. He was charged according to Art. 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR and sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment.

544) SICHKO Vasyl P. Born 22. 12. 1956 in the Ivano-Frankivske region. He studied Journalism at Kyiv University from which he was expelled because his father refused to collaborate with the KGB. He wrote a protest letter to Brezhnev in the hope that he would be able to return to the University, but he received no reply. Thus he renounced Soviet citizenship on 18. 9. 1977. He was called up to serve in the army several times but he refused because he did not regard himself as a Soviet citizen. On 17. 1. 1978 he was arrested and confined in the Ivano-Frankivske psychiatric hospital. He was released on 31. 1. 1978. On 28. 2. 1978 he became a member of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. He was arrested by the KGB on 5. 7. 1979 in the Ivano-Frankivske region because he had made a speech at the grave of Ivasiuk. He was sentenced to 3 years of imprisonment.

545) SILCHUKIV Yevhen. Born 1935. Member of the Evangelical Christians-Baptists for which he was arrested in 1972-1973. He was sentenced in Slutsk, Minsk region. The term of his sentence is unknown.

546) SKACHKO Pavlo I. Born 1936 in Kyiv. He was expelled from the Kyiv University for his national views. He studied journalism. Arrested on 1. 12. 1978 and charged according to Art. 187-1 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. In April, 1979, he was transferred to the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital.

547) SKRAL Mykhaylo D. Born 1933. He worked in Lviv as an electrician studying Theology at the same time. He was preparing to be ordained as a Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priest for which he was arrested in 1973 and sentenced to 4 years of imprisonment in Lviv in 1974.

548) SKRYPCHUK Konstantyn I. Born 1926. Participated in the liberation struggle of the OUN-UPA. Sentenced by the Chernivtsi court to 28 years of imprisonment according to Art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

549) SKRYPKA Vasyl M. Academic employee of the Institute of Folklore and Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the Ukr. SSR. Dismissed from his work in 1973-1974 for a piece of work entitled "Chumak and Cossack Songs". He was accused of fascination with the "works of bourgeois nationalists" (Drahomanov and Kostomarov).

*(To be continued)*

## Documents and reports

### FROM THE CHRONICLE OF THE MORDOVIAN CAMP FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS OF AREA (UCHASTOK) ZHKH-385\*

As the number of political prisoners in the ZHKH Camps Nos. 7, 11 and 19 diminished, they were transferred to the Perm camps. On October 17, 1973, some 120 of them were transferred to the reconstructed area No. 5 in Barashevo. The absolute majority of the transferred prisoners were sentenced according to Art. 64 of the Criminal Code\*\* — they are the so-called “war criminals” (those who served in the police, in SS units, punitive battalions, the Wehrmacht, Vlassov’s army; or belonged to the UPA [the Ukrainian Insurgent Army], OUN [the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists], to the “White armbands” [Lithuanian Freedom Fighters in 1941], and postwar guerillas in Lithuania, and to the “Green armbands”, and guerillas in Latvia, Estonia and elsewhere.

Forty such individuals were in the zone (uchastok) in the middle of 1983 (including three who were sent there in 1979). Nationalities: 11 Ukrainians, 11 Byelorussians, 7 Latvians, 5 Lithuanians, 3 Tatars, 2 Georgians, 1 Estonian. (One of these prisoners had a university degree). The oldest prisoner was 82, the youngest — 56 years old. By the fall of 1983, ten of them had died. It is also known that one of them died on the day of his release as he was being transported to the Riga KGB; another one died two days after his release from the Tallinn KGB.

Among those transferred to Barashevo, eight were sentenced according to Art. 70 of the Criminal Code — “anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda”; three of them were sentenced before they had completed their terms for non-political crimes.

1980: Arrivals — 6, departures — 27, (two of them died, two were sent into exile).

1981: Arrivals — 15, departures — 21. (four of them died, one went into exile, four were transferred to other camps, one was moved to prison).

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\* This document has recently made its way to the West. It was first published in the underground Lithuanian journal *Aušra* (the Dawn), No. 43, June, 1984.

\*\* All the articles are from the Criminal Code of the RSFSR.

1982: Arrivals — 16, departures — 23, (two of them died, one was sent for forced labour in his place of residence).

1983: Up to June 30: Arrivals — 8, departures — 10, (one of them died).

Released in 1980: Four Russians, five Ukrainians, four Byelorussians, four Latvians, one Lithuanian, three Estonians, one Georgian, two Tatars, one Hungarian, two of unknown nationalities.

Released in 1981: Fourteen Ukrainians, ten Latvians, nine Russians, five Lithuanians, one Estonian, one Armenian, one Bashkir, one Ossetian.

In the middle of 1983, there were 83 prisoners in the zone. Forty of them had been sentenced according to Article 64 of the Criminal Code (military prisoners); 18 were sentenced for other aspects of Article 64 (espionage, planning or attempting to escape abroad); 25 were sentenced according to Article 70.

Between 1980 and the middle of 1983, there were the following arrivals: three "military" individuals; 16 who were sentenced for other aspects of Article 64 of the Criminal Code (two among them were transferred from other camps); 25 who were sentenced according to Article 70. Among them: ten Russians, seven Ukrainians, two Byelorussians, three Lithuanians, one Latvian, two Jews. Age range: from 66 to 27 years; average age — 47. Sixteen of those sentenced according to Article 70 were university graduates.

In 1983, five prisoners left section No. 2. Four of them were "military" types (a Byelorussian, a Lithuanian, a Tatar, and a Latvian who died in the zone), and one Lithuanian who was sentenced according to Article 70. There were seven arrivals: two of them, a Russian (20) and a Tadjik (19) were sentenced according to other aspects of Article 64; one Russian (24) was sentenced according to Art. 66 of the Criminal Code (terrorism), and four — an Armenian (41), a Georgian (41), a Jew (47) and a Latvian (24), were sentenced according to Article 70; two of them were university graduates.

Twenty-three political prisoners in the zone were university graduates, including nine who had specialized in the humanities (one of them had a degree in philology). Fourteen others had advanced technological training — two had degrees in geology-mineralogy, one in physics and mathematics.

At the beginning of 1983, there were four female political prisoners in the small zone of area (uchastok) No. 5; there were ten of them in section No. 10.

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## RUSSIFICATION OF RELIGION

### SOVIET RUSSIA TAKES AIM AT 1,000TH ANNIVERSARY OF CHRISTIANITY IN UKRAINE — CLAIMS IT IS “RUSSIAN”

*Released by the National Committee to Protest Russification of Ukraine.*

Nothing is sacred in the Soviet Union. Not human rights. Not history which is being rewritten constantly. Not even religion. In fact, Russification of religion has been one of the Kremlin's strongest weapons in its arsenal against nationalistic freedoms — especially in Ukraine.

Despite recent claims by some that they have witnessed “freedom of religion in Russia”, the fact remains **there is no freedom of religion in Ukraine**. The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was destroyed in the 1930s and the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church was suppressed immediately after World War II.

The head of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, Patriarch Josyf Slipyj, who resided in the Vatican, spent 17 years in Soviet prisons before being released in 1962 through the intercession of Pope John XXIII and President John F. Kennedy. *Saturday Review* editor Norman Cousins served as the intermediary, negotiating between Washington, the Vatican and Moscow.

In less than four years — in 1988 — Americans of Ukrainian descent will join with others in the Ukrainian diaspora in the Free World to commemorate the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in Ukraine. Ukraine accepted Christianity from Byzantium in 988 A.D. during the reign of Kyivan-Rus' Prince Volodymyr the Great.

In the Soviet Union, however, the anniversary will be portrayed by Soviet Russia as the 1,000th anniversary of Christianity in “Russia”. If Moscow succeeds in convincing the world that Russia has a 1,000-year-old religion that was founded in Kyiv, Ukraine in 988 A.D., then it will have successfully rewritten Ukrainian history as far as the world is concerned.

This is a tremendously emotional issue for all Americans of Ukrainian descent and for all Ukrainians. This issue, along with 1983's 50th anniversary of the “Forgotten Holocaust”, is what has motivated Ukrainians in the Free World to march against Soviet embassies to protest the continued genocide (ethnocide) of Ukraine by Russification (e.g., last year two weeks after Americans of Ukrainian descent marched on the Soviet Embassy in Washington, D.C., Australians of Ukrainian descent did the same in Canberra).

Today in Ukraine, individuals and communities who desire to practice their religion as Ukrainians must do so in secret. Clergymen, if caught, face imprisonment and exile. Known believers are barred from all public service, including the teaching profession, and from all responsible positions that are reserved for members of the official “Russian” Orthodox Church.

Typically, Soviet Russian reaction to religious dissent has been to have "loyal" leaders of the "official" Russian Orthodox Church deny the substance of the dissidents' complaints, and to slander the dissenters in the official (and only) media as politically subversive. The official religion and official media stayed true-to-form during the recent tour of "Russian" churches by a delegation from the National Council of Churches. The Baptists who unfurled protest banners at one stop were branded as agitators and there was no discussion of Ukraine or her churches.

Why does atheist Moscow tolerate an "official" religion? Like the nationally-conscious non-Russian peoples and nations trapped in the Soviet Union, Moscow recognizes the fundamental interdependence of traditional religion and national culture. An "official" Russian religion allows it to subvert indirectly the national aspirations of people and nations it controls. The world gets to "see" religion in "Russia", and the world forgets or does not ask about the national religions of Ukraine, Latvia, Estonia, and the many other republics of the Soviet Union.

Visitors do not see, for example, that Ukraine is flooded with anti-religious books and articles directed against the "non-existent" Ukrainian Catholic and Ukrainian Orthodox Churches. Just like visitors to Ukraine in 1932-33 never "saw" the Great Famine in which 7 million Ukrainians — including 3 to 4 million children — were starved to death because they wanted to remain Ukrainian... they did not want to be "Russianized".

In their books and articles, Soviet Russian regime spokesmen increasingly stress the interdependence between religious and national consciousness, and urge all public socialization agencies to combine "atheist" and "internationalist" indoctrination as a means of integrating Ukrainians against their will into a "new historical community" of Russified "Soviet" people.

Because the Kremlin has established the Russian Orthodox religion as the official and only allowed "religion" for all people and nations within the Soviet Union, religion in the USSR becomes an instrument of Russification.

**Read**

**Read**

**ABN Correspondence**

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and the equivalent of 6 Dollars in all other countries.

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## USSR'S HUMAN-RIGHTS PERFORMANCE: A SURVEY OF 1984 TRENDS\*

Soviet human-rights performance continued its five-year decline in 1984. The Soviet government throughout the year sustained its harsh KGB-style law-and-order campaign initiated after the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in late 1979. During this period, the Soviet government demonstrated almost total disdain for world opinion on human-rights issues and virtually ignored its international commitments under the Helsinki Accords and UN agreements.

Exemplifying this Soviet attitude, the Kremlin ignored Andrei Sakharov's plea — despite a hunger strike in May — to permit his wife, Yelena Bonner, to be allowed to go West for medical treatment. Indeed, the Kremlin has almost totally isolated the Sakharov's from family, friends and the world.

What were some major elements of this Kremlin anti-dissent campaign in 1984? The promulgation of four new laws to broaden the so-called crime of dissent and to further isolate the Soviet population from foreign contacts was one factor. Greater violence and more brutal treatment of political prisoners — as seen in the death of seven prisoners of conscience (POCs) in 1984 — was another. A renewed official drive to eradicate samizdat (unofficial literature) and, thus, to stifle any expression of independent political, religious, national, cultural or economic views was a third significant element. The continued imposition of nearly insurmountable obstacles to emigration was still another component.

### **New arrests and trials**

In terms of numbers, there were at least 130 arrests of Soviet human-rights activists in 1984, including 71 religious activists, 21 would-be emigrants, 12 Jewish activists, 12 Georgian activists and 11 distributors or authors of samizdat.

There were at least 41 trials of Soviet dissidents in 1984; the average term of imprisonment was three years.

### **Restrictive new laws**

As early as January, the Soviet government signalled its adherence to harsh policies on dissent by passing two repressive changes in the laws.

It is now a criminal offence to disclose information from the workplace to foreigners. Divulging to foreigners "professional secrets" is now punishable by up to eight years of imprisonment.

A second change relates to the definition of "anti-Soviet agitation" under Article 70 of the Russian SFSR Criminal Code. The new definition includes

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\* This report was prepared by the staff of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. It is reprinted from the CSCE Digest.

not only the preparation and dissemination of "detrimental" material, but also mere possession of such works.

Another provision specifies that those found guilty under Article 70 using "money or other valuables from foreign organizations or persons acting in (their) interest" can now be imprisoned for up to 15 (rather than 12) years.

In July, 1984, a USSR Supreme Soviet decree fixed penalties of up to 100 rubles for Soviet citizens who violate "rules for stay in the USSR by foreign citizens or stateless persons" or provide shelter, transportation or "other services" to foreigners without official permission. Although the decree did not extend the range of illegal actions its promulgation called attention to heightened Kremlin concern over contacts between Soviet citizens and foreigners.

Another new Soviet regulation issued in August and effective in October, 1984, forbids foreigners from pre-paying often exorbitant tariffs on packages sent to Soviet citizens. This regulation ended a 30-year Soviet policy under which foreign friends and relatives could send clothing and food through special package companies which accepted pre-payment. This new restriction will especially affect families of POCs, religious believers and refuseniks, since they now must pay high tariffs and there is no longer guaranteed delivery of parcels from abroad.

The new trial of Russian Orthodox POC Vladimir Poresh was on October 23, 1984. It marked the first known instance of the application of a new Article 188-3 of the RSFSR Criminal Code, "malicious disobedience of the administration of corrective labour institutions", with a possible five-year term.

The new law — promulgated in late September, 1983, one week after the close of the Madrid CSCE Meeting — authorizes administrators of penal institutions to charge inmates with "malicious disobedience to its lawful demands" if the prisoner had already been punished for another such infraction during the previous year. Mr. Poresh was arrested in Chistopol Prison one day before the end of his prison term for four peaceful protests against denial of prisoners' rights.

There are fears that at least two other Soviet POCs, Russian samizdat author Viktor Grinev and Byelorussian activist Mikhail Kukobaka also may face charges under this new so-called "eternal prisoner" law.

### **Isolation and brutal treatment**

During 1984 the Soviet government intensified its policy of isolating political prisoners in the gulag. One technique frequently used is to deny prisoners their legal rights to family visits — often for years in advance. For example, imprisoned Lithuanian Helsinki monitor Viktoras Petkus has had no family visits since August, 1983.

In addition, greater official reliance on violence against POCs — not to speak of ordinary prisoners — was discernible in 1984. The deaths of at least seven POCs during the year provided tragic testimony to this fact.

Three noted Ukrainian human rights activists, — Oleksiy Tykhyi, Valeriy

Marchenko and Yuriy Lytvyn died in Perm Camp 36/1, the only POC special-regime camp. Two other human-rights activists, Aleksei Nikitin, who protested dangerous working conditions for Donetsk coal miners, and well-known camp poet Valentin Sokolov, died after extended maltreatment in Soviet psychiatric hospitals.

Seventy-two-year-old Ukrainian Catholic Antin Potocinyak died on May 29 in camp while serving his fifth term. Another religious activist, Baptist Boris Artyushenko, died in Kursk prison in December during his fourth term of imprisonment.

Conditions of incarceration have deteriorated so much that a veteran POC, Mr. Lytvyn, was reportedly driven to suicide. Imprisoned peace activist Aleksandr Shatravka also attempted suicide in May, 1984.

Other evidence of increased cruelty is suggested by reports of the extremely poor health of numerous POCs. Eduard Arutunyan, founder of the Armenian Helsinki Group, is reportedly suffering from extreme malnutrition and had one lung removed in a prison hospital. At least two POCs suffered heart attacks. Thirty-nine-year-old Baptist rock musician Valeriy Barinov — sentenced to two and half years in camp on November 23 in Leningrad — suffered a massive heart attack one week later. Pentecostal emigration activist Vasily Barats suffered two heart attacks in Perm Camp 36/1. Two leading Jewish activists, Anatoly Shcharansky and Iosif Begun, are in precarious health, partially due to hunger strikes to protest extended terms of punishment isolation.

There were also more frequent reports of increased brutality by the administration of Soviet penal institutions in 1984, including more instances of beatings of POCs in the camps and even in pre-trial detention in Moscow. The gifted Ukrainian-Polish poet, Iryna Ratushynska, spent 39 days in solitary confinement, was twice hospitalized for tuberculosis and was beaten and force-fed while on a hunger strike. Dr. Anatoly Koryagin, advisor to the Psychiatric Working Group, was beaten in Chistopol prison with the door of his cell open so that others would hear his screams; he reportedly is near death after a prolonged hunger strike.

Baptist minister Mikhail Khorev spent 17 days in special isolation and two months in camp prison in mid-1984 for not properly greeting a camp commandant. Khorev, who is nearly blind, was also deprived of his glasses. Sergei Grigoryants, a samizdat editor in Chistopol prison, was so badly beaten by wardens that his arm was broken. In late December, Jewish activist Iosif Berenshtein lost the use of his right eye after being beaten by prison wardens; the prison authorities in Zhytomyr, Ukraine claim he poked his eye out with a potato peeler.

### **Psychiatric abuse**

In April, 1983, the Soviet Union withdrew from the World Psychiatric Association to avoid an expected censure motion in July. Some hoped that this move signalled increased Soviet sensitivity to criticism of the abuse of psychiatry for political purposes. Soviet actions in 1984, however, soon proved these hopes to be unfounded.

Among the Soviet human rights activists subjected to psychiatric abuse in 1984 are: Bashkir poet Nizametdin Akhmetov, in camp since 1969, sent to the Alma Ata special psychiatric hospital in June; Armenian human rights activist Garnik Tsarukyan, an Armenian Apostolic Church deacon, sent to a psychiatric hospital in February for criticism of church authorities; Leningrad samizdat writer Oleg Okhapkin, hospitalized in late August; Latvian Catholic Sandra Riga, editor of a samizdat ecumenical journal *Summons*, tried in August and sent for forcible psychiatric treatment; Yuri Popov of the Moscow youth peace "Good Will Group" placed in psychiatric hospital this year; and Russian worker Victor Tsurikov who was held in psychiatric hospital in Krasnoyarsk for the month of April for refusing to vote.

One of the most tragic cases of psychiatric abuse is that of Ukrainian poet Viktor Rafalskyi who has spent 15 years in Soviet psychiatric hospitals. Last year, Mr. Rafalskyi escaped from the hospital, was recaptured and put on trial on February 27. Ruled "especially dangerous and requiring forced medical treatment", he was sent to the infamous Dnipropetrovske special psychiatric hospital. While there, Mr. Rafalskyi managed to smuggle out an appeal to the West reporting that letters from Amnesty International had eased his conditions and asking that Western assistance be more systematic and regular.

### **Anti-samizdat campaign**

Another aspect of the Soviet crackdown on dissent in 1984 was an intensified campaign against all forms of samizdat. Among the victims was Lithuanian chemist Lyudas Dambrauskas who was sentenced on October 3 to five and a half years of imprisonment for writing memoirs about his 25 years in Stalinist camps.

Several activists were sentenced for reproducing Western literature. Although Mikhail Polyakov confessed his "guilt", he still received a five-year camp term in April in Leningrad. Mikhail Meylakh, a Leningrad literary scholar, was also sentenced in April; he received a 10-year camp term for distributing Western publications of works by Akhmatova, Mandelstam and Nabokov.

Literary archivist Aleksandr Bogoslovsky was arrested in June for "making notes of an anti-Soviet nature" in his notebook and for giving foreign books to his uncle and two friends. Veteran Moscow human-rights activist Yuri Shikhanovich was sentenced in September to a 10-year term for alleged involvement with the samizdat *Chronicle of Current Events* and for passing information to the West.

A number of religious activists who participated in samizdat activities were also arrested in 1984, including the Latvian Catholic editor Sandra Riga. Russian Orthodox activist Sergei Markus was sentenced in July, 1984, to three years in camp for possessing religious literature — which was later ordered burned.

Despite this drive against samizdat, new publications appeared in 1984. At least eight issues of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine* were prepared. This new journal, first issued in March, reports on the situation of religious and national rights advocates in western Ukraine.

Several unregistered Baptists have also been imprisoned for religious samizdat. Viktor Savelev was arrested in Georgia in February for transporting unauthorized Baptist materials and Estonian Baptist Pavel Vezikov was sentenced in May to two years in camp for circulating religious samizdat and Western Christian literature. The arrest of two brothers, Egor and Andrei Volf, in Kazakhstan on November 24 reveals the massive scale of underground printing of Baptist literature in the USSR. The authorities found 30,000 printed Bibles, three tons of blank paper and a portable printing press. This is the fourth such KGB raid against the unofficial Baptist "Christian Press" in the last 10 years.

Perhaps one of the clearest demonstrations of the Kremlin efforts to cut the flow of samizdat materials to the West was the arrest of long-time Moscow human-rights activist Lina Tumanova. As Ms. Tumanova met two US diplomats on a Moscow street on July 4, 1984, she was arrested and the officials were detained. A package of samizdat was seized from Ms. Tumanova and she faces charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". She was released from prison in September for medical treatment and will still stand trial. The case received much negative publicity in the Soviet press — in an obvious warning to other Soviet citizens.

### **Further emigration restrictions**

Emigration rates for all three Soviet nationalities which previously had been permitted to leave the USSR have reached new lows. Only 897 Soviet Jews were allowed to emigrate in 1984 — compared to 1,315 in 1983 and 51,471 in the record year of 1979. A total of 913 Soviet Germans arrived in West Germany in 1984. Armenian emigration rates have also plummeted.

Any Soviet citizen may face imprisonment if he or she presses emigration claims with Soviet authorities. Soviet citizens who are caught crossing USSR borders without official permission are given lengthy camp terms.

At the same time emigration from the USSR came to a virtual standstill, there were signs that the Soviet authorities had embarked on a campaign to lure some high-profile Soviet defectors, including soldiers, back to the USSR with promises of no punishment.

### **Repression of religious activists**

During 1984, the Soviet authorities kept up, and in some cases, intensified their campaign against religious activists. In addition to those already mentioned, numerous other leaders of various religious denominations were imprisoned during the year.

In June, a Lutheran preacher, Jakob Rein, was sentenced in Kazakhstan to five years in camp for allegedly organizing unregistered religious services.

Later in the year, two Russian Orthodox priests were sentenced on doubtful charges: Father Nikolai Temirbayev was given a two-year camp term in Turkmenia for allegedly beating his wife, and a popular youth priest, 44-year old Pavel Lysak, was sentenced in December to 10 months' imprisonment for living in Moscow without a resident permit.

A Lithuanian Catholic priest, Father Jonas Kastytus Matulionis, was arrested on November 9, on unknown charges. He had been previously jailed in 1976 for nine months for alleged involvement with the unofficial *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania*. A Baptist preacher, Peter Peters, was sentenced to three years in camp in May.

Various religious communities felt the heavy hand of state authorities in 1984. A resurgence of interest among Soviet Jews in their religious heritage has led to increased anti-Semitic repression. Among the methods of intimidation used by the KGB were allegations that Jews use drugs in their religious rituals. For example, Moscow Jewish activist Yuli Edelshtein, arrested on trumped-up charges of drug possession, was sentenced on December 18 to three years in labour camp. Moshe Abramov, an Orthodox Jewish activist from Samarkand, received a three-year camp term for "hooliganism".

One result of the official drive against Soviet Baptists was 46 arrests in 1984. Unregistered Soviet Adventists suffered at least six arrests in the first six months of the year. One such Adventist, Vladimir Vasilchenko, was jailed for recording foreign radio broadcasts. The continuing campaign against Soviet Pentecostals attempting to emigrate from the USSR was revealed in two month-long hunger strikes undertaken by 55 Pentecostals — mostly of German origin — in the Pacific coast town of Chuguyevka. One Chuguyevka Pentecostal pastor, Viktor Valter, was arrested on December 10 — International Human Rights Day.

### **Campaign against unofficial groups**

Independent peace groups, monitoring activists and other non-conformists continued to come under attack in 1984. Members of the unofficial Group to Promote Trust Between the USSR and the US — which claims some 2,000 supporters among affiliate groups in Leningrad, Kyiv, Odessa, Novosibirsk, Riga, Rybinsk and Tallinn — were subjected to various forms of harassment, intimidation and detention.

As a result of an earlier KGB campaign, most Soviet Helsinki monitoring groups have ceased to exist. There are currently 45 imprisoned group members. Nevertheless, two Helsinki-affiliated religious rights groups function: the Catholic Committee in Lithuania and the Initiative Group for Defence of the Rights of Believers and the Ukrainian Catholic Church. The latter group, formed on September 9, 1982, and led by former Ukrainian POC Josyp Terelya, has allied itself to the Helsinki process.

The Soviet authorities took action against three other Helsinki activists in 1984: Yelena Bonner, a Moscow Helsinki Group founding member and the wife of Andrei Sakharov, was sentenced on August 17 to five years of internal exile for "anti-Soviet slander", a Ukrainian Helsinki Monitor,

Mykola Horbal, was re-arrested in camp on October 21 for "anti-Soviet slander" — days before his scheduled release; and another Ukrainian monitor, Josyf Zisels, was arrested in Chernivtsi on October 19 on unknown charges.

### **Suppression of national, cultural rights**

The Soviet government continued to act against advocates of greater national, ethnic and cultural rights for dozens of nationalities in its domain. In the fall, a stepped-up campaign against unofficial Hebrew teachers and Jewish cultural activists was initiated.

Among the 12 currently imprisoned are: 34-year-old Aleksandr Kholmiansky, arrested in July on hooliganism charges; Yakov Levin of Odessa, arrested five days before his wedding and sentenced on November 20 to three years in camp for "anti-Soviet slander"; Iosif Berenshtein of Kyiv who was sentenced on December 10 to four years in camp for allegedly "assaulting a police officer". Despite these measures, 1984 saw a resurgence of interest in Jewish culture with unofficial Hebrew and Jewish culture groups springing up in at least 30 Soviet cities.

In 1983, there were official celebrations to mark the 200th anniversary of the Treaty of Georgievsk which joined Georgia to Russia. Three Georgian workers, Zakariy Lashkarashvili, Tarial Ghviniashvili and Guram Gogopaidze, were tried in March and given terms ranging from four to five years for preparing leaflets protesting this celebration.

Armenian human rights activists also continued to feel the KGB heavy hand. Armenian Helsinki monitor Robert Nazaryan is in Chistopol prison, while Armenian national rights advocate Paruir Airikyan was sent into internal exile in February.

Mustafa Dzhemilev, leader of the struggle of 500,000 Crimean Tatars to return to their Crimean homeland from Stalinist exile in Central Asia, was sentenced on February 10 to three years in strict-regime camp for "anti-Soviet slander". This represents Mr. Dzhemilev's sixth prison term on political charges. Mr. Dzhemilev's "crime" consisted of maintaining contacts with Crimean Tatars in New York. At least two other Crimean Tatar activists, Dzhelyal Chelebiev and Izzet Khairov, were arrested last year.

In the Baltic states of Latvia, Estonia and Lithuania, human and national rights advocates also faced harsh repression by the Kremlin. A leading Estonian activist, Enn Tarto, was tried in April and given a 10-year term in special-regime camp. His "crimes" included signing protests, publishing and distributing human rights documents in Estonia, and maintaining contacts with Estonian emigres in Sweden. Recent imprisonments in Lithuania include those of Father Matulionis and of Lyudas Dambrauskas. Finally, the fate of one leading Latvian dissident, Gunars Astra, is a fitting commentary on the over-all Kremlin attitude towards 1984; in December 1983, he was given a 12-year term of imprisonment for circulating George Orwell's visionary novel, "1984".

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*The*  
**UKRAINIAN  
REVIEW**



**IV**

**1985**

# THE UKRAINIAN REVIEW

A Quarterly Magazine devoted to the study of Ukraine.

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*Yaroslav STETSKO*

## THE PROBLEMS OF THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE

Soviet Russian imperialism is essentially different from all past historical imperialisms in that it attempts to forcibly implant a Russian Bolshevik philosophy and way of life on all social, political, economic, cultural and religious levels in the nations that it dominates. Moscow's aim is to transform these nations into one artificial entity — the "Soviet People", in reality a Russian super-nation. To achieve this, Bolshevism, as a synthesis of Russian imperialism and Communism, has instituted a brutal policy of Russification in the subjugated nations. The now non-existent Western empires never attempted to destroy the distinctive national fibre of their colonies.

The Bolshevik system of subjugation is a reactionary system primarily in the national-political, but also in the socio-political and cultural spheres. This is a system of anti-ideas, anti-religion, anti-culture, anti-nation, anti-individual, anti-freedom, anti-justice. This is a system of barbarism; a system of total territorial encroachment; a system that negates all those values and qualities by which an individual human being is distinguished as a reflection of God's image, by which a nation is distinguished as a conception of God. The struggle against this system is the revolution that is taking place in all aspects of everyday life — the struggle for a way of life contrary to the one imposed upon the subjugated nations.

This is a struggle of two diametrically opposed worlds!

The revolutionary process is multi-faceted. It consists of even such simple actions as the raising of the national flag by members of the subjugated nations; the singing of patriotic songs; demands that one's native history be taught in the native language and in the native national spirit; the demand that the collective farms be destroyed; the re-opening of churches; a cult of native national heroes and the building of earthen monuments in their commemoration. A revolutionary act occurs, for example when a child in school demands that religion be taught.

All this contributes to the ripening of the revolutionary process and the creation of a revolutionary situation which will become reality when all of the strata of the subjugated nations as a whole become imbued with a revolutionary consciousness directly resulting from systematic actions and ideological and political mobilisation. Then the final stage of the revolutionary process — simultaneous armed uprisings of the subjugated nations — will be inevitable.

The Bolshevik system of occupation is highly centralised and intertwined, so that the slightest deficiency in any segment of the system, resulting from the revolutionary activity of the national underground, will reverberate in much greater magnitude throughout the system as a whole. For example, by sabotaging an oil refinery plant, the revolutionary underground can effectively

cripple the entire industrial network of one or more economic regions in the Russian empire.

As British General J. F. C. Fuller noted, "the Kremlin is living on a volcano, and it knows that the most explosive force in the world is not to be found in the hydrogen bomb, but in the heart of the subjugated peoples crushed under its iron heel".

Zbigniew Brzezinski, in an interview on September 10, 1984, said: "In the long run, there is no doubt in my mind that the multi-national reality of the Soviet Union is the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union. I have never understood why the West has not provided more support and more encouragement to the non-Russian nations of the Soviet Union which are entitled, after all, as any other nation is, to self-determination and to self-definition — culturally and politically".

Permit me once again to quote General Fuller: "in the Atlantic Pact is to be found the only potential first front against Russia, so in the ABN, however lacking in organisation, in it still is to be found the only potential second front. Together the two should constitute the grand strategical instrument of the Western powers, the one being as essential as the other, for neither one without the other can achieve what should be the Western aim — not the containment of Communism and Russian imperialism, but the complete elimination of Bolshevism — without which there can be no peace in the world".

We understand the policy of detente very well in all its variants, including the politics of balance of power. We all wish to avoid a third world war, especially a thermo-nuclear war. We are all opposed to it, but we, the subjugated nations, comprise the most determined opposition because it is on our land that the war will be played out.

Now there is only the question of whether the policy of detente and balance of power are preventive measures — an alternative to atomic war. If the parties in question are not aspiring to identical goals, there can be no balance of power. In comparison to the so-called period of Western power politics, the policy of detente brought with it an unparalleled expansion of the Russian empire across all world continents.

The USSR cannot win an arms race with the West. But it is not necessary to create tragicomic situations — with one hand to arm the USSR and with the other to beg the Russians for "arms parity at the lowest level", while at the same time creating the groundwork for a maximum arms buildup. Western world markets indirectly arm the USSR while their governments concurrently conduct disarmament talks.

The West ought to discontinue technological and other aid to the USSR and "satellite" countries, without which Moscow would no longer be able to maintain its present pace in the arms race. Within several years the internal weaknesses and contradictions of the Bolshevik system will surface. To conduct disarmament negotiations with your adversary, while simultaneously arming him is ludicrous.

The West should morally and politically support the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations and individuals so as to hasten the dissolution of the

Russian empire and the Communist system from within. This would lead to the re-establishment of the independent nation-states of the peoples presently enslaved in the USSR and the "satellite" countries.

Moscow cannot use its thermo-nuclear arsenal on the insurgents of the subjugated nations, since this would also lead to the destruction of its occupational forces and terror apparatus. This fact was underlined by General Hackett in his book — *The Third World War*, and elaborated upon by General Fuller in his works, most notably — *Russia Is Not Invincible*, and *How To Defeat Russia*. Moscow's inability to conquer Afghanistan, the recent events in Poland, and the mass strikes and uprisings of Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Estonian, Turkestani, Byelorussian and other political prisoners are all evidence of the weaknesses of the Russian empire and its Communist system.

The decade long war of liberation fought on two fronts by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army from 1942 to 1953 serves as testimony to the indomitable perseverance of nations that have risen against Russian tyranny. Ukraine's Proclamation of Independence of June 30, 1941, was the beginning of her two-front war of liberation against Nazi Germany and Bolshevik Russia. After the defeat of Nazi Germany in World War II, Ukraine continued its armed struggle against Bolshevik Russia which was victorious only because of Western aid. The USSR was forced to enter into a tri-partite pact with Communist Poland and Czechoslovakia in order to militarily defeat Ukraine's armed forces, led by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army.

The salvation of the world from atomic war and World War III lies in the liberation struggle of the subjugated nations. The significance of an insurgent concept of liberation as a modern type of warfare was also confirmed by General Fuller. The present Afghan insurgent war of liberation further underlines this point. The heroic Afghan people should be helped by the West in every possible way.

NATO needs to continue its armament programme, especially with regard to conventional weapons, because otherwise the West will be vulnerable to Russian expansionism.

Western moral and political support of the subjugated nations', liberation struggle will decrease the human potential of the military personnel of the Soviet army, since the West will then be able to gain the allegiance of the soldiers of the subjugated nations.

In this nuclear age we live in, all of mankind is faced with the deadly spectre of a global holocaust of unprecedented proportions. The ABN feels that theories will never be able to completely eliminate this threat, but will at best only postpone a thermo-nuclear confrontation and the incalculable destruction and loss of human life that will accompany it.

The only alternative to this apocalyptic spectre lies in the ABN concept and political and military strategy of liberation. The subjugated nations, with the moral and political support of the Free World, are capable of

dismantling the Russian prison of nations from within, thereby eliminating the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

Once this threat is eliminated, then a truly just and free international order can be erected, based on the slogan of the ABN — “Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!”

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## **POLITICAL WARFARE IN THE EAST-WEST CONFLICT**

### **SOVIET RUSSIAN POLITICAL WARFARE**

According to a recent book, *Dezinformatsia: Active Measures in Soviet Strategy* by Richard Schulz and Roy Godson (Pargamon-Brassey's International Defence Publishers, Maxwell House, 74 Worship Street, London EC2A 2EN, United Kingdom) the Kremlin was stepping up attempts to influence the US elections in 1984 and a major effort was made to slow down the NATO deployment of intermediate-range missiles. In Moscow alone, up to 15,000 full-time personnel are dedicated to this task. Abroad there are 14,000 Warsaw Pact officials stationed in Western European embassies, trade missions, companies, and press bureaus. They all have a high ratio of intelligence personnel. In 1983, 135 Russians were expelled worldwide for intelligence activities. Almost every Soviet bloc country including Cuba has a similar infrastructure. In Russian parlance it is called "active measures" meaning influence operations including propaganda, disinformation, forgeries to back Moscow's line plus covert political activity using agents-of-influence.

The most important witness on Soviet active measures is the defected KGB expert Stanislav Levchenko who came to the West in 1979. He places the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) at the nerve centre. The party's International Department plans and coordinates active measures. The KGB and the International Information Department also plans and coordinates active measures. In the "residencies" of the KGB all over the world the largest elements are called Line-PR and are responsible for political warfare including overt and covert collection of information as well as political influence operations.

It is estimated that around 1,300 Soviet officials are stationed in the USA. Approximately half of those involved in intelligence activities (40%) concentrate on political targets. The KGB also direct representatives of East European and Cuban intelligence in the United States. About 30-40% of the roughly 900 bloc officials in the United States are committed to intelligence activities, including active measures.

One of the most interesting cases of political warfare after World War II is Pierre-Charles Pathe who, until he was caught in 1979, worked for 20 years as a secret Soviet Russian agent-of-influence within the French press. Pathe regularly sent out a private newsletter to key members of the French society. The case illustrates how major themes developed in Moscow are secreted into influential political circles and the media.

Such Soviet journalists as Georgiy Arbatov and Victor Louis play an important role in Soviet active measures as they have access to leading Western media. Before these people meet with opinion makers and

politicians in the West they are briefed by the ID of the CPSU. Their statements and gossip should be viewed as part of the Russian effort to effect Western policymakers.

The basic theme is that president Reagan is the major threat to world peace and that major improvements in US-Soviet relations can only come about with a new American leadership. The conclusion of the Schultz-Godson study is that in the coming decades the West should expect intensified propaganda, white, black and grey, new forgeries, and pressure on politicians — to discredit the United States and its leadership and to decouple Western Europe from the United States. In my opinion the work to counter these efforts is not only the responsibility of government institutions in the West, but also should play an important part in the activities of, for instance, the European Freedom Council.

## THE WESTERN POLITICAL-PSYCHOLOGICAL FREEDOM CAMPAIGN

### What Targets for POLWAR?

As far back as 1960 Professor James Burnham, America's leading Cold War analyst, wrote an essay with the title used for these observations. He enumerated what he believed to be four of the main Communist psywar vulnerabilities:

1. *The captive nations.* The Captive Nations Week was proclaimed by the American president in 1959 just before Mr. Nixon travelled to Russia. During his stay there Krushchev almost hourly showed obsession with this proclamation. Whenever the matter of the captive nations is brought up the answer from Russian spokesmen is always shrill and obsessive especially if the non-Russian nations within the Soviet borders are included (like Ukraine, Georgia and Turkmenistan for example).

2. *The colonial issue.* During the endless discussions on colonialism after World War II, Western diplomats have now and then, more in passing, mentioned that the Soviet Union is now the principal colonial empire on earth. When this idea is brought up "the Communists... start screaming like stuck hogs".

3. *Secrecy.* The Russians and the Chinese have always craved for secrecy about themselves and their countries. Real and imagined Western "radars, spies, camera-flaunting school-boys, spy-planes, spy-missiles drive them frantic". Burnham believes it would be of great value if Western leaders instead of minimising our prying behind our enemy's curtain "boasted — daily and gaily — about how nakedly he is exposed to our myriad eyes".

4. *The show of force.* One of the oldest psywar operations in history is the provocative show of military force. Such Western shows "distress them no end". Burnham mentions the Taiwan Straits and Lebanon, but we can only think of the 1980s and the NATO deployment of intermediate-range missiles to find the same distress in Moscow. The Russians "beat and bluster", but

will not do anything. In one of the final paragraphs of his essay Burnham concludes :

“The enemy has himself taught us that by hammering along any one of those lines, we throw him off balance. We force him on the psychological and political defensive, and compel him to drop his own offensive projects in order to meet our psychological assault.

On the operational side, there would be nothing particularly difficult about campaigns along these lines. We have the data to fuel them, and no special genius or training is needed to carry them out. If we really tried them seriously, for a while, we might find ourselves so pleased with the results that we would begin to translate them from the purely psychological to the more activist phases of political warfare” (See James Burnham: *The War We Are In — The Last Decade and the Next*, Arlington House, New Rochelle, N.Y. 1967, p. 261).

Here it might be appropriate to cite Sir Patrick Dean, permanent representative of the United Kingdom to the United Nations, in Plenary, on November 26, 1962, on Soviet Russian Central Asia :

“In 1815 the whole of Ceylon came under British rule, at the same time as Azerbaidjan was being occupied by Russia. Ceylon achieved its independence in 1947; when may we ask, can we hope to see Azerbaidjan independent? Nigeria and Ghana came under British influence in the middle of the 19th century. Lagos was proclaimed a colony in 1862; a protectorate was declared for the Gold Coast in 1874. The same period saw the Russian conquest of the independent states of Central Asia with their ancient civilisation; the last independent Kazakh state submitted in 1854, the conquest of the three Uzbek states of Turkistan was completed in 1876, and the whole of Turkmenia was finally subjugated and annexed in the early 1880s. After nearly a century of British rule Ghana became independent in 1957 and Nigeria in 1960; what is the target date for the independence of the Soviet Central Asian territories (Turkistan)?”.

In the United States think-tanks have introduced a serious debate on what would happen if the United Nations shut down. Are the billions of US dollars donated by the West each year contributing towards the solution of world problems? The United States is withdrawing from UNESCO and Western criticism of the UN has increased considerably in the 1980s.

Perhaps it is time to seriously consider support for the introduction of the issue of captive nations and the colonial issue on the agenda of the European Parliament and the United Nations? It ought to be one of the major tasks of the national chapters of the EFC to influence their respective delegations in the UN to bring up the colonial issue. Experts from the ABN can provide the necessary background material on the respective captive nations under Russian colonial rule and Communist oppression. Such actions would be especially useful in the United Kingdom, France, Portugal and Spain, to mention just a few countries which have dissolved their colonial empires.

## BRITISH INSTITUTE SUGGESTS WESTERN COUNTERMEASURES

In an important report (Adam Smith Institute Omega Report "Foreign Policy", Adam Smith Institute, ASI (research) Ltd., P.O. Box 316, London SW1P 3DJ, United Kingdom) published in 1983, the ASI suggests the creation of a government co-ordinating body to carry out a continuing assessment of the nature of the Soviet Russian global, ideological and military threat, as well as the other active measures directed at the United Kingdom, and to take the necessary action to counter these threats.

This action should be divided into two parts: firstly, the defensive measures designed to secure the survival of the freedom of the non-Communist world, and, secondly, the fostering of freedom, democracy and human rights in Communist and other authoritarian countries. Among the activities of the co-ordinating body is suggested the development of direct and indirect links with democratic groups operating within the Eastern bloc. The aim of the co-operation would be:

- (a) to provide moral and material support for those democratic groups,
- (b) to help these groups find media outlets in Britain, and to develop political contacts and understanding,
- (c) to promote the ideas of self-determination, democracy and human rights within the Eastern bloc.

The bulk of written and spoken information should be sub-contracted to independent organisations. The sums invested would give large dividends comparatively and provide an important contribution towards countering Soviet Russian political warfare. Those ideas are on the same line as those supported by the EFC.

## UKRAINE AND THE UKRAINIANS

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Stefan TERLEZKI, M.P.

## COULD THE SOVIET EMPIRE FALL FROM WITHIN?\*

That is the biggest unanswered question the world has been living with for the past 45 years. The other question that follows from it is whether countries in Eastern Europe whose values and outlook are those of the West, can cease being subordinated to Moscow?

To achieve this the West must start using new ideas and must harness new allies whom it has been neglecting, if not discouraging, in the past.

The Gulf, oil and Iran, the disintegration of CENTO, the driving out of the Shah, the loss to the West of one of its best armed allies, were not the result of a military defeat. All that this list of names and events encompasses, was lost or endangered by the pen, by the word, or by both. That conditions existed which would be exploited to bring about such a debacle is not denied; and it must be pointed out that conditions just as pregnant with political potential now exist to be exploited against the Soviet Union. Making use of them will cost but a tiny fraction of what had been and is being spent on armaments, alliances, bases and so on.

The Soviet Union emerged as a world power and a threat in the aftermath of the Second World War, not through the occupation of a part of the Kurile chain, nor through domination over North Korea, but through an advance into the heart of Europe, through its garrisons on the western bank of the Elbe, and through its strategic position from which the rest of Europe and the Atlantic coast can be reached in a matter of days, if not hours.

Since the Hungarian events of 1956, the aim of American and Western diplomacy has been to warn the nations of Eastern Europe, that they must not count on Western support, and that the division of Europe such as it now exists is sacrosanct.

Maintaining this division, in the belief that, in this way, greater dangers are automatically avoided has been the cornerstone of Western policy. Another cornerstone has been the belief that the Soviet Union is an immutable political fact, and being immutable, the most one can do is to talk to it.

The insistence on "Talking to the Russians" from which springs the fear that nothing must be done which will impede this talking, or the "establishing of lines of communications" and the attendant fascination with armaments and arms control, has completely dominated Western thinking to the exclusion of everything else.

There is nothing of course to prevent the West, and especially the United States from setting a high price on maintaining the status quo. It has been doing so for the past forty years and the price has indeed been high. There is also nothing to prevent the United States or Russia from waging bloody

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\* Reprinted from *Crossbow*, the Bow Group Quarterly, International Conference Issue, Berlin, April, 1985.

and costly peripheral wars, such as in Korea or Vietnam or Afghanistan. The Korean one was won, the Vietnam intervention resulted in a defeat and neither, however, substantially affected the world balance of power. Had the outcome of these two shooting wars been reversed, in all probability the balance of power would have remained the same.

The balance of power will not be tipped in a definite way by the Third World, no matter who gains predominant sway there. The struggle for the Third World is just as illusory and peripheral as the campaigns to keep Korea and Vietnam on the side of the West. The Third World will side with the winner of the struggle between the Free West and the Soviet empire. The Third World will anxiously follow the fortunes of this struggle and will trim its sails accordingly, but it will not be the decisive element in any Western victory. It may become a factor in a win for the Soviets, and efforts to keep Soviet influence out are justified, but the reverse is not true.

Keeping the Soviets out of all the places where they have established themselves will not turn the scales definitely in favour of the West, and will not eliminate any of the main issues: the nuclear confrontation, the existence of two opposed armed camps, or the escalation in future Soviet military power.

The Third World should not be allowed to distract attention from the only theatre where Soviet Power can be diminished to such an extent as to cease being a problem. This theatre is Europe and to be more specific, the Eastern half of it. It is there that the Soviet Union can be dealt a political defeat of so crushing a nature that it will no longer be a threat to the Free World.

To remove the Soviet threat altogether the USSR itself must be weakened. Weakening the Soviet Union by diminishing the potential of Russia proper does not appear feasible in the foreseeable future. Weakening, and even completely neutralising a powerful non-Russian component of the USSR, that is Ukraine, appears to be feasible and could be achieved within a few years. Perhaps in as short a time as it took to destabilise the Shah's regime in Iran.

The strongest single power factor within the USSR, after Russia proper, is Ukraine. It is bigger than Poland, 50 million against 36 million people, and has a more powerful economy. It is in fact the richest part of the Soviet Union in all respects: agriculture, industry and natural resources. Having no separate army of its own it is compensated by the fact that every fifth Soviet soldier is a Ukrainian.

Ukraine (as well as Byelorussia) has a seat at the United Nations, even though this was a ploy of 1945 vintage to get the USSR two extra seats at the United Nations. But it does reflect the fact that the two eastern nations other than Russia within the USSR, have preserved their individuality as regards language, culture and historical tradition and aspiration.

Now they are being subjected to an intensive process of Russification and this only serves to demonstrate substantial differences which Moscow is trying hard to bridge.

In 1917 and 1918 three vast empires, the Russian, the Austrian and the German broke up, and several nations, hitherto ruled by them, regained their

independence and formed their own states. Others tried but did not succeed.

Poland was one that made it. Ukraine belongs to those whose statehood was shortlived.

The government of Ukraine, when Otaman Petlura became its head, concluded an alliance with Poland, ruled then by Jozef Pilsudski. In the spring of 1920 they took Kyiv with the intention of reasserting the independence of Ukraine.

The 1921 Russian-Polish treaty of Riga left most of Ukraine to Russia, when Petlura became an exile.

Ukrainian aspirations to independence did not die with Petlura and Petrushevych. On the 30th of June, 1941, soon after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, Ukrainian independence was proclaimed in Lviv, and a provisional Ukrainian government, under Yaroslav Stetsko, was formed.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) fought for the independence of Ukraine against Nazi Germany and against the incorporation of Ukraine into the USSR after the war.

The social structure of Ukraine has undergone a great change since the early 'twenties, and Ukrainian society is no longer composed mainly of peasants or landed estate workers. It has an intelligentsia and it has a managerial and industrial stratum. And it is precisely among its educated members that at present, Ukrainian national consciousness is strongest. The cities of Ukraine, where three generations ago the Ukrainian element was the weakest, are now predominantly Ukrainian. It is heavily industrialised in the East, in the Donbas, where there is an influx of Russian workers and Russian managerial personnel.

Since the Second World War, and the bodily shift of Poland to the West, no ethnically Ukrainian territories form part of the Polish state. In the south-eastern provinces of pre-war Poland, Ukrainians formed a decisive majority of the population.

The Polish population of these parts was transferred to postwar Poland, and these provinces now have just about the highest percentage of Ukrainians in the whole of Ukraine.

Where Polish-Ukrainian relations are concerned, it ought to be stressed at the outset that the two nations now have almost a total identity of interests. This was not always so.

Poland and Ukraine, taking together their populations (about 86 million), economic potential and geographical area and position, are strong enough to become the foundation of an alternative political structure in Central and Eastern Europe. The two principal elements of this structure would be well balanced, and it would, therefore, be stable and well capable of survival.

Poland, and its internal transformations since 1956, have been the trail blazer for Ukrainian thought, both within and without the ruling party. In Ukraine proper, no anti-Polish sentiments, prevalent until the early 1920s, now exist.

Western Ukraine, Polish until 1945, and anti-Polish then, acts like a Trojan horse within greater Ukraine. It brought into the fold a few million

people with successful experience of civic organisation, or self help in cultural and economic spheres, and a tremendous tradition of armed resistance.

Poles and Ukrainians now realise that co-operation based on the recognition of a common interest, and on the similar interest of others, could lead to a better future for their part of Europe; and that the key to the solution of the predicament the world has lived with since the end of the Second World War lies in Eastern Europe.

International broadcasting is the best weapon available to Western diplomacy. "A newspaper without paper and without boundaries". This is how Lenin described radio in 1922. It cannot be stopped at frontiers.

It comes into a listener's home always as a self invited guest, admitted or rejected by the turn of a dial, and it cannot be selectively edited, or censored by an individual.

So influential it is that for most of the post war period, the Soviet Union and its satellites tried to obliterate it with a massive and enormously expensive jamming system.

On Radio Liberty, the American station based in Munich, broadcasts to the Soviet Union, and on Radio Free Europe, its sister station, broadcasting to most East European countries continues unabated.

It is through communications, mainly through western radios, and principally through Radio Free Europe, that Poles learnt under martial law about what was going on in their country and what the leaders of Solidarity who were in hiding were saying and writing.

What took place recently in Poland has been brought forth, and immeasurably strengthened by the provisions of the Helsinki conference. That it took root more strongly in Poland is no doubt due to the peculiarly Polish tradition of defiance and independence. The Ukrainian tradition is similar, but it has to operate in much more restricted circumstances.

The existence of radio services operating from abroad, but in essence being native language stations, has helped Poland. It has not helped Ukraine for there are no radio services broadcasting to Ukraine in the Ukrainian language, with the same assumptions, treating it as a nation and country in its own right.

A properly conducted BBC radio campaign to Ukraine can be expected to achieve results out of all proportions to the resources devoted to it.

What ought to be recognised, and kept in mind throughout, is that such a campaign to Ukraine must have a long-term character. It must be viewed in the same time perspective as NATO, a long haul effort, and not a gimmick, or a bargaining point, which could be abandoned for some shortlived advantage.

That in spite of considerable past successes, including twice the decapitation of Ukrainian society by depriving it of its top stratum, Moscow has not succeeded; that Ukrainians are still conscious of having a nationality of their own, and that this consciousness is spreading, provides the basis for all the ideas and programmes.

Had Ukraine been a lost cause, all this would have no sense or purpose. The BBC broadcasts to Ukraine would have to be based on treating Ukraine as a country and a nation in its own right. In practical terms this would involve supporting Ukrainian historical, cultural and linguistic identity.

The BBC broadcasts would have to stress Ukrainian history, both its Kyivan period, when it was independent and powerful, and the second period of its flowering when the Cossacks constituted its power and glory. It was then, that for a period, under the Hetmanate, they were de facto independent, conducting their own foreign policy, sending envoys to Turkey, Sweden and Muscovy, as well as to other courts.

Such broadcasts should strengthen the Ukrainian moral, thereby making it more difficult for some of the Ukrainian intelligentsia, and what is more important for those who rise from the less educated classes, to identify themselves with Russia and Russian culture.

Historical and cultural BBC broadcasts should make the Ukrainian listener proud to be Ukrainian. He should discover in them facts and aspects unknown to him, kept from him, or presented hitherto in a false light.

The linguistic aspect should make him proud of a language of his own, and should make him stick up for linguistic rights in every day of life; in schools and higher education: and in dealing with officialdom.

Ukraine as the forgotten country, is another aspect which needs proper appreciation. Whatever level of consciousness and resistance Ukraine has put up until now was achieved on her own.

Ukrainians were needed as slave labour, and any hopes that Ukraine might play a political role were quickly and ruthlessly snuffed out by Hitler. Since that time Ukrainians have been holding out in total isolation.

Poland, on the other hand, has received invaluable encouragement from the West, through broadcasts, through visits, exchanges and so on. An army of one's own, national emblems and colours, and of late lip service to such previous anathemas as the Polish Home Army. All this has helped immensely.

If in the absence of all such factors Ukrainians are still what they are now, the submerged potential for further advances of national aspirations must be very substantial. Once Ukrainians realise that they are no longer alone and forgotten, once they realise that they are treated as a nation in its own right and given some political weight, that the West has realised their potential, because it is speaking to them in completely new terms, the upsurge of hope will be tremendous, and their spirits will work wonders.

If furthermore they realise that their next door neighbour, the country that has been their beacon, is also counting on them to achieve further progress of its own, this too will strengthen their resolve and give them a sense of importance and self confidence. Someone at last counts on them, treats them as a political subject, as a prospective partner. If all these elements are present their combined effect is bound to be much greater than their simple arithmetical sum.

The criterion of Ukrainian-Polish co-operation in the West should be the necessary complement of what would be taking place in the two countries.

Both nations possess political and academic elites in the Free World which have shown willingness to co-operate.

The content of Polish-Ukrainian co-operation in the West, should exert an influence on the two nations in their homelands.

What cannot be said in Poland and in Ukraine, can be said here. It can be said in such a way that it will not compromise anybody in either country. But it can be broadcast, it can reach millions, and it could be done in unison which would have a unique impact. All sorts of joint ventures can be successfully carried out, some quite spectacular, and all can create an echo in both countries, becoming food for thought and a stimulus.

The West must decide whether it is in its ultimate, long range interest to maintain intact the Soviet empire, in spite of the clearly manifested desires of subject peoples to free themselves. Or, if maintaining intact the Soviet empire is not Western policy, is there a dividing line up to which aspirations for freedom may be helped, and beyond which they will be thwarted, for the West will then side with Moscow to preserve Soviet domination?

To change that balance of power, (to make possible permanent development towards freedom, political, economic, social and religious) is the over-riding necessity of the day. And it can be changed only by making the USSR weaker. And this is where again Poland and Ukraine, acting in co-operation come in, for only they have the necessary potential.

It will require an effort of political imagination for Western policy to make such an adjustment, after 45 years of perseverance with maintaining the status quo. But unless the status quo is challenged and changed such attempts, even in the biggest country of the bloc, Poland, with the greatest number of revolts against the authorities, with the strongest tradition of resistance and successful organisation against repressive regimes, are bound to fail.

If developments in Poland, culminating in the creation of Solidarity, are leading that country in a direction favoured by Western policy, then surely it is likewise in Western interests to see such developments spread and embrace a wider area of Eastern Europe and the USSR. Then all facets of Western policy, principally communications, should be geared to achieving this aim.

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*Dr. Volodymyr KOSYK*

## **THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL RESISTANCE MOVEMENT, 1941-1944**

Although the Second World War broke out in Eastern Europe on September 1st, 1939, with the German invasion of Poland, Ukraine did not directly enter the war until the outbreak of the German-Soviet war on June 22nd, 1941. In Ukraine, as in the other countries, the German occupation gave rise to widespread resistance on the part of the national forces. But in Ukraine the national resistance movement arose out of certain specific circumstances.

Between September 1st, 1939, and June 22nd, 1941, Ukraine suffered a considerable territorial change. The western regions which had formerly belonged to Poland and Rumania were incorporated into the Ukrainian SSR. This development on its part, brought about a fundamental change in the structure of Ukrainian political forces.

In Western Ukraine which was under Polish rule legal political parties which took an active part in the political life of the Polish state, that is in elections, were allowed to exist until September, 1939. Some of them had their own members of parliament, had the right to make use of the press, and enjoyed a certain degree of political freedom. However, in the Ukrainian SSR, Ukrainian political life, even of the most limited kind, was completely destroyed between the years 1930 and 1937, as were the illegal organisations. As a result, in 1939 the only official party in existence in the Ukrainian SSR was the Communist Party (bolshevik) of Ukraine, the KP(b)U. This was purely a component part of the Russian Communist Party (bolshevik), RKP(b) which from December, 1925, began to call itself the All-Union Communist Party (bolshevik), VKP(b). With the arrival of the Red Army on the territory of Western Ukraine (Lviv was occupied on September 19th, 1939), the legal Ukrainian parties ceased to exist and their leaders assured the new rulers of Ukraine that all the activities of their party had ceased.

However, the disappearance of the legal political forces in Western Ukraine did not bring about the same conditions in the Western regions as in Central and Eastern Ukraine. For, at that time, in Western Ukraine there existed a political force which was not as yet affected by the territorial change. This was the illegal underground Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). Having the advantage of deep roots in Western Ukraine, especially among the younger generation, the OUN attempted to utilise this territorial change with the aim of penetrating the Central and Eastern regions of Ukraine.

However, certain elements among the leading circles of the OUN living abroad, led by Col. Andriy Melnyk, developed different ideas about policy and tactics in the new international situation. These differences of opinion

were further exacerbated by the constant tension between the homeland (*kray*) and the emigration, and by the clash of age and personality, as well as by other factors. This strained situation eventually led to the split of the OUN into two different organisations both of which, however, retained the same name. In February, 1940, the younger activists and the representatives of the National Executive of the OUN (in Ukraine) formed the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN. At the Second Great Convention (*Velykyi Zbir*), in April, 1941, they elected Stepan Bandera as their leader. The Revolutionary OUN declared itself in favour of the radicalisation of the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation and the formation of a common anti-Bolshevik front of all the nations subjugated by Soviet Russia.

Therefore, when the war between Germany and the Soviet Union broke out, the structure of Ukrainian political forces was completely different to that of 1939. Apart from the two OUNs, other organised political forces were non-existent although in certain areas, they existed partially in the form of this or that individual. Thus, it was only the two OUNs that had made the necessary preparations for the German-Soviet war, and developed their activities during the occupation. As it turned out, the OUN under the leadership of Stepan Bandera came to play the more prominent role in the resistance movement.

Although both the OUNs were striving towards the establishment of an independent state, they differed in ideas, tactics and strength. German archives state that only Bandera's OUN (OUN-B) had made any advance contingency plans for the immediate implementation of resistance to German rule, in the event of a conflict between Germany and the Soviet Union. In May, 1941, the OUN-B decided that if a war between Germany and the USSR should break out then, "not waiting for anything, on the territory of areas liberated from Bolshevik Moscow's occupation, the OUN will proclaim the establishment of the Ukrainian state and the formation of a government which has to organise and run every aspect of state life"<sup>1</sup>.

This was to take place irrespective of German attitudes and plans. On June 23rd, 1941, the OUN-B delivered a memorandum to the Reich Chancellery which stated that, "even if the German armies will initially be welcomed as liberators upon their entry into Ukraine, this situation can rapidly change if Germany is going into Ukraine with any intention other than that of restoring the Ukrainian state"<sup>2</sup>. The memorandum went on to

<sup>1</sup> *OUN v svitli postanov Velykykh Zboriv, Konferentsiy ta inshykh dokumentiv borotby, 1929-1955*, Munich, 1955, p. 52.

<sup>2</sup> *Denkschrift der Organisation Ukrainischer Nationalisten zur Lösung der ukrainischer Frage*, S. 6. BA. R 43/1500, f. 69. This memorandum was written by a special commission of the OUN-B and was delivered to the Reich Chancellery on the instructions of Stepan Bandera by Volodymyr Stakhiv, the representative of the OUN-B in Berlin. The Reich Chancellery sent copies of this memorandum to the OKW, to Reichsführer Himmler, to Rosenberg and to the Foreign Ministry, but it did not think it necessary to inform Hitler about it. The memorandum was intended to persuade the German government about the necessity of the formation of an independent Ukrainian state as an equal and sovereign partner and ally in the war against Soviet Russia which occupied Ukraine at that time.

say that the military occupation of Eastern Europe is for the long run completely impossible, and that in Ukraine, "the slightest coercion will bring about adverse results"<sup>3</sup>.

The memorandum also contained a translation of the decisions of the Second Convention (*Velykyi Zbir*) held in April, 1941, which stated that Bandera's OUN is fighting for an independent and sovereign Ukrainian state, for the liberation of the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia subjugated by Moscow, and that it "will continue, with all its strength, the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the Ukrainian nation, regardless of all territorial and political changes which would take place on the territory of Eastern Europe"<sup>4</sup>, even in the event of a German occupation of Ukraine.

It must be stressed that the Germans did not have a clear and unanimous policy towards Ukraine. Rosenberg's well-known speech delivered on June 20th, 1941, in which he outlined his plan for the solution of the problem of Eastern Europe, was merely an abstract examination of his ideas which Hitler did not intend to take into account. Rosenberg proposed the creation of 4 blocs: Great Finland, the Baltic States, Ukraine and the Caucasus. But it was only Hitler himself who could make decisions concerning the rebuilding of Eastern Europe, and he did not intend to allow the Ukrainians to have their own independent national state<sup>5</sup>.

Eight days after the outbreak of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union, and 7 days after the delivery of the memorandum, the OUN-B began to put its plan into effect, by proclaiming the restoration of an independent Ukrainian state, in Lviv, on June 30th, 1941.

By this proclamation and the formation of a Ukrainian government led by Yaroslav Stetsko, the OUN-B turned the Germans against itself. As a result, already on July 2nd, Berlin ordered the implementation of counter-measures. A German report from July 3rd, 1941, about the situation on the occupied territories of the USSR, states that the Ukrainians under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, "in proclaiming the Ukrainian Republic" and organising a militia on their own initiative, were attempting to "confront the German authorities with a complete *fait-accomplî*". This same report also states that one of the leaflets distributed by "Bandera's group" said that the Ukrainian liberation movement which was persecuted earlier on by the Polish police, will now be persecuted by the German police<sup>6</sup>.

That same day, on the instructions of the SD (Sicher-Dienst, German security police) and Rosenberg, the Under-Secretary of the Nazi government, Kundt, began interrogations in connection with the declaration of independence in Ukraine. At first, Kundt interrogated the leaders of the

<sup>3</sup> *ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>4</sup> Sec *OUN v svitli...*, p. 31.

<sup>5</sup> Hitler treated the Ukrainians with great contempt. He regarded them as an inferior race and was completely opposed to an independent Ukraine. In September, 1941, he stated that he regarded Stalin as one of the greatest contemporary figures because he had managed, with the aid of force, to create a state out of the Slav "race of rabbits". Cf. BA, Tischgespräche. Bericht no. 32 (19. 9. 1941) und no 37 (24 September, 1941).

<sup>6</sup> Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 11, Berlin, den 3 Juli 1941, S. 2-3.

Ukrainian National Committee in Cracow and Stepan Bandera himself. Bandera took all the responsibility upon himself, stating that as leader of the OUN-B which stands at the head of the Ukrainian nation and is the only organisation to conduct the struggle for the realisation of the dreams of the Ukrainian nation, he gave the instructions to proclaim the Ukrainian state. Bandera stressed that in the process of doing this he never based himself on any agreement with the German authorities, "but only on the mandate which he had received from the Ukrainians"<sup>7</sup>.

On the 5th of July, Bandera was arrested and deported to Berlin for further interrogation and house arrest, and on September 15th, 1941, he was sent to Sachsenhausen concentration camp. On the 5th and 6th of July, all the other leaders of the OUN-B, as well as Ukrainian political activists living abroad, were notified that they were under house arrest. At a special meeting the leaders of the OUN-B in Lviv (Stetsko, Lebed, Starukh, Klymiv-Legenda, Rebet, Ravlyk and Turkovskiyi examined the situation and discussed the possibility of an immediate rising against the German authorities. Having arrived at the conclusion that an uprising could not succeed without prior preparations and adequate measures, they decided to begin appropriate psychological, administrative, organisational and military preparations. When the time was right, and once everything would be ready, they would then begin a wide-scale insurrection against the Third Reich<sup>8</sup>.

The next day, July 11th, 1941, Yaroslav Stetsko and his assistant, Roman Hlyntzkyj, were arrested and sent to Berlin. After interrogation and house arrest, Stetsko was imprisoned in Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

Such were the beginnings of the Ukrainian resistance movement and its struggle against the German occupant. Now the Ukrainian resistance movement had entered its second phase — that of the organisation of a wide-scale military struggle and the necessary preparation for it.

On July 12th, 1941, the Germans discovered that one of the Task Forces (*pokhidni hrupy*) of the OUN-B\* had the task of making its way to Kyiv in order to form a Ukrainian government, as had already been done in Lviv<sup>9</sup>. In Lviv, the OUN-B refused to declare loyalty to the German authorities and demanded an explanation of the whole issue of Ukrainian independence and the release of Stepan Bandera<sup>10</sup>. The German occupational authorities forbade the creation of press organs of the OUN-B<sup>11</sup>. In a report on the situation on the occupied territories of the USSR from July 17th, the Germans stated that the propaganda activity of the OUN-B was being

7 Niederschrift über die Rücksprache mit Mitgliedern des Ukrainischen Nationalkomitees und Stepan Bandera vom 3. 7. 1941, S. 11, 14.

8 Cf. Roman Hlyntzkyj, *Deutschland und die Ukraine, 1934-1945*, München. 1958, S. 194-195.

\* The *Pokhidni Hrupy* were staffed by members of the OUN who followed the German front and were charged with organising Ukrainian administrations and propagating the ideas of Ukrainian liberation.

9 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 20, S. 1.

10 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 23, S. 16.

11 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 25, S. 3.

conducted "according to a well-thought-out plan". After the proclamation of independence in Lviv, manifestations of independence occurred in nearly every Ukrainian town and city, immediately after the arrival of the German armies. Everywhere the OUN-B organised local administrations and militia, printed newspapers without the permission of the occupational authorities, distributed its leaflets<sup>12</sup> and appealed to the people not to surrender their arms to the Germans<sup>13</sup>.

Meanwhile, the arrest of members of the OUN-B continued. On August 9th, 1941, Stepan Lenkavskiy, head of the propaganda section of the Executive of the OUN-B, was arrested. The Germans confirmed the effectiveness of the OUN-B's activities by stating that once the rural population of Halychyna which was incorporated into the General Government came under the influence of the OUN-B, it became discontented and that the "hostile feelings are spread among the Ukrainians, as previously, by Bandera's group"<sup>14</sup>.

The Germans proceeded to occupy increasingly greater areas of Ukraine enabling the Ukrainian resistance movement to spread its activities outside the borders of Halychyna. Already on August 12th, 1941, the Germans noticed the widespread activity of the OUN-B in Volyn and Polissia, including Brest-Litovsk<sup>15</sup>, and on August 14th, confirmed that OUN-B had spread its propaganda activities directed towards the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state, also into Central Ukraine (Zhytomyr, Berdychiv, Vinnytsia, and other towns and cities). In addition, the Germans noticed an increasingly hostile anti-German trait in the propaganda campaign, and registered the spread of Klymiv-Legenda's call to the people to form a revolutionary Ukrainian army<sup>16</sup>. In Lviv the OUN-B carried out a collection to increase their financial resources for the struggle. This enabled the OUN-B to put up posters which stressed the necessity of forming a Ukrainian state according to the slogan: "Ukraine for the Ukrainians"<sup>17</sup>.

In mid-August, 1941, that is almost 2 months after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war, the first Ukrainian national partisan unit appeared in the area around Pinsk in Polissia, North-Western Ukraine. The report of the situation on the occupied territories of the USSR of August 20th, stated that this unit, about 20 or 30 men strong, "disturbed the vicinity" with the slogan "Down with German rule, we want a free Ukraine without Germans, Poles and Russians"\*. At this time, "the resistance movement put up posters in Ternopil", and in Lviv 9 people were arrested for the forgery of

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12 *Ibid.*, S. 4, 5, 6.

13 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, no. 44, S. 3.

14 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 47, S. 5.

15 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 50, S. 3.

16 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 52, S. 10.

17 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 56, S. 3.

\* This was an independent unit which was probably destroyed later, and not the "Polissian Sich" which was a police unit formed with the agreement of the German army.

documents<sup>18</sup>. On September 7th, the leader of the Northern Task Force of the OUN-B, Mykola Klymyshyn, was arrested. He was sent to Auschwitz.

The Germans realised that the OUN-B was forming its own militia, and trying to get control of the existing militia in the towns and villages, with the aim of forming the nucleus of a national army. Therefore, they arranged for the militia to be disarmed and in its place began to create a police force under their direct command and control. In September, 1941, agitation and insurrections by the OUN-B on all the territories occupied by the Germans, were greatly intensified. In their reports Germans confirmed that "in Eastern Ukraine only the Bolsheviks and the groups of Bandera were spreading propaganda"<sup>19</sup>.

On September 15th, the Germans carried out mass arrests of members and sympathizers of the OUN-B, throughout the whole of Ukraine and abroad. Hundreds of Ukrainians ended up in prisons and concentration camps. From then on, constant repression and arrests were continued on a mass-scale. At the same time, the scale of terrorist actions against the occupational authorities were intensified. For example, M. Sendega, an officer of the police, was assassinated in Lviv, on September 19th. In retaliation, the Germans shot 30 hostages (100 according to Ukrainian sources)<sup>20</sup>.

But the mass arrests of OUN-B members did not put a stop to the activities of this underground organisation. At its First Conference, in September, 1941, the OUN-B decided to publish an illegal press, to expand its anti-Soviet and anti-German propaganda, to fight against excess contingencies, to encourage the population to conceal their possessions before the Germans, to intensify propaganda and informative preparations for the active struggle against the German occupants, to collect and store arms, and to carry out the training of the first cadres of leaders and military commanders<sup>21</sup>.

In October and November, the underground activities of the OUN-B spread into the Central and Eastern regions of Ukraine (Mykolayiv, Dnipropetrovsk, Kyiv and other towns and cities). The Germans regarded this activity as dangerous from all angles. In October, the leader of Task Force "Centre" of the OUN-B, Mykola Lemko, was arrested in Kyiv. The results of the activity of the OUN-B were as stated in the German report on the situation on the occupied territories of the USSR of November 5th, 1941. This report stated that among the population of the different areas of Ukraine, the will to work had become reduced and discontent with directions issued by the Germans had increased<sup>22</sup>. To break the activity of the OUN-B at all costs, the occupational authorities carried out constant arrests. Because this organisation was preparing an uprising, the SD issued orders on November

18 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 58, S. 5.

19 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 86, S. 29.

20 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 119, S. 1-2.

21 Mykola Lebed, *The Ukrainian Insurgent Army*, Munich, 1946, p. 17.

22 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 129, S. 15.

25th, that all the activists of the OUN-B in the Reichskommissariat Ukraine were to be arrested and shot as pillagers after interrogation<sup>23</sup>.

The Germans were also watching the activities of other Ukrainian groups including the OUN of Melnyk (OUN-M). In a SD report of November 14th, 1941, it was stated for the first time that the aim of the OUN-M was also the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state, but because it was characterised by a "lack of initiative", it did not yet "pose a serious threat"<sup>24</sup>. In Kyiv, on December 4th, 1941, the OUN-M issued new instructions on the change of tactics and methods in Naddniprianshchyna. The OUN-M now decided to change over to illegal activity. These instructions stated that it was necessary to form a "highly-secret underground organisational network" and to "make preparations for a long, slow and persistent struggle with the German occupant"<sup>25</sup>. The first arrests of the OUN-M members for illegal political activities occurred in December (I. Rohach). But they began in earnest in February, 1942, when O. Teliha and many others were arrested. In January, 1942, the Germans already knew that the OUN-B was in contact with certain people from the OUN-M in Kyiv<sup>26</sup>.

In addition, the Germans repressed all manifestations of ordinary Ukrainian patriots which had nothing in common with underground revolutionary activity. An example of this is the mass arrests which came as a consequence of the commemoration of the tragedy of Bazar\* in November, 1941. Later on 721 Ukrainians were arrested, among which there were members of both the OUN-B and the OUN-M<sup>27</sup>.

In December, the Germans once again confirmed that "in Ukraine, apart from the group OUN-B, there was no other organised resistance which could have been dangerous" and thus "measures for the uncovering of the Bandera group were greatly intensified"<sup>28</sup>. The OUN-B also spread its activity to the Crimea. As a result, arrests of its members occurred in Simferopil, Zhytomyr, Stalino, and other towns and cities. The Germans discovered that the OUN-B was planning to form partisan groups "from the members of the militia who were loyal to Bandera". The leadership of the

23 IMT 014-UdSSR.

24 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 133, S. 31.

25 *Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, 1929-1954*. Collection of articles, Paris, 1955, p. 271. Another activist of the OUN-M mentions the date when the OUN-M in Kyiv went underground as January 7th, 1942. *Ibid.*, p. 335.

26 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 156, S. 48. One of the reports of the SD mentions for the first time about the discovery of an illegal cell of the OUN-M at the beginning of February, 1942, cf. Ereignismeldung UdSSR No. 191, S. 37.

\* In November, 1921, General Yuriy Tiutiunyk led a volunteer force into Ukraine hoping to stir a general uprising against the Bolsheviks. They were surrounded by overwhelming Bolshevik forces which drove them into retreat. Their last battle occurred near the village of Minky. Five hundred Ukrainian soldiers were killed and the remaining 359 were captured and shot by a Bolshevik firing squad in the village of Bazar in Volyn. This signalled the end of the Ukrainian war of liberation (1917-1921).

27 *Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists...*, p. 269-270.

28 Tätigkeits und Lagebericht no. 8 der Einsatzgruppen der Sicherheitspolizei und des SD in der UdSSR, S. 14.

OUN-B did not expect a German victory. The OUN-B was counting on Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia exhausting themselves by the war to such a degree that they would be unable to oppose the establishment of a Ukrainian state<sup>29</sup>. Thus, the OUN-B intensified its preparations for a two-front war against Nazi German and Soviet Russian imperialism.

A SD report of February, 1942, stated that because "no co-operation at all is possible with the OUN-B", "only one option remains — the total liquidation of this movement"<sup>30</sup>. The Germans were aware that the OUN-B continued its preparations for a wide-scale armed struggle, and that its members were instructing the people to collect all the arms and ammunition left behind by the Red Army. In its leaflets the OUN-B presented the German army as the main enemy<sup>31</sup>. Mostly young people filled the ranks of the OUN-B<sup>32</sup>, and a secret network of this organisation encompassed increasingly more towns and villages. In Klevan, Volyn region, where a secret training course was being held under the cover of an official school for the militia, in January 1942, a whole line of members of the OUN-B were arrested. In their confessions they confirmed that the OUN-B was storing arms and getting ready for an uprising. The investigation showed that the OUN-B was also trying to make contacts with its members abroad<sup>33</sup>. At that time, about 300 people were arrested in Kyiv<sup>34</sup>.

From March, 1942, the Germans were already clearly talking about a "Ukrainian resistance movement"<sup>35</sup>. Despite the fact that the Germans arrested dozens of OUN-B members every week, throughout the winter months this movement spread into the furthest corners of Ukraine and a wide intelligence network was organised<sup>36</sup>.

In the central regions of Ukraine an organisation called the "Free Cossacks" came into being which co-operated with the OUN-B<sup>37</sup>. It was later liquidated by the Germans. In March, 1942, the mayor of Poltava who held meetings with members of the OUN-B in the Town Hall, was arrested. During these meetings they discussed the necessary preparations for the forming of a Ukrainian army to fight the Wehrmacht<sup>38</sup>.

In April, 1942, the OUN-B held its Second Conference, during which it was decided not to waste the nation's energy on minor partisan warfare, but to conserve it for a wide-scale national insurgent movement. The OUN-B formulated its policy around two objectives: "firstly, around the formation and development of its own revolutionary-political and military forces, and secondly, around the purely Ukrainian concepts of independence and

29 *Ibid.*, S. 15-16.

30 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 164, S. 5.

31 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 143, S. 4.

32 Tätigkeits und Lagebericht No. 9, S. 18.

33 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 156, S. 49; No. 164, S. 4.

34 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 164, S. 3.

35 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 177, S. 5; No. 183, S. 9.

36 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 187, S. 17.

37 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 177, S. 17.

38 Ereignismeldung UdSSR, No. 191, S. 46.

sovereignty, geared to the revolutionary struggle..." Thus, the OUN-B opposed the Soviet Russian concept of Internationalism and the German concept of a "New Europe" with its own "international concept of a just national, political, and economic reconstruction of Europe on the basis of independent national states under the slogan: 'Freedom to nations and to the individual'." Having instilled the people with hostility towards every occupant and invader, the OUN-B decided to fight "all vain hopes of foreign aid and benevolence", and to foster an "all-national desire to win independence and sovereignty for Ukraine"<sup>39</sup>.

In the spring of 1942, the psychological and informative preparations for the armed struggle were greatly intensified by means of leaflets and publications. At the beginning of May, the regional leader of the OUN-B, Serhiy Kachynskiy-Ostap, held a meeting of his executive at which he read out the instructions of the provincial leader of the north-western areas, which said that all the arms which had been stored were to be prepared for use immediately<sup>40</sup>. The OUN-B organised numerous clandestine training courses. At the same time a wide-spread campaign was put into effect to prevent the people from volunteering for work in Germany<sup>41</sup>.

From May, 1942, the OUN-B organised small armed self-defence groups in North-Western Ukraine and also in the area around Kamianets-Podilskiy. These groups were filled with people from the General Government<sup>42</sup>. At about the the same time the partisan unit of T. Bulba-Borovets came into existence and very quickly gained much publicity. In its publications "By the Sword", "Free Ukraine" and "The Flag of the Young", the OUN-B conducted a sharp anti-German and anti-Soviet propaganda, explained the German colonial policy to the people, and called on the population to carry out various acts of sabotage. In consequence these actions, along with assassinations, were greatly increased in July, 1942. In August, the Germans stated that the moderate OUN-M had in places also gone over to open anti-German propaganda<sup>43</sup>.

According to reports of the German Army Headquarters in Ukraine, on the 16th of October, 1942, in the area of Sarny, armed groups of Ukrainian nationalists joined into one big group which was constantly increasing in size<sup>44</sup>. This information which is noted in a German report conforms exactly with the date of the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). From this day on, the Ukrainian resistance movement became a large-scale national uprising.

Small Ukrainian units in Polissia merged together under the command of Ostap-Serhiy Kachynskiy, the military representative of the provincial

39 *OUN v svitli...*, p. 62-63, 68.

40 Meldung aus den besetzten Ostgebieten, No. 10, S. 2.

41 *Ibid.*, S. 2.

42 *Ibid.*, No. 26, S. 7; No. 14, S. 4.

43 *Ibid.*, No. 16, S. 8.

44 Nachrichten über den Feind, Bericht Mitte August bis Mitte Oktober, No. 21. H.Qu. 29. 10. 42. S. 1.

leadership of the north-western areas, and in Volyn under the command of Captain Dovbenko-Korobka. After appropriate training and preparation, units of the UPA took part in large-scale battles with the Germans. One such battle was the attack on the town of Volodymyrets at the beginning of February, 1943<sup>45</sup>. From then on large-scale military operations became more frequent. During the initial battles both of the UPA's first commanders, Ostap and Korobka were killed. At the same time, new units of the UPA were constantly being formed. In Volyn, the OUN-M also organised a partisan unit of its own.

The UPA grew in size and strength very quickly. Individual soldiers and even entire units of the Schutzmannschaft (police) went over to the Ukrainian partisans. One of the tasks of the UPA was to clear certain areas of Soviet partisans which were in existence since 1941. These partisans were helped and led by Moscow.

In April, 1943, Ukrainian partisan units also appeared in Podillia (Yarmolyinka, Proskuriv, Kamianets-Podilskyi). In Volyn and Polissia they occupied "the regions of Horokhiv, Luboml, Dubno, Kremianets and partly that of Lutsk, so that in actual fact one should talk of an insurgent movement"<sup>46</sup>. So wrote the General Commissar of Volyn and Podillia. This information taken from German sources completely confirmed reports of the UPA<sup>47</sup>. At the beginning of April the Reichskommissar of Ukraine, Koch, reported that "the appearance of national Ukrainian bands in the district of Kremianets, Dubno, Kostopil and Rivne is especially dangerous. On the night of 20th-21st March, they attacked several supply bases (Kreisswirtschaft) in the Kremianets district, and completely destroyed one of them; 12 Germans were killed..."<sup>48</sup>.

At a conference held in Rivne on June 5th, 1943, in the presence of Rosenberg, the Head of the Reich Ministry for the Occupied Eastern Territories, the General Commissar of Volyn and Podillia, Schoene stated that in his commissariat "Ukrainian nationalists create greater problems than the Bolshevik bands"<sup>49</sup>. The Gebietskommissar of Sarny confirmed the "great increase of partisans" from the autumn of 1942, and stated that up till that time, more than 100 Germans had already been killed in his district. The Gebietskommissar of Lutsk made a very similar report, stressing that the recruitment of workers for Germany was becoming impossible because the people did not want to go, and those who had been recruited were set free by the Ukrainian insurgents<sup>50</sup>.

In General, the operations of the UPA were on a somewhat larger scale. In March and April, 1943, the UPA occupied several towns during the course

45 *UPA, A Collection of Documents*, Vol. 2, p. 5.

46 Der Generalkommissar für Wolhynien und Podolien. Bericht vom 30 April, 1943 (II), S. 1.

47 *UPA, A Collection...*, p. 10-12.

48 Lagebericht vom 4 April, 1943, S. 5.

49 Stichwortprotokoll über die Dienstbesprechung beim Generalkommissar Wolhynien und Podolien in Rowno am 5 Juni, 1943, S. 2.

50 *Ibid.*, S. 3-4.

of its battles. As a result, the prisons in Kremianets, Dubno, Kovel, Lutsk and Rivne were opened up and the prisoners set free. In April, the districts of Mizozh, Ostrih, Shumsk, Kremianets, and Verba were completely liberated. The UPA also conducted military operations in Yarmolyntsi, Shuman, in the district of Kostopil and Volodymyr, as well as in other areas. In consequence, in April, 1943, alone some 600 Germans were killed in battles against the UPA<sup>51</sup>.

The Ukrainian partisans continuously raided German economic, industrial, transport and military objectives, and very soon the Germans lost control over the wide forest lands of Polissia, Volyn and Podillia. They suffered great losses. In some districts the production of bread fell in 1943 to the following levels: Pinsk — 28%; Kostopil — 32-35%; Sarny — 25-30%<sup>52</sup>. The pre-arranged supply of 6000 tons of bread a month from Volyn fell to a mere 1,920 tons. The lines of communication with the front line became extremely dangerous<sup>53</sup>. As a result, defensive forces had to be increased everywhere, something the Germans were not always able to do.

But the Ukrainian resistance movement did not limit itself to the military operations of the UPA and the few minor independent units (those of Bulba, the OUN-M, and Yavorenko) which did not integrate themselves into the UPA. The OUN-B continued its underground anti-German activity both in Ukraine and abroad. German archives, while testifying to the veracity and scope of this activity, provide a great deal of information on the repressions against the OUN-B. There is, however, relatively little information on the OUN-M which only partially led an underground activity in Ukraine.

Many members of the OUN-B were shot or hanged in Ukraine, while others found themselves in German concentration camps. The leader of the OUN-B in Eastern Ukraine, Dmytro Myron-Orlyk was shot by the SD in Kyiv, on July 25th, 1942. On November 27th, the Germans shot Andriy Piasetskyi, a minister in the government of Yaroslav Stetsko, together with 100 other Ukrainians in retaliation for the killing of a member of the SD. (Piasetskyi was not a member of the OUN). In December, 1942, the SD arrested 2 members of the Leadership of the OUN-B, Yaroslav Starukh and Ivan Klymiv-Legenda. The latter was shortly afterwards murdered by the Germans.

In November, 1942, the Germans carried out mass arrests of OUN-B members in Germany. As a result, 48 people were arrested in Braunschweig, 10 in Dresden, 210 in Berlin, Hamburg, Hannover, Leipzig, Hildesheim and Potsdam<sup>54</sup>. That same month, arrests of OUN-B members were also made in Kherson and Kyiv. At that time, a prominent member of the OUN-M, Vasyly Kuzmyk, was also arrested. In Zhytomyr, 15 people, including a priest,

51 UPA, A Collection..., p. 9-12.

52 Meldungen aus dem besetzten..., No. 32, S. 3.

53 Überblick über die Bandenlage. Anlage zu Wi vom 23. 9. 43, S. 2.

54 Meldungen aus den besetzten..., No. 8, S. 6-7.

were arrested for attempting to form a Ukrainian National Party<sup>55</sup>. In December, new arrests of OUN-B members were made — 18 in Lviv, 29 in Kyiv, 13 in Rivne, and 10 in the area of Mykolayiv<sup>56</sup>. The arrests continued in January and February, 1943, — 28 in Germany; 6 in Prague; 55 in Hannover, and 136 in Berlin<sup>57</sup>. In March, 12 people were arrested in Rozhizna, 22 in Ostrih, and 40 in Kyiv<sup>58</sup>. The information, found in German archives, on the arrests of OUN-B members can be listed indefinitely.

In February, 1943, the OUN-B held its Third Conference which endorsed the previous direction of the two-front struggle against the two imperialist powers — Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia. The OUN-B opposed them with the “idea of independent national states of the European nations on their ethnographic territories as the most progressive idea of that time, the idea of an order based on the principle of the freedom of nations and the individual”<sup>59</sup>.

In March, 1943, the Germans stated that the OUN-B constantly increased its anti-German activity with the help of leaflets and publications which talked of the “final battle” with the “German barbarians”. The OUN-B had at its disposal 15,000 rifles, 45,000 grenades, and 1,550 pistols<sup>60</sup>. In June, the Germans announced that “full control of the Ukrainian nationalist bands lies unquestionably in the hands of the OUN-B movement”<sup>61</sup>. The partisan attacks on German positions increased in number and scale. For instance, in July, 1943, there were 295 such attacks, whereas in August, the number had risen to 391. As regards sabotage, there were 682 cases of sabotage on railway lines in July, and 1,034 in August. In July, there were 119 attacks on economic targets and 151 in August<sup>62</sup>.

The Germans greatly increased their repressions not only to suppress the activity of the OUN-B and to liquidate the UPA, but also to destroy all manifestations of Ukrainian patriotism and the will to achieve independence. Thus, the Germans shot 200 people in Nikopil in February, 1942, 120 in Kirovohrad in January, 1943, and 483 in Slavhorod in March, 1943. Having set up extraordinary courts in Halychyna in October, 1943, the Germans sentenced to death and shot some 1,571 Ukrainian patriots in the space of a few months, according to an incomplete account<sup>63</sup>. During counter-insurgency operations, the Germans destroyed Ukrainian villages, very often together with the inhabitants. For example, in September, 1942, they destroyed the village of Kortelisy along with 2,892 of its inhabitants, who were locked

55 *Ibid.*, No. 29, S. 9.

56 *Ibid.*, No. 33, S. 4.

57 *Ibid.*, No. 36, S. 3-4; No. 41, S. 8.

58 *Ibid.*, No. 46, S. 10.

59 *OUN v svitli...*, p. 81.

60 *Meldungen aus den besetzten...*, No. 46, S. 10.

61 *Der Höhere SS und Polizeiführer. Bericht vom 30 Juni, 1943*, S. 3.

62 *Notiz über die Besprechung Bfh. H. Geb. Süd mit RKU am 16. 9. 43 in Rowno*, S. 10.

63 Lev Shankovskyi, “Les nationalistes ukrainiens dans la lutte contre L’occupant nazi” *L’Est Europeen*, No. 81, fevrier 1969, p. 21.

up in the church and other buildings which were then set on fire. The same fate met the village of Malyn in July, 1943, where 740 of its inhabitants were killed, as well as many other Ukrainian villages.

But the Germans also suffered substantial losses. Hundreds of Germans, both civilian and military, were killed by the Ukrainian insurgents and members of the resistance movement. According to incomplete information, during battles in Volyn, in July, August, and September, the UPA lost some 1,237 officers and men killed and wounded, whereas the Germans suffered 3000 casualties; in October and November, the UPA lost 414 people and the Germans over 1,500<sup>64</sup>.

At the Third Extraordinary General Congress of the OUN-B held in August, 1943, the return of the Soviet Russian occupation was discussed and the methods of fighting it were chosen. But the struggle against the Germans continued. Because the Germans often sent out units which had been formed out of former prisoners of the Red Army who consisted of many nationalities, the General Command of the UPA led an anti-German propagandă campaign among these units, calling on them to come over to the side of the insurgents. As a result, in the summer of 1943, national units of the soldiers who had deserted to the side of the partisans began to be formed in the ranks of the UPA. The question of establishing cooperation with the other nationalities in order to continue the common struggle as allies attained a primary position in all discussions. These issues formed the agenda for the First Conference of the subjugated peoples of Eastern Europe and Asia which took place in November, 1943, on the initiative of the UPA and the OUN-B.

On the 6th of November, 1943, the Soviet army occupied Kyiv and very shortly it approached the areas where the UPA operated. As the front moved southwards and to the west, it split these areas in two and, thus, part of the UPA began the new struggle with units of the NKVD and the Red Army, while the other part continued to fight the retreating Germans, as well as the remaining Soviet partisans. At the beginning of February, 1944, the Soviet army occupied Lutsk; on the 15th of April it took Ternopil; on July 27th the Soviet armies entered Lviv; and on the 6th of August they occupied Drohobych.

In January, 1944, the UPA fought several battles with the Germans in the Kamianets-Podilskyi region, at Brody, and in the district of Radekhiv. In February, there were battles with the Germans in the districts of Stanyslaviv, Chortkiv, Brody, Terebovlia, Horodenky, Zhabia, Sokal and Lviv. In March, the UPA fought the Germans around Berezhany, Kolomyia, Stanyslaviv, Terebovlia, Rohatyn, Kalush, Chortkiv and Halych. At the same time, all German property in the districts of Zbarazh, Ternopil, Skalat and Kolomyia, was destroyed. In April, the UPA fought a series of battles against the Germans in the areas of Stanyslaviv, Sokal, Kalush, Berezhany, Kolomyia and in the region of Cholm. Between May and August there were

<sup>64</sup> Lev Shankovskyyi, "The Ukrainian Insurgent Army", *History of the Ukrainian Army*, Winnipeg, 1953, p. 672, 676.

battles in various districts of Stanyslaviv, Radekhiv, Peremyshl, Kalush, Rohatyn, Kosov, Dolyna, Skalat, Sokal, Sambir, Stryi, Turky, Pidbuzha, Zhuravne, Drohobych and Kolomyia<sup>65</sup>.

Although the Germans were already retreating from Ukraine, they did not change their policy towards the Ukrainian people and its aspirations to independence. In the second half of November, 1943, Taras Bulba-Borovets came to Berlin to negotiate an alliance between his partisan unit which did not come into the structure of the UPA and the Germans in the common struggle against the Soviet Russians. Instead, he was arrested and sent to Sachsenhausen. In the regions of Ukraine still under Nazi occupation, the Germans continued their repressions and executed dozens of Ukrainian nationalists and members of the resistance movement. The arrests continued right up till the very end. On February 28th, 1944, Col. Andriy Melnyk was arrested in Berlin together with the leadership of the OUN-M and many of its members who, until that time, like Melnyk, were living illegally in Germany. In May, 1944, the Germans arrested O. Kandyba-Olzhych, one of the leading members of the OUN-M. He was murdered in Sachsenhausen concentration camp.

The last battle fought by the UPA against the retreating German forces took place on September 1st, 1944<sup>66</sup>, in the southern area of Kolomyia. At that time, nearly all the territories of Ukraine, with the exception of Zakarpattia and Zasiannia, were already in the hands of the Soviet army. From then on Ukraine entered a new phase in its struggle for life and independence.

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<sup>65</sup> *UPA, A Collection...*, Vol. 2, p. 31-70.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.

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*E. ORLOVSKYI*

## REMARKS ON RADIO "LIBERTY"

### I. The Importance of Psychological Warfare

Political-psychological warfare is a fundamental element in the fight against Russian-Communist imperialism. It is a means widely and effectively used by Moscow against the West through such activities as disinformation campaigns, the funding and supporting of "peace movements", and in their proclamations against Western "colonialism".

Unfortunately, Radio Liberty and other Western broadcasts do not make effective use of political-psychological tactics and their programmes do not support national liberation movements. In particular, the Ukrainian service of Radio Liberty does not espouse or promote the notions of national liberation or the dissolution of the Russian empire.

The President of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, James Buckley, and the Director of Radio Liberty, George Bailey, have understood the idea of national liberation and have come to realise the complex of values and ideals of the Ukrainian nation. Realising the importance of promoting these notions, they initiated a new political line for broadcasts to Ukraine. Although these programmes do not yet fully reflect the desires and aspirations of the Ukrainian nation, they are a positive call for the Ukrainian listeners in Ukraine.

The Ukrainian broadcasts on Radio Liberty should reflect the fundamental desires of the Ukrainian nation in terms of the fulfilment of her national, political, cultural, religious and social ideals against those forced upon her by the Russian-Communist and godless way of life.

In June, 1941, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), under the leadership of Stepan Bandera and with the blessing of both Ukrainian Churches initiated the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence by the National Revolutionary Assembly and started a two-front war against Nazi Germany and Communist Russia.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and OUN continued their armed struggle against the Soviet Russian occupiers of Ukraine until 1953. Ukrainian nationalists imprisoned in Soviet Russian concentration camps organised and took part in numerous uprisings throughout camps in Siberia. All of this attests to the invincible and unyielding struggle of the Ukrainian nation for national independence.

The initial efforts by Radio Liberty to commemorate the heroic two-front war by the Ukrainian nation against National Socialism and Bolshevism

caused an immediate reaction by Moscow. It unleashed a fierce campaign of disinformation against the Ukrainian service of Radio Liberty, against its President James Buckley and the Director, George Bailey, as well as against the Ukrainian nationalists who simultaneously fought against Nazi Germany and Communist Russia.

The KGB and its allies in the West initiated a programme aimed at defaming Stepan Bandera, General Taras Chuprynka-Roman Shukhevych, the Head of OUN — Yaroslav Stetsko, and the numerous Ukrainian nationalists who sat in German concentration camps. The KGB has tried to depict all of these individuals as Nazi collaborators and the destroyers of Jews. This is a plain provocation and a lie.

Stepan Bandera spent many years in Nazi camps. His two brothers were murdered in the Auschwitz concentration camp and his brother-in-law was killed by the Gestapo while in a prison in Lviv. Yaroslav Stetsko served a long term in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. In addition, other members of the Ukrainian Government were also sent to camps and three of them were murdered by the Gestapo.

It is well known that many Jews, particularly Jewish doctors, were members of the UPA and that the UPA defended Jewish settlements. Several documents testify to the fact that many Ukrainian nationalists were shot or hung by the Gestapo for helping Jews during the Second World War.

In November, 1943, a Conference of 13 subjugated nations was held in the forests of Zhytomyr in Ukraine. The proclamation issued by this Conference endorsed the concept of a united front against Bolshevism and Nazism first initiated by the OUN and the UPA.

The fact that the KGB began an intense disinformation campaign against the Ukrainian service of Radio Liberty testifies to the fact that the new direction taken by this desk is particularly irritating to the Russian Communist empire. The Kremlin most fears this type of broadcasting as it serves to mobilise and encourage the Ukrainian nation to continue its liberation struggle in accordance with the ideals set up by the OUN and the UPA. Moscow seeks, at all costs, to discredit these organisations in the eyes of the Western world, particularly in the USA.

We, therefore, believe it to be absolutely essential that the West focus on the political-psychological campaign being pursued by Moscow today. This campaign seeks to disorientate those leaders in the US, and in the West in general, who would promote political-psychological activities favourable to the Ukrainian Liberation Front. It tries to influence those that seek to pursue a political-psychological struggle against Bolshevism and Russian imperialism whose goal is to dominate the entire world.

The Kremlin has attempted to discredit Ukrainian nationalists who fought on a two-front war against Bolshevism and Nazism by calling them Nazi collaborators. The insidious tactic is directed against those same Ukrainians that defended and continue to defend the interests of Ukraine and who became the symbols of her struggle for national independence and democratic freedoms.

Proof of the anti-Nazi struggle of the OUN and the UPA is found in many documents. The former Soviet leader, Khrushchev, writes about the war on two fronts by the UPA in his memoirs. He states :

"During the second half of the war Bandera fought against both us and the Germans. Later, after the war, in a bitter struggle between the Ukrainian nationalists and the forces of Soviet Power, we lost thousands of men". (Khrushchev Remembers. Translated and edited by Strobe Talbott. Little, Brown and Co., 1970).

The commentator on Khrushchev's book, Mr. Edward Crankshaw, a British expert on Soviet affairs, writes the following :

"For some years after the war, until he was killed (in 1959), Stepan Bandera presented a very serious problem to the Soviet authorities. For obvious reasons his activities have never been published, but it took large scale military and police operations, with all the paraphernalia of tanks, aircraft and heavy artillery to break up the rebel forces, composed of dedicated Ukrainian nationalists, deserters from the Soviet armed forces, former prisoners of war and displaced persons of all nationalities, all united in fear and hatred of Moscow". (*Khrushchev Remembers*, pp. 140-141).

## **II. On Mr. Critchlow's recommendation to the Board of International Broadcasting**

Mr. Critchlow's evaluation of the war on two fronts of Ukraine against both Nazism and Bolshevism shows his lack of knowledge of our history. By ascribing various achievements in Ukraine which are self-evident in the 20th century to the Communist system, he shows his political ignorance. Does the author, similarly as the Russian dissident Zinoviev, excuse the 10 million deaths caused by the Russian organised famine, Russian collectivisation and conquest of Ukraine? Does he also ascribe them to the record of the achievements of Communism? The derogatory treatment of the national liberation struggle of the Ukrainian nation, its statehood, the existence of which the author is unaware, degrades us as Ukrainians. His assessment of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), the "Halychyna" ("Galicia") Division and so forth, shows that this author knows neither the facts nor the essence of our struggle and only evidences his tendentiousness. The author ought first to have become acquainted with such works as those by Sverstiuk (underground Ukrainian writer), Hrushevskiyi, Shankovskiyi-Martovych, Krypyakevych, as well as works by Prof. Pipes, articles published in the journal "Problems of Communism" as for example the article in the May-June, 1984, issue entitled "Famine in Ukraine" by James E. Mace. Mr. Critchlow is not familiar with the works of Braychevskiyi about the two thousand year existence of the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, nor the Pope's statement referring to the millennium of the official Christianisation of Ukraine.

Mr. Critchlow does not know the history of Ukrainian statehood at all, and his statement: "It is questionable whether a broadcast favouring Ukrainian independence is consistent 'with the broad foreign policy objectives of the United States', as stipulated by the Board for International Broadcasting Act" is a clear negation of Public Law 86-90 of 1959 and the position taken by President Ronald Reagan and the United States Congress. Does the author consider that the enslavement of any nation and tyranny of one nation over another lies in the interest of the USA? Is this the law of Washington, Lincoln, Kennedy and Reagan? Mr. Critchlow follows a policy of misinformation through his false conception of Ukraine's enemies when he states that "the most bitter nationalist quarrels were between not Russians or Ukrainians, but by Eastern and Western Ukrainians", or by placing in inverted commas the proclamation of the restoration of Ukrainian independence in Lviv on 30th June, 1941, which was an act against both Nazi Germany and Russia? In doing this, the author is following the style of our enemies. Or when he writes about the "welcoming of the Nazis marching into Ukraine"? It was not the Nazis who were welcomed by the Ukrainian people but the Occident (of which the Nazis were a misproduct). The Ukrainian people were not aware of the cruelties performed by the Nazis, but at that time did know about the Russian organised famine in Ukraine. To compare Lenin with Washington is a direct mockery of Washington or Lenin plus the Cheka with Dzerzinsky and Stalin.

Furthermore, to accuse the Ukrainian Insurgent Army of collaborating with the Nazis is an exact repetition of Bolshevik propaganda and disinformation. It is only Bolshevik propaganda which writes about "the pogroms of the Halychyna Division" and Mr. Critchlow repeats what the Bolsheviks propagate. The complex of Hohol is misunderstood by the author because he lacks knowledge of Ukrainian history. Ukrainians were forbidden to write and publish works in the Ukrainian language and that is the reason why Hohol wrote in Russian. Spiritually, however, he was Ukrainian. Is the author unaware that the Irish dramatist and critic Bernard Shaw wrote in English? Does the author not know that the Irish people lost their language, yet still remain Irish? The Ukrainian language is not the only thing the Ukrainians have preserved and continue to fight for!

In contrast to Mr. Critchlow, Prof. Richard Pipes writes the following about Ukrainian nationalism: "Of particular interest is a subsection dealing with the nationalities problem: '...there is strong evidence of persistent nationalism (among Ukrainians and Byelorussians), especially among the Ukrainians. With fifty million people, 86 per cent of them (as of 1970) Ukrainian speaking, Ukraine is potentially a major European state. Its separation would not only deprive Russia of an important source of food and industrial products, but also cut it off from the Black Sea and the Balkans, for which reasons the *nomenklatura* persecutes all manifestations of Ukrainian nationalism with especial savagery".

Further on, Prof. Richard Pipes states that "unless history is to make a unique exception for the Russian empire, leaving it intact while all other

European empires have fallen apart, its future cannot be bright: It is impossible to justify to the Ukrainians that Ireland, with three million inhabitants should be a sovereign country whereas they, with 50 million have been condemned to remain forever a Soviet dependency..." (*Survival is Not Enough, Soviet Realities and America's Future*, Richard Pipes, 1984, Simon and Shuster, New York. Hard cover, \$24.95).

Tendentious authors, leftists or Russophiles who also wish to have an impact on and please such listeners as the adorers of Lenin and perhaps Stalin (who has now been rehabilitated) with their broadcasts, should not be the ones who are chosen to evaluate the Ukrainian complex at 'Radio Liberty'. Instead, authors such as Prof. Richard Pipes, Prof. Lev Shankovsky (*The History of the Ukrainian Armed Forces*), James Mace, Prof. M. Braychevskyi, Prof. M. Hrushevskyi, Prof. Dobrianskyi, Prof. Krypyakevych, E. Sverstiuk and other nationally-minded scholars should be used as authorities on Ukrainian matters. Further works recommended are: essays on political strategy by Gen. John K. Singlaub, the works of Stefan Hoverlya (underground author and prisoner of Russian concentration camps), Sir John Hackett and Gen. J. F. C. Fuller.

## RUSSIAN UNLAWFULNESS IN UKRAINE

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## THE UKRAINIAN REVOLUTION: THE NATIONAL QUESTION AS THE ORIGIN OF THE DICHOTOMY BETWEEN RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN COMMUNISM

### I. BOLSHEVIK NATIONALITIES POLICIES BEFORE 1917

#### a) The legacy of Marx and Engels on the nationalities question

The Russian Bolsheviks generally assert that they are the most consistent heirs of Marxism in all its aspects, including the problem of nationalities<sup>1</sup>. The legacy of Marx, however, on the issue of nationalism is quite negligible<sup>2</sup>, and most historians agree that neither Marx nor Engels left a definite guideline for the future Marxist theoreticians and policy makers on the problem of nationalities. Nevertheless, although both Marx and Engels underestimated<sup>3</sup> the problem of nationalities, they bequeathed some opinions which the Russian Bolsheviks elaborated upon and applied to non-Russian peoples after the Bolshevik seizure of power<sup>4</sup>. In general, Marx and Engels were conscious of the forces of nationalism, but they believed that in the long run they would be overcome by the forces of socialism, and the proletariat would discard their national differences to form a world-wide international "socialist civilisation". Marx viewed "ethnic isolation and petty states as typical of the feudal era; nationalism and the national state as characteristic of the capitalist era; internationalism and the disappearance of national animosities as proper to the socialist era"<sup>5</sup>.

Characteristic of Marx's and Engels' writings is their division of nationalities into "progressive" nations, and "unprogressive" or "unhistorical" nations. A nation was further divided into classes which again could be "progressive" or "unprogressive". To the "progressive" class, in their opinion, belonged the proletariat; to the "unprogressive" class belonged the capitalist and peasant. It should be noted that both Marx and Engels were openly hostile to the peasants whom they regarded as "the barbarians of civilisation", and "troglodytes", respectively<sup>6</sup>. The peasants were obviously regarded as reactionary. Consequently, a nation with a predominantly

1 Juriy Borys, *The Russian Communist Party and the Sovietization of Ukraine* (Stockholm, 1960), p. 9.

2 P. Radchenko, "The Nationalities Policies of Bolsheviks", *The Ukrainian Quarterly*, IV, No. 3 (1948), p. 229.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Richard Pipes, *Formation of the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, 1964), p. 22.

5 *Ibid.*

6 Marx and Engels, *Gesamtansgabe Erste Abtlg.*, VII, p. 38. Cited by Roman Smal-Stocki, *The Nationality Problem of the Soviet Union and Russian Communist Imperialism* (Milwaukee, 1952), p. 45.

peasant population was unfit for progress and it should, therefore, be ruled by a "progressive" nation. To the camp of the "unprogressive" nations Marx assigned most of the small Slavic nationalities: Czechs, Slovaks, Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins and Western Ukrainians; and to the camp of the "progressive" nations, with the right to unification and independence, were assigned the Italians, the Irish, the Hungarians and the Poles<sup>7</sup>.

With regard to the Polish nation, however, it should be noted that its rights to "progress" were regarded by Engels as temporary, i.e., Poland was to contribute to the overthrow of Russian tsarism, but following the tsar's downfall "there is absolutely no more reason for Poland to exist"<sup>8</sup>.

Both, Marx and Engels feared Russia, and hoped that the Poles, the Germans and the Hungarians would absorb the above mentioned "unprogressive" nations to form a *cordon sanitaire* to check Russia's march on Europe<sup>9</sup>. Marx's view on Russian imperialism may be seen in the following passage:

"Russia keeps claiming that it has no annexationist designs. In order to ascertain the hypocrisy of this claim, it is sufficient to review the annexations carried out by Russia since the time of Peter the Great. Territories taken by Russia from Sweden are larger than the present possession of that country. The conquests from Poland form an area as large as Austria. Territories which Turkey had to cede to Russia in the Balkans are equal to the area of Prussia. What they obtained in Asia from Turkey is as large as Germany. Their acquisitions from Persia are comparable to the area of Great Britain"<sup>10</sup>.

Marx further asserted that the reasons for the Russian successes may be found in "the cowardice and stupidity of the Western nations... Due to their ignorance, Western statesmen are losing control of the situation"<sup>11</sup>. However, neither Marx nor Engels defended the subdued non-Russian nationalities, for basically they opposed the self-determination of the smaller, "unhistorical" nations<sup>12</sup>. They were antagonistic to Russia from their position of German patriots who stood "for the creation in the first place of a great and united Germany"<sup>13</sup> which, as they envisaged, would become the centre of the international workers' movement. As Borys had asserted "so enthusiastic were they about the theory of the pre-eminence of the German proletariat that they subordinated the whole of the European workers' movement and the course of history to this theory"<sup>14</sup>. The assimilatory policies pursued by the German government toward the non-German nationalities were regarded as progressive, and Engels approved that Germans "drove together into one great state all those tiny, shrivelled, weak little nations, thus enabling them to participate in the historical development

7 Smal-Stocki, p. 46.

8 Engels' letter to Marx, May 23, 1851. Cited by Smal-Stocki, p. 46.

9 Smal-Stocki, p. 47.

10 *New York Tribune*, June 14, 1853. Cited by Smal-Stocki, p. 47.

11 Smal-Stocki, p. 49.

12 Borys, p. 11.

13 Borys, p. 11.

14 Engels' letter to Marx, August 15, 1870. Cited by Borys, p. 19.

from which they would have been remote if they had been left to their own devices"<sup>15</sup>. It is clear then that Marx and Engels stood for large political and economic entities.

Only two small European nationalities were granted the right to self-determination by Engels — the Irish and the Poles. This demonstrates that the existing liberation movements were approached not from an angle of principle, but of tactics: that they were "either supported or ignored only in so far as they favoured or hindered the struggle of the proletariat for social liberation"<sup>16</sup>. It also shows that both Marx and Engels were insistent in their assertions about the self-determination of smaller nationalities. With regard to Poland, for instance, there is evidence<sup>17</sup> that before 1863 Engels considered her an "unprogressive" nation, unable of self-rule. After the Polish revolt of 1863, however, Engels underwent a change of face and concluded that "**so long as national independence is absent, a great people is unable even to consider in the slightest degree seriously any internal problems...** As long as Poland was divided and oppressed, a strong socialist Party could not develop... In order to struggle one must first have some ground under one's feet, some air, light, and space"<sup>18</sup>. Thus Poland was "granted" the right to self-determination.

However, the decisive influence on the Russian Marxists with regard to the question of nationalities was Marx's pronouncement on the Irish problem, later referred to by Lenin as **the example** of proletarian policy<sup>19</sup>. Although until 1859 Marx was quite unsympathetic to the Irish nationality, he changed his attitude afterwards, and advocated Irish secession from Britain as an inevitable fact. He further asserted that due to this forced union of Ireland with Britain, the English bourgeoisie was able to separate the Irish proletariat from the English by increasing the national and the religious differences between the proletariat. Thus, in order to liberate the English working class, it was suggested that Ireland must be transferred into a free union, or even become completely separate<sup>20</sup>. This pronouncement of Marx was later regarded by the Russian Bolsheviks "as a policy of the international uniting of the proletariat on the principle of democratic centralism"<sup>21</sup>, becoming one of the main aspects of the Russian Bolshevik rule.

With the exception of the Polish and Irish questions, Marx and Engels offered no guidance on the problem of nationalities. This was partly due to the fact that in the West the nation-state, in their time, was either already

15 *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, January 13, February 15 and 16, 1849. Cited by Borys, p. 13.

16 Radchenko, p. 229.

17 Engels in his letter to Marx of May 23, 1851, wrote: "The Poles did nothing else in history, but brave acts of foolishness". He further stated that the Poles should be kept busy, sent under fire, robbed of their lands, and compelled to surrender. Cited by Borys, p. 16.

18 Engels' letter to Kautsky of February 7, 1882, in *Archiv Marksa i Engelsa*, I, p. 192. Cited by Borys, p. 17.

19 V. I. Lenin, *Sochinenia*, 4th ed. (Moscow, 1941-50), XX, p. 412.

20 *Der Briefwechsel Zwischen Friedrich Engels und Karl Marx*, II, pp. 289-91. Cited by Borys, p. 18.

21 *Ibid.*

formed, or in the process of formation, and the problem of the rights of nationalities barely existed<sup>23</sup>. Furthermore, since Socialism was confined to Western Europe, both Marx and Engels occupied themselves with the large industrial states of the West, ignoring the problem of nationalities in such multinational structures as the Russian Empire, where the revolution took place first.

### b) Lenin as the Main Bolshevik Theoretician on the Question of Nationalities

In the post-Marxian period\* of the socialist movement, the nationality problem became one of the most pressing and important topics for discussion among the socialist parties<sup>23</sup>. In general, there were two reasons responsible for bringing to the fore the previously ignored nationality question:

1. The penetration of the socialist movement into the East, chiefly into the Russian, Ottoman and Austrian Empires, where the nationalities problem was not settled; and
2. The steady growth of nationalism, not only in Western Europe, but elsewhere as well, often side by side, or in close association with the international socialist movement<sup>24</sup>.

The growing nationalism not only negated the basic pronouncements of Marx and Engels (who advocated the disappearance of national differences) but had forced the socialists to find a solution which would challenge the problems connected with the emergence of national consciousness. The first proposed solution came from the multinational Austrian Empire during the Bruenn Congress of 1899<sup>25</sup>. There, the Austrian party was reorganised along national lines, and a resolution advocating cultural autonomy was accepted<sup>26</sup>. Following the Congress two leading Austrian Social Democrats, Otto Bauer and Karl Renner, further developed the idea of cultural autonomy asserting that cultural rather than political boundaries determined a nation, and advocated that the nation be recognised "as a valuable and enduring form of social organisation"<sup>27</sup>. They also maintained that "**Social Democracy considers the nation both indestructible and undeserving of destruction... Far from being unnational or antinational, it places nations at the foundations of its world structure**"<sup>28</sup>.

Although the Austrian plan for cultural autonomy was received with enthusiasm by the national parties in the Russian Empire, and especially by

<sup>22</sup> Stanley Page, "Lenin and Self-Determination", *Slavonic and East European Review*, XXVIII-XXIX (1949-51), p. 343.

\* Identified with the Second International (1889-1914), Pipes, p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> Smal-Stocki, p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> Pipes, p. 23.

<sup>25</sup> Pipes, p. 24.

<sup>26</sup> Pipes, p. 25.

<sup>27</sup> Pipes, p. 25.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

the Jewish Bund, the Russian Social Democrats rejected this solution. In 1901, when the Jewish Bund demanded recognition as a nation, it was ridiculed by such pillars of the movement as Martov, Trotsky, Plekhanov and Lenin who jeered: "The Bundists need now only to work out the idea of a separate nationality of Russian Jews whose language is Yiddish and whose territory is — the Pale of Settlement"<sup>29</sup>.

However, despite this sarcastic remark, Lenin became the main Bolshevik theoretician on the question of nationalities, formulating later the Bolshevik nationalities programme<sup>30</sup>.

It should also be noted that Lenin himself was an ardent Russian with a strong national consciousness. He thought about Russia wherever he was. His wife, Krupskaya, wrote about their love for Russia in her memoirs:

"Each of us secretly thought about Russia, each had a strong desire to go... Starved for the Russian novels, he [Lenin] had read and re-read a hundred times, until it was in pieces Anna Karenina. Volodya is a terrible nationalist. He would not go to see the works of Polish painters for anything..."<sup>31</sup>

But Lenin was also a shrewd politician, not particular about the methods he would use to pursue his own goals. To this effect Lenin had stated:

"The strictest loyalty to the ideas of Communism must be combined with the ability to make all necessary political compromises, to tack, to make agreements, zigzags, retreats and so on"<sup>32</sup>.

As Richard Pipes had stated: "Once he [Lenin] realised the value of the national movement as a weapon for fighting the established order, he stopped at nothing to employ it for his own ends"<sup>33</sup>.

Looking upon the national movement "as a force suitable for exploitation in his struggle for power"<sup>34</sup>, Lenin acknowledged the possibility of cooperation between the Russian socialists and the non-Russian nationalities, but only when it was advantageous to the former. With regard to this, Lenin stated:

"When it was useful, socialists also should support nationalist movements, never forgetting that such support was conditional and temporary. It is the support of an ally against a *given* enemy, and the Social Democrats provide this support in order to speed the fall of the common enemy, but they expect nothing for themselves from these temporary allies and concede nothing to them"<sup>35</sup>.

There are three distinct phases in the development of Lenin's approach to the national problem. During the first phase (1897-1913) Lenin formulated his basic views; during the second phase (1913-1917) he developed a plan for the utilisation of the national movements in the tsarist empire; and in the third phase (1917-1923) Lenin's theory was applied to the non-Russian

29 *Iskra*, No. 51. Cited by Pipes, p. 32.

30 Smal-Stocki, p. 44. Also Pipes.

31 Bertrand Wolfe, *Three Who Made the Revolution* (New York, 1948), pp. 566-7.

32 Smal-Stocki, p. 55.

33 Pipes, p. 35.

34 Pipes, p. 36.

35 Lenin, *Sochinenia*, 3rd ed. (Moscow, 1935), V, p. 176.

nationalities. However, in the last phase most of the previous plans were abandoned in favour of the policies dictated by the political situation of the moment<sup>36</sup>.

Some of the first basic pronouncements on the nationality issue were made by Lenin in February, 1903, when he declared that the aim of the proletariat was not itemisation, but unity of all the workers of all nationalities<sup>37</sup>. In view of this, Lenin stated that :

“The fundamental and always obligatory programme of Social Democrats of Russia should consist of demanding only full equality of citizens (irrespective of sex, language, religion, race, nationality, etc.) and their right for a free democratic self-determination. With regard to the support of demands for national autonomy, then this support is not a permanent programme or obligation of the proletariat. This support can become for it [the proletariat] indispensable only in separate, exceptional cases”<sup>38</sup>.

Some further attention to the problem of nationalities was devoted by Lenin during the Second Congress of the Russian Social Democratic Workers' Party (RSDWP) held in Brussels in the summer of 1903. During this Congress there took place not only the famous split of the RSDWP between the Bolshevik and the Menshevik factions, but also some heated debates on the nationalities issue and on the question of national self-determination. The promoter of this discussion was the Jewish Bund which, influenced by the Austrian-propagated cultural autonomy, objected to the slogan of “self-determination” which by now was included in the programme of the RSDWP, and demanded concrete autonomy for their party<sup>39</sup>.

The main reason for this was that for the Russian Jews the principle of self-determination had no practical meaning, since the Jews could not form a political unit in Russia, while the acceptance of the Austrian idea by the Russian party would result in granting the Jews an autonomous status within the party. Lenin, who did not consider the Jews a nation<sup>40</sup>, suggested that they should assimilate, totally discarding the Jewish demands :

“The idea of a separate Jewish people, which is utterly untenable scientifically, is reactionary in its political implications. The incontrovertible, empirical proof is furnished by well-known facts of history and of the political reality of today. Everywhere in Europe the downfall of medievalism and the development of political freedom went hand in hand with the political emancipation of the Jews, their substituting for Yiddish the language of those among whom they lived, and in general their indubitably progressive assimilation by the surrounding population... the idea of Jewish nationality is manifestly reactionary... The idea of Jewish nationality is in conflict with the interests of the Jewish proletariat, for, directly or indirectly, it engenders in its ranks a mood hostile to assimilation, a ghetto mood”<sup>41</sup>.

36 Pipes, p. 35.

37 Basil Dmytryshyn, *Moscow and the Ukraine 1917-1953* (New York, 1956), p. 13.

38 Lenin, *Sochinenia*, 4th ed. (Moscow, 1946), VI, pp. 294-5.

39 G. Zinoviev, *Istoriya Rossiyskoy Komunisticheskoy Partii (Bolshevikov)*, p. 96.

40 Page, p. 345.

41 Lenin, *Sochinenia*, 4th ed. (Moscow, 1941-50), VII, pp. 83-5.

Although careful not to give away his true stand on the nationalities problem hidden behind the slogan of "self-determination", it is clear that Lenin opposed the Jewish demands at the Congress (as well as the Armenian and the Polish) because any decentralisation of the Party would lead to federalism and, as Lenin had stated, "it is no business of the proletariat to propagate federalism and national autonomy... which will inevitably result in the demand for an autonomous **class state**"<sup>42</sup>. Thus, instead of the autonomous status, a "regional autonomy" was offered to the Bund and the Polish PS which both parties refused before abandoning the Congress.

Between the years 1903 and 1912 the national question was almost ignored mainly because of the Stolypin reaction, and also because of the general disintegration within the Russian party. About those "dark" years Lenin commented as follows: "decay, demoralisation, dispersion, desertion, pornography instead of politics"<sup>43</sup>. In 1912-13, however, Lenin revived his interest in the nationalities question, and began to write extensively on the topic, confirming his previous (1903) stand on self-determination. He also attacked everybody who disagreed with his interpretation of the issue. As Popov — a bolshevik historian — observed: "never before did Lenin so attentively and persistently study the national question as during this time"<sup>44</sup>.

Underlying Lenin's renewed interest in the question of nationalities were several causes, such as the intensification of Russian nationalism, an increase in repression of the non-Russian nationalities, the presence of the nationalities' representatives in the Duma, and the imminence of a European war<sup>45</sup>. The main cause, however, was the "drift of the national groups away from their neutral positions in the party toward unity with the Mensheviks"<sup>46</sup>, who welcomed into their faction national parties on the latter's terms. Thus, by 1912, the Jewish Bund, the Lettish Social Democrats, and even the Caucasian Social Democrats (who had supported Lenin in the conflict with the Jewish Bund and the PPS in 1903, and who had accepted the then offered "regional autonomy") had all joined the Mensheviks. It was also in 1912-13 that Lenin "discovered" Stalin whom he had used to prove that the Caucasian Social Democrats still supported the idea of a centralist party, as he had advocated it<sup>47</sup>.

Throughout 1913 Lenin attacked alike both Russian nationalists and the "separatists" that were in the party. Again he re-asserted his ambiguous principle of "self-determination", which on one hand advocated the latter, and, on the other, called for unity of the proletariat. Such ambiguity was

42 *Iskra*, No. 33, February 1903. Borys, p. 25.

43 Lenin, *Sochinenia*, XXXI, p. 11.

44 N. Popov, *Ocherki Istorii Vsesoyuznoy Komunisticheskoy Partii (Bolshevikov)* (Moscow, 1928), p. 183. Cited by Borys, p. 28.

45 Page, p. 348.

46 *Ibid.*

47 It has been suggested by both Trotsky and Wolfe that Stalin's article on the nationalities question published in 1913 was actually dictated to him by Lenin. Pipes argues, however, that there are too many factual mistakes in the essay which Lenin could not have committed. But he agrees that Lenin assisted Stalin in this task (Pipes, p. 40).

clearly stated in his letter of November 23, 1913, to an Armenian Social Democrat Shaumian, who interpreted the principle of self-determination as the right to separate:

“We stand for the autonomy of all parts, we are for the right of secession (but not for the secession at all!). Autonomy is our plan for the establishment of a democratic state. Secession is not our plan at all. We in no way preach secession. But we are in favour of the right of secession in view of the Black Hundred Great Russian nationalism which had soiled the matter of national cohabitation to such an extent that sometimes stronger ties will result after a free secession!

The right of self-determination is an exception from our general premise of centralism. This exception is absolutely necessary in face of the Black Hundred Great Russian nationalism, and the slightest renunciation of this exception is opportunism (as with Rosa Luxemburg), a silly little game which suits the Black Hundred Great Russian nationalism. But an exception must not be interpreted expansively. There is and there must be nothing, absolutely nothing apart from the right to secession”<sup>48</sup>.

It is obvious then that Lenin did not support any real secession of nationalities, and that he was against the dissolution of the Russian Empire. Therefore, his principle on self-determination was nothing else than an empty phrase, a slogan, which he employed to rally the revolutionary forces within the Russian Empire for his own ends. This he had confirmed himself:

“We would be very poor revolutionaries if, in a great liberating war of the proletariat for socialism, we were unable to utilise every national movement against separate negative forms of imperialism in order to sharpen and broaden the crisis”<sup>49</sup>.

During the years 1913-1917 Lenin developed a plan how to utilise national movements of the non-Russian peoples without, however, departing from centralism. On the one hand, Lenin “proposed” to channel the efforts of the Russian proletariat into the dissolution of their multinational state; i.e., toward the separation of the non-Russian peoples from Russia. Those party members who opposed this proposal were labelled by Lenin as “...chauvinists, lackeys, covered with blood and dirt of imperialist monarchies and imperialist bourgeoisie... We have the right to, and should, consider every Social Democrat of the ruling nation who does not conduct such propaganda [freedom to separate] an imperialist and a scoundrel”<sup>50</sup>. On the other hand, however, Lenin asked that the subjugated nations act as internationalists, and be indifferent to which state they would belong in the future. With regard to this plan Borys observed that “the crux of Lenin’s conception of the nationalities problem was ‘the closest drawing together and the subsequent merging of all nations’.”<sup>51</sup>

Lenin’s plan seemed contradictory and unclear not only to his political opponents, but even to some of the leading Bolsheviks such as Piatakov for

48 Lenin, *Sochinenia*, XIV, p. 453-54.

49 Lenin, XXII, p. 342 (Lenin’s italics).

50 *Ibid.*

51 Borys, p. 41.

instance who asked: "What will the worker think when, asking the propagandist how the proletariat has to treat the question of independence (ie. the political independence of Ukraine), he gets an answer: a socialist strives for the right of secession but is conducting propaganda against secession"<sup>52</sup>.

However, some Social Democrats saw only too well the real meaning of Lenin's "self-determination". To this latter group belonged a Ukrainian left-wing Social Democrat Lev Yurkevych, whom Lenin called "ragamuffin, Ukrainian national chauvinist, crook, etc."<sup>53</sup>. Yurkevych was the most ardent critic of the Russian Social Democrats, especially of Lenin. He understood well the double meaning of Lenin's slogan ("self-determination") and rightly called it "an empty and needless phrase"<sup>54</sup>. To substantiate his accusations against the Russian Social Democrats Yurkevych pointed out that despite the proclamation of the principle of self-determination, Russian Social Democracy had consistently opposed the independence of Poland. Yurkevych also asserted that the Russian Marxists were especially opposed to the Bund's demand for autonomy, because it could have a bad influence on the Ukrainian workers<sup>55</sup>.

There may be some truth in Yurkevych's assertion since even Martov had expressed a similar view. On behalf of the Ukrainian Marxists Yurkevych wrote a petition to the RSDWP asking for organisational separation of the Ukrainian workers from Russian Social Democracy, and urged that the solution of the nationalities problem as proposed by Lenin was entirely inadequate. In his opinion "The state which is inhabited by many nationalities, no matter how democratic it is, can never rid itself of national oppression and struggle, if it is centrally organised... **As long as the nation has no political rights, there can be no national freedom.** In order to win these rights, a nation has to be recognised as a political organisation by the state"<sup>56</sup>. Yurkevych also said that among the Russian Marxists, and especially the Bolshevik faction, a strongly centralist disposition prevailed, and admitted that only organisational freedom of the various national labour movements would guarantee friendship and solidarity among the workers<sup>57</sup>.

Needless to say, these separatist desires of the Ukrainian Social Democrats infuriated Lenin who stood, above all, for a centralistic and unified party, losing no time to repudiate these "dangerous" tendencies. As a counter-action, Lenin himself wrote an address against the division of the workers by nationalities, and this address was to appear with the signatures of Ukrainian Social Democrats in the *Put Pravdy* (The Path of Truth)<sup>58</sup>. He

52 *Ibid*. Also in disagreement with Lenin over this issue were Anatolii Lunacharsky, Alexandre Kollontai, Felix Dzerzhinsky, Shaumian, the historian Mikhail Pokrovsky and others.

53 Borys, p. 86.

54 V. Yurkevych, "Rossiyski Marksysty i Ukrainskyi Robitnychi Rukh", *Dzvin*, No. 7-8, 1913, p. 83. Cited by Borys, p. 87.

55 Yurkevych, pp. 85-6. Borys, p. 87.

56 Yurkevych, p. 93. Cited by Borys, p. 88.

57 Also cited by Borys, p. 89.

58 Lenin's letter to Armand, *Sochinenia*, XXXV, p. 102.

disclosed this plan to Iness Armand<sup>59</sup> who was supposed to give Lenin's letter to a Ukrainian Social Democrat called Lola to be translated and then sent to *Put Pravdy*. Lenin wrote to Armand that this should be done "tactfully, quickly, against Yurkevych and without his knowledge, because this crook will bungle... It had to be done without the knowledge of this scabby, foul, nationalistic bourgeois who under the banner of Marxism had prophesied the division of the workers according to nationality, a separate national organisation of the Ukrainian workers"<sup>60</sup>. Shortly after the publication of Lenin's address — signed by Lola — Lenin fired his partner from the position he held, admitting that "by means of him, we made a little step forward"<sup>61</sup>.

Lenin's polemics with Yurkevych, and his conflict with the Jewish Bund, the Polish PS, the Latvian and the Armenian Social Democrats all had national colouring. The stubborn struggle of the national parties for the organisational independence on the one hand, and Lenin's consistent refusal to grant these demands on the other, seem to point out that nationalism and national consciousness among the oppressed nationalities was much stronger than Lenin cared or wished to admit.

## II. UKRAINE BEFORE 1917

### a) Lenin and Ukraine

Although Lenin had not devoted too much attention to the Ukrainian question before the revolution, nevertheless it can be assumed on the basis of his polemics with Yurkevych that he was quite aware of the "Ukrainian problem". Actually, Lenin "denounced" the tsarist oppression in Ukraine several times before the revolution; but mostly in reference to cultural discrimination, such as the prohibition of the tsarist government to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Shevchenko's birthday, in March, 1914<sup>62</sup>. Lenin also demanded that the Ukrainians should have the **right** to use their own language in schools and the administration, although at the same time he denounced the national culture "as the clerical or bourgeois fraud"<sup>63</sup>.

In view of Lenin's non-recognition of the Jewish nation it is important to note that he admitted the existence of a separate Ukrainian nationality although with reference to its future he stated that "whether Ukraine... is destined to form an independent state is a matter that will be determined by a thousand factors which cannot be foreseen... We firmly uphold what is beyond doubt; namely, the right of Ukraine to form such a state"<sup>64</sup>.

<sup>59</sup> A close associate of Lenin.

<sup>60</sup> Lenin's letter was first published in 1950, in Lenin's *Sochinenia*, XXXV, 1950, p. 100.

<sup>61</sup> Lenin, *Sochinenia*, XXXV, p. 102.

<sup>62</sup> Dmytryshyn, p. 19.

<sup>63</sup> Lenin, *Statti i Rechii ob Ukrainie* (Kharkov, 1936), p. 224. In Borys, p. 84.

<sup>64</sup> Lenin, *The Rights of Nations to Self-Determination*, p. 38-9. In Borys, p. 85.

Simultaneously, however, Lenin advocated close ties between Ukrainians and Russians :

“Take for instance Russia and the relation of the Great Russians to the Ukrainians. Undoubtedly every democrat, not to mention the Marxist, will readily fight against the enormous humiliation of Ukrainians and demand their complete equality. But to threaten now existing ties and unity between the Ukrainian and Great Russian proletariats would be real treachery to Socialism and a foolish policy even from the point of view of the bourgeois ‘national task’ of the Ukrainians”<sup>65</sup>.

It appears rather obvious that Lenin was also in favour of a Russia-one-and-indivisible, and that he criticised the tsarist regime because it was antagonising the Ukrainians rendering the “fusion” of the two peoples impossible. The following pronouncement of Lenin illustrates that :

“Let us assume that history should decide the question in favour of Great Russian state capitalism against the hundred and one small nations, and this is not improbable as all history is a record of violation and robbery, blood and dirt. We are by no means necessarily the champions of small nations; we are unconditionally, under other conditions of equality, in favour of centralisation and against the bourgeois ideal of federal relations”<sup>66</sup>.

In view of this it is understandable why the Russian and Ukrainian Social Democracy had clashed, as exemplified by the Lenin-Yurkevych polemic.

### **b) The Ukrainian Parties on the Eve of the October Revolution**

The Ukrainian political parties had made their first appearance at the turn of the century, but due to the tsarist persecution they were driven underground or into exile<sup>67</sup>. With the fall of the tsarist regime in February, 1917, numerous parties were formed again, and the various national minorities in Ukraine (Russians, Poles, Jews and Germans) caused them to be organised according to nationality. The following is a brief account of the Ukrainian political parties which participated in the Ukrainian national revolution.

The Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries (UPSR) was founded on April 17, 1917, at its constituent meeting. At the beginning of the revolution the party demanded autonomy for Ukraine requesting later on full independence. The main stronghold of this party were the peasants and the urban proletariat. The UPSR played an important role in the Ukrainian National Council (*Rada*) and it carried — together with a peasant Union (*Spilka*) — over 60% of all the votes in Ukraine during the elections to the Constituent Assembly in December, 1917. In April, 1918, the UPSR split into two factions, the so-called “internationalist wing” who later formed the party of the Borotbists and which had opposed the Ukrainian Rada, and the “right wing”, called the *Centre* actively supporting the *Rada*. Most of the leaders of the UPSR were liquidated during the terror of the thirties.

65 Lenin, *Sochinenia*, XX, pp. 13-14.

66 Lenin, XXI, p. 87.

67 Borys, p. 91.

The Ukrainian Social Democratic Party (USDWP) was the heir to the RSDWP which emerged at the turn of the century, and had existed independently from the RSDWP with which it differed on the nationalities issue. During the Stolypin reaction its leaders went into exile where they continued the struggle with the Russian social democracy over Ukrainian autonomy and the organisational independence of their party. The main protagonists of this struggle were Lenin and Yurkevych, as was outlined previously. After the fall of the tsarist regime, the USDWP re-emerged and played an important role in the Rada. With regard to the national question it changed its previous autonomist position by demanding complete independence for Ukraine. The USDWP was the second largest party after the UPSR.

Other smaller Ukrainian parties which played some role during the national revolution were: The Ukrainian Party of the Socialist Federalists (UPSF), formed in March, 1917; The Ukrainian Party of the Socialist Independents, composed mainly of the military; and the The Ukrainian Democratic Agrarian Party, founded in the summer of 1917.

In addition to these Ukrainian political organisations there also existed in Ukraine Russian, Jewish and Polish groups most of which were branches of their respective mother organisations. Thus, the Russian PSR was only a section of the all-Russian PSR; and the Jewish Bund in Ukraine was subordinated to the Russian Bund. Other groups operating in Ukraine included the Russian Mensheviks, Russian Kadets, the Polish PS, the Jewish Zionist Party, and others. It should be noted, however, that until the revolution there was no Ukrainian bolshevik party in Ukraine<sup>68</sup>.

### III. THE QUESTION OF NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE IN UKRAINE AFTER THE BOLSHEVIK SEIZURE OF POWER

#### a) Developments in Ukraine from February 1917 to October 1917

Ukraine was one of the first non-Russian peoples to bid for its national independence after the fall of the tsarist regime in February, 1917. It has been observed that, when on March 4, 1917, the Ukrainian government (the Central *Rada*) was established, Ukraine "ceased to be a mere ethnic and cultural mass and commenced its emergence as a nation"<sup>69</sup>. However, despite the spontaneous organisation of the *Rada* the February revolution caught the Ukrainians unprepared and lacking consensus as far as the solution of national problems were concerned. The long period of tsarist Russian oppression left a deep psychological mark on the Ukrainian population, and

<sup>68</sup> For details on political organisations in Ukraine at that time see Borys, pp. 92-99.

<sup>69</sup> John Reshetar, *The Ukrainian Revolution 1917-1920* (Princeton, 1952), p. 47.

particularly on its national leaders<sup>70</sup>. Highly idealistic, and somewhat politically naive<sup>71</sup>, the Ukrainian leadership “at once and without any bargaining or hesitation put their faith in the Revolution and condemned all other methods of winning freedom, all reliance on forces from without, hostile to Russia”<sup>72</sup> — observed Vynnychenko, himself a leading member of the national movement.

In order to transform the *Rada* into “a supreme political centre”<sup>73</sup>, the *Rada* called an all-Ukrainian National Congress, which met in Kyiv on April 17-21, 1917, with the total attendance of 1,500 persons of which 900 held mandates. Believing in constitutional democracy proclaimed by the Provisional Government (PG) of Russia, the Congress put forth its modest demands to the Provisional Government which were the following: territorial autonomy for Ukraine, non-interference of the PG into Ukrainian affairs and the demarcation of boundaries<sup>74</sup>.

Following the all-Ukrainian Congress there took place also in Kyiv the First Ukrainian Military Congress on May 18-21, 1917, which represented 900,000 “armed, nationally-conscious, revolutionary-minded and to a certain extent organised Ukrainian soldiers at the front, in the fleet and behind the front”<sup>75</sup>. This Congress also called for an autonomous Ukraine as well as for concrete measures to bring the autonomy about.

Despite these developments in Ukraine, “the PG continued to behave as though the Ukrainian question did not exist”<sup>76</sup>. Consequently, in June, 1917, the Ukrainian *Rada* sent a delegation to St. Petersburg to present the PG with the Ukrainian demands, and ask their ratification. However, to the great disappointment of the Ukrainian delegation, each point of the *Rada's* declaration was given a negative treatment, and the delegation was told that only an all-Russian Constituent Assembly could settle the question of Ukrainian autonomy. The delegation was further “disillusioned” when the Russian socialist press in St. Petersburg refused to even print the text of the *Rada's* declaration<sup>77</sup>.

As a result of this rejection, on June 16, 1917, the *Rada* passed a resolution which stated that the Russian Provisional Government “deliberately acted against the interests of the toiling people of Ukraine and contrary to the principle of self-determination of nations”<sup>78</sup>. Shortly afterwards, due to the increasing pressure of the Ukrainian people, and especially due to the criticism of the *Rada* for its “softness” by the peasant Congress and the Second Military Congress which were being held at the time of the

70 Borys, p. 99.

71 *Ibid.*

72 V. Vynnychenko, *Vidrodzhennia natsii* (Vienna, 1920), p. 41.

73 Pipes, p. 35.

74 Michael Pap, “The Ukrainian Problem”, *Soviet Imperialism: Its Origins and Tactics* (Notre Dame, 1953), p. 53.

75 N. Skrypnyk, *Zamitky i materialy*, I, p. 50.

76 Borys, p. 103.

77 Reshetar, p. 56.

78 Dmytro Doroshenko, *Istoriya Ukrainy 1916-1920* (Uzhhorod, 1932), I, p. 88.

return of the Ukrainian delegation from St. Petersburg, the *Rada* issued its "First Universal" which proclaimed:

"Let Ukraine be free. Without separating themselves entirely from Russia, without severing connections with the Russian state, let the Ukrainian people in their own land have the right to order their own lives. Let law and order in Ukraine be given by the all-national Ukrainian Parliament elected by universal, equal, direct and secret suffrage... From this day forth we shall direct our own lives"<sup>79</sup>.

Following the proclamation of the "Universal" on June 23, 1917, the *Rada* formed a General Secretariat — an executive body to carry out the decisions of the *Rada*<sup>80</sup> — which consisted of a party coalition.

In July, when the authority of the PG deteriorated even further, they sent a delegation to Kyiv to negotiate issues of contention with the Ukrainian government. As a result, the PG recognised the "autonomy" of Ukraine, and the "authority" of the General Secretariat as representative of the Ukrainian people.

The "Second Universal", issued on July 16, 1917, by the *Rada*, informed the population about the results of these negotiations. Yet, as Borys observed, "there is no doubt that the Second Universal was a compromise accepted by both sides because they were unable to realise their aims by force. Neither the PG in St. Petersburg nor the *Rada* had at their disposal the forces which would be necessary in an open conflict"<sup>81</sup>.

However, this compromise was a short-lived one. When the *Rada* drew up the statutes for Ukrainian autonomy and again sent a delegation to St. Petersburg to seek approval, it found a serious change of face on the part of the PG, which now completely rejected the statutes agreed upon during the July negotiations. Instead, they presented the Ukrainian delegation with an "Instruction" which stated that the General Secretariat is a body subordinate to the PG, and that only the all-Russian Constituent Assembly may settle the question of Ukrainian autonomy. As a result the *Rada* declared in August, 1917, that the "Instruction" did not satisfy the requirements of the Ukrainian people, and that it would mobilise the Ukrainian working masses to fight for their interests and to defend the *Rada*<sup>82</sup>.

Even on the eve of the October Revolution the PG stubbornly clung to the idea of "Russia-one-and-indivisible", and requested that Ukrainians account to the PG for their "separatist" actions, such as the convening of the Third All-Ukrainian Military Congress, which the PG had "prohibited". With regard to this, Masaryk remarked:

"The way for Lenin's regime had been prepared by the Provisional Government and by Kerensky, both of whom showed administrative incapacity and

<sup>79</sup> Doroshenko, I, p. 72.

<sup>80</sup> Pipes, p. 60.

<sup>81</sup> Borys, p. 107.

<sup>82</sup> P. Khrystiuk, *Zamitky i materiyaly do istorii ukrainskoi revolyutsii, 1917-1920* (Vienna, 1921-22), I, p. 118.

entrusted wide spheres of action to bad and incompetent men... Lenin was a logical consequence of Russian illogicality"<sup>83</sup>.

A totally different attitude to the Ukrainian question was displayed by the Bolsheviks during the existence of the PG. With the increasing antagonism between the Ukrainian and other non-Russian governments on the one hand, and the PG on the other, the Bolsheviks "sided" with the national governments, posing as the defenders of national rights against Russian imperialism<sup>84</sup>. Lenin optimistically believed that "the more freedom was given to the nationalities, the more trust they would have toward Russia"<sup>85</sup>. This thesis was his basic argument for the "right to secession" both of Ukraine and Finland from Russia. He had also confidently stated to that effect:

"Do not be afraid to admit the freedom to secede of all these nations. It is not by force that other peoples are to be attracted to the Union with the Great Russians, but only by a really voluntary, a really free agreement, which is impossible without the freedom to secede. The freer Russia is, and the more decisively our republic recognises the freedom of secession of non-Russian nations, the more strongly will other nations strive towards a union with us. The less friction will there be, the rarer will be actual cases of secession. The shorter will be the time for which some of the nations will secede"<sup>86</sup>.

At the April conference of the RSDWP(B) the nationalities question clearly appeared to be the weapon against the Provisional Government<sup>87</sup>. Both Lenin and Stalin stressed the inability of the PG to solve the nationalities question, and "emphasised" its colonial treatment of the non-Russian peoples. Lenin also asked "why should we Great Russians who have been oppressing a greater number of nations than any other people, why should we refuse to recognise the right of secession for Poland, Ukraine, Finland?"<sup>88</sup> Consequently, while the PG continued the struggle against Ukraine, the Bolshevik party "recognised", although for tactical reasons, the Ukrainian *Rada* as the legal Ukrainian Government<sup>89</sup>.

Following the proclamation of the "First Universal" by the *Rada* and the negative reaction of the PG towards it, Lenin further "criticised" the PG's policy and "sided" with the Ukrainians. To weaken the position of the PG even more, a resolution was passed at the all-Russian Military Conference in June, 1917, urging "that the peoples of Russia have the full right to self-determination and to the independent determination of their future even to separation, and that Ukraine in particular has the absolute right to realise

83 Thomas Carrigue Masaryk, *The Making of a State, 1914-1918* (London, 1927), p. 176.

84 Borys, p. 122.

85 Lenin, *Sochinenia*, XXIV, pp. 267-8.

86 *Ibid.*

87 Borys, p. 42.

88 Cited by Robert Sullivant, *Politics and the Ukraine 1917-57* (New York, 1962), p. 17.

89 Michael Pap, "Soviet Difficulties in the Ukraine", *The Review*, XVI, No. 2, April 1952, p. 207.

its independence without waiting for a Constituent Assembly"<sup>90</sup>. At the same time, however, the Conference stressed that the Bolsheviks did not really approve of the dissolution of the Russian empire :

"The right of a nation to self-determination does not absolutely require it to separate itself, but on the contrary, it must seek unity in the voluntary principles and decisions of brotherly agreement between the peoples of Russia"<sup>91</sup>.

Thus, it was clear that the Bolsheviks intended to retain Ukraine within the Russian orbit despite all the declarations issued between February and October, 1917, in which they "supported" the Ukrainian national movement. By expressing their "support" for the "right" of self-determination the Bolsheviks hoped to eliminate the hostility of the Ukrainian masses toward their party, and make the subsequent subjugation of Ukraine easier.

### b) Ukraine and the Bolshevik Seizure of Power

With the Bolshevik seizure of power began the third phase in Lenin's nationalities policy which lasted from 1917 to 1923 and was derived from the practical experience and the political expediency of the moment. The Bolshevik revolution shifted the question of nationalities "from the theoretical sphere into reality"<sup>92</sup> almost overnight, which soon became a focal point for the new regime. The historian Lavrynenko has aptly observed that

"So long as an ideology is not the ruling ideology and operates solely in the field of criticism of the governing order and the projection of a future order, it has a more homogenous and international character. But once this ideology has emerged as the ruling ideology and must operate on a plane of positive action, in order to survive it must quickly take roots in the soil of regional, concrete historical development; *volens-nolens* it must begin to express in new form old constants of historical evolution adapted to the new arrangement of prevailing forces. Frequently, under these circumstances, the original ideological substance disappears and nothing remains but a romanticised symbol primarily designed for 'export'."<sup>93</sup>

Following the Bolshevik revolution, Lenin's slogan about "self-determination" of nationalities had precisely become such a symbol, being in Ukraine an outstanding example of the Bolshevik theory and practice with regard to the nationalities problem.

Strategically and economically Ukraine was vital to the Russian empire<sup>94</sup>. Strategically, it was (and still is) important because it linked Russia with Poland, the Black Sea and the Balkans. With regard to the economic importance of Ukraine, it is enough to mention that at the beginning of the 20th century Ukraine outstripped all other regions of the empire in the

90 In Rabinovich's *Voennaia konferentsia*, p. 37-8. Cited by Sullivant, p. 17.

91 Rabinovich, p. 38. Cited by Sullivant, p. 18.

92 Dmytryshyn, p. 23.

93 J. Lavrynenko, *Ukrainian Communism and Soviet Russian Policy Toward Ukraine* (New York, 1953), xi.

94 Dmytryshyn, p. 27.

production of cast iron; by 1913 it produced 57% of the total<sup>95</sup>. Aside from cast iron, the Ukrainian production of coal was 86.8% of the total 1913 output, its deposits of other natural resources being also considerable. In agriculture, between 1909 and 1913 Ukraine produced 98% of all wheat, 75% of rye, 27% of oats and 82% of sugar<sup>96</sup>.

The economic importance of Ukraine determined to a great extent first the tsarist, and then the Bolshevik policy toward that country. The following declaration of Piatakov of June 17, 1917, clearly reflected Russian motivations:

“We support the Ukrainians in their protest against all kinds of bureaucratic prohibitions by the government [G.], like the prohibition of the Ukrainian Army Congress. But, generally, we should not support the Ukrainians, for this movement is not advantageous to the proletariat. Russia cannot exist without the Ukrainian sugar industry, the same can be said about coal, grain, etc.”<sup>97</sup>.

In view of these economic and strategic reasons “the retention of Ukraine within Russia’s orbit was the *conditio sine qua non* for the success of the Communist revolution”<sup>98</sup>.

Meanwhile, the fall of the Russian Provisional Government had caught the Ukrainian *Rada* again unprepared<sup>99</sup>. After several days of chaos, however, the *Rada’s* General Secretariat declared that

“All rumours and discussions about separatism, about the separation of Ukraine from Russia are either counterrevolutionary propaganda or a result of simple ignorance. The Central *Rada* and the General Secretariat have announced firmly and clearly that Ukraine is to be part of a federal Russian republic, as an equal governmental entity. The present political situation does not alter this decision one bit”<sup>100</sup>.

It should be noted that for the first time since the February Revolution the word “federal” was used, which points to the political development of the *Rada*, and to the beginning of a new phase in the struggle for statehood through the “struggle for federation”. Thus, the “Third Universal”, issued in November, 1917, officially proclaimed Ukraine a People’s Republic and a component part of the Russian Federation<sup>101</sup>. With regard to the Bolshevik government in St. Petersburg the *Rada* neither recognised nor rejected it; it was rather accepted as a purely Russian government for Russia proper, but not for the whole of the former empire<sup>102</sup>.

The refusal to recognise the sovereignty of the Bolshevik government in Ukraine was only one factor that strained the relations between the Soviet of People’s Commissars and the *Rada*. Another step in this direction was the

95 *Sotsialisticheskoe stroitelstvo Soyuzu SSR*, p. 54.

96 *Sotsialisticheskoe...*, p. 79.

97 Borys, p. 129.

98 Borys, p. 2.

99 Pipes, p. 115.

100 V. Manilov, *1917 god na Kyivshchine* (Kyiv, 1928), p. 356.

101 Doroshenko, p. 179-81.

102 Reshetar, p. 89.

declaration of the *Rada* to all the newly established governments on the territories of the former empire to take steps towards the creation of a socialist government. Furthermore, the *Rada* forbade the transportation through Ukrainian territory of Bolshevik troops on their way to the Don area where the "White" forces were being organised. The definite break, however, between the *Rada* and the Bolshevik government occurred when detachments of the *Rada* arrested and deported the Bolshevik leaders from Kyiv, after their planned attack on the *Rada* met with failure.

In order to justify the forthcoming Bolshevik intervention, the Council of People's Commissars, on December 17, 1917, presented the *Rada* with an "ultimatum". In this document the Russians, on the one hand, pompously recognised the independence of Ukraine and its rights to full separation from Russia, while, on the other, charged the Ukrainian government with conducting a "bourgeois policy" in relation to the Bolshevik government in Moscow<sup>103</sup>. It also accused the *Rada* of non-recognition of the Soviets and the Soviet regime in Ukraine; of disarming Soviet troops on Ukrainian territory and refusing to let them through to the front against Kaledin. It also requested that the *Rada* pledge its support to fight the Kaledin uprising; to stop disarming the red guards in Ukraine; and to prohibit any non-Soviet military units to pass through Ukrainian territory. In conclusion, the "ultimatum" stated that if a positive reply to the Sovnarkom was not given within two days, the *Rada* would be considered "in a state of open war against the Soviet regime in Russia and in Ukraine"<sup>104</sup>.

Simultaneously with the issuing of the "ultimatum" a Bolshevik-inspired "all-Ukrainian Congress of Soviets" was convened in Kyiv for December 17, 1917. The main cause for this line of action was the wish of the Bolsheviks to circumvent the *Rada* and to establish a "Soviet government" in Ukraine, or, as the Bolshevik Petrovsky stated "to put an end to the *Rada's* bossing around"<sup>105</sup>.

However, the results of that Congress were negative for the Bolsheviks since only 60 of 2,500 deputies represented them<sup>106</sup>. The Congress then replied to the Soviet "ultimatum" by rejecting all their charges and declaring that to impose a certain type of government on the Ukrainian nation was contradictory to the idea of self-determination, which the Bolsheviks allegedly recognised. It also called upon taking all measures in order to prevent the possibility of a new war<sup>107</sup>.

From then on events followed swiftly. The Bolsheviks' representatives walked out from the Congress and proceeded to Kharkiv, where, at the same time, the "Third Regional Congress of the Soviet" of the Donets and Kryvyi-Rih Basins was being held. There, on December 24, 1917, in the presence of Russian troops, this group of Bolsheviks declared itself to be

103 *Pravda*, December 18, 1917.

104 *Pravda*, December 18, 1917.

105 Petrovsky, *Revolutsia i kontrrevolutsia na Ukraine* (Moscow, 1920).

106 Pipes, p. 121.

107 Khrystiuk, p. 72.

the only legitimate representative of Ukraine and proclaimed the "Soviet Ukrainian Republic". Immediately afterwards, the Council of People's Commissars offered its support to this "Soviet Republic":

"Greeting the formation in Kharkiv of a genuinely popular Soviet authority in Ukraine and regarding this workers' and peasants' *Rada* as the real government of the Ukrainian People's Republic, the Council of People's Commissars pledges to the new government of our brother republic absolute and complete support in the cause of peace, and also in the task of transferring all lands, factories, enterprises, and banks to the labouring peoples of Ukraine"<sup>108</sup>.

When by mid January it became clear that the *Rada* would not hand over its powers to this "legitimate" Soviet "government" which was formed in Kharkiv, military operations began. There are several sources which indicate that the troops used to overthrow the Ukrainian *Rada* were **Russian**. For instance, one of the commanders, Muraviov, wrote to Lenin that "all hope lies in the Red Guards, therefore please send me in Ukraine several thousands of red guardists"<sup>109</sup>. Other participants of those events also mention this fact (Krylenko and Antonov)<sup>110</sup>. Thus, the use of violence by the Russians — coupled with subversive tactics — was the prime force behind the overthrow of the legitimate Ukrainian government.

(To be continued)

108 *Izvestia*, No. 254, December 30, 1917. Cited in Reshetar, p. 37.

109 V. Antonov, *Zapiski o grazhdanskoy voyne*, I, p. 158.

110 Seton-Watson, *The Pattern of Communist Revolution*, p. 46.

A NEW PUBLICATION

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*Stepan PASICHNYK and  
Myroslav STEBIVKA*

## SONG FOR YURIY SHUKHEVYCH

Who are those men that they say they will kill,  
Are they fighting for money or for their free will,  
Is it them that get locked in camps far away,  
Is it them that are suffering to this very day,  
I tell you it is,  
I tell you it is.

Why don't those schoolkids in the breaktime play,  
Please tell me why they are glum in the face,  
Is it because they're not permitted to pray,  
Is it that when they are caught they are punished for days,  
I tell you it is,  
I tell you it is.

Why are those boys being sent to correction centres,  
Please tell me straight what wrong they have done,  
Is it because they are proud of their country,  
Because they sung hymns that were in their own tongue.  
I tell you it is,  
I tell you it is.

I'll tell you a story of a man brave and true,  
He was put into prison, but what wrong did he do,  
Yuriy Shukhevych, a man that can't see,  
They say that he's blinded, but one day he'll be free,  
One day he'll be free,  
One day he'll be free.

If you can hear me you know that I'm right,  
For the love of my country I know I must fight,  
Never surrender, it's not the way it should be,  
The heart of Ukraine is bleeding for me,  
I know that you'll see,  
I know that you'll see.

Please save my soul and set myself free,  
I'm missing the sunshine, but I want you to see,  
My father's not guilty and neither am I,  
But just for the truth I'll stay here till I die,  
I'll stay till I die,  
I'll stay till I die.

Please help my Ukraine it is suffering, Lord,  
Because freedom with money you just can't afford,  
Please reassure me that my homeland I'll see,  
When one of these days Ukraine will be free,  
I tell you it will,  
I tell you it will.

1982.

## THE NORILSK UPRISING

by

**Yevhen Hryciak**

This book records the events of the uprising in the Norilsk concentration camps in 1953. It describes the brutality and unbelievably cruel excess to which prison guards resorted. The author played a leading role in the uprising.

**The Norilsk Uprising** was published in 1984 by the Ukrainian Institute for Education, Munich, and should be required reading for anyone who believes there are merits in the Soviet Russian system which justify "certain errors". The callous disregard for the most basic human rights is stamped on every page, every paragraph and every sentence of these memoirs.

Price : UK £4.00; USA and Canada \$8.00.

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Great Britain

## News From Ukraine

### CHRONICLE OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN UKRAINE

#### Number 7

God and the truth are with us!

On the 8th of May [1984], one of the founding members of the Ukrainian Helsinki Group, Oleksa Tykhyi<sup>1</sup>, was murdered in a Perm labour camp. His murder was planned and premeditated... What were the Moscow officials counting on when they agreed to the murder of a Ukrainian human-rights activist? They had one aim — to intimidate, to show that they are not subject to any courts and trial proceedings...

Ukrainians! Oleksa Tykhyi and his friends never took up arms, did not call for the overthrow of the regime, but only pointed out to the authorities the violations of citizens' rights and demanded that, whenever possible, these violations be corrected... The Communists do not need correction of their orders, their follies; they want to rule by themselves...

A similar threat now hangs over Ukrainian Catholic, Pavlo Kampov who is serving his illegal term in Russia. P. Kampov is ill; he is almost blind and the camp authorities received orders to do all it takes to physically destroy P. Kampov. A Kyiv KGB official told Josyp Terelya in one "conversation": "We will destroy you one by one. They will make some noise about it in the West, and that is where it will end; we will give the West all it needs, and those profiteers will go back on all their agreements..."

We only know of two blind Ukrainians that are imprisoned in Soviet concentration camps just for being Ukrainians, but there are many more of those nameless "zeks"<sup>2</sup> known only to their tormentors...

Long-time prisoner of conscience, Vasył Pidhorodetskyi, a former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, was moved from prison to labour camp VL-315/30 in Lviv...

Repressions against Christians in Ukraine have not quietened down. On April 14, 1984, a group of Pentecostals gathered for a prayer meeting at the home of I. M. Hetsko in the village of Kushnytsia in the Transcarpathian region. After a short time, the home was raided by a group consisting of local "atheists" and regional militia. The leaders were brutal and arrogant; the names of all the faithful were taken down, all the Bibles and Christian literature were taken away and the host was fined 50 karbovantsi. On May 5, the faithful gathered at the home of Yu. M. Palka, where a similar scenario

<sup>1</sup> For more details see *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4, 1984.

<sup>2</sup> Prisoners.

was played out and a fine of 50 karbovantsi imposed. Regional authorities constantly persecute the Pentecostal community in Kushnysia. Dmytro Yurievych Prodan, the village presbyter, was called to the regional procurator's office where regional procurator S. Braila officially warned him that he would be dragged to court if he did not stop "deceiving residents because everyone knows that there is no God... and we will not tolerate the spread of religious fanaticism in our region". On June 25 a "community" commission was formed which called Mr. Prodan in for a "conversation" and warned that force would be used if he did not renounce his faith. On July 3, an article appeared in *Nove Zhyttia*, the local newspaper which must be read as a signal presaging legal prosecution...

On the night of June 21, in the village of Pniatyn in Lviv region, Perymyshlany district, a detachment of militia and KGB invaded the village — not unlike the Nazi punitive units of the past — surrounded the Catholic Church and destroyed it in the course of three hours. All the church articles were burned. This is how the authorities paid back the villagers because the people did not want to accept a Moscow [Russian] priest... KGB detachments and special militia units assigned to fight "disorder" have for a long time behaved like occupiers in Ukraine! Nothing is sacred to these "servants of the people, faithful Leninists": they serve — through faith and righteousness for a piece of horsemeat sausage — the Moscow [Russian] occupiers by destroying their own faith, culture and language...

On June 22, Vasyl Kobryn, the chairman of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church, was called in [by the authorities] for a "chat". The "chat" took place on Pidvalna Street in Lviv, where he was hosted by the chairman of the Church Council of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR, Reshetylo, and his assistant, Savchuk, and a third "co-worker" who did not give his name and who was clearly a KGB man. The authorities behaved with insolence — threats and blackmail. After a while, realising that their threats were having no effect, Reshetylo asked Mr. Kobryn to sign a paper acknowledging that he had been forewarned about his human-rights activities in that any Catholic activities are considered "anti-Soviet" in the USSR. Kobryn did not sign the paper. Reshetylo revealed that this time the authorities will finish with the "Initiative Group", noting that "those who are with Rome are against us..."

Currently in Ukraine there are over 200 concentration camps which house 390,000 prisoners, not counting the 10,000 inmates in 29 psychiatric hospitals and one special prison [psychiatric hospital] in Dnipropetrovsk. Some 1½ million prisoners work on government building projects; truly, the party and the government think the same when it comes to re-educating the masses. An order was issued calling for the complete introduction of the Russian language in the [penal?] system of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Ukraine. Everyone must accept [Russian] as the "all-Soviet language", according to the assistant political officer at labour camp VL-315/30, Capt. Kinazhay. Capt. Kinazhay could in no way explain what an all-Soviet nation is.

On May 5 of this year in the village of Olekshytsi in the Hrodnenskyi district of Byelorussia, the homes of local Catholics were searched. The KGB was looking for "subversive" Catholic literature. Of late, the authorities have launched a campaign to frighten Byelorussian Catholics...

The Byelorussian Catholic Church (Eastern rite) was almost completely liquidated by Moscow [Russian] pillagers. Beginning in the late 1970s, five Ukrainian Catholic priests went to Byelorussia and began extensive underground missionary work, reviving three deaconates and scores of individual parishes. The Byelorussians have not forgotten their native faith nor the fact that they are Byelorussians. Pray for the Byelorussians and their martyred Catholic Church! Ukrainians! Catholics! Help the revival of the Byelorussian Catholic Church by both word and deed. God is with us. Let His love shine on you and all those who burn with the desire to become genuine members of the living Church of Christ.

Profit for Moscow is a loss for Ukraine. That is how the "union" of two equal republics looks in the Afghanistan war. Lately, the number of funerals of Transcarpathian boys killed in Afghanistan is increasing. On June 3 funerals took place in the villages of Ilnytsia and Bilka... In addition to crosses, military decorations from the government, emblazoned with red stars, were placed on the graves. At night, the officer who escorted the coffins announced in a drunken stupor that he was not even sure which bodies were in which casket, and that some only contained a leg or a piece of charred flesh that may not even belong to the deceased. That is why it was forbidden to open the coffins, he said.

One hundred and eleven men from the Irshava district perished in Afghanistan, 45 were seriously wounded and 91 slightly wounded. Fifty-two men from the Svaliava district were killed. From the Mukachiv district 122 were killed and 145 seriously wounded, of which only 10 received pensions of between 35 and 54 karbovantsi and the rest are being cared for by parents...

"Unknown" persons broke windows at the home of the Ukrainian artist, Panas Zalyvakha who lives on Oleh Koshovyi Street in Ivano-Frankivske in May and June, the last time on June 7th. The aim was to unnerve the artist and his family in order to isolate him from his compatriots and to prevent him from being able to create by being constantly afraid for his work. From time to time, KGB-men break into the house and walk off with whatever takes their fancy...

\*

Mykhaylo Ilkovych Vynnytskyi was born on October 14, 1926, in the village of Chaikovychi in the Sambir district. He attended elementary school in his native village and proved to be a very good student. In time, he was sent by his father to secondary school [gymnasium] in Lviv. In one year, Mykhaylo finished two gymnasium classes; after the gymnasium, Mykhaylo enrolled in the Redemptorist monastery in Lviv. He was 18 years old. His piety and passion for learning amazed everyone... However, the Soviet occupation came and with it new blood and tears for our nation.

Mykhaylo Vynnytskyi's father was drafted into the army and sent to the front, where he was killed in the battle for Berlin. The family found itself without a father, and in 1946 the mother died... The Redemptorist monastery was already destroyed and persecutions began which in fact had not stopped since the Russians came... Mykhaylo Vynnytskyi was drafted into the army, and in 1950 he was discharged; however, on his way home he was arrested by the MGB and sentenced by the troika to 10 years in a labour camp, in typical Russian fashion, they had exploited him in the army as a slave doing all kinds of building and cleaning, and then arrested him only because he refused to renounce God... In 1955, after the death of the tyrant Stalin, Mykhaylo Vynnytskyi was released.

In 1957, Mykhaylo Vynnytskyi was ordained by Bishop Mykola Charnetskyi. The Rev. Mykhaylo Vynnytskyi showed himself to be a zealous Catholic and servant of God, and this obviously did not please the atheists who were in power during a new wave of religious persecution. During the Khrushchev era, the Rev. Vynnytskyi was again arrested and sentenced to three and a half years in prison and five years internal exile. After completing his "punishment" for his faith and because he, as a Ukrainian priest, did not convert to the "ancient", Russian faith, the Rev. Vynnytskyi returned to Lviv. For a long time he was denied a residence permit, but finally everything was behind him and he found work in the department of pharmaceutical medicines. But this did not fit the plans of the KGB! He was still a Catholic! As such, he had to suffer and live in constant fear that he would be taken away. This is the righting of accounts — fear and despair and uncertainty — that is the basis of the Communist credo.

Pious is the man who fears God! The Rev. Vynnytskyi lives as becomes a true Christian monk — with faith and an open heart for all, ready to react to all injustice, to all bleeding wounds. Unshakable in their faith and a belief in the Apostolic Altar, servants of God displease the occupiers. On January 17, 1975, the day the Helsinki Accords were signed<sup>3</sup> he was arrested and sentenced on a fabricated charge to five years in a labour camp and three years' internal exile<sup>4</sup>.

He served his term of exile in the same area as Danylo Shumuk<sup>5</sup>. After the trial, an article was published by Procurator Antonenko titled "Street Religion" which was filled with hogwash and lies about the Catholic priest. The regime is expert at writing in such a way that the reader does not know what is going on but one thing is clear — he who is against the regime faces eternal servitude and injustice...

In 1983, the Rev. Vynnytskyi was released, but even though his brothers have a house, half of which belongs to the priest, he was barred from living there. The Rev. Vynnytskyi has been denied a residence permit for a year

<sup>3</sup> In fact, the Helsinki Accords on human rights and cooperation in Europe were signed in August, 1975.

<sup>4</sup> He was actually sentenced on July 31, 1975, shortly before the Helsinki Accords were signed.

<sup>5</sup> Mr. Shumuk, a former member of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, is serving his exile term in Karatobe in Kazakhstan.

and a half. A year ago he managed to find work as a stoker at a kindergarten, but when the KGB found out that a priest had a job and a piece of bread they had a "chat" with the director of the kindergarten, Maria Stepanivna Chernyk, and asked in amazement why the Rev. Vynnytskyi was working. As if working was shameful or forbidden. The director said that the priest worked well and that she was pleased with him. Then the KGB ordered that the Rev. Vynnytskyi be fired, at which time the director revealed that she was a Christian and would not do so. The KGB then said that if this was the case they would dismiss her from her post which in fact happened! The priest is being threatened with a new sentence, and the KGB will find the how and the why because there is a campaign on to destroy the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Prepared by *Vasyl Kobryn*  
July 5, 1984

\*

### WILL THE SOVIET EMPIRE SURVIVE ANOTHER 300 YEARS?

It will survive if that is what is convenient for foreign capitalism. My view is this: it is convenient for Western capitalism to have a partner like the USSR which cannot compete with the West because of a ruined economy, unprofitability, the inability to carry out any kind of economic work... It is convenient to have an eternal debtor. A small example: in 1921, the Communists turned over the oil at Baku to the British; according to the agreement, the British even had a right to maintain a militia which existed until 1927. The Communists are ready to sell off the whole empire, sections at a time — and for retail — just to save their rule. True, today there are no Communists who are obliged to Western capitalism for bringing them to power... These have been forgotten.

It will survive if we, nationalists, expect a regeneration of the empire — this will never happen. Russian chauvinism grows in its own fertile soil, on Great Russianism, on the basis of selectivity of the Russian nation, without which not one among the nations of this great empire could exist... The exceptional vitality of Moscow's imperialism lies in its brutality and disrespect toward the captive nations, its offhandedness in international politics, its impudent belief that it is needed!

It will survive if we, nationalists, do not take advantage of the Afghanistan conflict. How? This conflict (we shall not talk about Moscow's goals and tasks) is taking place right on the border of the USSR. There are nations in Afghanistan that are also found in the Soviet Union and find themselves under Moscow's occupation; clearly, if partisan activities should erupt on the territories of these republics, the Russians will have to fight on several fronts. We Ukrainians cannot stand apart from the fight of nations for their liberation; this means that we should take an active part in all such move-

ments. In Europe there are only four nations capable of carrying on a protracted armed struggle against Moscow even single-handedly. These nations border each other and have mutual interests; they are: Poles, Ukrainians, Lithuanians and Slovaks. All these nations have a common religion; they are Catholic. I purposely do not mention the Ukrainian Orthodox; there is no such Church in Ukraine, only the Moscow so-called Russian Orthodox Church. The entire anti-Russian movement going on in Ukraine today is tied in with the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Any *ad hoc* groups or individuals who violated regulations in eastern Ukraine were not tied to any kind of Church. If one talks about faith in general, then Church life in these lands has been quashed and interrupted for a long time, a fact that must be reckoned with in the future. The scores of Catholic priests that are doing missionary work in eastern Ukraine are doing very difficult, heroic and extremely zealous work on a not always grateful turf... This is why the national idea has taken hold better in the last 10 years in our eastern lands, clearly indicating that Christianity obliges one to outlined norms, to service and forgiveness. Any kind of national movement is condemned to failure if it is not grounded in a Church. This should be counted! As a rule, people who adhere to the national idea, in time become believers.

How can Ukrainians and others in the diaspora help their metropolia? By a united and mutual protest against any kind of Kremlin initiatives. At the present time, Moscow is afraid of the re-election of President Reagan because it is in our interest. Greater contacts with the international community, revealing before the world the face of the most horrible empire that ever existed. The German people are the most sympathetic to enslaved Ukraine, and Austrian Catholics in particular warmly accept our grief, something that must never be forgotten. To the east, the Japanese are our sympathisers. I had a conversation with a Japanese economist who was in Moscow in 1981 as a representative of a Japanese firm and he told me this: "If Ukraine wins its independence, we will witness the second economic miracle in world economy". I asked: "And which was the first?" He answered: "We, the Japanese". I asked him why he used the term "win", maybe Russia will grant us independence the way England and other nations did to their colonies. "Never!" he answered, "You have to present the Russians with a *fait accompli*, but even then you will get only what they do not need. Tell me, Josyp Mykhaylovych, what practical gains have Ukrainians achieved by channelling their greatest energies in the pacifist dissident movement — that is, what has Moscow given you in answer to your pleas, what have you received?" The answer is: "Nothing".

"We were once at war with China, and now we have friendly relations. Why aren't you looking for friends in the East? This could lead to concrete results in your struggle. The West will never, I repeat, never give you concrete support, with the exception of a few countries that will give you moral support, and not always at that. The fact that Ukraine is a colony of Moscow does not especially concern those that have freedom. Tell me,

what do you know of Japan? About China? About the rest of the countries of the east?"

I answered that I knew practically nothing, that is, what I do know is very little.

"Learn, look for analogies; it will be useful in the future", he said.

It [the USSR], will survive if we do not wish to hasten events which will not always remain to our advantage. For this we must work and, what is important, not disunite, those who divide a nation, under any pretence, are our enemies, deadly enemies.

It will survive if the [Ukrainian] emigre community does not unite, if there is no unity on religious or any other grounds. Although we in the metropolia create one unified body that stands firmly on both legs, the emigration unfortunately, is divided. Even in our Ukrainian Catholic Church, not everyone listens to the head of the Church, and this can lead to unwanted repercussions — and this should be remembered by those who dare to defy Patriarch Josyf I — we do not understand this; and if this is so, then the people who go against unity will be mercilessly excommunicated from the nation. The road to Ukraine will be closed forever to these people. These people do nothing. I repeat, nothing for the cause of Ukrainian liberation — whichever way they could, they caused harm and continue to cause harm... Sometimes we think that they are agents of Moscow...

It will survive if we do not unite with the Polish patriots. In this we should forget all those things that have divided us because lately there are too many things that bind us together.

It will survive if we do not foster tighter relations with the German people, for it should be remembered that lands originally German [the GDR] are now under Moscow.

It will survive if we do not unite with healthy Russian nationalist forces to which chauvinism and [Greater Russian] hegemony are alien goals.

It will survive if we forget about the 20 million Ukrainians who died of starvation and physical repressions.

Today, Ukraine is experiencing rampant Russification. What is this? It is probably a provocation. Moscow waits for spontaneous action, organises it itself with the aim of settling with the human-rights movement and once and for all finishing with nationalism...

During my imprisonment in Yaniv labour camp, there was a visit from a political lecturer from Kyiv. His lecture topic was "Foreign Enemies". He began with China and revealed that in case of war the "zeks" would be taken to the front, to which the hall erupted with whistling... The lecturer later moved to the topic of Poland, about which he said: "After the war Wojtyla built over 10,000 churches; before the war there were 7,000 in Poland. The Poles are preparing for war with the USSR..."

He also added that Poles did not allow Ukrainians to grow as a nation, but now the Russians have elevated our [Ukrainian] culture...

After this, he added pathetically: "The state remembers about you; you are the vanguard of the workers whose work counts. Let our enemies not

think that they can succeed in dividing our society. We have been examining the possibility that time spent imprisoned can count as time on the job. Don't believe the dissidents!"

Not a word about nationalists, because he knew that there were several hundred in the zone.

Why did these "recruiters" suddenly remember that "zeks" are human beings? Things in Afghanistan are going badly, so they are trying to recruit these poor boys in the labour camps and at the same time gauge the mood of the "zeks".

*Josyp Terelya*

July 27, 1984

Dovhe, Transcarpathian Ukraine

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#### A UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC'S ANSWER

to V. Kosolapov, Soviet-Russian functionary,  
member of the so-called Republic Committee for Defence and Peace,  
doctor of philosophy and professor at the Radio  
and Telegraph Agency of Ukraine

Comrade Communist, Defender of Peace Kosolapov!

In your article dated June 15 of this year, entitled "Socialism and peace", you outline, clearly and precisely, the Soviet peace platform which blames all Americans, Germans, Englishmen, neo-fascists and all kinds of enemy forces for only waiting for an opportunity to wage war against your "peaceful" socialist country...

What is the threat of war? It is when national leaders cannot feed their own people, covet foreign lands, are afraid of their own people and need war to divert attention from all the everyday problems afflicting their country.

And now, comrade Communist, let us see what you carry before you like a shield, the shield of Communism, — disarmament. Knowing you as a militant atheist, I am happy that you want disarmament; looking from the sidelines, you are almost a believer (some will agree and say that you are actually a believer, believing that (1) socialism has been built and that, (2) Communism will follow). Under socialism your country buys from 70 to 80 million tons of bread from bad and hostile camps (not to be confused with concentration camps) like America... And how many tons are you counting on from Communism, that is, if this is not a state secret? I think that for America war is not convenient for purely economic reasons; there would be nowhere to sell its extra bread. And further, Christians, seeing that you are putting all your efforts towards Communism, are giving you the opportunity — and in so doing are also feeding you — so that you, God forbid, will not fall from such a responsible path; go forward, be brave.

Disarmament is nice. But I will allow myself to ask — who will begin first? Why do you only want to disarm Europe and the United States and

not Asia? But the main thing is that you decided to use a stupid example that may impede [your meaning], and what if they will not listen to you (because they will not know the Russian tale "The Wolf and the Lamb").

You spoke very well about peaceful coexistence (we will not talk about the war in Afghanistan so as not to confuse you). Coexistence is a very inappropriate word; "existing" means "not living"... It means not having a living base. It is apparent right away that I have lived for a long time under the leadership of your dear party; the terminology I use in appraising you is government-mandated, authentically socialist. You must forgive me. I never completed higher Soviet education, which I do not regret. I have never liked you and your party. We coexisted, me in your concentration camps, and you in your element... But I do not want to exist; I want to live. You allow me and my nation merely to exist, as you do to the others.

The second thing you mention [in your article] is the demagogy the United States puts out in exchange for giving you an opportunity to talk about peace. You are right; demagogy must be abandoned and, as you write, a wiser course must be honestly taken. As to your third point, it is in agreement with your "explaining far and wide the domestic politics and activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union". That is right. Let us explain and correct one another. The objectives of your party's politics are clear: Russification — there is no Ukraine, there never was and never will be — expanding prisons and labour camps, destroying our culture, and so on.

And you concluded with beautiful words: "One of the conditions for realising this possibility is the timely actualisation of the above-mentioned causes of peace and their dissemination in foreign environments where there are those whose goals it is to stop imperialist provocation regarding local conflicts". You could not have said it better: [it was] clear and exhaustive. You want to "peacefully" destroy a nation only because it wants to live. Peace for you is indispensable; without peace you will not be able to fulfil given party obligations for your great fatherland.

Forward, Kosolapov! And when you win the war for peace, let me have some of this *pyrih*<sup>6</sup> (baked with American bread). You are after all a believing person, that is we are allies... Extending a hand of friendship to the Ukrainian nation, you came with peaceful intentions to Ukraine; you have to teach these "*khakhly*"<sup>7</sup> how to create peace, Kosolapov. And what would happen if you and the other 14 million of your peaceniks, who came to Ukraine uninvited, returned to the Russia you hold so dear in your hearts and there begin to build peace and existence to your soul's content...

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6 Dumpling.

7 A derogatory term for Ukrainians.

## Number 8

Committee of R. Wallenberg,  
P.O. Box 16076,  
10322, Stockholm, Sweden.

Friends!

Through God's providence, fate had watched over the path on which I have had to walk for 20 long years in a huge Soviet concentration camp.

I was first released in 1976 and, after that, I heard for the first time that the case of Raul Wallenberg had been brought out of the darkness of oblivion. In the camps I did not hear much about R. Wallenberg. One day, this was in Mordovia, a "zek" by the name of Vorobey, a Polish citizen, who had been a Soviet agent in the past, arrived at the central hospital from the international political zone [of the Soviet Russian concentration camp system]. He used to guide Soviet agents into Poland but, after a series of failures, the bosses recalled their agent back to the USSR, where, in 1934, he was sentenced to 10 years of camps. This Vorobey said that, in 1947, he had met R. Wallenberg's chauffeur. Where this was, I can now no longer remember and at that time, I did not think that this story would one day be connected with my searchings in the future. In 1973, in Sichevtsi, I met Bogdanas, a Lithuanian patriot and a citizen of Germany, in a special concentration camp for the mentally ill, where political prisoners were also imprisoned. During the war, Bogdanas had been an officer of the Wehrmacht and in 1945 he was arrested by Soviet counter-intelligence and confined in a camp where only foreigners were imprisoned. This was in the Norilsk zones. There Bogdanas met Wallenberg and fate brought them together for many long years to come. After the "Norilsk uprising" in 1951<sup>1</sup>, all the foreigners who were still alive, were transported to the small sixth zone. Out of the original 7,000 only 420 people remained alive. In 1953, R. Wallenberg together with Bogdanas were transported to a special prison in the town of Kazan. There they [the prison medical staff] began to cure R. Wallenberg from himself. Their diagnosis of him was as follows: "A mania for greatness — he regards himself as a Swedish diplomat"... In 1962, Bogdanas was taken away from Kazan, and since then no one has heard anything more about Wallenberg. Everything that has been said recently does not correspond to the facts because nobody has described R. Wallenberg correctly.

One could end here, but an accidental occurrence caused me to set up, in 1976, a Ukrainian committee to deal with the case of R. Wallenberg. It began with the arrival of my relative, Gobiya Siklo-Kalman, from Hungary, in 1975. At that time, I was still in concentration camp and she asked me

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<sup>1</sup> This is a mistake. The "Norilsk uprising" occurred in 1953.

to find out whether R. Wallenberg was still alive somewhere in the political zones. However, this information did not reach me...

My sister<sup>2</sup> was looking for photographs of Wallenberg, which should have been at the place of my aunt, Anna Mayorenko, who used to be called Anna Siklo. The fact is that my aunt, the sister of my mother, married Diula Siklo, who worked at the Hungarian National Bank in Budapest. He was at the same time a shareholder. The Siklo family is an old aristocratic family, who, just like the family of my grandfather, Fales Ivan, were [Habsburg] legitimists. In Budapest, after the German occupation, the monarchists met semi-legally in various private apartments. It was known that the Gestapo had issued orders that lists of wealthy Jews were to be prepared. They even met in my relatives' place, where Raul Wallenberg became acquainted with my aunt and her husband. Diulo Siklo and his brother, Istvan, had business with other countries and often visited my relatives in Karlovy Vary and Košice, and went to Novi Sad, and this probably gave them the opportunity, during meetings with Wallenberg, in some way to help the Jews, who received papers to emigrate. I know little about these matters and they do not have a primary meaning for our issue.

It is interesting that my aunt, a Greek-Catholic, was waiting for Raul Wallenberg to arrive on the 14th [of January], the feast of the New Year. On the 9th, he had rung to say that he would be coming. Budapest was destroyed and hunger was felt in the city. The Soviet troops occupied themselves with a general pillage. To get a piece of horse meat, one had to be lucky... However, Raul did not arrive on the 14th...

At that time, it was thought that he had been killed, and even when a monument had been erected for Wallenberg, nobody knew he was alive.

We knew the approximate date when he was "killed" and began a search, which went on for 8 long years, and had it not been for an unforeseen incident, we would have discovered nothing at all. In 1981, in the town of Pécs in Hungary, my sister met a man, who was a witness of Raul Wallenberg's arrest! From that moment on, our search turned in a completely different direction.

In 1982, another witness was found — a Soviet officer, who participated in the arrest of Wallenberg. In time, this man became a deeply-believing person and repented before his confessor. And so, it was concretely stated that Raul Wallenberg had been arrested without the knowledge of the headquarters. He was arrested on the direct orders of Brezhnev. A captain of Brezhnev's bodyguard robbed Wallenberg. His diplomatic car was taken away. Wallenberg demanded his, and only his, car back, but Brezhnev had already passed it on higher up... Realising that Wallenberg would turn directly to Marshal Malinovsky, Brezhnev decided to arrest the Swedish diplomat. Wallenberg and his chauffeur were arrested as German spies, who were without "papers". They were sent to Uzhhorod prison and from there to Norilsk, where the Soviets had brought together the flower of Europe and tried to persuade them to work for Soviet intelligence...

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2 Sister through his aunt, i.e. cousin.

There are two witnesses, who are still alive, and, who will give evidence, should this become necessary, at any international commission dealing with the case of Wallenberg. However, patriots are expecting "silent diplomacy". Pointing to the events described above, the government of Sweden can come to an agreement with the government of the USSR about the handing over of R. Wallenberg if he is still alive... We think that he is dead, but his chauffeur is still alive. However, the body of the diplomat should be returned to its homeland... In this way, the marauders have disposed of a person, who was incomparably great, modest and courageous, and at the same time, very unlucky...

It is not difficult to guess what is waiting for me... Two of my daughters were born in my absence — my daughter, Mariyana, in 1977, and my daughter, Kalyna-Teresa, in 1983. Now it is likely that the Russians will arrest me once again. I am awaiting my arrest and am prepared for the worst... And thus, my third child, which should be born in two months time, will not see me. They know how to take vengeance...

This letter is my cry before death. I can feel it. They did not threaten me. No, they warned me: "Don't occupy yourself with Wallenberg. Don't climb onto someone else's sleigh, which is not yours. Nobody is bothering you, so be silent!" What will happen to me, to my children and my wife is difficult to say, but the challenge has been made. God is with us!

295212, Transcarpathian region,  
Irshava district,  
village of Dovhe,,  
First of May Street, 9,  
Terelya Josyp Mykhaylovych  
9. 7. 1984

\*

To Mr. Vatchenko,  
Chairman of the Presidium of the  
Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR.

#### STATEMENT

In my time, I have raised the question of the expediency of putting out a literary-ethnographic newspaper in Transcarpathian Ukraine. Until the unification of eastern Transcarpathia with mother-Ukraine, we had more than 15 different newspapers, and today we do not even have one. I think that this state of Ukrainian Carpathian literature is not very gratifying.

I am not going to go into an explanation about who is to blame for this, but the publishing of a newspaper would provide an opportunity for the normal development of literature in Transcarpathia. In 40 years of Soviet rule, there has not been one Communist with the daring to ask the leadership of the Ukrainian SSR to publish a newspaper in Transcarpathia. In view of the sea of statements that I have made in my time, written to the various

institutions of the Ukrainian SSR and the USSR, this one will not do me any harm. The very fact that in Transcarpathia there is no official organ of the Ukrainian Writers' Union speaks for itself. And the issue is not that I, as a nationalist, will never be published [in such a newspaper]; the issue is that we should have our own newspaper. And it is interesting for me to hear the answers of the government of the Ukrainian SSR as to why we, Transcarpathians, have no right to print and distribute Ukrainian newspapers at a time when your average Muscovite [Russian] (and I hate them from childhood, a right guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR — to be or not to be together) has an ocean of Russian-language newspapers all over Ukraine which outnumber Ukrainian-language ones. I could write a much more strident statement and then you would not answer it, but I want to hear a well-founded argument as to why we, the pariahs, are barred from having our own newspaper in our own land...

Josyp Terelya  
Village of Dovhe,  
Irshava district,  
Transcarpathian region

\*

AN OPEN LETTER TO FRIENDS OF UKRAINE IN  
CHINA AND ALSO TO THE NEWSPAPER  
*SHENMIN SHIBAO*

My friends!

Lately, Moscow agitators have been conducting propaganda activity among the population about an alleged Chinese aggression toward the USSR: the authorities claim that China is preparing for a war with the USSR; implying that China has made a secret agreement with the United States, and so on.

Events have reached the stage when the Russians have begun to "recruit" future volunteers [for the army] from among the "zeks" around the prisons and camps. In doing this the army of Rokosovsky, consisting of penal battalions, is being praised, obviously misleading gullible people. In the first place, Marshal Rokosovsky was himself imprisoned, and secondly, such an army never existed. There was only one division No. 93 and individual penal battalions. Moscow was afraid of concentrating a larger number of "zeks" in one place.

Ukraine is a colony of Moscow; we are deprived of everything that free nations have. For 60 years already, the Ukrainian national forces have been conducting an uncompromised struggle against the fiercest occupier — Muscovite social-imperialism. After crushing the last armed resistance, under the leadership of the Supreme Liberation Council of Ukraine, we have been persecuted with particular cruelty and hate; and now, the Russians, evidently forgetting the recent events, disperse propaganda among Ukrainians against the People's Republic of China. What is it: forgetfulness or thoughtless impertinence and reckoning, that we have forgotten the fate of those,

near and dear to us, who fought and died in the ranks of the UPA [Ukrainian Insurgent Army], outnumbered by the Muscovite invader.

Ukraine does not border on China and China never posed a threat to Ukraine. The Ukrainian writer, the blind Vasyl Yaroshenko, was also a specialist in Chinese literature. He was murdered in a Stalinist concentration camp and his literary works were confiscated and burned. During my stay in Kyiv, we kept ties with Chinese students that were studying there, for which we were persecuted by the regime, and this was in 1962... Ukrainians will never raise arms against China and its people, who have never wronged Ukrainians. Having destroyed the old imperialist machine, Moscow Communists allegedly renounced the imperialist politics of tsarist Russia. But then why has Moscow not returned historic Chinese territory back to the People's Republic of China? Why has it not established — through deeds — brotherhood and solidarity with the imprisoned nations?

Today the Ukrainian national movement, under the direction of the Ukrainian National Front, is conducting great work in establishing an independent Ukrainian state; this is essentially a movement among the Catholics. We remember that in China there are also brothers in faith. That is why no disinformation could hinder our friendly relations with the People's Republic of China. The Moscow occupant uses every means available to stir up trouble in Ukrainian sympathies towards the People's Republic of China; in a series of talks with me and other leaders of the Catholic movement (the Catholic Church is underground), the authorities notified us that in China all Catholics are in prison and camps, the essential mass has been shot, and that if the Chinese come here, to Ukraine, then a fate similar to that of the Chinese Catholics awaits us all...

These and similar statements sow disinformation among the population, frighten people with non-existent danger, but the most frightening danger is the danger which threatens the destruction of our nation by Moscow, and not by distant China. In the programme of the Ukrainian National Front, there stands a clear and unambiguous position: "All foreign territories which are forcibly occupied by Moscow will be returned to their rightful owners; all the nations that populate the great empire should be free!"

It was to our great regret, that the Holy Father in Rome was not allowed into the People's Republic of China. This is handy for Moscow which uses all dissension for its own purposes. For me it would be most beneficial to have the means to visit the People's Republic of China, to meet with Chinese Catholics, to pray together for both our nations and for the eternal friendship between Ukraine and great China.

Chairman of the Central Committee  
of Ukrainian Catholics,

*Josyp Terelya*

Ukraine, Transcarpathian region,  
Irshava district, village of Dovhe,  
First of May Street, 9.

## THIRTY YEARS

On August 28, 1983, 30 years had passed since the sad news spread throughout Transcarpathia that in the village of Zarichchia, in the Irshava district, at around 3 a.m., the Rev. Petro Oros, one of the finest sons of our small country, was murdered.

Holy people, truly holy people, are few, but the Rev. Petro was truly holy in the full sense of the word. All who knew him well were amazed by his gentle and considered behaviour. There was no end to his zeal for the glory of God. Wherever he went, he captivated everyone with his joyful and gentle smile. He silently radiated the joyous meaning of the gospel, and his love for people was so passionate and personal that everyone looked at him as a personal friend, and having met him once, could never forget him. For him, grief, sickness and suffering did not exist. Like a child, he was always happy and filled with trust. He had no sense for political affairs, and nothing interested him except for the affairs of God. Before others finished talking about all kinds of news, he was already preparing in his mind some kind of pleasant story from the gospel and tied it to current trends.

When the persecution of the Greek Catholic faith began, he carried on as if nothing had happened and that the next day or the day after that, everything would return to normal, everything would be explained, all hatred would cease and people would be allowed to profess their faith without hindrance. He could not imagine abandoning his faith, even under pressure. He would explain to believers that they must love and practice their faith and remain faithful under all circumstances of life and respect all people who live in accordance with their convictions.

After the closing in 1949 of the Greek Catholic church in Bilky, where he was the pastor after his service in Velyki Komiaty, he began visiting the monastery church in Imstychoy. He came in the early morning and prayed on his knees for hours before the divine liturgy began. Nobody knew about this and he did not tell anybody that at the time he had no place to live because he had no family and had been thrown out of the house where he lived. One day, gunshots were heard in the field near the river. It appears that even then they were after him and wanted to catch him. So began the Rev. Petro's four years of living underground.

It was then that many homes were opened to him, where he was greeted happily and where residents prayed with him all night. He was joined by others who shared his fate, and the most heroic part of his life began. He did not forget about anybody and handed out small leaflets in which he exhorted perseverance of faith and patience.

At the beginning of 1953, agents of the MGB discovered the place where he most often lived in Bilky, and that is where they captured him. He spent several weeks in an investigative prison in Uzhhorod. According to what he said he was treated with restraint and friendliness. It was suggested that he

get appropriate documents and take any kind of job. After he was released, he was fervently welcomed, especially by the children, who met him with flowers, and this certainly could have alerted some that the "illegal" faith would again be reborn. As the process to get the proper documents dragged on and on, he did not know what to do — whether to remain free or continue his work. And he again began to hold all-night prayer sessions with the people.

On the evening before the Feast of the Ascension (1953), he offered liturgy at Velyki Komiaty, where, almost certainly, among those present were those who were following him. When, at midnight, he and a woman were going from Komiaty to Siltsia, they noticed that someone had passed them on the road.

When, at the station in Siltsia, the Rev. Petro went to pray in a solitary freight car, a militiaman entered the waiting area and asked where he might find Oros, and also looked through their suitcase. The woman answered that she did not know [where he was]. A signalman named Kapich came up and told the militiaman where the Rev. Petro was praying. The militiaman, who was named Povshyk and was from Boharevytsia, told the Rev. Petro and the woman to accompany him to the village of Zarichchia. In Zarichchia, not far from a large stone cross, the Rev. Petro turned to the militiaman and said: "Kindly let us go". At this, the militiaman fired a pistol shot at the feet of the Rev. Petro. The pistol spat fire. The second shot was aimed right at the Rev. Petro's chin, and he fell to the street in convulsions. The woman ran to the first house by the road and said to the owner, who had been awakened by the shot: "Please come with me; a militiaman has just murdered a priest". The man ran to get the head of the village council, but when he arrived with others the Rev. Petro was dead. Then, Povshyk himself drove up in a truck from the collective farm and asked that somebody put the body on the truck. The head of the council said to him: "Pig, look what you've done". He answered: "Shut up, or I'll do the same to you".

The naked body lay in the morgue for about two days, because the regional hospital refused to accept it for an autopsy. In the meantime, people began arriving in Irshava from all over the district and region. Extra militia units were dispatched. When the residents of Bilky asked that the funeral be held in the place where he served, they were told: "You want to bury him your way so that you could kneel at his grave as if he were a saint. A dog's death for a dog. We'll bury him our way".

And, in fact, they took him away by night and buried him in a ravine among some bushes near Boharevytsia. The grave was found by some shepherds and some of the faithful were preparing to bury him in a cemetery when again his body was taken away and buried, this time in a more secret place.

A friend of Povshyk wanted to find out from him who was behind this whole affair and asked: "A priest is a priest, but won't you get into trouble for this?" The other answered: "What kind of trouble? I even got 500 karbovantsi".

Others must have been disgusted by Povshyk for he was transferred from the [regional] centre to the remotest village, where he did not stay long because he was plagued with fear. He left for the eastern regions and disappeared. The same thing happened to the head of the regional security force, Podlesnyi.

Although this whole incident happened after the death of Stalin, when there was hope everywhere for more humanitarian relations among people, nevertheless hatred was still something concrete and it always attacked the most innocent and defenceless people. After the murder, one of the commanders said to the workers of the militia: "Comrades, you know what happened. In future, we must deal with all of them in this way so they know what power is".

Thirty years is not a short span of time... In that time, a lot could have been learned. One thing is sure, the Rev. Petro will never be forgotten, and from generation to generation kind words will be passed about his faith, love, goodness; nor will anyone brag about the shameful act, making up all kinds of false explanations like, for instance, the statement that Podlesnyi wanted the woman — the only eyewitness — to sign: "the militiaman killed [the priest] in self-defence".

\*

Ukrainians!

In connection with the confiscation of materials and photographs, as well as two printing presses, publication of the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church* will temporarily cease.

This is already the third pogrom against the editors of the *Chronicle*. It is most difficult to keep the collected materials to the extent that there is no time even to correct them.

Those faithful who give various information should specify the place of the event and the names of the people involved. If, however, this could prove to be harmful, then only the time and place [of the incident] should be accurately stated. The names can be left out.

We often find that the name of the [particular] official has been left out, but his victim is named. The names of officials are to be mentioned at all times.

"Secret groups" of KGB-men, posing as activists of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, are roaming around the towns and villages. All unknown persons should not be brought to priests for confession or to religious services. Be careful!

Member of the Initiative Group  
to Defend the Rights of Believers  
and the Church  
J. T.

## VASYL STUS DIES IN A SOVIET RUSSIAN LABOUR CAMP!



We have just received information that Vasyl Stus, 47, a prominent Ukrainian political prisoner and poet has died in Soviet Russian labour camp No. 36/1 in Perm, where he was serving a 10-year sentence of strict regime imprisonment since his arrest in May, 1980.\*

It is reported that Vasyl Stus died on September 4th, 1985, as a result of a deliberate KGB attempt to physically destroy another prominent Ukrainian political prisoner. Stus was critically ill with neuritis. He was running a constant temperature and experiencing chronic pain in his arms and legs. However, despite his poor health, Stus was deliberately deprived

of indispensable medical facilities and forced to perform strenuous physical labour. Already in 1984, Vasyl Stus was so seriously ill that he had written a farewell letter to his wife. Recently he was also denied a visit from his family, whom he had not seen for 4 years, apparently for refusing to conduct his conversations in Russian.

Preparations were being made to have Stus formally put forward as a candidate for the Nobel Prize award.

In 1984, the KGB used the same method to kill 3 other prominent Ukrainian political prisoners: Oleksa Tykhyi, Yuriy Lytvyn, and Valeriy Marchenko.\*\*

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## THE LATEST DEATH SENTENCE IN UKRAINE

Earlier this year, in the village of Zamshany, district of Ratniv, Volyn region, the Volyn regional court sentenced Yukhym Khotynskyi (pseudonym "Hayduk") to death for membership of the Ukrainian underground.

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\* For further details on Vasyl Stus see: *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1, 1985, "Vasyl Stus Gravely Ill in Prison".

\*\* See *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XXXII, No. 4, 1984, "The Latest Victims of Russian Terror and Oppression in Ukraine".

## KGB FORGES "RECANTATION" BY YURIY SHUKHEVYCH



Yuriy Shukhevych with Son

A KGB publication in Kyiv, *Visti z Ukrainy* (News from Ukraine), No. 28, for July 1985, published a lengthy article with what purports to be several excerpts from a "letter of recantation" written to the editors by Yuriy Shukhevych, one of the most senior and best-known Ukrainian political prisoners. In this "letter" Yuriy Shukhevych allegedly criticises "Ukrainian nationalism" and the activities of his father, General Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka) Commander

of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and leader of the resistance in Ukraine, and renounces his own "mistaken path" — ideas which he had defended unflinchingly and for which he had suffered unceasingly, including the loss of his sight, for almost 40 years. All the facts point to only one thing — that this alleged "letter" is a forgery.

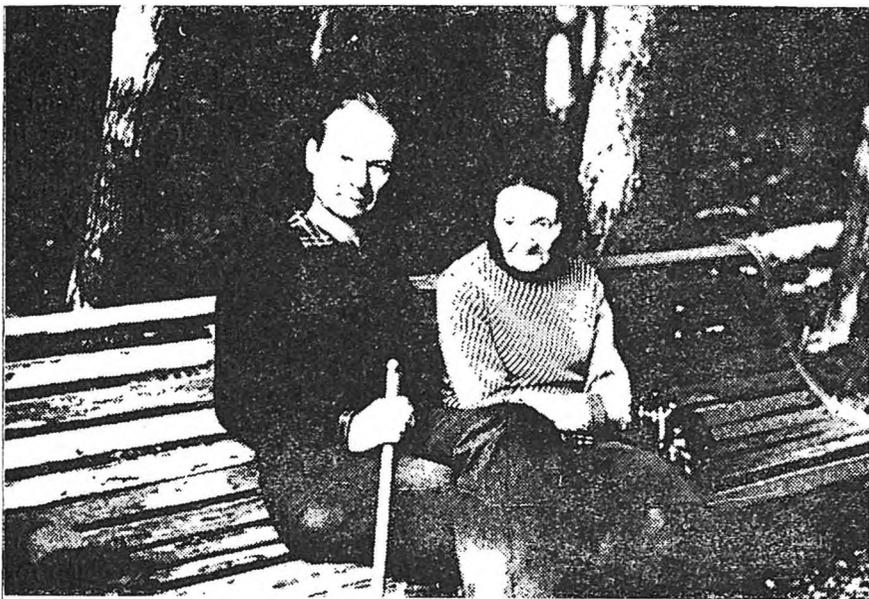
### Why the forged "recantation"?

In their press statement of August 2nd, 1985, Nina Strokata and Sviatoslav Karavanskyi, former prisoners of the Gulag and close friends of Yuriy Shukhevych now living in the USA, state that this "recantation" is a forgery and explain the reason behind it. They say that the forging of "confessions" or "recantations" is a new method now practised by the KGB to break the will to resist of political prisoners in the USSR. The publication of such alleged "recantations" in the West is designed to destroy the credibility of the particular political prisoner and thus to put an end to the campaign for his release in the Free World. Once the prisoner discovers that he has been morally destroyed in the opinion of the West this completely shatters his belief in himself and destroys his will to go on resisting and standing up for what he believes. Such methods go even beyond all physical and other

torture and brutality. This new method was first tried on Ivan Sokulskyi and then on Oles Berdnyk. Now the KGB is trying to break the spirit of Yuriy Shukhevych.

Yuriy Shukhevych has recently completed his third 10-year sentence in Soviet Russian prisons and labour camps. He is currently completing a 5-year term of internal exile in Siberia. Shukhevych has spent virtually his entire life, from the age of 14, as a political prisoner for his Ukrainian nationalist beliefs and for refusing to renounce his father and to denounce the liberation struggle of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA).

Because of his unshattered stance Yuriy Shukhevych became a living symbol of Ukrainian resistance to Russian occupation, especially for the younger generations, both in Ukraine and abroad. As a result of mass demonstrations held outside Soviet embassies throughout the Free World, the many petitions and numerous articles published in the Western press, his name also acquired a symbolic meaning for the Western public. In addition, Western diplomats and academics also began to raise the case of Yuriy Shukhevych at various international gatherings on human rights, and demanded from the Soviet Russian delegates that he should be released. Eventually, the case of Yuriy Shukhevych even aroused the interest of individual governments and parliaments. For example, during his proclama-



*Yuriy Shukhevych seated with his mother Mrs. Natalka Shukhevych in a photograph taken in September 1983.*

tion of Captive Nations Week on July 16th, 1984, President Reagan singled out Yuriy Shukhevych as an "imprisoned Ukrainian patriot" who represented the struggle for freedom. On January 22nd, 1985, in his statement marking Ukrainian independence day (1918), President Reagan referred to Shukhevych as someone who had received especially harsh treatment and a particularly long term of imprisonment for espousing the principles of democracy and freedom. Then 135 US Congressmen sent a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev asking for Yuriy Shukhevych to be released and allowed to go to the USA. Similar actions on behalf of Yuriy Shukhevych also took place in other Western countries.

On account of these factors, Yuriy Shukhevych became a serious problem for Moscow, especially prior to the commemoration of the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Accords held in Helsinki at the end of July, 1985, where the Kremlin anticipated great pressure on Moscow to release Yuriy Shukhevych.

For this reason Moscow decided to forge a "recantation" by Yuriy Shukhevych in order to disinform and deceive the West and the Ukrainian community abroad, and hence to destroy him morally in their eyes and thereby to end the widespread campaign to secure his release.

### **The evidence of forgery**

There are several facts that prove the "letter" published in *Visti z Ukrainy* to be a forgery. For instance, letters of this nature are not usually sent to this publication which is specifically aimed at Ukrainians living outside Ukraine as well as foreign readers with the sole purpose of disinformation and also the defamation of the Ukrainian resistance movement. Usually such "letters" are sent to the Central Committee of the CPSU, the Supreme Soviet of the USSR or the Ukr. SSR, or else to the various newspapers of the individual republics. The KGB could not do this, however, because it was well aware that sooner or later the "letter" would have been proved to be a forgery to the embarrassment of the CPSU and the Kremlin. This makes it quite obvious that the KGB wanted this "recantation" to be purely for Western consumption and not for the people in Ukraine, aiming to spread confusion and disinformation. In addition, when the "letter" was published, Yuriy Shukhevych was still isolated in a far-off location so he was unable to denounce it himself as a KGB provocation. Similarly, for the same reason, it was published in *Visti z Ukrainy* which is inaccessible to people in Ukraine unlike the other press in which recantations are usually printed in order to prevent friends of Yuriy Shukhevych from discovering the existence of the forged "letter" and making a protest.

Secondly, there is the very obvious fact of handwriting. The handwriting on the alleged "recantation" is different to that on a recent letter handwritten by Yuriy Shukhevych while already blind. This has been confirmed by close friends of Yuriy Shukhevych who are in possession of his letters, as well as a handwriting expert, Katarina Stuhlmann-Kortin. She states convincingly

that the "letter of recantation" was written by a hand other than that of Yuriy Shukhevych.

Thirdly, the latest information from Ukraine and the places of exile of Ukrainian patriots confirms that Shukhevych's closest friends know nothing about the existence of such a "letter" and that they are most surprised because he has never intended to recant. In a recent letter to a friend, written earlier this year, Yuriy Shukhevych confirmed his beliefs and his firm stand in their defence.

Thus, on all counts the "letter of recantation" allegedly written by Yuriy Shukhevych and printed in *Visti z Ukrainy* is a forgery. Its obvious intention is to convey the false notion that one of the most senior Ukrainian political prisoners has recanted his beliefs and thereby to put an end to the campaign for the release of Yuriy Shukhevych in the West.

Yuriy Shukhevych was born on 28. 3. 1933 in Lviv. He is married with two children.

He was first arrested in 1948 at the age of 14 and sentenced by the OSO (the Special Board or 'troika') of the Ministry of State Security (MGB) to 10 years for no apparent reason other than the fact that his father was the leader of the armed resistance against the Soviet Russian regime.

He was released in 1956 because a Vladimir court had ruled that he had been illegally arrested as a minor, but was forced to complete his term after the intervention of the USSR Procurator General who argued that Shukhevych had attempted to establish contacts with the OUN abroad and that his father had been the leader of the resistance in Ukraine.

Shortly before his release, Shukhevych was visited by an officer of the Lviv KGB who suggested that he denounce his father publicly. Yuriy Shukhevych rejected this suggestion. On the day of his release, August 21st, 1958, he was re-arrested on fabricated charges of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" among the prisoners in Vladimir prison. He was transferred to Lviv, where a closed session of the regional court sentenced him to 10 years of imprisonment on December 1st, 1958. Several weeks later he received another visit from the same KGB officer who said that Shukhevych's case would be reviewed if he denounced his father and the OUN. He refused once again. Similar proposals were advanced to him by the authorities on at least two other occasions in 1961 and 1964, but without success.

Shukhevych was released in 1968, but was barred from returning to Ukraine for a period of 5 years. He settled in Nalchyk, Kabardino-Balkar ASSR, where he was married. On March 26th, 1972, Yuriy Shukhevych was re-arrested for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda" and sentenced to 10 years of special regime camp and 5 years of internal exile, on September 9th, 1972. In February, 1979, Shukhevych joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group. Shortly before he was released from camp into exile, in February, 1982, he underwent an unsuccessful eye operation that left him blind. Yuriy Shukhevych is presently in exile in Siberia.

## JOSYP TERE LYA SENTENCED TO 12 YEARS

The latest information from Ukraine has brought to our attention that Josyp Terelya, a well-known religious activist, Ukrainian patriot and author of numerous articles in the *Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Ukraine*, has been sentenced to 7 years of imprisonment and 5 years exile, according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR (anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda). His trial took place on August 20th, 1985. Terelya was arrested on February 8th, 1985, in the village of Dovhe, Transcarpathian Ukraine\*, and confined for a period of time in a psychiatric hospital.

So far Josyp Terelya has spent over 17 years in Soviet Russian prisons, psychiatric hospitals and labour camps.

Recent reports from Ukraine state that almost all Ukrainian patriots and devout Christians are re-arrested immediately after serving their original term, and sentenced to long periods of imprisonment. By this practice the KGB hopes to suppress all forms of opposition to Russian oppression in Ukraine.

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## CHURCH FALLS DOWN AFTER "RESTORATION"

News from Ukraine has revealed that the Church of St. Mykola (Nicholas) Prytysko, one of the oldest surviving architectural monuments in the capital of Ukraine, Kyiv, fell to the ground after "restoration". In 1983, the church was being "restored" in connection with the celebration of the "1500th anniversary of Kyiv" arranged by the Soviet Russians and depicting Ukrainian history through the eyes of the Russians.\*\* When the scaffolding was removed in 1984, the church fell to the ground as a result of the "restoration". The question is how could this church just simply fall down (especially after "restoration")? What were the supervisors and workmen paying attention to? This could surely not have been an accident, but a deliberate step to destroy one of Ukraine's historic relics.

In this way, the Soviet Russians deliberately destroy Ukrainian historical and cultural monuments, irrespective of the fact that there exists a society

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\* For more details on Josyp Terelya see: *The Ukrainian Review*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 3. "Persecution of the Initiative Group to Defend the Rights of Believers and the Church".

\*\* Soviet Russia describes Kyiv as the "cradle of both Ukraine and Russia". It also stresses the alleged "common" historical and cultural development of Ukraine and Russia. This was the main theme of the Russian-sponsored celebration to mark the 1500th anniversary of Kyiv.



The Church of St. Mykola Prytysko in Kyiv, Ukraine,  
after "restoration" in 1984.

for the preservation of such monuments in Ukraine, and of the fact that historical monuments are protected by the Constitution of the USSR (Art. 27) and by the law of the Ukrainian SSR.

Over the years, the press in Ukraine has written many times about the careless and irresponsible treatment of Ukrainian historical and cultural monuments by institutions and organisations responsible for their preservation. This goes hand in hand with the policy of the Soviet Russian authorities to deliberately destroy Ukrainian historical and cultural relics in order to wipe away all traces of Ukraine's past development independent of Russia and its ancient historic existence as a separate nation.

The Church of St. Mykola Prytysko was built in 1631. It was one of the first single-cupola stone churches to be built on the banks of the Dnieper.

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## REPPRESSED UKRAINIANS IN THE USSR

*(Continued from The Ukrainian Review, No. 3, 1985)*

550 SKYBA Yaroslav. Engineer. Arrested in 1970 and sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

551) SLISHEVSKYI I. A. In October 1971 he was arrested and sent to a mental hospital for "defaming the Soviet regime".

552) SLOBODIAN Mykhaylo K. Born 1937 in the village of Trach, Ivano-Frankivske region. Completed secondary education. Married, father of two sons. Senior Lieutenant of the militia. Arrested on 15. 7. 1975 and sentenced to 11 years imprisonment and 3 years exile. He was accused of forming the underground organisation "Homin" which had as its aim the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine.

553) SLOBODIAN Mykola V. Born 1944. Arrested in 1973 and sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda".

554) SLOBODNIUK Volodymyr. Arrested 1973 and sentenced to 5 years of concentration camps according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

555) SLUCHKA Atanas. Arrested in 1965 and sentenced to 15 years of camps according to Art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

556) SLUKA I. Expelled from Lviv University for the fact that in 1973 the underground journal "Koryto" was published at the University and also for the distribution of leaflets.

557) SMAHA M. Farm worker from the Lviv region. Arrested in 1947 and sent to a concentration camp for refusing to join a collective farm. He was accused of propaganda against the creation of collective farms.

558) SMOHYTEL Vadym. Born 1939. Composer and musician by profession. Married with one child. On 3. 2. 1978 he was sentenced in Kyiv to 3 years of imprisonment according to Art. 206-2 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR ("malicious hooliganism"). In actual fact he requested permission to emigrate. Apart from this he organised a national dance ensemble and a university choir "Zhayvoronok". He was sentenced on the basis of false evidence.

559) SMYRNSKYI Konstiantyn Ya. Presbyter of the Church of the Evangelical Christians — Baptists. Arrested on 19. 1. 1980. He has already served two terms of imprisonment.

560) SNIHIROV Yevhen I. Born in Kharkiv on 14. 10. 1927. Married, father of one son. Completed the Kharkiv theatrical institute and worked as an actor and later on as a lecturer at the institute. He also appeared as a prose reader and critic. He was arrested in Kyiv on 22. 9. 1977 and charged with "anti-Soviet agitation and activity directed against the state". Died on 28. 12. 1978 in the Kyiv KGB hospital.

561) SOKIL Ivan. Priest of the Ukrainian Greek-Catholic Church. He did not convert to Orthodoxy but continued to carry out his religious duties in the village of Sniatynka in the Lviv region. He was arrested for this in 1973 and sentenced to an unknown term of imprisonment.

562) SOKOLIAN Anton V. Orthodox priest in the Ivano-Frankivske region. Arrested in 1973 and sentenced in 1974 to an unknown term of imprisonment for distributing prayer books and church calendars among the faithful.

563) SOKULSKYI Ivan H. Born 1942. Poet and journalist by profession. In April 1980 he was arrested by the Dnipropetrovsk KGB and charged with the violation of Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. He has already been imprisoned on the same charge (1969-1974). He joined the Ukrainian Helsinki Group in 1979.

564) SOLODKYI Ivan V. Born 1930 in Halychyna. Participated in the liberation struggle of the OUN-UPA. Arrested in 1948 and sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment according to Art. 56 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. In Taishet he received a further 8 years because he was one of the leaders of the camp uprisings. Thus, altogether he received a sentence of 33 years of imprisonment.

565) SOMANIUK Ivan. Born 1912. Sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in 1960 according to Art. 58 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

566) SOMLAK Stepan. Born 1950. Student. Sentenced to 5 years of imprisonment in 1973 according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR.

567) SONOVCHAN Vasyl. Baptist-Pentacostalist. Imprisoned in concentration camps.

568) SOROKA Mykhaylo M. Born 1911. Engineer. Studied in Prague. Member of the National Executive of the OUN in 1940. Arrested and sentenced in 1940. Confined in the camps until 1948. From 1948 until 1952 he was in exile. In 1952 he was sentenced again to a term of 25 years of imprisonment for his protest against Stalinist high-handedness in the prisons and camps. He died suddenly from a heart attack on 16th June, 1971, in a Mordovian camp.

569) SOROKA Stepan K. Born 1932 in Volyn. In 1952 he was sentenced to 25 years of imprisonment for his membership of the OUN.

570) SOROKA Vasyl. Born 1932. Sentenced to 15 years of imprisonment during the political trial in Lviv on 16-23. 12. 1961 for his membership of the underground group the Ukrainian National Committee (UNC) whose aim was to demand the secession of Ukraine from the USSR. He was charged with treason.

571) SOTNYCHENKO Lazar. Born 1904. Member of the Evangelical Christians — Baptists for which he was arrested in 1972-1973 and sentenced to 5 years of strict regime imprisonment.

572) SPORADYK Stepan. Born 1951 in the Lviv region. Worked in the Lviv Television factory. Arrested and sentenced in Lviv in the Summer of 1973 according to Arts. 101 and 206 (...resistance to a representative of the

authorities") to 8 years in the corrective labour establishments of strict regime for his appearances condemning the Russification of Ukraine. He was also charged with Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.

573) SPYNENKO Vasyl. Born 1947. Completed the Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Donetsk. Member of the "Revolutionary Party of Intellectuals of the Soviet Union" for which he was arrested in 1971, sentenced and confined to the Dnipropetrovsk psychiatric hospital.

574) STAKHUR Mykhaylo. Member of the OUN. Arrested and sentenced to death in Lviv on 16. 10. 1951 for the murder of the traitor of the Ukrainian nation Yaroslav Halan.

575) STARCHYK Petro P. Born 1938. Manager of a store-room at the Institute of Psychology. Composer. Married, father of two children. Arrested on 20. 4. 1972 in Moscow and sentenced for the distribution of anti-Soviet leaflets. Confined in a psychiatric hospital where he spent 3 years. He is still persecuted. The KGB warned him that he would be sent back to the psychiatric hospital if he carried on holding concerts of controversial songs in his apartment.

576) STAROSOLSKYI Liubomyr. Born 1955 in Lviv. Student. Arrested in June 1973 and sentenced to 2 years of concentration camps for displaying the Ukrainian national flag in the village of Stebnyk in the Lviv region.

577) STASIV-KALYNETS Iryna O. Born 1940. Completed Lviv University. Worked as a teacher and later lectured at the preparatory faculty of the polytechnic of Lviv. Poet. Married. mother of a baby daughter. Arrested on 12th January, 1972, and sentenced in Lviv in July of the same year to 6 years of imprisonment and 3 years exile according to Art. 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukr. SSR. She was charged with writing patriotic poems. Released in 1981.

*(To be continued)*

## **THE AGONY OF A NATION**

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with a Foreword by *Malcolm Muggeridge*,

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## Documents and reports

### XVIII WACL CONFERENCE 9-13 September, 1985, Dallas, Texas, USA

#### JOINT COMMUNIQUE

The 18th General Conference of the World Anti-Communist League (WACL) met in Dallas, Texas, U.S.A., on September 9-13, 1985, with 471 delegates, observers and accredited members of the press from 74 countries and territories throughout the world. The theme was "Counter-Offensive for World Freedom." The conferees fully demonstrated unity of purpose as they deliberated how to expedite the attainment of the WACL goal — "Freedom for All Mankind."

Aware as ever of the Communist expansionist moves on many fronts, the conferees resolved to issue the following calls:

1. Support the freedom forces of the UNO in Nicaragua, UNITA and FNLA in Angola, RENAMO in Mozambique, the Mujahideen in Afghanistan, the Khmer People's National Liberation Front in Cambodia, those in Laos, in Vietnam, in mainland China, and other freedom forces;

2. Provide effective moral and political support to the liberation struggle of Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, and all other nations subjugated by Russian imperialism and Communism in their quest for national independence, statehood, and democracy — particularly now on the 40th anniversary of the end of World War II;

3. Let the Free World realise and strongly react to the Soviet Union's design for nuclear and space war supremacy while continuing to instigate anti-nuclear demonstrations as part of the so-called peace movements. The Conference fully supports President Ronald Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI) programme to blunt Russian nuclear superiority;

4. Recognise that the Chinese Communists have not changed their "insistence" on Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat; instead, the regime's so-called economic reforms and apparent external openness are merely for pacification of the oppressed people under it and will not put Peking on the side of the democratic world;

Free nations should not indulge in false expectations on Peking's current posture, for the more it is infused with technological and economic assistance, the closer it is being drawn to Moscow. They should realise that the reunification of China can be achieved only on the principles of full freedom and democracy;

5. The United States should annul the Joint Communiqué of August 17, 1982, between it and Communist China that seriously undermines the survival of the Republic of China. Instead, the US should implement fully the Taiwan

Relations Act by supplying adequate arms and planes to enable the Republic of China to cope with the now open threat by Peking;

6. Support these free nations in their defence against Moscow-Peking insurgencies — El Salvador, the Philippines, Malaysia, South Africa, and elsewhere;

7. Take action against the ongoing thrusts by the Soviet Union and its proxies through Chad, Niger, Mali, Upper Volta, Benin, Sao-Tome, Ghana, and other African nations;

8. Negotiate toward the true independence of South-West Africa (Namibia) through democratic processes but not through the UN Resolution No. 435 which would impose Moscow-backed SWAPO on that emerging nation;

9. Take joint steps to support peaceful solutions to end wars, suffering, and bloodshed in the Middle East and to bring lasting peace and security for all countries in that region, and thus prevent infiltration and interference into the region's affairs;

10. Counter the emerging Soviet intrusion into the vast Pacific region whereby it is endeavouring to create a nuclear free ocean, barring the US Navy and at the same time establishing fishing and repair stations for their own access to the region;

11. Expose Communist Ethiopia's blocking of Free World food shipments from reaching the Ethiopian provinces which are opposing the regime, thus causing the starvation of hundreds of thousands of innocent people;

12. Counter Soviet expansion in the strategic Indian Ocean which has already embraced such important countries as Madagascar, the Seychelles and South Yemen;

13. Denounce and take action against international terrorism perpetrated by Cuba, Libya, North Korea, Iran, and other regimes supported by the Soviet Union and Communist China; and

14. Condemn the repugnant use by Soviet Russia of yellow cancerous chemicals and other toxic materials.

The Conference resolved to expand and strengthen the WACL movement through closer cooperation with the press, academic and parliamentary institutions and government bodies.

The participants are grateful for and commend the work of the US Council For World Freedom, the host Chapter under the outstanding leadership of General John K. Singlaub, for making the Conference constructive, fruitful, and enjoyable.

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## **FORTY-FOURTH ANNIVERSARY OF UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE MENTIONED IN CONGRESS**

**Hon. Gerald B. H. Solomon of New York**

Wednesday, June 26, 1985

*Mr. Solomon.* Mr. Speaker, this coming Sunday, June 30, marks the 44th anniversary of the restoration of freedom and national sovereignty in Ukraine. For a few exciting days in 1941, the people of Ukraine tasted freedom as the yoke of Soviet oppression was lifted. The high hopes engendered by the Soviet withdrawal from Ukraine were short-lived, however. So brutal had been the Soviet occupation that Ukrainian people welcomed the advancing German troops in 1941 as liberators. But the retreating Soviet forces resorted to a scorched earth policy as they evacuated their positions in Ukraine. And the German forces that quickly took over established yet another reign of terror, a Holocaust that took as many innocent Ukrainian lives as did the great — Soviet-engineered — famines of the 1920's and 1930's.

Once again, the hopes of the Ukrainian people had been crushed. And the heroic resistance forces that had been fighting the Soviet occupiers since 1922 found themselves having to fight two enemies: the Soviet Communists and the German Nazis. As the tide of battle throughout Europe turned against the Nazis, the pleas for help from Ukrainian nationalists fell on deaf ears in the allied countries. When the German forces retreated from Ukraine, the Soviet troops poured in behind them and reestablished Communist control over the proud people and country of Ukraine. And to this day the ancient Ukrainian culture remains under Soviet subjugation.

Mr. Speaker, it is imperative for us to commemorate the restoration of Ukrainian independence, brief though it may have been, because the very forces that have denied the Ukrainian people their just rights are the same forces that seek to take those rights from us as well. If anyone harbours romantic illusions about the nature of Soviet Communism and its ultimate objectives, I would suggest that they consider the history of Ukraine.

Consider, too, the fate of Stepan Bandera, the great Ukrainian patriot who declared his country's independence on June 30, 1941. Captured by the Germans 12 days later, Bandera spent the war years imprisoned in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, where he resolutely refused to recant his actions on behalf of the free Ukraine. Bandera lived in exile in West Germany after the war. But so implacable is the Soviet terror apparatus, that he was murdered by a KGB agent in Munich in 1959.

When the government of free Ukraine went underground by the end of 1941, the Ukrainian insurgent army took to the field, and for a time exercised control over some 100,000 square miles of territory and 15 million people. But, following the war, the full weight of the Soviet military machine was directed toward crushing any and all resistance in Ukraine. The government

of free Ukraine continued to function underground until 1951, and armed resistance to Soviet occupation was reported as late as 1967. Their land may have been conquered again, but the spirit of the Ukrainian people remains unbowed.

Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of this anniversary, it behoves us all to pay tribute to the bravery of the Ukrainian people and to declare our faith that they will one day breathe free. Despite the relentless efforts of the Soviet Union to obliterate all vestiges of Ukrainian culture and nationhood, the day of redemption will come. And let us salute those many Ukrainians, especially those who fought in the resistance, who now live in the United States and bear testimony to the blessings of freedom. Their struggle is ours.

**Hon. Thomas J. Manton of New York**

Thursday, June 27, 1985

*Mr. Manton.* Mr. Speaker, on Sunday, June 30 Ukrainian Americans in the Ninth Congressional District of New York, which I have the honour to represent, will join with Ukrainian Americans across the United States in celebration of the 44th Anniversary of the Act of Proclamation. This important proclamation declared the independent Ukrainian state of a brief period during World War II.

The proclamation came at a time when Soviet troops were withdrawing from the Ukraine in the face of an invasion by German Nazi troops. The brave leaders of the Ukraine proclaimed the independence of the Ukraine and prepared to defend their land against Hitler's tyranny.

The Nazis responded to the Ukrainians' declaration with mass arrests and a war of terror. Over 2000 Ukrainian freedom fighters fought valiantly against the German troops. The leaders of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera and Prime Minister Yaroslav Stetsko, rejected Hitler's demand that the proclamation be rescinded. As a result, on September 15, they were sent to the concentration camp of Sachsenhausen. However, throughout World War II the Ukrainian nationalists continued to resist the illegal Soviet occupation of the Ukraine. Many of these brave fighters are living in the United States today.

Mr. Speaker, to this day the people of the Ukraine struggle for their freedom. Under Soviet occupation the Ukrainian people are denied their basic human rights. The proud culture and heritage of the Ukrainian people is threatened. Their families here in America continue to work, hope and pray that one day soon the Ukraine will be free again. It is appropriate that we in the Congress remember the plight of the Ukrainian people. As a people privileged to live in a Democracy where our freedoms are protected, we have a duty to remember those not as fortunate as we. As the Ukrainian people commemorate the 44th Anniversary of the Act of Proclamation, I pledge my support to the Ukrainian people and join my voice to theirs in their efforts to restore freedom to the Ukraine.

**Mr. Annunzio from Illinois**

Thursday, June 27, 1985

*Mr. Annunzio.* Mr. Speaker, June 30 marks the 44th Anniversary of the Act of Proclamation which briefly restored the independence of Ukraine during World War II. On this date in 1941, courageous Ukrainian nationalists were able to seize power and form a provisional government, dedicated to principles of self-determination and human dignity, and free from the tyranny and oppression of the Communists or the Nazis.

The Proclamation signed in Lviv, Ukraine on June 30, 1941, came at a time when the Soviets, who had occupied the country since the end of World War I, were forced to withdraw because of the threat of oncoming Nazi troops. Prior to this Nazi invasion of Ukraine, Ukrainian nationalists in Lviv quickly convened a National Assembly which issued the Act of Proclamation declaring a free and independent Ukraine. The text of the Act of Proclamation follows:

#### ACT OF PROCLAMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

1. By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera proclaims the restoration of the Ukrainian State, for which entire generations of the best sons of Ukraine have given their lives.

The Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, which under the direction of its creator and leader Evhen Konovalets during the past decades of blood-stained Muscovite Bolshevik subjugation carried on a stubborn struggle for freedom, calls upon the entire Ukrainian people not to lay down its arms until a Sovereign Ukrainian State is formed in all the Ukrainian lands.

The sovereign Ukrainian government assures the Ukrainian people of law and order, multi-sided development of all its forces, and satisfaction of its demands.

2. In the western lands of Ukraine a Ukrainian government is created which will be subordinated to a Ukrainian national administration to be created in the capital city of Ukraine, Kyiv.

3. The Ukrainian national-revolutionary army, which is being created on Ukrainian soil, will continue to fight against the Muscovite occupation for a Sovereign All-Ukrainian State and a new, just order in the whole world.

Long live the Sovereign Ukrainian State!

Long live the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists!

Long live the leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists — Stepan Bandera!

(The City of Lviv, June 30, 1941, 8 p.m.)

*Yaroslav Stetsko*  
Head of the National Assembly

The timing of the proclamation forced the Nazis to declare their true intentions to overrun Ukraine and force its annexation as a part of Germany. As a consequence of this proclamation, the Nazis were brutal in their attempts to suppress the Ukrainians for their show of independence, and many of their cultural, religious, and political leaders were sent to concentration camps.

Over 2,000 young Ukrainian freedom fighters bravely stood up against the barbarism and terrorism of the Nazis. Ukrainian patriots remembered all too well the cruelty of the Soviets, having experienced the brutality of Stalin's imposed "famine" which took the lives of over 10 million Ukrainians. Those freedom fighters fought valiantly in the hope that future generations of Ukrainians would be able to once again have control over their own destinies and be able to live in freedom.

The Nazis arrested Stepan Bandera, president of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, and Yaroslav Stetsko, prime minister of the provisional government, because of their leadership role in the resistance, and placed them in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp for the duration of the war. The Nazis unsuccessfully tried to force their prisoners to repudiate the proclamation, but these leaders refused to yield.

The spiritual leader of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, in a pastoral letter on June 30, 1941, hailed the proclaimed Ukrainian state, bestowed his blessings upon it, and called upon the people to give the new Ukrainian Government their loyal support. He stated that "your faith, solidarity, and conscientious execution of duties, prove that you are worthy of independent national existence".

Mr. Speaker, although the Ukrainians are still under foreign domination, I am hopeful that one day their love of liberty will triumph and Ukraine will once again take her rightful place in the community of free nations.

It is with pride that I join with Americans of Ukrainian descent in the 11th Congressional District of Illinois which I am honoured to represent, and those all over the world, who are celebrating the 44th anniversary of the Ukrainian Act of Proclamation. The spirit and strength of the people of Ukraine has not wavered as they continue in their efforts to break free from their Communist oppressor and reestablish their homeland as an independent nation.

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## CAPTIVE NATIONS WEEK MARKED BY PARADE AND DEMONSTRATION AT UN

Carrying signs accusing the Soviet Union for the 140 million victims of the Communist holocaust and the genocide of the Miskito Indians in Nicaragua, demonstrators from over 21 nations marched in parades today marking the 27th annual Captive Nations Week.

One parade was preceded by a noisy demonstration at the Dag Hammarskjöld Plaza. There they heard a proclamation from Gov. Cuomo dedicating the week "to the spirit and hope of Nations".

The participants listened to speeches condemning Soviet domination of "captive nations" and waved national flags.

Mitchell Razgaitis, 66, of Manhattan, who fled Lithuania in 1949 as Soviet troops invaded, sang *The Star Spangled Banner* in a thick Lithuanian accent but with a spirit of patriotism that moved the audience.

Yaroslav Haywas, a spokesman for the Ukrainian Congress Committee, reminded the audience that "more than a quarter of a century ago, the US Congress passed the law signed by President Eisenhower proclaiming Captive Nations Week.

"But after years of commemorating this week", he said, "we have not yet been successful in opposing Soviet aggression.

During the years since Captive Nations Week was proclaimed, the Soviet Union made great strides, planting her feet strongly in the Arab world, holding parts of Africa in Ethiopia, Angola and other African nations. She has approached close to the doors of this nation in Cuba and Nicaragua.

We therefore here today solemnly pledge in the shortest time possible to organise a common front. With a common front comes common victory", said Haywas.

"We are here to commemorate and remind the world about the captive nations, about the nations which are enslaved by the Communists", said Nicholas Chirovsky, a professor of economics at Seton Hall University and the chairman of the American Friends of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, the group sponsoring the demonstration.

"The captive nations may be a more powerful weapon against the Soviet Union than the nuclear bomb", said Chirovsky. He called the Soviet-bloc countries "the soft spot, the weak point" of the Soviet Union.

"Forty-eight percent of all its population is non-Russian captive nations who are simply terrorised to stay there", said Chirovsky.

Along with the condemnations was praise for democracy and the American way.

Benjamin Y. P. Liang, cultural attaché for Taiwan, delivered the kind of fiery anti-Communist speech for which the Taiwanese are famous.

"Since the Communist expansion in Indochina and the Indian Ocean, the whole of Asia is gravely threatened by Communist forces with enslavement.

It is only human to indulge in wishful thinking, avoiding the harsh facts of Soviet intentions. But what are their intentions? What is Communism?

It is a Marxist-inspired, Moscow-directed international criminal conspiracy against civilisation based on a God-denying philosophy sustained by faith in its dialectics and backed by the devotion of its fanatical followers and the might of the Red Army.

Communism is more than this. In mainland China, Communism has engaged in the systematic destruction of the family institution. It has trampled upon traditional Chinese virtues, attempted to destroy the basis of their marriage system, sincerity in friendship, devotion to the cause of justice, fear of God, human integrity and all the moral qualities that make life meaningful.

For those of us who live in free China, the least that we can do for our people on the mainland is to refrain from any activity that can prolong their suffering", he said.

Liang added that his island state believed in "the three principles of freedom": democracy, human rights and livelihood which he said were "almost the same as 'of the people, by the people and for the people'!"

A conservative American Catholic group, the American Society for the Defence of Tradition, Family and Property, was represented by 10 members, young men in dark suits with red capes, holding a large red banner with its gold lion symbol.

"The West has the obligation to help the captive nations", said John Horvat, the organisation's vice president. "It has failed to do so.

The captive nations have had a difficult time in understanding why the United States, defender of freedom, is allowing the exterminations of peoples under Communism without taking strong measures".

"We are protesting the Soviet captivity of our country", said Tekla Hnatyshyn, an immigrant from Ukraine who wore a hand-embroidered apron and blouse, and white gloves.

She said she had been forced by Communist authorities to live in Poland "and be like a slave for them" for 13 years before she emigrated to the United States.

The group marched to the Soviet Mission to the United Nations on East 69th Street near Lexington Avenue. There the group pledged to continue their struggle to liberate all lands dominated by the Soviets.

Following the demonstration, many of the participants walked to Fifth Avenue and 72nd street to join the official Captive Nations Parade, headed by the grand marshal of the parade, Rep. Mario Biaggi, D-R-L-Bronx, Yonkers.

Marchers shared with each other their experience of fleeing from Soviet invasions.

Irene Boddon, chairwoman of Refugee Committee of Nicaragua, warned the audience that "the attitude of some Americans of 'No more Vietnams' in Nicaragua is a very stupid one.

The sophisticated arms the Sandinistas have in Nicaragua come from the Soviet-Cuban axis and are being sent to subvert other Central American nations", she said.

"My country is enslaved; we are fighting for freedom and the only reason El Salvador is not already the third Soviet Satellite in Latin America is because of American military aid", she said.

Alexandru Bratu, a survivor of a Communist concentration camp in Rumania, told the crowd that "We know that the victims of terrorism anywhere are the victims of Moscow. America — Wake Up!"

*(New York City Tribune, 15. 7. 1985)*

## HISTORY OF UKRAINE

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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 the Ukrainian people.

## NEW DOCUMENT FROM UKRAINE

### Letter from Ukrainian Patriots to Radio "Liberty"

In the conditions under the Soviet regime all public and creative life is under the watchful supervision of the party, and all means of information, agitation and propaganda are in the hands of the security organs. Therefore, everything is presented to the population of the USSR in a distorted and untruthful way which is, however, convenient for the authorities.

It is generally known that Moscow applies particularly great pressure against Ukraine — the Ukrainian people is the largest subjugated nation of the Soviet Russian empire. In Ukraine all forms of oppression, including national oppression, are implemented with the greatest cruelty of all; here ethnocide and Russification are the most widely practised and all free and truthful information about the past and present life of the Ukrainian people is forbidden.

In such conditions the only source of truthful information in Ukraine is the *samvydav*\* and Western radio broadcasts, especially those of Radio "Liberty". Without these any national life of the people, whatsoever, is presently unthinkable. Due to such circumstances we, Ukrainian patriots, turn to you, on behalf of all Ukrainian radio listeners, with the following request:

1) To increase the duration of radio broadcasts in the Ukrainian language, and also to extend them to the daytime programme, as is the current practice in the Russian, Polish, Czech, Hungarian, and other languages.

2) Radio broadcasts are effective and reach their destination only if their reception, irrespective of jamming, is good, and, therefore, we ask you to intensify the power output of Ukrainian language broadcasts. These are to be sent on the following short wave frequencies: 25, 31, 41, and 49 metres, because, for a long time now, all new radio sets in the USSR have been built to receive only these frequencies. There is only a negligible number of listeners with old or modified radio sets with frequencies of: 19, 17, and 16 metres or lower.

3) In our own name we ask, first of all, the governments of Great Britain and the Federal Republic of Germany (and also those of other states) to broadcast in Ukrainian, alongside the other European languages, from such well-known stations as "BBC" and "German wave". The absence of such broadcasts is a discrimination against the multi-million strong Ukrainian nation — one of the largest nations of Europe.

\* Underground material.

In view of the fact that the Soviet Union is trying to claim for itself the full credit for the victory over Germany in the Second World War, and also as best it can to reduce the significance of the contribution of the Western Allies, we ask that you put up timely and dignified opposition to such Soviet propaganda. As it is common knowledge (from the correspondence of President Roosevelt, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Churchill, and Secretary General, Stalin) that J. Stalin himself admitted that, without the help of the Allies, the Soviet Union would have been unable to conduct the war and would have suffered unavoidable bankruptcy, we ask that the participation of the USA, Great Britain and the other Allies in the Second World War, the invasion of Sicily, Italy and Greece (was this not already the second front in Europe?) be related accurately, and that the immense wartime losses in human lives sustained by the Soviet Union be explained as the result of the reckless conduct of military operations, including the use of coercion, the inebriation of the soldiers with alcohol, penal battalions, and so on.

5) To call the Soviet Union what it really is — the last modern-day empire — arguing this academically and giving examples of Moscow's colonial policy, such as the agreement between Stalin and Hitler on the division of Poland in 1939, the occupation of the Baltic republics, part of Finland, and other territorial expansion, as well as the continuation of this policy right up to the present day (e.g. Afghanistan).

6) The whole Soviet propaganda machine works constantly and with full power towards the defamation of the just war of liberation of the Ukrainian people, fought in Western Ukraine against the German and later the Russian occupiers, both during the Second World War and after. Therefore, we ask that these events, military actions as well as the repressive measures taken against the civilian population by police and security units, be portrayed in their true light, including in this the reminiscences of participants and contemporaries of the resistance movement, documents, academic works, such as the history of the UPA, and the biographies of famous commanders and leaders of the war of liberation, like Stepan Bandera, Roman Shukhevych, and other national heroes — legendary warriors of the Ukrainian people. We also ask that this heroic page in the history of the Ukrainian people is not passed by without due attention, because the whole free world has much to learn from it, as this was the first national war of liberation against Moscow after the Second World War. This was the "Ukrainian Afghanistan", the participants of which are persecuted, tortured and destroyed to this very day.

7) We ask that you tell the world about the fate of the Ukrainian population which was driven out to Siberia in whole families and villages. We also ask that you tell the world about the Stalinist concentration camps, and through Radio "Liberty" to call upon the former political prisoners, who currently live in the West, to unite into some form of brotherhood or association, the task of which would be to defend the citizens persecuted by the Soviet regime.

8) To broadcast through Radio "Liberty" all *samvydav* material that makes its way to the West, as well as the forbidden works of Ukrainian writers, historians and scientists.

9) We ask you to broadcast through Radio "Liberty" musical greetings to friends and relatives during religious holidays and on the occasion of birthdays and namedays. These should consist of Ukrainian songs, both old and contemporary, folk songs and songs of Ukrainian composers.

Our request applies equally to the Ukrainian language broadcasts of Radio "Voice of America", to broadcasts from Canada, and to other stations which will in future broadcast programmes in the Ukrainian language.

On behalf of Ukrainian radio listeners we offer you our deepest respect and many thanks, for your work is of great value.

June, 1985

*Ukrainian patriots*

A NEW PUBLICATION

**"HIS BEATITUDE PATRIARCH JOSYF"**

Edited by Stephen Oleskiw

This is a newly published compilation of documents about the life and achievements of His Beatitude Josyf Cardinal Slipyj, Patriarch of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

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### TORONTO CHAIR FELLOW SPEAKS AT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

*Toronto, Ontario.* Dr. Lubomyr Luciuk, a fellow of the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, recently addressed a meeting of the International Sociological Association, held in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia from June 14 to 16. Dr. Luciuk presented a paper entitled, "Unintended Consequences in Refugee Resettlement: A Case Study of Ukrainian Refugee Immigration to Canada After World War II".

Speaking at an international forum to scholars from fifteen countries, including Thailand, Australia, the United States, the United Kingdom, Sweden, Italy, Kuwait, and Colombia, Dr. Luciuk provided suggestions for future research on refugee situations and on policy regarding refugee resettlement. Concerns were raised over the rights of the nations of first asylum and resettlement as well as over the human rights of refugees.

Pointing out that the relocation of a refugee group can have unexpected and even divisive consequences in a country of resettlement, Dr. Luciuk discussed the "struggle for the minds of the masses" that went on with the DP camps and the role played by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) cadres among the Ukrainian refugees. In Dr. Luciuk's view, these "revolutionary activists" had played a formative role in moulding the perception and attitudes of the majority of the Ukrainian DPs, a conclusion based on considerable archival research, a national questionnaire survey, and the gathering of some 300 oral history testimonies. No resettlement option could entirely mute what Dr. Luciuk termed the "compulsive need to return home". "Paradoxically", he concluded, "refugees are migrants who continue to search for a place they may never have had, or be able to find, but they can never stop looking for".

Some of the papers presented at the Dubrovnik International Conference, including Dr. Luciuk's, will appear in forthcoming issues of *International Migration*, the respected academic journal. Dr. Luciuk's participation in this conference was supported by a grant from the Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto.

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