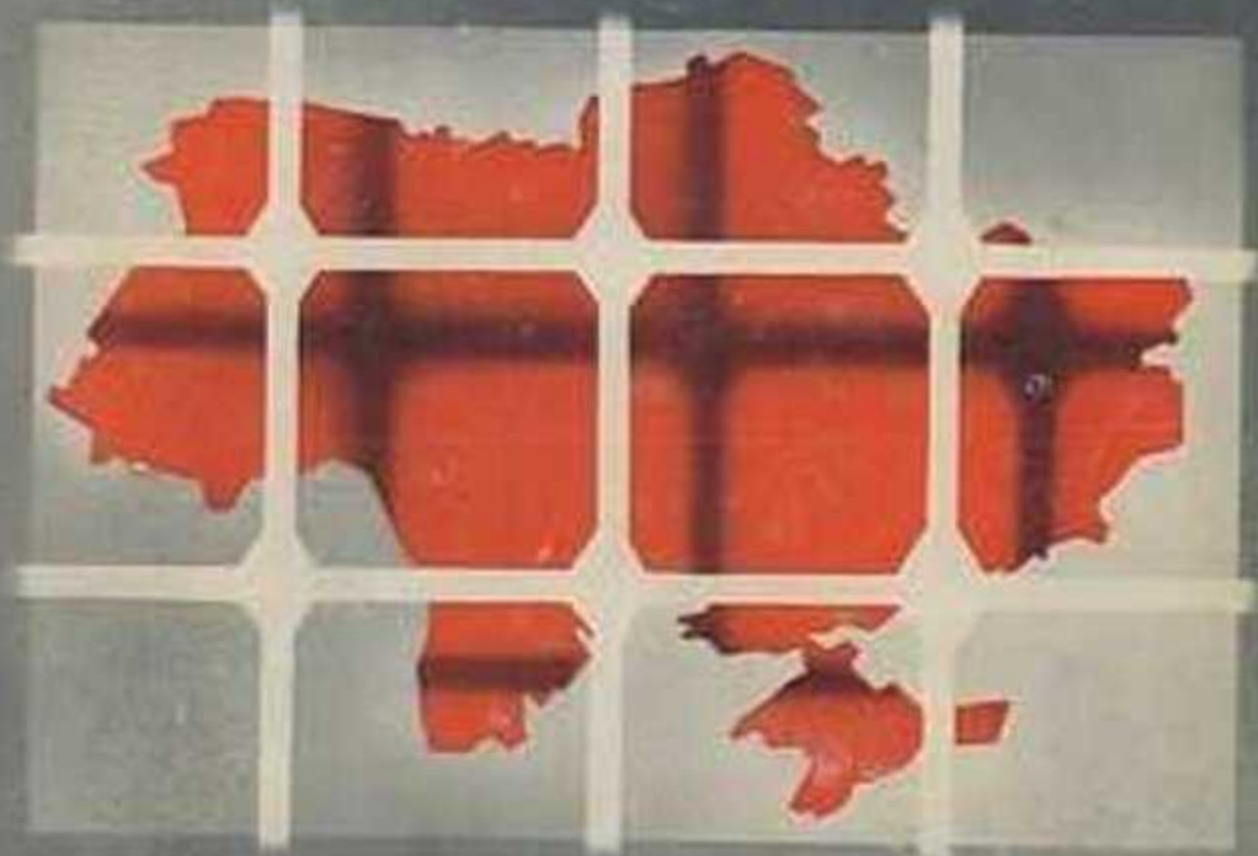


**RUSSIAN
OPPRESSION
IN UKRAINE**



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PREFACE

Only little is known in the West about a people who for hundreds of years formed a bulwark on the eastern frontiers of Europe against the onslaughts of the Asian nomadic peoples until it finally became the prey of its western and northern neighbours. The average reader has far more knowledge of the remote peoples of South America or of the inhabitants of Africa than he has of the European country of Ukraine. Our book, which is devoted to the problem of Russian colonialism in Ukraine during the past 40 years, also contains a short review of the past history of Ukraine in order to rectify certain faulty and incorrect information on the historical development of this country. The main subject, however, are the most important events in Ukraine since the first World War.

As an introduction to the current problems the opening pages contain a report, slightly abbreviated, of the Select Investigation Committee on Communist Aggression, which was submitted to the American House of Representatives by Charles J. Kersten, the Chairman of the said Committee on December 31, 1954, and was published in Washington in 1955. The Special Committee consisted of eight members¹), as well as a legal adviser (James McTigue) and staff director (Edward M. O'Connor). Testimony on oath by eyewitnesses constituted the basis of this report. The fact that research scholars of Georgetown University and experts from various parts of the USA co-operated with the Select Committee as co-workers is a guarantee for the objective evaluation of the material which was collected.

The chapters which follow are intended to give the reader a better insight into some of the destructive methods of Soviet Russian practice which are only mentioned in brief in the report.

The mock trial held in Kharkiv in 1930, in which the accused were scholars, writers and intellectuals, reveals the apparatus of Bolshevik judicial proceedings, the chief aim of which — in addition to defamation and intimidation — is to create a sham legal reason for further liquidations, in particular of the leading intellectual circles.

Another method of 'liquidating class enemies,' the most brutal method of overt terrorism, was adopted by the Bolsheviks in the years 1930-33 when they organized an artificial famine which claimed about 6 million Ukrainian farmers as victims.

A short survey is given of the fight of the Communists, which has continued for forty years, against the Church and the ruthless persecution of religion which during the past two years has again been intensified.

The account of other forms and methods of Soviet Russian colonial subjugation as well as the account of the Ukrainian fight for freedom during and after World War II are based on the following material.

The mass-execution of political prisoners in various prisons in Ukraine, which was carried out at Khrushchov's orders in June 1941, is corroborated by the special testimony and statements on oath of eyewitnesses which were

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published by the International Investigatory Committee "Lemberg 1941" in The Hague in 1960 This Committee consisted of four authorized representatives of former internees in Nazi concentration camps and a well-known Swiss lawyer²⁾

Two further articles contain a survey of the Ukrainian liberation organizations the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) and the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), as well as a documentary report on the attempt of the Ukrainian people to restore the Ukrainian state on the outbreak of the German-Russian war.

The main section of the book is devoted to the authentic report which was secretly sent to the West from Ukraine by the national underground movement there and which is published here for the first time under the title "The Shame of the 20th Century" It gives an account of the various Bolshevik methods of oppression about which little is known in the West A supplement to this report is the article, based on testimony by former prisoners, on Soviet Russian concentration camps and the riots organized by the prisoners which were brutally crushed by the Khrushchov regime

Under this system of persecution the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, General Roman Shukhevych, conducted a partisan war, which is described in a biographical survey An interview with the General deals with the political aims of this fight for freedom

Soviet Russian terrorism and persecution are not confined to the territories occupied by the Soviet Russians In the West, too, they perpetrate their vile and atrocious crimes against their opponents Our book concludes with a chapter on the Soviet Russian assassination of the Head of the Ukrainian State Symon Petlura (1926), of Colonel Evhen Konovalets (1938) and of the Leader of the OUN Stepan Bandera (1959), and also an account of Bolshevik camouflage and diversion manoeuvres

We hope that all the bitter experiences and sufferings related here, which have been endured by a people who for years have been fighting for their independence, freedom and human rights and have been obliged to rely on their own strength alone in this fight, will help to make readers who are living in freedom and are unfortunately dazzled by the illusion of security in coexistence realize and thus effectively counter the dangers of the unscrupulous urge to expansion of Soviet Russian colonialism, which to outward appearance is disguised as harmless

May the voice of the enslaved peoples be a warning to those who are free to be on their guard against all deceptive illusions regarding a change in the true character of Communism

¹⁾ Fred E Busbey (Illinois) Alvin M Bentley (Michigan), Edward J Bonin (Pennsylvania) Patrick J Hillings (California), Ray J Madden (Indiana) Thaddeus M Machrowicz (Michigan), Thomas J Dodd (Connecticut), Michael A Feighan (Ohio)

²⁾ Dr Hans Cappelen (Norway) Ole Bjorn Kraft (President of the Danish Parliament), Karel van Staal (Dutch Socialist), Floor Peeters (Belgian university professor) and Dr Kurt Schoch (deputy of the Swiss Parliament)

COMMUNIST TAKEOVER AND OCCUPATION OF UKRAINE

*Report by the Kersten Committee of US Congress**

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Ukrainian people who have suffered greatly from the aggression and genocidal policy of the Soviet Union, have also during the past centuries been neglected by the non-Russian world. From the time when they became entangled with the empire of Moscow by the Treaty of Pereyaslav in 1654, Moscow has resorted to all possible measures to deny their national existence as a people with their own distinct culture.

Today, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as one of the Union Republics of the U S S R, is a charter member of the United Nations, but it is not allowed to enter into direct relations with any of the free nations of the world. It still remains, in the opinion of the masters of the Kremlin, raw material to be remodelled and shaped to fit their fancy, without regard to the principles of democracy or the wishes of the people.

According to the best calculations, which are of course approximate, there are about 45 million Ukrainians in the world. This entitles them to rank in Europe next after the Russians and the Germans in point of numbers. The greater part of them live in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. There are still some areas on the Ukrainian borders inhabited by compact masses of Ukrainians, especially in the Russian Federated Soviet Socialist Republic and the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic. There are also large areas in the Russian Far East, along the Amur River and elsewhere, that have a concentrated Ukrainian population, either by way of voluntary emigration or by enforced deportation and exile.

The area of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic includes about 601,000 square kilometres or in the neighbourhood of 232,000 square miles. This includes the celebrated black earth district, one of the

*) Special Report No 4 of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression House of Representatives 83rd Congress 2nd session US Government Printing Office Washington 1955 36 p

richest agricultural lands in Europe, and the well known coal- and iron-mining districts of the Donets Basin and Kryvy Rih. It lies on the north shore of the Black Sea and extends from the Carpathian Mountains to the Don River in a broad belt.

Many of the historical difficulties of the Ukrainian people have been connected with the name of their land. In the oldest period it was called Rus'. It is very clear that in this form it was applied chiefly to the Kievan area and from there spread among the eastern Slavs. It appeared in Latin usually under the form Ruthenia.

The other name, Ukraine, likewise appeared early and its precise meaning as "borderland" or "settled country" is still in dispute. Modern political usage, however, has come to prefer it in view of the confusion between Rus and Russia, a term which came into use only in the 18th century under Emperor Peter I.

Herodotus in book IV of his History described in detail the early history of what is now Ukraine, and early Greek and Byzantine historians traced the history of the various invading tribes. In the 9th century a powerful figure, perhaps with the use of Varangian troops, organized out of the separate tribes or clans a strong state of Rus' with its capital at Kyiv. By the time these rulers became real personages in the historical sense, they were speaking a Slavic language which has been described as ancient Ukrainian.

The country was Christianized from Constantinople and accepted the main outlines of Byzantine culture under the reign of Volodymyr the Great at the end of the 10th century, together with the use of a modified Church Slavonic which had been introduced from Bulgaria. Greek and Bulgarian monks and clergy came in numbers to Kyiv. In a short time ancient Kyiv with its Cathedral of St. Sophia developed into one of the most prominent outposts of Byzantine civilization.

Yet Kyiv and its rulers had close affiliations with the West. One daughter of Yaroslav the Wise (1019-54) married King Henry I of France and others married into the royal families of the then Norway, Poland, and Hungary. A daughter of Harold, the last Saxon King of England, was the wife of Volodymyr Monomakh of Kyiv (1113-25). The policy of the early rulers was to maintain both their relations with Constantinople and with the developing states of Western Europe.

Then in 1240 came the invasion of the Mongol Tartars under Batu Khan. This wrecked the Kievan state and reduced the capital to a pile of ruins. The princes of Halych (Galicia) struggled on against the new invaders. The rulers of Suzdal-Moscow yielded and became the slaves of the Khan.

Gradually by intermarriage even more than by force, what we now know as Ukraine came to form a most important part of the medieval Lithuanian state. The kings of Hungary extended their control over the Carpathians, and the kings of Poland in 1362 gained control of Halych.

At the dawn of modern history, in their state of division the Ukrainians felt themselves menaced by three influences. They feared the growing power of Moscow under Ivan the Terrible who sought to annex them. They felt that Moscow was Orthodox but uncultured. They feared the power of Roman Catholic Poland, especially as many of the leading nobles accepted Polish Renaissance culture and with it the Roman Catholic faith. They feared also the Mohammedan influences wielded by the Sultan of Turkey and the Khan of the Crimea.

Under these conditions a part of the clergy who most valued Western influences opened negotiations with the Pope, and in 1596 there was prepared the Union of Brest which allowed them to maintain their Orthodox customs in return for a recognition of the Papacy. This created the Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite which became especially strong in Galicia and the Carpathians.

By the seventeenth century a new force emerged, the Zaporozhian Kozaks (Cossacks). The freedom-loving Kozaks went out into the open and uninhabited steppes which were systematically raided by the Tartars and established their own center at the Zaporozhian Sich below the rapids of the Dniipro (Dnieper). There, though they were nominally subjects of the King of Poland, they formed a quasi-autonomous military community which fought for the King against the Tartars, but bowed to his will at no other time.

Poland, having difficulties at home, found it increasingly difficult to deal with this problem. This precarious situation came to an end in 1648 when Bohdan Khmelnytsky became the Hetman. The Poles forced him and the Zaporozhians into open revolt and in a few weeks he had defeated the Polish armed forces. It was then that he conceived the idea of establishing a definite Kozak state and expelling the Poles from the Ukrainian lands. To do it, he needed allies. With no success in other directions, in 1654 he approached Czar Alexis of Moscow, and the result was the Treaty of Pereyaslav.

Khmelnytsky met the Czar's envoy, Buturlin, at Pereyaslav on January 18, 1654, and apparently made some sort of an oral arrangement for a joint campaign against Poland. Russian historians have always insisted that it was a formal submission but they have decided neither that the treaty meant the incorporation of Ukraine, which is obviously not the case, nor a personal union under the Czar. Ukrainian historians have treated the treaty as a military alliance which was broken by Russian actions. Even the Communist historians have varied from a denunciation of Khmelnytsky as a tyrant in the Soviet Encyclopedia of 1936 to an enthusiastic laudation of him as a supporter of union with Russia in the Theses issued during 1954 for the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the treaty.

The treaty did give Moscow a chance to interfere in the internal affairs of the Zaporozhian Host which was endeavouring to set up a local administration in which the officers of the Kozak regiments became the local sources of government. When Khmelnytsky died in 1658, there was no one to inherit his powers and his prestige. In a

few years there had ensued what has been termed the "ruin" in Ukrainian history. Thousands of Kozaks fled to the so-called Slobozhanshchyna which was nominally under the Czar but still a no-man's land. The chaos was only made worse when in 1667, by the Peace of Andrusovo, the Czar and the King of Poland divided Ukraine along the line of the Dnieper, with Kyiv on the west bank handed over to Moscow in return for a loan.

The most outstanding Hetman of that period was Ivan Mazepa, who ascended to power in 1687. When Charles XII of Sweden, in the autumn of 1708, turned his attention to Muscovy and advanced to the boundaries of Ukraine, Mazepa openly joined him. His sudden revolt, however, found many of the Ukrainians unprepared. Still there was a steady flow to his banners and the Zaporozhian Sich came out for him and the cause of a free Ukraine.

Czar Peter I took a terrible vengeance. He attacked and captured Mazepa's capital of Baturyn and tortured to death the entire population of the city in an appalling massacre. The unfortunate Battle of Poltava on June 17, 1709, doomed the hopes of Mazepa as Charles XII, unable to lead his troops in person because of a wound received a few days earlier, was completely defeated.

From then on for nearly a half century conditions deteriorated rapidly. When Catherine II came to the throne, she forced the resignation of the Hetman, and in 1775 ordered her troops to seize and destroy the Zaporozhian Sich. In 1783 she issued the final order abolishing the Hetmanate as an institution, abolishing the Kozak regiments and ending under Russian law all traces of self-government or separatism in Ukraine. From this moment Ukraine was to be known as either Little Russia or South Russia, and it was officially resolved that the Ukrainians were Russian and to be treated as such. Russian governmental institutions were introduced, serfdom was established in its Russian form and Catherine proudly believed that the Ukrainian problem had been fully and completely solved.

Meanwhile the division of Poland which took place between 1772 and the final extinguishment of the country, brought under Russian rule nearly all the Ukrainian provinces. The same program was applied to them. Step by step, area by area, the Ukrainian Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite was liquidated, often with great violence.

There was left merely Galicia and Bukovyna, which passed under the control of the Hapsburg Empire and Carpatho-Ukraine which had been for centuries under the Hungarian Crown. Ukraine was doomed, and with its passing from the map the history of the country vanished from the consciousness of the European peoples.

The Russian victory was not as complete as it at first appeared. There were still left the Ukrainian people with their traditional modes of living, their folklore, their songs, their costumes, and their memories of the past. The patriotic Ukrainian spirit found refuge in the hearts of the masses.

THE UKRAINIAN REVIVAL

In 1798 a cultural revival started Ivan Kotlyarevsky, a Ukrainian nobleman of Poltava, published in the Ukrainian language a burlesque of Virgil's Aeneid, in which he presented the wandering Trojans under the form of the Zaporozhian Kozaks wandering about in search of a new home. Nothing like this in the vernacular had ever been done and his version of the Aeneid introduced a new pattern into Ukrainian life.

While the literature was in this embryonic state, Taras Shevchenko appeared. In 1840 he published his collection of poems, *The Kobzar*, and followed it up later with his epic, *The Haydamaky*. Ukrainians of all classes thrilled to the music of Shevchenko's verse, and the future of Ukrainian literature was never in doubt from that moment. It had proved its right to exist as one of the Slavic literatures.

Shevchenko found in Kyiv, in 1845, a group of like-minded young men largely connected with the University of Kyiv. In 1846 they established the Society of SS Cyril and Methodius, and dreamed of the establishment of an independent Ukraine as one of the republics of a free Slavdom. The idealistic elements far outshadowed any practical revolutionary activity. Still the society was too dangerous for Nicholas I. That imperious ruler with his fear of revolution, at one and the same time denied the existence of Ukraine and feared its revival. When the existence of the Society was established, its members were all arrested and given various sentences. Shevchenko as the best known of its members was sent to a disciplinary battalion in central Asia with a special ban on painting and writing. He was released by Alexander II in 1857, as a physically broken man, and died in 1861 in St. Petersburg.

Shevchenko and his friends set the pattern for the Ukrainian revival in the Russian Empire. It was primarily a cultural and not a political movement. But it could not be stopped. It was in vain that the Minister of the Interior, Count Valuyev, in 1863 declared that there never had been, was not and never would be a separate "Little Russian" language. It was in vain that the Russian censors utilized this remark to ban the printing of diverse Ukrainian works. The work went on, and when Professor Mykhaylo Drahomaniv was forced to leave his post at the University of Kyiv and retire to Switzerland, the world heard again of the existence of the Ukrainian people after a century and more of silence.

There had been a similar revival of Ukrainian consciousness among those Ukrainians who had been brought under Hapsburg rule in the Western Ukrainian lands. It had taken there a somewhat different form, for it centered around the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church. Immediately after Galicia passed under Austrian control, Empress Maria Theresa had established in Vienna, in 1774, the *Barbareum* for the education of Greek Catholic priests from Galicia and Carpatho-Ukraine. In 1783 she established a seminary in Lviv and in 1784 the Government opened a university in Lviv.

By 1848 there was a Ukrainian Rada in Lviv, Ukrainian newspapers were appearing and an organized movement was in existence. The reaction that followed checked it but with the increased freedom that came in the Hapsburg lands after 1867, the movement revived and Lviv became an important Ukrainian cultural center.

It will at once be seen that there was a difference in the development of the two halves of the country. Under the Hapsburgs there was no denial of the Ukrainian national identity. Ukrainian progress was hampered by the Poles but it was nevertheless possible to form political parties and compete in the Galician elections. In Russia the Ukrainian identity was denied and many of the younger Ukrainians were drawn into the Russian revolutionary movement while no separate Ukrainian political activity was possible.

It was not until after the revolution of 1905 that the Ukrainians under Russia were able to express themselves more freely. There were Ukrainian delegates in the first Duma but the constant changes in the Russian electoral laws and the reaction that followed the failure of that revolution steadily reduced the opportunities of the Ukrainians even though the Russian Academy of Sciences in 1905 had recognized Ukrainian as a language distinct from the Russian. However as early as 1899 there had been formed in Kharkiv a Revolutionary Ukrainian Party from which came many of the Ukrainian leaders in World War I and this revived in some of its clandestine publications the idea of an independent Ukrainian state.

The outbreak of World War I sharply changed the situation. The Russian Government at once adopted an extreme anti-Ukrainian position, stopped all Ukrainian publications and forbade the opening of any purely Ukrainian relief societies even for Ukrainian war prisoners captured from the Austrian armies. On the other hand the Russian Army penetrated Galicia and in the early days of the war captured Lviv. They immediately tried to suppress all the nationalist societies with the avowed intention of Russianizing the entire Ukrainian population of Galicia and the Carpathians. When they were driven back in 1915 they carried with them large numbers of Ukrainians whom they settled in various parts of the Empire.

As an answer to this there was organized in Vienna a Society for the Liberation of Ukraine meaning of course that part of Ukraine under Russian domination. The Austrian Government allowed the organization of some special volunteer Ukrainian military units. They became the nucleus of the later Riflemen of the Sich and of the Galician Army. As regards the future of the Ukrainians of the Western lands they revived the idea that there should be a special Ukrainian province formed in Eastern Galicia with the other Ukrainian sections of the Empire as Bukovyna to be a Ukrainian state within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Ukrainians under Austria had a free hand to work among the Ukrainian prisoners of war from the Imperial Russian army. Such was the situation when in March 1917 the Russian revolution broke out and Czar Nicholas II abdicated his throne.

THE RISE OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL REPUBLIC

The Russian revolution which broke out on February 25/March 8, 1917, was more of a collapse of the old imperial organism under the strain of World War I than the conscious work of an organized revolutionary movement. The leaders of the Duma under the first Prime Minister, Prince Lvov, firmly believed that Russia and the Russian Empire were one and the same thing and they desired to preserve as much as possible of the old imperial unity. The Volyn Guard Regiment, largely composed of Ukrainians, had aided in the revolution and almost from the first demanded the use of Ukrainian insignia and the Ukrainian language as the language of command. Inspired by the Social Democrat and writer, V Vynnychenko, they aided in the formation of a Ukrainian National Committee in Petrograd and appealed for Ukrainian rights and the amelioration of the lot of the Ukrainians in the Austrian territories occupied by the Russian Army.

In the middle of March the underground Society of Ukrainian Progressives came out from under cover. When Prof Mykhaylo Hrushevsky, the greatest of Ukrainian historians, returned home during the same month from forced exile in Russia, he took the lead in the organization. On April 7, there was a great demonstration in Kyiv at which Professor Hrushevsky spoke of the ending of the past the fight for fundamental national rights and called on the Ukrainians to be loyal to their native land — Ukraine. Out of this developed the central Rada as a gathering of the politically conscious Ukrainians of Kyiv. This led to a Ukrainian Congress later in the month which broadened the scope of the Rada to include Ukrainians from the provinces as well as from Kyiv.

As a result of definite rebuffs from the Russian provisional government and on the demands of the soldiers, the Rada issued on June 23 1917, its first universal, written by Vynnychenko, and declared in this that from this time Ukraine had to live its own life. The Rada then set up a General Secretariat in which Vynnychenko became General Secretary (really Prime Minister) and Symon Petlura became Secretary of Military Affairs. This was in effect the first modern Ukrainian Government.

These developments led to the arrival in Kyiv of a delegation from the provisional government consisting of Kerensky, Tereshchenko, Tsereteli, and Nekrasov. They worked out with Hrushevsky, Vynnychenko and Petlura a plan for a definite provisional organization of a Ukrainian government out of the Rada and General Secretariat but including definite subordination to the provisional government in Petrograd.

On the return of the delegation to Petrograd, the provisional government rejected this compromise while by this time, the Petrograd Soviet under the influence of Lenin was threatening a definite revolt in that city. The provisional government continued

to threaten the Rada with arrest and trial for exceeding its authority, while the sentiment of the Ukrainian people in all classes called for the Rada to exercise greater independence

This period of confusion ended abruptly when on October 24/November 7, the Petrograd Soviet overthrew the provisional government and declared itself the master of Russia. Neither the Central Rada nor the Kyiv Soviet were willing to accept the change in the regime. At the moment a greater menace was presented by the staff of the Russian military garrison in Kyiv which in the name of the provisional government tried to seize power. This attempt was broken by a general strike of the workers and after a few troubled days, the staff left the city and the Rada became the governing body of Ukraine.

Then on November 20, it issued the Third Universal, which was really a declaration of national independence except that it contained the phrase "not breaking federative bonds with Russia." It showed how far Ukrainian thought had gone and how much, in the face of Petrograd's obstructionism, the Rada had already accomplished, for it provided for the establishment of a democratic republic in the Ukrainian ethnographic boundaries and guaranteed to all citizens those democratic rights that form the basis of a free country.

The Western Powers, England and France, had their representatives in Kyiv but they were unable to give the new regime immediate help because of the war. The Black Sea ports were closed, since Turkey was on the side of the Central Powers and all Allied aid had to come from the Arctic ports of Archangel and Murmansk and Vladivostok across Russian territory.

At the same time, the Russian troops, demobilizing on the southwestern front and largely under Bolshevik influence, were streaming across the country. These offered a more insidious menace to the new state than had the former Russian garrison or even the Russian workmen and partisans of the provisional government in Kyiv and the other cities. They offered a good chance for Lenin and his followers to interfere and try to seize the country.

Such an attempt was not long in coming. According to the memoirs of I. Puke who was put in charge, the Bolsheviks moved 8,400 of these Russian soldiers toward Kyiv on November 30 with the intention of seizing the city. The Rada discovered this conspiracy in time, disarmed the party, and shipped it out of the country.

But Lenin had to try again. This was the same Lenin who had consistently preached self-determination for all the nations of the old empire as a means of defeating the provisional government. The Rada was growing stronger, so he prepared to overthrow it by an armed invasion from Russian territory. He placed the troops under the command of Antonov-Ovseyenko, his most trusted commander.

Following the armistice with the Central Powers, Lenin officially recognized Ukraine as a completely sovereign and independent state on December 17, 1917 in these words:

We, the Soviet of People's Commissars, recognize the Ukrainian National Republic and its right to separate from Russia or to make an agreement with the Russian Republic for federative or other similar mutual relations between them. Everything that touches national rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people we, the Soviet of People's Commissars accept clearly without limitation and unreservedly.

This was an unequivocal statement. However, at the same time this recognition was extended, the Bolsheviks presented an ultimatum on the ground that the Ukrainian Central Rada by its failure to recognize the Soviets and the Soviet Government in Ukraine was acting in a bourgeois manner and could not be accepted as an "empowered representative of the labouring and exploited masses of Ukraine." The ultimatum went on to demand that the Rada bind itself not to allow any military units to go to the Don or the Kuban regions without the permission of the Bolshevik commander, that it help the Bolsheviks in their war against the counterrevolutionary movement of Kaledin in the Don, that it stop all efforts to disarm Soviet regiments and the workers' Red Guard in Ukraine and return arms to those units that had been disarmed. If this was not done within 48 hours, the Soviet would declare war upon the Ukrainian National Republic.

The Ukrainian Government rejected this ultimatum with the statement that they had disarmed Russian soldiers engaged in a conspiracy against the Ukrainian Government and threw the blame for any hostilities upon the Soviets themselves. On the same day the Third Peasant Congress of Ukraine and an All-Ukrainian Congress of Soldiers', Workers' and Peasants' Deputies, held in Kyiv, supported the Ukrainian Government. A handful of dissenters who supported the Russian Bolsheviks left the city for Kharkiv, where they joined a meeting of Russian workers from the Donbas which had overthrown the government of the Rada in that city and established a Central Executive Committee of Ukraine and a People's Secretariat. This group claimed to be the allies of the Russian Soviets, and was recognized as such by Stalin in a letter of December 25, when the Russian Soviet Army began to cross the boundaries of Ukraine.

It is of interest that it was only in the case of Ukraine that the Soviet Government definitely issued an ultimatum and a declaration of war, before its armed forces crossed the boundary to set up a Soviet government on Ukrainian soil. Yet it is of interest that such loyal Bolsheviks as V. Shakhrai, the minister of war of this pseudo-government, stated in one of his reports that —

in our war against the Central Rada we have only the army brought into Ukraine by Antonov and all Ukrainian units look at it as hostile and counter-revolutionary.

The Ukrainian Army was not able to withstand this attack. Many of the older units were ill-equipped and a volunteer force of almost untrained students trying to defend the approaches to Kyiv was cut to pieces at Kruty on January 29, 1918, after a heroic struggle. There

was a constant threat of revolt in Kyiv and in other cities, and finally on February 8-9, the Government and the army retreated from Kyiv to Zhytomyr

The Bolsheviks entered the city and they at once began a reign of terror, massacring on the streets or before an extraordinary committee of the Cheka everyone that attracted their attention, including even Ukrainian Communists who were caught speaking Ukrainian. The mass executions which were to be a feature of Moscow Bolshevik policy in Ukraine were beginning

At this point we quote a witness who appeared before the committee and testified on this subject

Mr Zazulya It was the usual custom of the Bolsheviks not to take prisoners of war. All who were taken were shot on the spot. I was personally trapped in the city of Kyiv for 2 days after the Bolshevik forces had taken over the city. I witnessed armed units of the Bolshevik army roaming the streets of the city of Kyiv and intercepting soldiers and people in the streets and if on any person any kind of document issued by the Ukrainian independent government was found such person was either shot on the spot or taken to a special camp which was established for them in the royal palace

At least 5000 people had been executed within a period of 3 days at that time. I have a document which proves that even one of the Bolshevik agents who was in the Ukraine at that time states in his memoirs that he was almost shot because he was caught with a Ukrainian document on him which he naturally had to have in order to act as agent. His name is V. Zatonsky and his memoirs were published by the Ukrainian Communist newspaper in New York, the Ukrainian Daily News.

I was also ordered to be shot but was saved by a miracle because in one of my pockets I had a piece of paper with the personal signature of Lenin on it. I also had a pass on me issued by the Soviet of Ukrainian Workers, Peasants and Soldiers Deputies in Kharkiv.

The Central Rada decided that under these circumstances it was necessary for them to make peace with the Central Powers and to send their own delegates to Brest-Litovsk, despite the protests of the British and French representatives in Kyiv. Three young men, Mykhaylo Levytsky, Mykhaylo Lyubynsky, and Oleksander Sevryuk were sent to Brest on January 12, 1918. To support them, the Rada decided to proclaim the Fourth Universal on January 22 and declare the complete independence of a Ukrainian state. This was done almost to the sound of the firing of Russian guns across the Dnipro.

On February 7, the Germans, Austrians and the delegates of the Rada signed the first of the treaties made at Brest-Litovsk. The Central Powers recognized the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic, including the territory claimed by the Ukrainians and those areas that were still under German and Austrian occupation. In return the Ukrainians promised 1 million tons of grain to the Central Powers. Also the Central Powers promised to return the Ukrainian prisoners of war and to arm the Ukrainian armies for the struggle against the Bolsheviks.

Once the treaty was consummated, the Ukrainians called upon the Germans and Austrians for military assistance. The appearance of well-trained troops changed the situation and on March 1, the Rada was able to return to Kyiv and resume its work of constructing a democratic state. By the end of April the entire area had been cleared of Bolsheviks and the country was beginning to recover from the initial Soviet Russian aggression. On April 29, they adopted a constitution and elected Hrushevsky the President of the Republic.

The country had been robbed and ruined by the Communist occupation. Despite the efforts of the Rada and its officials, they could not gather the grain rapidly enough to satisfy the German military authorities who had aided in clearing the country of the Communists and now became restive and suspicious of much of the liberal legislation passed by the Rada.

This provided the excuse for the formation of a countermovement headed by Gen. Pavlo Skoropadsky. On April 28, a German detachment raided the Rada on various charges despite the protest of Professor Hrushevsky. Then on April 29, Skoropadsky called for the overthrow of the Rada. A descendant of the old Hetman Ivan Skoropadsky, he proclaimed himself Hetman of the Ukrainian State and announced the introduction of a conservative regime. The Rada had to submit but almost none of the older statesmen took part in the new government.

It was not long after that the growing signs of German and Austrian collapse encouraged the Ukrainian political parties, which during the summer had been holding secret meetings of opposition. They later transferred their center to Bila Tserkva where there were encamped units of the Riflemen of the Sich, a unit formed and trained in Austro-Hungary. There, following the collapse of the Central Powers, on November 15, a directory consisting of Vynnychenko, Petlura, F. Shvets, A. Makarenko, and O. Andriyevsky started a revolt and marched on Kyiv. By December 19 the directory had entered Kyiv in triumph and the Ukrainian National Republic was again restored.

In the latter part of October 1918 it had become evident that the Empire of Austro-Hungary was disintegrating and the Ukrainians of Galicia, Bukovyna, and Carpatho-Ukraine made plans in Lviv to act when the time came. On the night of November 1, they raised the Ukrainian banner over Lviv and established the Western Ukrainian National Republic. That Western Ukrainian National Republic voted on January 3, 1918, to unite with the Ukrainian National Republic and the union was proclaimed at Kyiv on January 22, a year after the foundation of the eastern state.

In the meantime in the month of November 1918, Stalin in Moscow, contrary to the armistice made in Kyiv on June 12, set up again another Ukrainian Soviet Government under carefully selected Communist leaders, Pyatakov, Antonov-Ovseyenko, Artem, Kvirning, and Zatonsky. Zatonsky was the only Ukrainian in the group and

Artem attempted to argue that "the creation of Ukraine was reactionary, even if it was Soviet," as Zatonsky published in his *Fragments of Memories of the Ukrainian Revolution*, in 1929. On November 17, a Revolutionary Military Soviet was set up in Kursk under Antonov, Stalin, and Zatonsky to carry out this decision. By December 1, there was issued a manifesto of the provisional workers' and peasants' government of Ukraine, declaring itself the Soviet Government of Ukraine and threatening death to anyone obeying the laws and orders of the legal Ukrainian Government.

Thus the first act of the new directory was to take note of these military operations. Well informed as to what was happening, the Directory protested and was told:

There is no army of the Russian Socialist Soviet Republic in Ukraine. The military action on Ukrainian territory at the moment is between the armies of the directory (the Ukrainian National Republic) and the armies of the Ukrainian Soviet Government which is completely independent. Between Ukraine and Soviet Russia there are no military clashes.

There could be but one answer and on January 16, 1919, the Directory ceased efforts at peace and declared war on Soviet Russia.

Another menace was equally serious. When the World War ended and the Dardanelles reopened, a French force landed at Odessa on December 12 and demanded that the port be turned over to an anti-Communist government under a member of the Russian Whites. A month later another force landed still further to the east and insisted on the surrender of a large part of the Black Sea coast. The victorious entente made it clear that they intended to support the Russian Whites under Denikin and would treat the Ukrainian Government as an enemy.

The following months brought great disappointments. With the approach of the Communists, the Directory was forced to retire from Kyiv on February 4 and began its wandering to the north-west until it reached Kamyanets Podilsky after a series of heroic but fruitless struggles. When the Allies allowed the Polish forces of General Haller to approach the River Zbruch, the West Ukrainian Army was forced across the river and joined Petlura in the middle of the summer. The union of the two forces proved profitable at first and they finally were able to recover Kyiv on August 30. However, almost immediately, the forces of General Denikin, which had been advancing from the Black Sea with the support of the entente, forced the retirement of the Ukrainians and they, in turn, in a few days were compelled to retreat and turn over the city to the Bolshevik troops.

In the meanwhile the Allies did their best to keep arms and even medical supplies from reaching the hard pressed Ukrainian forces, who were being decimated by typhus and other disease. In the spring of 1920, Petlura himself went to Poland and succeeded in making an alliance with the Polish commander Marshal Pilsudski at the cost of the eastern Galician lands. The two forces of the Poles and the

Ukrainian National Republic entered Kyiv on May 7, 1920. It was almost the end, for on June 11, the joint armies were obliged to retreat. Then after the Battle of Warsaw, while the Ukrainians were fighting in eastern Galicia, the two forces advanced again but hostilities were ended by the armistice of Riga on October 18, 1920. The Ukrainian Soviet Republic signed this treaty and no mention was made of the Ukrainian National Republic. Small forces of this remained active on Ukrainian territory until November 21, 1920, and then they were forced to recross the Zbruch and seek refuge in Poland where they were interned.

The withdrawal of the forces of the Ukrainian National Republic across the Zbruch in November 1920, marked the close of a chapter in an heroic struggle for national independence. It did not, however, bring tranquility to that part of the territory which fell under Communist rule, for the uprisings of the oppressed peasants continued on and some of the leaders remained in the field for 2 and even 3 years longer.

THE UKRAINIAN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC AND THE MEANING OF COMMUNISM

To understand better the reasons for the relations between the Russian Soviet Republic, the Ukrainian National Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, it is well to note a few facts in regard to the theories of Lenin and his apparently flexible policy.

Lenin's belief emphasized purely the class nature of the Russian revolution, after he took charge of the movement. Before that he had encouraged self-determination as a means of breaking down and weakening his opponents. He had built his following mainly on the Petrograd Soviet of Workers' and Soldiers' Deputies and the appearance of the peasants in the movement came almost entirely after he had secured control.

The first Bolsheviks in Ukraine were almost exclusively to be found among the Russian workers in the cities, as Kyiv and Kharkiv, and in the general area of Donbas. The opposition centered in the Ukrainian peasants who had had a long tradition of ownership or at least possession of their own homes and land.

A further corollary of this was that a certain part of the more radical Ukrainians were at one and the same time convinced of the truth of the Communist doctrines and also proudly conscious of their Ukrainian nationality. But there was no recognized Ukrainian Communist Party. One of these cases came in 1918 at Tahanrih after the Communists had been driven out of Ukraine. To all of these Lenin and his associates answered an unflinching negative. They had formerly been subject to the Russian Communist Party, now in the hour of its triumph they could not escape its control.

There were however two groups which were more or less outside of its jurisdiction — the Borotbisty and the Ukapisty.

The Borotbisty, who took their name from their journal, Borotba-Struggle, developed out of the extreme leftwing of the Socialist Revolutionists shortly before the issuing of the Third Universal. They were largely men of undeniable Ukrainian feelings but men who were willing to cooperate with Lenin in the political, if not the cultural, field. By 1920 they were so entangled in the Communist plans that they seemed good allies for spreading communism in the small Ukrainian towns and villages. They would gladly have formed a Ukrainian Communist Party but Lenin found a simpler solution. He set up a local Communist Party, the C.P.(b.)U., the Communist Party of the Bolsheviks of Ukraine, which was merely a subordinate and local branch of the general Russian Communist Party. Then he allowed the Borotbisty to elect certain members to this branch group.

The Ukapisty — Ukrainian Communist Party — were a somewhat more difficult problem. They had originally been Social Democrats and Marxian trained, but as a result of the situation by which the Ukrainian National Republic was fighting simultaneously and alternately against the Bolsheviks and the Denikin forces, they proved allies of the Republic against the Denikin men but not against the Bolsheviks. Here, again, they insisted upon admission to the Communist International as a special group. They, too, with their Ukrainian connections could prove useful and as alliances in war are sometimes strange, Moscow played with them until 1925, when they, too, were forced to bow and accept a subordinate position.

Both of these groups played their own role in the early days. Both were ultimately doomed but by different paths.

These manoeuvres were outside the general policy of the Moscow regime toward the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic which Moscow policy desired to keep for a while as a quasi-independent state for its international value and effect. This, with certain mild concessions, could be handled through the regular Communists, although it was with displeasure that the Moscow leaders found dangerous deviations, even among these. There were too many like Mykola Skrypnyk who tried to combine both communism and Ukrainianism in different proportions. Ukraine proved itself an unwilling victim, albeit a very challenging field for the trying out of experiments on ways of dominating subject countries. That is why Ukraine has been the scene of so many experiments and why it has been an especial victim of the Russian Communist terror.

MILITANT COMMUNISM

The system known as militant communism was for all intents and purposes introduced at the very beginning of the Communist regime. It was partly an ideological experiment and it was also in part an application of the old pagan rule that to the victor belong the spoils.

The Russian leaders of the first invasion of Ukraine were as much interested in plundering the peasants to secure grain as they were in

capturing the country They were willing to communize it and to massacre those classes of people whom they opposed as bourgeois, but they also wanted food because, despite the World War, there was still food in Ukraine

Militant communism as a theory required the individual to turn over all of his produce to the state and receive back his own share This in a rich agricultural area meant the retention by the peasant of only a few bushels of wheat and other food Still the grasping character of the Red brooms in their search for grain did not overlook anything

Until the end of 1920 they had the additional excuse that they were operating in enemy territory and exactly as the Red Army troops did in Berlin and Budapest after World War II, they killed and raped without restraint In some cases the work was done by the collecting detachments who were sent in from Moscow and Petrograd In others it was done in a more theoretical but equally practical way by the Cheka — The Extraordinary Commission for the Suppression of Counterrevolution, Sabotage, and Speculation — with speculation defined as all private business dealings, no matter how small

The peasants resisted as might have been expected Thus, while in Russia, the land under cultivation in 1920 was 102 percent of that in 1916, in Ukraine it was 45 per cent and in the great grain-growing areas around Mykolayiv it was only 24 per cent The same was true of horses Moscow had 79 per cent of its stock, Ukraine, 16 per cent In the case of cattle Russia had 114 per cent, Ukraine, 30 per cent

Ukrainian industry was in much the same position, for it had been dominated by foreign capital and the Soviet policy had seized this and expelled the technicians The production of coal in the Donbas dropped from 23 million tons in 1913 to 4,600 000 tons in 1920 The production of iron ore almost stopped and the railroads were entirely disorganised

Then in 1921, the first year of even nominal peace, there came a severe drought and the grain crop was almost a total failure throughout large areas A famine broke out and several millions of people starved It extended into some areas of the federated Russian Republic but this famine did not fit into the plans of Lenin, so he allowed the American Relief Commission to extend help, although he limited it as much as possible in Ukraine Yet it was obvious that something drastic had to be done The result, a tactical Communist retreat, was the new economic policy

THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

The new economic policy was formally adopted at the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in March 1921, but it could not become effective, because of the drought, until the following year Without any formal action the same policy was adopted in

Ukraine, and this was a good indication of the dependence of the Communist Party in Ukraine and the Ukrainian Soviet Republic on Moscow

The basis for this in agriculture lay in a slight change. The peasant was now compelled to deliver to the state a certain amount of his products and he was allowed to sell the rest where he could. He was no longer obligated to turn over everything except what he was allowed for his own use. This gave the peasant some inspiration to work and to improve his land. The same concessions were made to small-business men and traders, while the large plants were retained as Government trusts, and work in them was made more attractive both to the workmen and to the specialists and technicians necessary for administering them.

The outside world assumed that the disastrous effects of militant communism had taught the Communists reason and commonsense and that they were returning to sound and civilized policy. Slowly but surely the barriers against the Communists were relaxed and they were invited to various international gatherings. The world leaders did not realize the full effects of Lenin's purpose.

On the internal situation the result was almost instantaneous. The amount of acreage under production began to increase again. The free Ukrainian cooperatives were revived. To help the situation still further, the Ukrainian Communist Government listened to the advice of trained agriculturists, and liberalized in the Ukrainian tradition the land code set up by Moscow, so that a peasant could lease land for 7 years and was assured that his own land could be maintained intact without periodic divisions as in the Russian fashion.

The same effects were in general seen in the measures that were adopted in heavy industry, in coal mining, and the production of iron ore and pig iron. By 1927 Ukrainian production had been restored to the general level that it had at the beginning of the revolution. The country had substantially recovered from the havoc wrought by militant communism, and it seemed as if it were on its way under the Communist system (as applied) to a lasting prosperity. All this was more apparent than real for step by step Moscow was gathering into its own hands the controlling power in all important branches of life.

Even during militant communism the Russian Soviet Republic had made a treaty with the Ukrainian Soviet Republic in 1920, whereby the latter had handed over to Moscow the control of the commissariats of the army, navy, foreign trade, railroads, finance, labour, and posts and telegraphs. The influence of the Ukrainian S.S.R. on foreign affairs steadily diminished, although it still had representatives in those countries which had recognized the Ukrainian National Republic.

Then in 1922 there was developed the idea of forming the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. This was carried out and approved early in 1924 by the Second Congress of Soviets. Although the

constitution guaranteed the right of secession to the republics, it was nullified by other clauses of the same constitution Under this the commissariats were divided into three classes — all Union (foreign affairs, army, trade, railroads, and posts and telegraphs) in which the central authority was supreme, Union-Republic (finances, labour, the Supreme Council of National Economy, and labour and peasant supervision), in which the authorities of the Republic acted under instructions from the center, and Republic (internal affairs, land questions, educations, justice, health and social security) in which the Republic had the deciding word, subject to suggestions To complicate this system even further there was no special government set up for the Russian Republic which was imperceptibly merged with that of the Soviet Union Still other clauses, especially on the system of amendments, gave Moscow the right to interfere anywhere, at will

This should have been a warning, but the general improvement in conditions and the policy of both the Union and Republic administrations concealed the truth from all except the most intense opponents of communism

UKRAINIZATION

In the same period there developed in Ukraine a lively intellectual life connected with the so-called Ukrainization, i e, the opportunity to develop in the Ukrainian Soviet Republic as elsewhere those qualities that were closest to the heart of the people

In the first place, there came a flood of decrees providing for the increased use of the Ukrainian language Instructions were issued that all officials should learn Ukrainian (though somehow this was never applied to the higher men sent down from Moscow) Political persecution of the older leaders dropped to a minimum and any political trials were rather intended to discredit older leaders than to punish them Invitations were extended to such men as Professor Hrushevsky to return and occupy high posts in the universities, the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and in many other institutions Moreover, the Government, despite its atheistic principles, encouraged the formation of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church which soon won wide adherence among the Ukrainians, especially as the Russian Orthodox Church with Patriarch Nikon was still in disgrace with the authorities

The literary movement was even more striking and Ukrainian literature entered upon one of its most brilliant phases with younger men as Maksym Rylsky, Pavlo Tychyna, and M Khvylyovy coming to the forefront The theater Berezil, under Les Kurbas, felt the new impetus and so did painting and all the other arts There was a real Ukrainian Renaissance underway and only a few doubting Thomases dared to question it

All this culminated in the literary discussion, which was started by Khvylyovy, a sincere Communist, who emphasized the need of orienting the new Ukrainian culture on the traditional culture of progressive Europe and not on Russia. In a brilliant series of pamphlets, he outlined his views with such effect that by 1925 he was receiving the personal criticism of Stalin himself, for daring to preach the slogan of "Away from Moscow." Khvylyovy was supported by many of the more prominent writers and critics and also by O. Shumsky, the Borotbist Commissar for Education. Finally in 1927, Shumsky was removed or promoted out of Ukraine before his final debacle, and was succeeded by Mykola Skrypnyk, an old Bolshevik who developed the same policy and went even further in providing opportunities for Ukrainian culture to prosper not only in Ukraine itself but wherever, in the entire Soviet Union, Ukrainians were living.

However, Skrypnyk was a curious combination of Ukrainian patriotism and Communist fanaticism. In 1929 he paid attention to the fact that there were no Communists in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and he forced the election of several. Thus, it was Skrypnyk who really opened the attack on the Ukrainian revival, and this attack came to be the dominant event of the succeeding years.

THE END OF THE NEW ECONOMIC POLICY

In 1926 at the 15th party congress Stalin made it clear that the time had come to take further steps toward the establishment of the Communist ideal and indicated that there would be a general reorganization with increased emphasis on centralization and industrialization. Out of this developed the first 5-year plan which viewed the development of the union as a whole and definitely indicated that the various Soviet republics would lose even more of their autonomy. Each was to be developed, not with a view of strengthening its own resources or the well-being of its population but as a part of a general plan which would treat each republic in such a way that it would perform one or more definite functions in the general union economy. This meant for Ukraine that it would continue to be an agricultural area and the producer of mineral and metal raw and semifinished materials which would take their final form in the Russian Republic.

To carry this out, the Commissariat of Agriculture was definitely turned into an all-union commissariat and there were thus brought under union control all the various agricultural institutes and experimental farms which had been developed to supply the Ukrainian needs. In the same way, the tractors were removed from local control and placed in a series of tractor stations serviced from Moscow and under its orders. Also, the cooperatives were placed



St Olga

Ukrainian princess ruled in Kyiv 945—964, adopted the Christian faith in 955



St Volodymyr the Great

Prince of Kyiv ruled from 980—1015 Christianized Ukraine in 988 united the Ukrainian territories



Yaroslav the Wise

ruled from 1019—1054 originator of the Ruska Pravda (old Ukrainian code of laws) furthered culture and fostered relations with West Europe



King Danylo of Galicia

ruled from 1238—1264 defended Christianity against Tatar invasion fostered relations with the Holy See



Bohdan Khmelnytsky

the great Hetman of Ukraine (1618—1657), defeated Poland; restored the Ukrainian State; outstanding general and statesman.



Ivan Vyhovskyy

Hetman of Ukraine (1657—1659); defeated the Russians at Konotop (1659); shot by the Poles (1664).



Ivan Mazepa

Hetman of Ukraine (1687—1709), a patron of culture and learning, together with Charles XII of Sweden waged war against Peter I (Battle of Poltava 1709), symbolizes the fight for independence against Russia.



Pavlo Polubotok

Hetman of Ukraine (1722—1724); arrested by Russians during negotiations; died a martyr's death in the Petro-Pavlovsk fortress (1724).

Taras Shevchenko
(b 1814 d. 1861)

greatest Ukrainian poet
painter revived Ukrainian
freedom ideas champion of
national independence of
Ukraine, sentenced to 10
years penal servitude in
Kazakhstan and by a special
order issued by the Tsar
prohibited from writing and
painting forbidden to re-
turn to Ukraine his health
ruined but his spirit still
unbroken he died in St
Petersburg aged 47



Mykola Mikhnovsky (b 1873 d 1924)
the ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism
and organizer of the Ukrainian Revolu-
tionary Party (1900) and of the military
congresses and military units (1917)
driven to commit suicide by the GPU



Vyacheslav Lypynsky (b 1882 d 1931)
outstanding historian creator of the
new state and social political theory of
monarchist trend Ukrainian ambassador
in Vienna in 1918



Mykhailo Hrushevsky (b 1866, d 1934)
President of the Ukrainian Parliament
(Central Rada), Head of State 1917-18,
Ukraine's leading historian



Pavlo Skoropadsky (b 1873, d 1915)
Hetman of Ukraine 1918, organized the
fighting forces revived the traditional
Ukrainian Cossack element



Symon Petlura (b 1879, d 1926)
President of Ukraine and Supreme Com-
mander of the Ukrainian forces mur-
dered by the Russian agent Schwarzbart
in Paris



Evhen Petrushevych (b 1863, d 1940)
President of the West Ukrainian Natio-
nal Republic (1 11 1918 - 22 1 1919)
from 28 1 1919 onwards member of the
Directory of the Ukrainian National
Republic

under the control of Moscow and their funds were transferred to the capital and placed at the disposal of Moscow as socialist accumulation

It would take too long to describe all of the devices that were introduced to urge the people to enter the collective farms "voluntarily" Of the number of confiscatory taxes, a grain tax based on puds double the average production of a given area was imposed upon the peasants, while at the same time the peasants were refused permission to leave their villages without a police permit and the GPU guards on the frontiers of each republic were strengthened All this was done to ruin the peasants and force them to turn over their lands to the collective farms It was the first step in the deliberate destruction of the Ukrainian village

Then the government quietly shifted its division of the peasants and began to group the middle peasants with the rich instead of the poor and to call them kurkuls, subkurkuls, and the poor This gave the opportunity to stir up hostility in the villages among the different classes and to take the first steps for the elimination of the kurkuls It is hard to estimate the number of kurkuls who were deported during 1929-30 but it was undoubtedly in the millions The new reign of terror had begun

In 1930 came the order for compulsory collectivization of all the land and the means of production The peasants were ordered to turn over their land and animals to the collective farms or be deported Naturally this aroused tremendous opposition In many places the peasants killed their cattle rather than turn them over and a condition of near revolt covered the most of Ukraine and Kuban where individual farming and individual landholding had been the strongest It naturally had less effect on the Russian Soviet Republic for there the principle of the village working of the land prevailed even before the Soviet revolution

Once again, as in the freely rampaging days of militant communism, large forces of the NKVD and even military units were sent to the villages to force the people into the collective farms and those who hesitated or showed any opposition were forced into them or deported without their possessions Again and again witnesses many of them appearing before the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression, have testified to this from all parts of Ukraine

We can form some idea of the extent of this policy of dekurkulization and collectivization when we remember that according to Lenin in his book, *The Development of Capitalism in Russia* there were only 2 per cent of kurkuls in the entire Russian Empire and this included the great landowners With them dispossessed and their lands divided, the percentage of kurkuls by 1929 could scarcely have exceeded 1 per cent of the population but there was hardly in Ukraine a village in which under the instructions of Moscow, 5 to 15 per cent of the population were not declared kurkuls and uprooted In many cases their houses and barns were actually destroyed so that there would be no trace left of the 'enemies of the people'

THE FAMINE OF 1932-33

When these methods failed to break the opposition of the peasants to the idea of the collective farms, Stalin decided upon a still more drastic device — the starvation of the Ukrainian villages. This was carefully planned and worked out in the greatest detail.

During 1931 the demands for the delivery of grain reached an unprecedented height. New and extra delivery quotas were imposed upon the villages and the collective farms alike, and all the grain thus secured was either removed to the Russian Republic or was sold on the foreign market at dumping prices or even for the cost of unloading in some places as Italy. By these and other methods, the entire grain reserves were removed from Ukraine and so were all other crops that might support the population. The grain harvest of 1932 was somewhat below normal as a result of another drought but the population could have survived, had there been the normal grain reserves.

Signs of the approaching famine were evident early in the autumn of 1932 but they increased rapidly during the winter, and shortly after the beginning of 1933 the storm broke with all its fury. To strengthen the hand of the authorities, the Council of Commissars of the Union in Moscow passed on August 6, 1932 a law for the "protection of Socialist property." This made it illegal to pick a single ear of Socialist grain in the fields or even to pick up a stalk which had been overlooked in the harvesting. The same regulation applied to everything that was the nominal property of the collective farm. It was one of the last loopholes stopped to intensify the severity of the famine.

Then on January 24, 1933, the Central Committee of the CPSU resolved that —

it was regarded as proved that the party organization of Ukraine had not carried out the tasks assigned to it in organizing grain deliveries and executing the grain plan.

It established political detachments in the machine tractor stations the fundamental tasks of which were the ensuring of the unconditional and immediate execution by the kolhosps and their members of all their obligations to the state and especially the decisive struggle with the stealing of kolhosp property the struggle with the manifestations of sabotage of the income of the party and the government in the sharing of the grain supplies and the meat products of the kolhosps.

To enforce this, Moscow sent to Ukraine Pavel Postyshev as second secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine with 7,000 political workers from the Russian Republic. These men were formed into special commissions for investigating the thefts of food by the peasants. They swarmed through the villages they sounded the walls of the houses to make sure that no grain or other foodstuffs had been hidden in them they investigated every place in the courtyards where

the earth showed signs of having been disturbed There follows eyewitness testimony given before the committee

Mr Lawrynenko Special brigaders were at that time dispatched from Lenin-grad and other Russian cities and the total of these brigaders was in excess of 20 000 people and their task was to search and confiscate the grain in the Ukrainian villages And they could call upon the Red army to help them

On the one hand the confiscated grain was transported to Russia where it was stored in railroad stations and sometimes out in the open The other part of that grain was being transported to Odessa and other ports of the Black Sea, and from there it was transported to foreign lands

My wife's family escaped from Poltava to the city of Voronezh which is in Russia, and there they were able to save themselves from starvation because at the railroad stations of Russia grain was plentiful Kharkiv is the main railroad center of the Ukraine, and in that city I myself saw whole trainloads of grain being dispatched to Russia day by day during the famine and the ravaging of the Ukraine This was a mass phenomenon Many of my friends and colleagues undertook trips as far as Moscow and Leningrad in order to buy bread there which they brought along in suitcases back to their families and in this manner they were able to save their families from starvation

Mr McTigue Did you personally feel the effect of this terrible famine?

Mr Lawrynenko I lived in the capital, and personally I felt it to a lesser extent than people in smaller cities felt it There were many times when I went hungry

Mr McTigue Why do you think, Mr Lawrynenko that the Russians staged this terrible famine of grain in a year when crops were plentiful?

Mr Lawrynenko I remember from press reports of the party newspapers in Ukraine of June 1932 Molotov taking part in these conferences At this conference with Molotov the president of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine by the name of Chubar stated to Molotov that the plan of grain collections as determined by the Central Government in Moscow was contrary to reality, and he asked that it should be abandoned But Molotov replied, 'This is no place for discussions The plan must be carried out'

Mr Feighan Molotov is that the same Molotov who is now the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union?

Mr Lawrynenko The very same one Vyacheslav Molotov the same man

The famine was organized in order to break the opposition which the Ukrainians were displaying to the policy of colonial exploitation of the Ukraine by the Russians from Moscow

There was a double blow delivered against Ukraine one against the basic population element of the Ukraine which is the agricultural element of the peasants The other was against the educated people of the Ukraine that is the intelligentsia

According to my personal observations I have come to the conclusion that during the period of the famine at least 6 million people died in the Ukraine as a result of it and about 80 per cent of the Ukrainian intelligentsia that is the classes of the Ukrainian leadership also perished during this period

For example, at that time there were about 240 authors working in the Ukraine About 200 of them were liquidated, and most of them I knew personally There were about 84 prominent linguists, language experts, in Ukraine of whom 62 were liquidated

I have compiled a list of 62 different departments of cultural and scientific life in the Ukraine, and I have found that there was a similar picture to the two examples cited above in all the 62 divisions This is in reference to the cultural leaders of the nation The number increases to tens of thousands when you consider that subject to liquidation were also the middle classes of the intelligentsia, that is white-collar workers teachers and similar professional people

I myself was arrested and declared a bourgeois nationalist, an enemy of the people, merely because of the fact that as a student in the course of intellectual discussions I defended the position that the Ukrainians formed a part of the Western European culture and that therefore Ukraine is alien to Russian culture which the Moscow rulers were attempting to impose upon Ukraine

The country became desolate In the spring of 1933 there were many villages where the entire population had perished and almost one-third of the houses in some places were empty There was no one to bury the dead The bodies were hauled away on carts or thrown into ravines and allowed to lie as they fell, for no one had the strength to dig graves

Postyshev's title bore also the ominous mark of commissioner in charge of resettlement and during the height of the famine, in the summer of 1933, thousands of Russian families were moved to the large railroad stations for reassignment to those houses where the Ukrainian families had died of starvation All this was done under an order signed by Molotov with a preamble "moving to satisfy the desires of the people to permit the settlement of the free lands of Ukraine and the north Caucasus at the cost of the central districts of the U S S R "

It is difficult to estimate actual number of casualties during this artificial famine, for there is no doubt that it was artificial In fact when Chubar, the chairman of the Soviet of Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, appealed to Stalin for food at least for the starving children, he received the definite answer from Stalin, "No remarks on that question" It was not long before Chubar disappeared as an "enemy of the people "

The most conservative estimate is that there were about 4,800 000 deaths although there are many recognized scholars who have placed the number as between 5 and 8 million In addition there was the loss to Ukraine of that part of the population which did succeed in getting out of the country and securing work in other sections of the Soviet Union

There is more definite information available on the losses in livestock Thus according to the figures in the Ukrainian Encyclopedia (p 1064) the number of horses dropped from 5,300,000 in 1928 to

2,600,000 in 1933, of cattle from 8,600,000 to 4,400,000, of sheep from 8,100,000 to 2,000,000 and of swine from 7,000,000 to 2,000,000. These figures will give a graphic account of the devastation that was caused in the country by the combined action of the removal of the kurkuls, the collectivization and the famine. They show some indication of the hostility of the people to the new order and of the severity of the measures of the Government which was prepared to do anything rather than recede a particle from the path on which it had set out.

During the entire period, Stalin and his associates absolutely denied that a famine was raging in Ukraine and refused to allow any of the foreign correspondents to visit the country. The first American journalist to report it was Mr. William Henry Chamberlin of the Christian Science Monitor, but the news leaked across the border into eastern Galicia under Poland and it was reported to the League of Nations in Geneva. Despite all appeals, any international relief was prevented and owing to the rise of Hitler at this period and the desire for unifying the opposition to nazism, the international leaders did not try to exert any pressure upon the Soviet Union. Since that period and especially since World War II, there has been made available to the world an almost unlimited mass of evidence from people who went through the famine and saw the deaths of their relatives and friends from starvation.

However, a western statesman, Edouard Herriot of France, was allowed to visit Ukraine during the famine. Here is what a witness had to say about that visit:

Mr. Lawrynenko: Yes. The route which M. Edouard Herriot was supposed to take from the airport to downtown Kharkiv was especially prepared for that occasion. Buildings and fences were painted the many corpses that had been lying in the streets; the people who had died from starvation were removed and the whole place was especially staged for the trip which he was to take through the city.

Edouard Herriot in an interview declared that the Ukraine was a most prosperous and flowering country and this was one of the most horrible personal blows that I had ever experienced because I knew that this was far from the truth.

Mr. Feighan: Was this the same year in which over 6 million Ukrainians died because of the forced famine?

Mr. Lawrynenko: The same year. This was the same year when 6 million people died of starvation. That is why it was so difficult for me to reconcile the statement made by Herriot with the real conditions then prevailing.

THE ATTACK ON UKRAINIAN CULTURE

The collectivization and the famine that were intended to paralyze and terrorize the Ukrainian peasants and destroy the Ukrainian way of life and thought, was but one aspect of the general attack on things Ukrainian. Simultaneously there was directed the same attack on all of the intellectual leaders of the country.

Willingly or not, Skrypnyk and the Ukrainian Communists who sympathized with him, had started this when they forced the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences to admit certain Communists to their membership on the basis of political reliability. The move soon spread, and it swept before it all of the persons who had been active in the production of the Ukrainian renaissance, especially after 1929 when Stalin at the 17th party congress had set the trend to centralization and russification at the very center of Soviet policy.

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church was the first to go. Even before this, Metropolitan Lypkivsky had been confined to Kyiv and forbidden to visit any of the parishes in other parts of Ukraine. Then he was arrested and disappeared. In 1930 all of the bishops of the church, most of the leading priests and the outstanding laymen were picked up and executed or deported. Once more the Russian Orthodox Church, thanks to the tacit understanding between the Locum Tenens, later Patriarch Sergey, was the only form of religious organization that was to be allowed to exist.

Ukrainian Orthodox Bishop Mstyslav Skrypnyk who appeared before the committee as a witness told what he found as a result of this policy.

Archbishop Skrypnyk I visited practically all of the churches in the entire Ukraine from July 1941 until September 1943.

The entire Ukraine religious life was destroyed. I did not find one Ukrainian bishop although there originally had been 32. I finally met one bishop, Yuriy Teslenko, Bishop of Vinnytsia, who had returned from incarceration in a Siberian prison and who had contracted tuberculosis and died shortly thereafter.

From my investigations I learned that over 3,000 Ukrainian priests had either been exterminated or had been sent to prisons in Siberia. I also noted that about 90 per cent of the Ukrainian Orthodox churches had been either completely destroyed or had been turned into other buildings such as warehouses, barns, etc., or had been completely supplanted, after they had been destroyed, and other buildings were put up in their place.

In 1930 there came the trial of the so-called Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. The very existence of this society has been much disputed, but it was discovered by the NKVD and in a show trial there were condemned a group of the most respected Ukrainian leaders of literature and science. These included Academician S. Yefremov, the dean of Ukrainian literary scholars, Academician Mykhaylo Slabchenko, a former Social Democrat, Professor Yosyf Hermayze, a former member of the executive committee of that party, and Mme L. Starytska-Chernyakhivska, one of the outstanding writers of pre-revolutionary Ukraine. The accused were primarily persons who had played a part in the Ukrainian National Republic and were among its most respected figures. All received long terms of imprisonment and were very definitely removed from the intellectual world. Their works were removed from the libraries and placed on the banned list.

The attack was not limited to mass trials and arrests. Take the case of Professor Hrushevsky. He had returned to Kyiv on the invitation of the Ukrainian Soviet Government and had been the heart and center of the Ukrainian historical studies. He was suddenly denounced in handbills as being insufficiently Marxist and was accused of a large number of historical errors and anti-Government activity. Then he was tried publicly at the university. This meant that any one could attack him in any kind of language, no matter how vile and obscene. His associates and younger colleagues were encouraged, as the price for holding their own jobs, to repeat the most grotesque accusations. Then the person accused was supposed to make a speech admitting his own errors and unworthiness as a form of self-criticism. If he refused to do it, he was again pilloried, and if he did, he was immediately arrested for having confessed to antigovernmental work. Hrushevsky, who was 64 at the time, was finally arrested and confined in an obscure village under inhuman conditions. When he was completely broken by this procedure, he was released and moved to a rest home in the Caucasus, where he died in 1934.

Soon after this the academy was reorganized as the Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and many Russian scholars were appointed to it. To promote the brotherhood of the Soviet peoples, the historical-philological section was combined with the social-economic and almost all historical studies were abolished, while literally hundreds of manuscripts that had been accepted for publication disappeared or were destroyed. Hrushevsky was classed in the Communist jargon with Mazepa and Petlura as the worst enemies of the Ukrainian people. They were charged with bourgeois nationalism and accused of trying to destroy the unity of the Russians and Ukrainians and to undo the great work of Marx and Lenin.

Among these show trials we may mention the following as only a partial list: The Ukrainian National Centre, 1931; the Ukrainian Military Organization, 1933; the All-Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Centre, 1933; the All-Ukrainian Borotbist Centre, 1934-35; the Nationalist Fascist Organization of Ukraine, 1937. These and other groups included almost every one who was in any way connected with Ukrainian patriotism and the aspiration for freedom and independence.

The movement was well on its way when Postyshev arrived in Ukraine and set to work to purge the Communist Party in Ukraine. No one was too highly placed or too well respected. He removed Chubar, the chairman of the Council of Commissars and replaced him with Pavlo Lyubchenko. He deposed Skrypnyk to the post of head of the state planning commission, a purely nominal job since the planning was all done in Moscow.

Skrypnyk knew what this meant and before he was arrested he shot himself on July 6, 1933. Khvylyovy had also been made aware of the change in the situation and before he could be arrested

committed suicide on May 13, 1933 Thus the two most powerful figures ended their lives by their own hand and escaped arrest and torture

The purge was both intensive and extensive For every person who suffered publicly there were thousands of others Witnesses before the select committee have repeated with monotonous similarity the same story — the arrest after midnight by the NKVD, the confinement under shocking physical circumstances in overcrowded, foul-smelling cells, where the prisoners were either compelled to stand on their feet supported by their fellows or at best could only lie down on the bare bunks in turn, the summoning at night to the investigating officials, where they were given a written confession to sign, threats, abuse, beatings, continued over a period of weeks or months until the individual was completely broken physically, mentally and morally, and then a sentence of 5 to 10 years in a distant labour camp at hard labour

One of these witnesses, Ivan Pushkar, described how in 1936 he was arrested and thrown into a prison in Kharkiv in the Spetskorpuz, Cell 11, on Kholodna Hora The cell had been made in czarist times for 30 men Now it held 280 The men were almost naked but the sweat still kept pouring off their bodies Their hairs and beards were long and the lice were crawling over them The newcomer was placed near the barrel used to relieve the men's needs and the stench was terrible In the morning each prisoner received a cup of warm water and 300 grams of bread for the day For dinner each received a cup of soup and a handful of porridge In the evening each had a handful of vinaigrette, composed of beans, beets or peas A pail of this was put in the cell Then the men sat down, put their hands on their knees and the overseer took the pail, dipped out with a ladle a spoonful of the mixture, dumped it in the prisoner's hand and he conveyed what he could to his mouth That was the entire supper After 24 days of this, he was taken at night for examination and when he did not plead guilty, he received a blow in the face Then three NKVD men began to throw him around, crushed his fingers in the door and kept the torture up for 4 hours This went on for 18 days before he was sent to 10 years of compulsory labour in Kolyma

This was the fate of most of the Ukrainian intellectuals In a table prepared on the fate of the Ukrainian writers, witness Hryhoriy Podolyak summarizes as follows In 1930 there were active in literature 246 writers, of these, 7 died a natural death 1 escaped abroad 173 were arrested or deported 16 were shot, 4 committed suicide, 11 disappeared without a trace, and 34 remained free to write, and these, which included such names as Rylsky, Tychna, Kornychuk, and Yanovsky, became the willing mouthpieces for Moscow The casualties took in not only Ukrainian Communists but the entire groups of Neo-classic authors as Zerov and his associates who were primarily artists, the Futurists like Semenko dramatists as Les Kurbas, the founder of the Berezil theatre, and the chief Ukrainian dramatist, Mykola Kulish, but it extended to all who were in any way famous

Submission did not always afford any better hope, for such a man as Ivan Kulyk, who in 1932 and 1933 played an important role in the crushing of the older authors and stood forth as the apostle of the Communist line in attacking the more independent thinkers of bourgeois nationalists was himself removed a few years later on exactly the same charges of "bourgeois nationalism" that he had been making a few years before. So, too, did Andriy Khvylyya who had been Postyshev's right-hand theoretician in the events of 1933

THE PRISON CAMPS

The relatively few men and women who have returned from the Soviet labour camps in the far north of both Europe and Asia, have given us startling information on the Communist methods of dealing with their unfortunate victims, whether they have merely been deported or have been formally accused of some crime and been declared enemies of the people. They have allowed us to see and understand in some degree both the motives and the methods which are employed for building up the Arctic North and at the same time for liquidating and removing those persons whose presence in their home lands has become distasteful to Moscow.

From the moment when the victims have once been seized, with or without their families, and put in the locked cars for the long journey to one of the great camps, there is nothing but a story of man's inhumanity to man. One witness after another has told of the long, slow journey behind locked doors day after day, week after week, with almost no food, little water, and in winter, with the heat almost entirely furnished by the human bodies. Every now and then the doors are opened for some purpose, very often merely to throw into some one of the great rivers the bodies of the dead which may have lain for days in a corner of the car.

These camps, whether around Solovki and the White Sea or in Kolyma or elsewhere in northern Siberia, are filled chiefly with non-Russian peoples, largely Ukrainians and people from the Caucasus and central Asia. The few Russians held in these camps have been chiefly criminals of various kinds, recruited for the sole purpose of dominating and abusing the prisoners.

It is very clear that for the Soviets throughout the thirties, the prisoners have been expendable. No one has cared to preserve them as a permanent labour force for there have always been enough other persons under suspicion in the more settled parts of the union to maintain a constant supply of recruits for this free labour pool.

The testimony of the few returned prisoners has shown the curious pattern of genocide and of the use of the prisoners as a vast unpaid pool of labour freely employed by the Communists under inhuman conditions for strengthening their hold upon the Arctic and the shores of the Arctic Ocean. The slave empire of the NKVD, under whatever chief it has had at a given moment, has remained ever since the period of the late twenties and the beginning of the first 5-year plan a definite fixture in the plans of the authorities of the Kremlin.

The destruction of the Ukrainian cultural renaissance and the crushing of the traditional Ukrainian peasant life were but the first steps in the policy of Stalin and his associates That dealt with Ukrainian life and thought in the present It was necessary also to alter the past and the future

As a result of this, Postyshev in 1934 moved the capital of Ukraine back to Kyiv from Kharkiv, where the center of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic had been since its foundation In a sense this may have been an apparent sop to Ukrainian sympathies, but it had a vital part to play in the plans of the Kremlin Kyiv was a traditional centre and the Communist could not forget that the original claims of Moscow in more senses than one were based on the assumption that Moscow was the heir of Kyiv as well as of Constantinople

Thus they seized the opportunity to plan a new and greater Kyiv and, of course, the centre was destined to be on the site of ancient Kyiv With this in mind, Moscow decided to destroy many of the finer monuments of ancient and modern Kyivan art These had been largely expressed in church architecture, and the Communist theories of atheism, combined with the dislike of those periods when Kyiv had been the least under the influence of Moscow and the closest to the West, led them to tear down many of the greatest monuments of architecture and art Accordingly they removed many of the finest examples of Ukrainian art, such as the Cathedral Church of the Golden Domed Monastery of St Michael from the 12th century, the cloisters of the Monastery of St Irene from the 11th, many of the monuments of the Mazepa Baroque of the late 17th and early 18th centuries and a number of other monuments of still more recent times

Yet it is interesting that in many cases the grandiose structures that were planned to commemorate the new Kyiv were not erected and the ground was left vacant or replaced with cheap and short lived buildings that were shorn of any artistic or historical value The reason was the difficulty in framing that positive policy that was the dream of the Kremlin It was relatively easy to destroy, but from the time when Moscow decided fully to Russianize Ukrainian life, it became more and more difficult to picture how a culture could be, in Stalin's words, "socialist in essence and national in form" This and the demand for socialist realism as a form of art led to newer and sharper clashes

These appeared even in the life of the Federated Russian Soviet Republic when during these same years Stalin annihilated on one excuse or another many of his own former associates, the old Bolsheviks Men like Bukharin and Zinovyev, the early Communist military leaders as Tukhachevsky and Yegorov, and many others from the time of the civil war, all passed through the portals of the NKVD Even the chief of the organ, Yagoda, paid the supreme penalty at the hands of his successor Yezhov, and along with the adoption of the Stalin constitution in 1936 which confirmed de jure

as well as de facto the Russian supremacy in the Soviet Union Yezhov started a new reign of terror to break any heresies that might still be existing in Ukraine

Postyshev was one of the first to go Kaganovich again appeared in Ukraine, and he turned against the appointees of Postyshev Lyubchenko, the chairman of the Soviet of Commissars, was called to Moscow and accused of being a spy for the Nazis He realized what was coming and he, too, committed suicide The executioner Yezhov applied the theory that if the chief of a bureau was guilty of being an enemy of the people, all of his associates and subordinates who had not denounced him, were undoubtedly guilty also There came again new mass deportations and a new period of mass executions, all on the charge of being "enemies of the people"

Zatonsky, put in by Postyshev as Commissar for Education, had ventured the daring suggestion that Russian could be spread in Ukraine by allowing it to absorb some Ukrainian expressions He was rebuked by no less an authority than Maxim Gorky and it was soon his turn to disappear All of his aides, as Kulyk and Khvylya, who had aided in the old holocaust, now paid the penalty

The new suggestion was that Ukrainian should be assimilated to Russian by the introduction into it of Russian words wherever the Ukrainian words differed New dictionaries, new histories of literature, new pedagogical methods were needed, but it was impossible for any individual to carry out this policy in the way required by the Kremlin The cultural situation became again so tense that Krymsky, one of the few Ukrainian scholars who had survived, called one of the new Ukrainian-Russian dictionaries a Russian-Russian dictionary Even the humblest school teacher was not safe, if she taught in her classes in the Ukrainian language the Ukrainian words She was accused of trying to separate the two brotherly peoples and moved on to the labour camps for a 10-year term of service

VINNYTSIA — THE 'UKRAINIAN KATYN'

The mass terror which had been started by Yezhov, and in which his own fate was sealed, did not entirely subside under his successor, the Georgian Beria Some of the old murderers and torturers were themselves murdered, but their places were taken by others equally ruthless, and a good example of this was found in the opening of the mass graves in Vinnytsia in 1943

There had been rumours around the city that the NKVD had long been massacring prisoners at a tremendous rate On May 24, 1943, under the German occupation, a group of Ukrainians discovered in the archives of the Vinnytsia City Soviet a document explaining that a certain barred zone had been turned over on April 1, 1939 to the NKVD for special use and that building on and access to this area was officially banned The area was guarded by the NKVD and police dogs, and no one was allowed to approach

The Ukrainians selected one of the sites for excavation, and at a depth of about 1 m. they came upon a mass grave containing 102 corpses in various stages of disintegration. A commission of Ukrainian physicians examined these and determined that they had all been shot in the base of the skull. All the bodies had their hands bound behind them with cord.

The Germans then took over the excavation and in the course of a few weeks some 95 mass graves, containing 9,439 victims, were opened. Among these, 14 graves and 1,390 victims were located in the Gorky Park of Culture and Rest which had been constructed for the entertainment of the citizens over the site of the mass graves. Of this number some 676 bodies were identified by their clothes, papers, etc. In a special pit, in the pear orchard, there was discovered also a large number of documents relating to the murders. The NKVD had carefully collected the so-called proofs of the victims' crimes and when they were executed, these proofs were only partly destroyed in this pit.

The graves and bodies were examined by an international commission, as was the case of the mass graves of Polish officers discovered about the same time in the forest of Katyn. An examination of the identified bodies showed that the list contained 212 peasants, 82 workers, 51 Government officials of various grades, 26 specialists, 4 priests, and 16 military men.

The Vinnytsia graves are one of the best authenticated examples of the terror that continued even after the removal of Yezhov, for the medical examination revealed that most of them had been made between 1938 and 1940, on the eve and during the first years of World War II

THE FIRST OCCUPATION OF WESTERN UKRAINE

On August 23, 1939, Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union signed a treaty of mutual friendship. This was the prelude to World War II, and when the German forces crashed through Poland and were approaching Lviv, the Soviet Union under this treaty denounced its understanding with Poland on the ground that Poland had ceased to exist and invaded the country so as to take the Ukrainian and Byelorussian lands.

The Soviet forces entered Lviv on September 22, 1939, and at once began to make themselves at home. The first days were devoted to a conscious Ukrainization and the elimination of the Polish influence in the city. The Ukrainian population at first cooperated in the rounding up of the Polish officials, especially among the police, and seemed inclined to hope that things might become more tolerable.

The Communists at once confiscated all private factories, banks, shops, etc., and by legal and illegal means looted the wealth of economic goods in sight. They arranged also an endless series of meetings in all plants and institutions where Communist speakers poured forth the praise of Stalin and the U.S.S.R. and pictured the

happy life in the "country of socialism" The audiences were composed of persons who had "voluntarily" met under fear of arrest and they applauded loudly, for informers and NKVD agents noted those who kept silent or were less vociferous, and these began to disappear.

On October 22, a National Assembly (elected by the usual Communist methods) met in Lviv and asked admission to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic A handpicked delegation went to Moscow and on November 1, the area was "formally" incorporated by the Soviet of Commissars in Moscow The area was reorganized on the Soviet pattern

The Ukrainian language was introduced officially but Russian was made the official language of the all-Union commissariats, and more and more the use of it spread in the schools and public offices All Ukrainian societies were abolished The Shevchenko Scientific Society was closed, and its properties turned over to the University of Lviv and the Academy of Sciences of the USSR Its publications were henceforth to be chiefly in Russian

Naturally all the property of the church (the Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite) was confiscated and all its publications stopped At this time the great church leader, Metropolitan Sheptytsky, was not arrested but his actions were much circumscribed, and he found it difficult to communicate with the priests under his control The teaching of atheism, often in an obscene manner, was introduced into the schools which were more and more staffed and directed by persons sent in from the USSR Many of these actively cooperated in the task of arresting and deporting students and others who had shown any opposition to the Soviet regime or had been of any special prominence before the occupation

In the beginning, after the confiscation of the larger estates, the land was given to the peasants more or less in accordance with the Ukrainian Land Code of 1922 This was only a transitional stage for, by the summer of 1940, efforts were made to force the introduction of collective farms as in eastern Ukraine, but this had not been fully carried out by the time of the Soviet-German war of 1941

The tempo of arrests and deportations steadily increased as the Communists began to take note of the increased activities of the OUN, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists This had been a banned society under the Polish rule but it had developed a well-organized net of groups throughout eastern Galicia and now took the lead in opposition to the Communists There were at least three trials of persons accused of belonging to this organization and a fourth was in prospect when hostilities commenced

The entire Soviet policy was very evidently a deliberate attempt to go through with some speed the same processes by which the Russian Communist power had been established in eastern Ukraine in 1919 There was a regular timetable and the processes were repeated in Bukovyna and Bessarabia, which Rumania was compelled to hand over to Moscow in 1940

THE GERMAN-SOVIET WAR

On June 22, 1941, the German-Soviet war broke out, and as the German troops crossed the frontier, the Soviets were forced to retreat hurriedly. But in every city in western Ukraine in the first days of the war, the NKVD and its agents shot all of the political prisoners, except a mere handful who were miraculously saved.

One of those, Valentyna Nahirnyak, who had been connected with the theatre in Rivne (Rovno), has given a graphic account of her escape. She had been in a cell with seven other women, one an informer of the NKVD, set there to spy on the others. A band of the murderers came into the cell and shot with their automatics at the group until they fell. All but three were dead. A little later a man entered the cell and bayoneted all three of these but Miss Nahirnyak's wounds were still not mortal, although she had received six bullet wounds and two bayonet cuts.

The same process continued as the German armies advanced into eastern Ukraine. Here the Communists had more time than in the extreme west, but even in Vinnytsia some 700 bodies were found near the railroad station. In Kharkiv, one of the main prisons was closed and set on fire, while the NKVD remained on guard to prevent any assistance until the interior was destroyed and the inmates were all dead.

Following the orders of Stalin to leave only scorched earth, the Communists destroyed all supplies of food which they could reach, so as to leave nothing for the population which had been left behind. They mined as many buildings as they could and tried to allow fire to finish the work.

It is small wonder that in the early days after this reign of terror, many of the Ukrainians welcomed the invading German forces. They hoped for the restoration of a free Ukraine even if in alliance with Germany. Accordingly, on the very day of the German entrance into Lviv, the political leaders still alive formed a sort of provisional government under Jaroslav Stetzko and later this was broadened by a Committee of Seniors under Dr. Kost Levytsky who had been the Prime Minister of the Republic of Western Ukraine in 1918. This movement spread eastward with the German advance during the summer of 1941.

It did not, however, fit in with the plans of Hitler and so in August, most of these leaders were arrested and deported to Germany. Germany claimed as war booty all the collectivized property owned by the Soviet state and thus perpetuated the slave system which the Communists had introduced. They were less severe in their opposition to the church and many churches were reopened and priests emerged from hiding and resumed their functions.

In August 1941, the Germans annexed western Ukraine to the general government and allowed the Ukrainians here certain rights

especially in the field of social relief. They permitted considerable publication and educational work in Krakow. The rest of Ukraine was formed into the Reichskommissariat Ukraine under Gauleiter Erich Koch, a thorough sadist. It was not long before the Nazis began to deport able-bodied men and women for work in Germany and this aroused new tensions among the population.

Resistance against the new invaders developed early in 1943 with the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych), who showed remarkable powers as an organizer and leader. The UPA secured control of a considerable amount of territory, especially that away from the main points of communication and the main routes and roads, for the Germans concentrated their forces on these and maintained their hold on the countryside chiefly through the use of mobile detachments which were often cut off by the forces of the UPA.

Father John Hrynioch, a member of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council who testified before the committee, had this to say on the subject of organized resistance in the Ukraine:

The Ukrainian resistance was organized not only on political lines but also in the forms of armed resistance, in the form of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The Ukrainian population takes part and constitutes the liberation movement for the entire Ukrainian nation. All the Ukrainian people fight for the same aims and motives as do their own armed units of the UPA. In no other way could one explain that after 9 years following the conclusion of the world war that there is still a political and armed resistance in the Ukraine—a political and armed resistance which received no assistance from other sources and must rely solely on the assistance of its own people. It should be noted that although the underground movement may change the form of this struggle or the number of participants but still behind the entire movement is the entire Ukrainian population.

At the same time the Soviet Government kept sending partisan bands trained and directed by Moscow into Ukraine behind the German lines and tried to keep them supplied from the air. They ravaged the countryside and robbed and murdered the population.

The UPA in 1944 finally formed the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) which coordinated the military and civilian sides of the Ukrainian struggle. This became in a sense a government for the UPA.

During the war the Communists to some degree relaxed their pressure on the Ukrainian population. Writers in praising Stalin were allowed more freedom to express Ukrainian patriotic feelings. Vague promises were made that conditions would be better after the war, but these were vague and did not involve any basic concessions to the Ukrainian spirit. However it was at this time that V. Sosyura's poem *Love Ukraine* was written and received a Stalin prize for its patriotic character.

By the time the German tide began to ebb after Stalingrad, the Soviet leaders prepared to profit by the Sovietophil feelings in the United States and Great Britain. The Yalta agreement provided for the compulsory return of persons displaced by the Germans and none of the Western leaders understood at the moment the purpose of Stalin or the feelings of the displaced persons from the east. Further, the Soviet of Ministers, as they now called themselves in Moscow, arranged for the formation of Ministries of Foreign Affairs in the Union Republics and set up such a ministry in Kyiv, on their recovery of it, under D. Z. Manuilsky, who had been the Russian representative in Kyiv during the peace negotiations in 1918, a good sign that the ministry would be anything but Ukrainian. In the same way they secured the entrance of the Ukrainian and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics as charter members of the United Nations, they later gave these republics their own flags and provided for them new national anthems to express their independence and their brotherhood with the Russians and the other peoples of the Soviet Union. As the Soviet armies reentered Ukraine and Byelorussia, they were renamed Ukrainian and Byelorussian armies. Of course, Russian remained the language of command and no concessions were made in these forces to national sympathies or ideas.

With the return of the Communists, the UPA turned its attention to the new invaders and commenced another war against both the retreating Germans and the advancing Soviet armies. They did this, although they knew that their position would become increasingly more and more difficult and they had almost no hope of success in view of the western attitude.

THE RUSSIAN COMMUNIST RETURN

The return of the Soviets was introduced by ominous events. The peasants "grateful for their liberation" were compelled to make large gifts of relatively scarce grain and other food supplies to Stalin and the Moscow government. Then the government ordered a general mobilization of all men from 16 to 60 without regard to their ability of bearing arms. Large masses of these perished under the fire of the German machine guns. At the same time large numbers of women and girls were mobilized for forced labour in various parts of the Soviet Union.

Against the resisting population the Government sent well-equipped raiding parties into the villages and forests, the so-called Red Partisans and Children of Stalin. They were in reality exterminating detachments which ranged over the country and gave free reign to all of their most bestial instincts, thus fulfilling their sacred obligations to the Soviet Government and father Stalin. They shot the "Banderists" (the name applied by the Communists to the UPA and all their sympathizers), burned villages and arrested the people and deported them. They raped women without regard to age,

from young girl children to women of extreme old age. A large part of these bands had venereal disease and spread it among the population. Thus in the one village of Spasiv in western Ukraine, there were 60 cases of disease spread after the entrance of these bands.

Cases are also known in Stryy where girls were deliberately infected and refused any medical treatment until they had infected at least three men connected with the UPA and presented their names and addresses to the authorities. In some cases, the Communists scattered lice infected with typhus germs, and put on the black market poisoned serums and drugs where they thought they might fall into the hands of persons sympathetic with the UPA.

The advance westward of the Soviet armies did not end this struggle. The UPA attempted as much as possible to encourage the population and hamper the return and functioning of the Soviet system. In the Carpathian Mountains and western Ukraine the movement was well organized because of the favourite terrain. The armed struggle continued much longer and with many successes. On March 20, 1944, the UPA ambushed Marshal Vatutin, the commander of the first Ukrainian front and so wounded him that he died in a hospital in Kyiv on April 15.

This turned the attention of Moscow to the problem of suppressing these forces, and on April 2 they moved 10 divisions and some motorized brigades of the NKVD into Volhyn where UPA forces were active, but despite some pitched battles in which several thousand men were involved on both sides, the Soviet armies made little headway.

On November 27, 1944, the Communists appealed to the UPA to lay down their arms in return for a promised amnesty, but no one believed these promises and on December 1, the Communists started another offensive with 30,000 men who occupied all the villages between Lviv and Khodoriv. These operations continued into 1945, when Moscow moved several army divisions into the area after the ending of the war with Germany. Many of the troops refused to take part in this action and were sent to the Far East as punishment instead of returning to their homes. The extent of these hostilities may be shown by the fact that on October 31, 1945, the UPA even captured and held for a short time the city of Stanyslaviv.

Another attempt to put down the Ukrainian revolt was made in 1946 when the Minister of the Interior of the Ukrainian Republic, Gen. Lt. Vasyl Ryasny, sent General Colonel Moskalkenko into the area with a large force. Moskalkenko was ambushed and killed on May 3, 1946. This involved new changes in the government in Kyiv, and Kaganovich was again sent back as First Secretary of the Communist Party.

In the meantime the area of the fighting continued to spread. When the Communists recovered Bukovyna from Rumania, the UPA was there to oppose the Soviet bands which occupied all of the cities.

and towns and attacked and robbed the local population. Then, when in the fall of 1944 the Soviets occupied Carpatho-Ukraine, they began an agitation for its annexation to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic, and on June 25, 1945, President Benes recognized the justice of their claims and ceded the territory. The communization of this area extended the operations of the UPA still further.

In still another area, the region west of the Curzon Line, it was agreed between the Soviet Government and the People's Republic of Poland that the Ukrainian population in Lemky Region should be deported across the boundary. This led to incursions of the UPA into this area. In the fighting that ensued, Gen. Walter Swierczewski, the Polish Vice Minister of National Defense, was killed on March 28, 1947. He was a well-known participant in many Communist campaigns in Spain and elsewhere. This led to a tripartite agreement of Moscow, Poland, and Czechoslovakia on May 12, 1947, to suppress the UPA, and the armed forces of all united to suppress a menace that the Communists had denied ever existed.

After 1947, there were fewer large battles but warfare on a smaller scale continued. By 1952 open military conflict ceased and the chief object of the UPA is now to maintain a constant state of unrest and uneasiness on the part of the more prominent Communist terrorists in the country. Thus they can encourage the people to maintain their Ukrainian nationality and consciousness against Moscow's efforts to denationalize and destroy them.

The Soviet attitude toward these Ukrainian struggles has been marked by a curious dualism which Western and American statesmen and journalists were slow to detect. On the one hand, Moscow printed the most exaggerated accounts of the gratitude of the Ukrainian population to Stalin and the Red Army for their liberation. On the other, they spoke constantly of the bandits and later of the Banderists operating in large areas of completely peaceful territory. The real situation only began to be realized when in 1947 a detachment of some 400 members of the UPA succeeded in crossing as a military unit from the Carpathians through Czechoslovakia and Austria into the American Zone in Germany and surrendered. They brought with them many of the publications of the free Ukrainian press of the time and much valuable information. Other groups arrived in 1948 and 1949 with still more material in the American Zone.

THE CHURCH POLICY

The policy of the Soviet Government toward religion in Ukraine has been of considerable importance. On their return to western Ukraine, the Communists applied the antireligious laws less harshly, and this aroused hope that the increased attention to the Russian Orthodox Church and the Patriarch of Moscow might be the sign of a new temper in Moscow. This hope soon proved vain.

Metropolitan Andreas Sheptytsky, as before, was personally untouched, perhaps because of his personal prestige among the people. However, he died on November 1, 1944, under conditions that aroused suspicions of poisoning. Then he was automatically succeeded by his coadjutor, Dr. Joseph (Yosyf) Slipy, a distinguished scholar and a former rector of the Theological Academy in Lviv.

Bolsheviks demanded the active aid of the church in the struggle against the "Banderists." It was of course refused as a matter of church policy. Shortly thereafter, the Patriarch formally wrote to the Metropolitan and his bishops and called upon them to give up their allegiance to the Pope and pass under his jurisdiction as the Patriarch of Moscow. This, too, was of course rejected.

In April 1945, the NKVD suddenly arrested the Metropolitan and all the bishops of the Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite in the area that had passed under the Soviet Union. They were taken to Kyiv and there the Metropolitan was tried secretly and sentenced to 8 years imprisonment at hard labour in distant camps. The other bishops received similar terms and one, Bishop Khomyshyn of Stanyslaviv, is known to have died in prison in Kyiv.

Later a politico-religious campaign was started against the late Metropolitan Sheptytsky, and almost simultaneously three renegade priests, headed by Rev. Havryil (Gabriel) Kosteinyk, formed an initiating group for reunion with Moscow, and of course they received the full sympathy and support of the government. When several hundred priests met in Lviv to protest the actions of this group and appealed to Stalin for protection under the Soviet Constitution, they were arrested. Some were shot and the rest deported.

Finally on March 8-10, 1946, this group felt itself ready for decisive action. They called a meeting in Lviv to carry through a definite break with Rome and a union with Moscow. No one can still be sure what proportion of the members of this group were priests and what proportion were members of the NKVD, but it unanimously approved the change and the Orthodox bishop of Lviv took over the Cathedral of St. George and all the property and churches of the Metropolitanate. The Union of Brest in 1595-96 was declared ended, and the Catholic Church of the Eastern Rite was wiped out and its members included in the Russian Orthodox Church. Those who protested were arrested by the NKVD and the Catholics of the Eastern Rite were forced into the underground.

Even before this, in the diocese of Peremyshl which had passed into Communist controlled Poland, Bishop Kotsylovsky had been arrested on September 17, 1945, with his Auxiliary Bishop G. Lakota. Bishop Kotsylovsky was handed over to the Soviets after a series of illegal transactions and died in a Soviet prison in 1947.

It was now the turn of the Bishop of Uzhhorod, Theodor Romzha, in Carpatho-Ukraine. His carriage "accidentally" collided with a Red Army vehicle and a short time later he died in a Soviet hospital. Again the use of poison was reported. His diocese was at once forced to receive an Orthodox bishop and was wiped out.

In 1950 the last of the bishops of the Catholics of the Eastern Rite in the Diocese of Pryashiv (Prešov) in the now Communist Czechoslovakia, Bishop Pavlo Goydych, was seized with his assistant. The two men were sentenced to life imprisonment and the diocese was reunited with the Russian Orthodox Church.

The new Russian Orthodox priests do not use the old manse which existed beside the churches. They live in the various cities and in many ways their general life is often more that of the NKVD than of the clergy. They owe their posts to a strange combination of the Patriarch and the secular authorities, while the real church in these areas has ceased to exist or has gone underground, some sort of a clandestine organization under the Rev Prof M Lavrivsky (a pseudonym).

No one can estimate the number of martyrs who have suffered during this enforced destruction of a church which for nearly four centuries has been at work in the area. Thousands have been arrested and deported for their religious beliefs, but surprisingly few of the priests and laity have been willing to take part in the new movement that has been officially recognized by the Ukrainian Soviet Government.

POSTWAR UKRAINE

The end of the war brought to a Ukraine, which had been cleared of the Nazis, no relaxation of tension. The Communist leaders began immediately to talk of American imperialists and to use that excuse for still further exactions and demands on the population.

At the height of their Sovietophilism the Western Powers allowed the Communists to repatriate by force most of the eastern Ukrainians in the DP camps. Very few of these ever reached their native villages. The very fact that they had allowed themselves to be taken to Germany or to be captured was sufficient to make them undesirable citizens. They were accordingly punished as war criminals and either executed, sent to labour camps in the far north or settled outside of Ukraine in other Soviet republics.

In its agricultural policy the Soviet Union revived and re-formed the collective farms and made living conditions on them still more unbearable. It could not and did not improve the living conditions for even though payments to the peasants were higher, the charges imposed upon them were even greater than the increase of income.

The summer of 1946 saw again a drought and this in some places produced a condition of at least near-famine. During the winter of 1946 and the spring of 1947, it has been reported that at least 500 000 from the collective farms made their way for at least a short time to western Ukraine in an effort to get food for themselves.

Another conception was the introduction of the so-called agrogrod or farm city. This was introduced so as to facilitate the control of the collective farms by the Communists. It involved the destruc-

tion of many of the old villages and the erection of large settlements composed of the workers of several former farms in one place. Thus, whereas at the end of the war there were in Ukraine 33,653 collective farms, the number by the end of 1950 had been reduced to 14,443.

The Soviets undertook the definite collectivization of the land in western Ukraine. As a decade earlier in eastern Ukraine, the villages of western Ukraine suffered heavily, and from almost every community where statistics have been made available, it is clear that in almost every village from 100 to 300 were deported to Siberia. The arrests were numbered in the thousands and the peasants were mobilized after the war for various purposes. Everything possible was done to humiliate and break the patriotic feelings of the population.

On the industrial side the conditions were no brighter. Soon after the war there was so much unrest that the services of troops were needed in Kharkiv and Odessa, and while it is hard to say what part of these disturbances were directly connected with the work of the UPA, it is easy to understand that the conditions in the cities were bad.

The work of restoring the factories went slowly. A very small part of the technicians and workers removed from Ukraine before the advance of the Germans were allowed to return. They were kept beyond the Urals in the new factories that sprang up in those areas. The same was true of the machinery. The excuse was made that new machinery would be secured for the factories in Ukraine but little of this was forthcoming, and that slowly. Even the fourth 5-year plan provided few new constructions in the country. The largest sums of money were made available for the Russian Republic, very little for Ukraine, and almost nothing for the industrialization of the area west of the Dnipro and in western Ukraine. Of course the argument was that they were too exposed to the danger of attack from the west and that the Union was acting for military security.

In fact it revealed a very definite policy on the part of the central government. This was to develop the entire Union in such a way that Ukrainian industrial production would increase very slowly and the share of Ukraine in the total agricultural and industrial yield of the Soviet Union would definitely diminish. On the other hand the Soviet Union still maintained that it could not exist without the products of Ukraine. It was the same dilemma that had been faced by Czar Nicholas I when he proclaimed the danger of Ukrainian revolt side by side with the statement that there was no Ukraine and no Ukrainian movement.

However, some concessions were made to the people in that for the first time, after Melnikov was removed on a charge of overstressing the role of the Russians in Ukraine, a Ukrainian, Kyrchenko was made First Secretary of the Communist Party there. Such Ukrainian authors as Kornychuk and Bazhan were given Government posts and Tychna was made chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme

Soviet of the U S S R These were only slight concessions and cannot hide the fact that those persons who were appointed had distinguished themselves for years by their slavish submission to the will of Moscow

Even in these cases it may well be asked how far such steps have been taken in response to a recognition of Ukrainian sensibilities as such and how far they have been motivated by a need to establish new formulas for the application of Moscow's policy toward the satellite states which are in a position scarcely different from that of Ukraine at the time of the New Economic Policy and Ukrainization The very desire to make apparent concessions may be only the application of the new policy elsewhere and the standardization of ideas

POSTWAR CULTURE

With the ending of the war, the work of standardizing Ukrainian culture on the Russian type was resumed with vigor The arguments of Zhdanov against cosmopolitanism were but another phase of the feeling that Russia knows best, exactly as Stalin proclaimed the Russians as the cause and chief agent in the Soviet triumph There came a renewed outbreak against those slight relaxations that had been made in wartime

The case of Sosyura's poem *Love Ukraine*, is to the point This had received a Stalin prize when national patriotism was more or less desired In 1951 Soviet critics discovered it contained ideological errors and compelled the unfortunate author to apologize for his mistakes

Kornychuk always a zealous servant of the Kremlin, joined in the demand that the Ukrainian Communists needed to realize the dangers of bourgeois nationalism in language as well as in content The use of older forms of language was clearly a sign of bourgeois sympathies A new Ukrainian dictionary was published in Moscow in 1948 by L A Bulakhovsky and the poet Rylsky who were able to boast that they had compiled it on the basis of the spoken language of the government offices and not upon the older, pre-Bolshevik usage They introduced from Russian whatever they wished for thanks to the Russian language the Ukrainian has been able to acquire the capacity to respond to the needs of socialist construction and to satisfy the cultural needs of the Ukrainian people

In plain language, the Communists are striving to make Ukrainian a dead language incapable of growth or of adaptation to modern conditions in any way other than by the addition of Russian elements At the same time the whole theory of Stalin's linguistic and philological discussion was that Russian was already a zonal language because it was the language of communism and its standards were correct, and was to replace the other languages of all people who had risen to the understanding of the principles of Moscow

Russian books, Russian art, Russian theatrical companies are flooding Ukraine as never before Ukrainian history and Ukrainian literature are being revised to show their dependence in the past, the present and the future on the "elder brothers," the Russians

LATEST DEVELOPMENTS

Joseph Stalin died on March 5, 1953, and he left his post behind him One of his closest associates, Beria, the long-time head of the NKVD and the MVD, passed to his reward when he was liquidated as an American agent a few months later Malenkov was for a time nominal leader of a group who were running the country and Khrushchov, for many years the dominant force of Ukraine, is now both Party and Government leader

In January of 1953 there was celebrated with all the fanfare possible the three hundredth anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyaslav which brought Ukraine into alliance with Muscovy. For that august occasion the Communist Party issued new theses on the relations of the two nations These unhesitatingly call Kyiv the oldest Russian city, for they postulate an original linguistic, political and racial union They call Lviv the oldest Ukrainian city because it was founded by the Ukrainians after the division of the language The theses stress the great help of Moscow in food and arms to Khmelnytsky in his struggles against Poland, and they hail him for his wisdom in creating the union They stress the contacts between Shevchenko and the Russian radical thinkers, and finally they emphasize how the Ukrainians are now merging in the Russian proletariat

Then to emphasize still further the brotherhood of the two peoples, the Council of Ministers turned over to Ukraine the Crimea, from which they had already forcibly deported its native Tartar population

That is not all Moscow has decided to cultivate more land in Kazakhstan and Siberia To carry out this duty, some 800,000 young Ukrainians, young men and women, had to "volunteer" for this pioneering service It is another example of the long continued attempt to place the Ukrainians everywhere, except in Ukraine, and when we remember the Soviet practice ever since the downfall of Skrypnyk, we can think of this new suggestion only in terms of denationalization and genocide But no matter where they might be situated, the Ukrainian people will never fail to sing in patriotic voice their historic national anthem, *Shche ne vmerla Ukrayina* (Ukraine will never die)



Mykola Yurakiv (b 1871 d 1931)
Colonel General Chief of the General
Staff of the United Ukrainian Armies
(1919)



Hryhorii Chuprynka (b 1879 d 1921)
Head of the All Ukrainian Insurgent
Centre poet and writer shot by the
Russians



Serhiy Yefremov (b 1876 d ?)

President of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) Vice President of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences sentenced to death in 1930 and died in a Russian prison



Volodymyr Chekhivsky (b 1878 d ?)

University professor a leading member of the SVU sentenced to death by the Russians in 1930 died in a Russian prison



Ludmyla Starytska Cherniakhivska (b 1868 d 1941)

Writer a leading member of the SVU sentenced to death in 1930 and murdered by Russians in 1941



Mykola Pavlushkov (b 1903 d ?)

Graduate of the Institute for National Education leader of the Ukrainian Youth Association (SUM) sentenced to death by Russians in 1930 and died in prison



The Famine In Ukraine In 1933

This famine artificially created by the Soviet Russians as a means of crushing the resistance of the Ukrainian farmers against collectivization claimed about 6 million victims



Above a cemetery in Lharkiv 1933 the frozen corpses of victims of the famine
Below collecting the corpses



Mykola Zerov (b 1890 d 1934)

Writer critic and literary historian
arrested in 1934 and died in a Russian
concentration camp



Hryhoriy Kosynka (b 1899 d 1934)

Writer and novelist shot by the Soviet
Russians



Pavlo Elypovych (b 1891 d *)

Writer critic and authority on literature
arrested in 1934 and died in a Soviet
Russian concentration camp



Kost Burevly (b 1899, d 1934)

Member of the Ukrainian Parliament
(Central Rada) 1918 parliamentarist writer
shot by the Soviet Russians in 1934

Dr. Mykola Kovalevsky

MOCK TRIAL OF UKRAINIAN PATRIOTS IN KHARKIV IN 1930

45 ACCUSED BEFORE SUPREME COURT OF JUSTICE

From March 9th to April 19th, 1930, the Supreme Court of Justice of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic in Kharkiv, the temporary capital and the largest town in Ukraine at that time, staged a mock trial of 45 members of the Ukrainian organization "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU). The trial was held in the large auditorium of the state opera house. On this occasion the Soviet government resorted to every possible means in order to use this trial for political propaganda purposes. The trial was broadcast, the courtroom was crowded with delegations of various Communist organizations. The spacious foyers and corridors of the building contained an exhibition of various "documents" intended to illustrate the Ukrainian national movement and the activity of the Ukrainian governments (naturally with explanations in the Communist sense).

The court, which at the request of the People's Commissar for Justice, Porayko, was approved and authorized by the "All-Ukrainian Central Executive Committee," consisted of the following persons: Presiding Judge Antin Prykhodko, a well known Bolshevik, members of the tribunal Korobeyko (a worker at Kyiv Arsenal Works, which in 1917 was a centre of the Communist movement and from which a revolt against the Ukrainian National Republic was organized), Havrylo Odynets (a farmer, member of the Communist Party and of the Central Committee of Non-Prosperous Peasants), Professor Sokolyansky (a delegate of the scientific-technical section of the "All-Ukrainian Trade Union Council"), Professor Volkov, a worker by the name of Mukha, and a farmer's wife called Korzhenko.

The prosecution was represented by the Public Prosecutors and the so-called People's Prosecutors. The Public Prosecutors were the Deputy People's Commissar for Justice and senior

assistant of the General Public Prosecutor of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Pavlo Mykhaylyk (a Jew from Galicia), the deputy of the Public Prosecutor of the Supreme Court of Justice, Akhmatov (by birth a Jew, whose real name was Akhmanytsky), the Public Prosecutor of the People's Commissariat for Justice, Yakymyshyn (an emigrant from Galicia), the Public Prosecutor of the District Court in Kyiv, Bystryukov (a Russian) The following persons acted as so-called People's Prosecutors Panas Lyubchenko, representing the scientific-technical section of the "All-Ukrainian Trade Union Council" (until 1918 a Ukrainian Social Revolutionary, then a Borotbist — a kind of Ukrainian Titoist, and later a Communist, until, as a fierce opponent of the Russian Communist Centralists, he committed suicide), Professor Sokolovsky, representing the Kharkiv Agricultural Institute, and the writer Shisarenko, representing the Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was to be represented at the trial by Professor Kravchuk, a native of Galicia, but shortly before the trial opened he notified the court that he would not be able to be present at the trial owing to a serious illness

The following members of the Union of Soviet Lawyers acted as defence counsel Ratner, Vynohradsky, Volkomyrsky, Vilensky, Obukhivsky, Rivlin, Yurovsky, Schatz, Voznesenska (all of Jewish origin), Pukhtynsky, Professor Hrodzinsky, Kovalivska, Potapov (most of them from Kyiv) The accused were

1) Serhiy Yefremov, university professor, 53 years of age, a prominent scholar, literary historian, one of the most faithful pupils of the famous Ukrainian professor Volodymyr Antonovych Yefremov had been active in Ukrainian public life since the end of the 19th century From 1904 onwards he was the editor of the only Ukrainian daily paper "Rada" which at that time was sanctioned by the Russian censorship in Ukraine He was the ideologist and theoretician of the Radical Democrats, which in 1917 became the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists Professor Yefremov became chairman of the Central Committee of this party and Vice-President of the Ukrainian parliament — the Central Council (Tsentralna Rada) During the reign of the Ukrainian Hetman Skoropadsky he was one of the organizers of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and, at the same time, also its vice-president At the decree of the Soviet government, he was dismissed from his post at the Academy of Sciences in 1927 because he refused to agree to a reform of the Academy on Communist lines, which the People's Commissariat for Education and Training proposed to introduce

2) Volodymyr Chekhivsky, 54 years of age, a highly esteemed member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party and a member of its Central Committee, formerly head of the government of the Ukrainian National Republic after Hetman Skoropadsky had been overthrown Soon afterwards he began to feel dissatisfied with his political activity As he came of a clerical family and had himself

studied theology, he now occupied himself exclusively with religious matters, but nevertheless remained true to his socialist convictions. For this reason the Soviet Russian Public Prosecutor remarked sarcastically that the accused had tried to reconcile Christ with Marx. Chekhivsky took an active interest in the organization of the Ukrainian Orthodox Autocephalous Church. He was offered an episcopal see in Kyiv, but he refused this office and gave the following reasons for his refusal: "A saint and a haidamaka are at conflict with each other in my soul (translator's note: the haidamaky were famous Ukrainian insurgents who opposed Polish supremacy in Ukraine in the 18th century); the haidamaka in my soul has gained a victory, and for this reason I cannot accept the office of a bishop." He preached in the Ukrainian cathedral in Kyiv as the "evangelist" (Blahovisnyk). On account of his great ability and for his activity in this field the All-Ukrainian Ecclesiastical Council conferred the title of an all-Ukrainian "Blahovisnyk" on him.

3) Volodymyr Durdukivsky, 55 years of age, an outstanding pedagogue, headmaster of the 1st Ukrainian Shevchenko Grammar School in Kyiv, which under the Soviet government was later re-organized as the 1st Shevchenko School on Soviet lines, a former member of the Ukrainian Party of the Socialist Federalists, and a relation of Yefremov.

4) Yosyf Hermayze, 37 years of age, a professor at the Kyiv Institute for People's Education, one of the leading members of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, and the head of the Department for Marxism at the Academy of Sciences.

5) Andriy Nikovsky, 44 years of age, a writer and a former member of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian party of the Socialist Federalists, former Minister for Foreign Affairs in the government of the Ukrainian National Republic in exile during the years 1921-1922, and a close co-worker of Professor Yefremov.

6) Ludmyla Starytska-Cherniakhivska, 60 years of age, a well-known writer and translator. She had already played a very active part in Ukrainian public life towards the end of the 19th century. She was a member of the Ukrainian party of the Socialist Federalists.

7) Oleksander Cherniakhivsky, 60 years of age, professor at the Kyiv Medical Institute. He played a very active part in Ukrainian public life; he later joined the Ukrainian party of the Socialist Federalists.

8) Oleksander Hrebenetsky, 55 years of age, a teacher at the 1st Kyiv School for Workers. A member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and also a member of the Ukrainian party of Socialist Federalists.

9) Vsevolod Hantsov, 37 years of age, professor of philology, a member of the Academy of Sciences and also a member of the Ukrainian party of Socialist Federalists.

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10) Mykola Pavlushkov, 26 years of age, a student at the Kyiv Institute for People's Education, and a relative of the accused Professor Yefremov

11) Borys Matushevsky, 22 years of age, a student at the Kyiv Institute for People's Education, and the son of the well-known Ukrainian politician and active co-worker of all Ukrainian organizations, Fedir Matushevsky

12) Yuriy Trezvynsky, 49 years of age, a teacher at the 1st Kyiv School for Workers, and a former member of the Ukrainian party of Socialist Federalists

13) Nina Tokarivska, 41 years of age, a teacher at the 1st School for Workers, and a former member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party

14) Andriy Zalisky, 44 years of age, a teacher at the above-mentioned school in Kyiv, and a former member of the Ukrainian party of Socialist Federalists. In 1928 he was exiled from Ukraine on account of 'counter-revolutionary activity'

15) Hryhoriy Ivanytsia, 38 years of age, a professor of philology, he held lectures at the Institute for People's Education and was a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, as well as a former member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party

16) Vasyl Doha, 44 years of age, professor at the Kyiv Institute for People's Education, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and a former member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party

17) Konstantyn Shylo, 50 years of age, head of the editorial department of the Kyiv branch of the state publishing firm, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and a former member of the Ukrainian party of Socialist Federalists

18) Zinoviy Margulis, 50 years of age, member of the Chamber of Solicitors as well as a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and a former member of the Ukrainian party of Socialist Federalists (by birth a Jew)

19) Mykhaylo Ivchenko, 47 years of age, an outstanding writer, and a member of the Ukrainian party of Socialist Federalists

20) Hryhoriy Holoskevych, 45 years of age, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, the editor of the 'Dictionary of the National Language' and a former member of the Ukrainian Central Council and of the Ukrainian Party of the Socialist Federalists

21) Hryhoriy Kholodny, 44 years of age, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, a lecturer at the Kyiv Institute of People's Education, the head of the Institute of Ukrainian Scientific Language, and a former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists

22) Mykola Kryvenko, 59 years of age, a biologist, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, an editor, and a former member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Workers Party

23) Volodymyr Strashkevych, 54 years of age, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, an editor, and a former member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Worker's Party.

24) Vadym Sharko, 47 years of age, professor of mathematics, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and an editor.

25) Victor Dubrovsky, 50 years of age, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and head of the forwarding department of the sugar combine.

26) Konstantyn Turkalo, 37 years of age, chemical engineer, an editor, a member of the Ukrainian Central Council, and a former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists.

27) Volodymyr Pidhayetsky, 41 years of age, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, professor at the Kyiv Medical Institute, and a former member of the Ukrainian Central Council and of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Worker's Party.

28) Mykola Kudrytsky, 46 years of age, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, lecturer at the Medical Institute in Kyiv, and a former member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Worker's Party.

29) Arkadiy Barbar, 50 years of age, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, and a former member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Worker's Party.

30) Volodymyr Udoenko, 49 years of age, a member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences and a professor at the Medical Institute in Kyiv.

31) Avksentiy Volosovych, 43 years of age, a leading member of the Ukrainian cooperative system, lecturer at the Kyiv Institute for the Study of the Cooperative System, and a former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries. Expelled from Ukraine in 1928.

32) Maksym Botvynovsky, 50 years of age, a member of the cooperative society and a director of the dairy cooperative, as well as a former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Revolutionaries.

33) Mykola Chekhivsky, 53 years of age, priest of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church.

34) Petro Yefremov, 46 years of age, professor at the Institute of People's Education in Dnipropetrovsk, a former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists, and a brother of the chief accused, S. Yefremov.

35) Mykola Bilyy, 32 years of age, a teacher.

36) Lyubov Bidnova, 48 years of age, woman-teacher.

37) Konstantyn Tovkach, 47 years of age, a member of the Chamber of Solicitors in Poltava, and a former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists.

38) Volodymyr Shchepotyev, 50 years of age, professor at the Institute of People's Education in Poltava, and a former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists. He was exiled from Ukraine in 1928.

39) Petro Blyzniuk, 49 years of age, played an active part in the Ukrainian cooperative society.

40) Mykola Lahuta, 34 years of age, lecturer at the Institute of People's Education in Mykolayiv, and a former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists.

41) Yosyf Karpovych, 43 years of age, lecturer at a school in Chernyiv, and a former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists.

42) Valentyn Otamanovsky, 37 years of age, director of the branch of the All-Ukrainian Library in Vinnytsia.

43) Mykhailo Slabchenko, 47 years of age, member of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, professor at the Institute of People's Education in Odessa, and a former member of the Ukrainian Party of Socialist Federalists.

44) Taras Slabchenko, 25 years of age, teacher in Odessa.

45) Kyrylo Panchenko-Chalenko, 42 years of age, teacher in Odessa.

TESTIMONY ON THE FORMATION OF THE SVU UNION

During interrogation by the agents of the Red Russian secret police, GPU, the chief accused, Professor Yefremov, testified that the "Ukrainian intelligentsia was bound to be in conflict with those persons who organized the October revolution and set up a 'proletarian state'." This conflict already made itself very strongly felt during the early stages of the revolution. True, we were defeated, but we were not prepared to accept this defeat since we did not regard the fight for freedom as ended. We therefore decided to continue our activity indefatigably inasmuch as we organized the masses and prepared them so that they would be able to defend our rights successfully at a given time."

Before the court Yefremov stated that, in view of the critical situation of the Ukrainian state, the so-called "Brotherhood of the Supporters of Ukrainian Sovereignty" (known as the "BUD") was already founded in Kyiv in 1919. The BUD was a secret organization and its aim was to fight for an independent Ukrainian state. In 1920 the BUD formed the Ukrainian government when the Ukrainian and Polish troops liberated the Ukrainian capital Kyiv. After the Soviet Russians had occupied Ukraine once more, it was the BUD which, in a systematic and large-scale campaign, continued the fight for

freedom The activity of the BUD lasted until 1924, when, owing to various unfortunate circumstances, it was eventually dissolved Together with his closest friends, Yefremov then endeavoured to organize a new liberation movement. He made the following statement as regards this question "When the armed fight between the government of the Ukrainian National Republic and the Soviet Russian government was over and the BUD was forced to disband, I put the question as to whether we should lay down arms in our fight for an independent Ukrainian state, or continue this fight, to my closest associates" This question was discussed at length, whereupon Yefremov — together with his most trusted and prominent co-workers — decided to continue the fight, but in another camouflaged form To this end an organization was to be formed which would undertake the task of training new cadres for the purpose of bringing about the future liberation of Ukraine Yefremov at that time came to the conclusion that the cooperation of the writer and former Minister and diplomat Nikovsky, who had been in Berlin for some time and had now returned to Kyiv, would also be useful in this task The preparatory work lasted two whole years (1924-1925) In the summer of 1926, shortly after the murder of the head of the Ukrainian state, S Petlura, in Paris, a new secret organization, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU), which united all Ukrainian national elements, came into being

In June 1925 the constitutional assembly of this new organization was held The following persons were present on this occasion Yefremov, Durdukiivsky, Chekhivsky, Hermayze, Nikovsky, Hrebenetsky and Starytska-Cherniakhivska All these persons were regarded as leaders of the new organization and they assumed the following functions Yefremov was the chairman of the organization, and Durdukiivsky was his deputy Secret cells, consisting of five persons, now began to be formed in various institutions and organizations, and each member of such a cell in turn formed another new, secret cell consisting of five persons Yefremov organized the centre of the Union in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, whilst Hrebenetsky did the same in the Institute of Scientific Language, Durdukiivsky and Hermayze were active in school circles and founded and organized groups amongst the teachers, the parents of the schoolchildren and the schoolchildren themselves From this latter group the "Union of Ukrainian Youth" (SUM) was later formed¹⁾ Chekhivsky was in charge of this activity in the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church and in the cooperative organizations Nikovsky and Starytska-Cherniakhivska were active amongst writers and artists and organized five person cells in the Soviet publishing firms, including the state publishing office They succeeded in dominating some publishing firms, as for instance "Slovo" and "Knyhospilka," completely In addition, five-

¹⁾ This youth organization was revived again in exile (in the first place in Germany) in 1946 and now exists in almost all the countries of the free world where Ukrainians live

person cells were also organized in the following institutes of People's Education, of the Cooperative System, of Agriculture, the Polytechnic Institute, and the Zootechnical Institute A group of agronomists, which developed a lively activity in the People's Commissariat of Agriculture in Kharkiv, was also organized, as well as a group of medical men and of engineers Branches of the SVU were founded in the following Ukrainian towns Kharkiv, Odessa, Dnipropetrovsk, Chernyiv, Poltava, Mykolaiv, Kherson and Vinnytsia

The second accused, Nikovsky, testified that he had held a number of conferences with the leaders of the Ukrainian emigrants prior to his return to Ukraine From these persons he received certain instructions regarding the formation of a Ukrainian liberation organization and the period within which a campaign was to be initiated against the Soviet Russians Nikovsky stated that the head of the Ukrainian state, S Petlura, also knew of these instructions Nikovsky was in contact not only with the chief supporters and leaders of the Ukrainian National Republic, but also with the group which supported the former Hetman Skoropadsky, from which he likewise received recommendations In answer to a question put by the Public Prosecutor, Nikovsky said that he was the envoy of the exile government of the Ukrainian National Republic in Ukraine On his return to Kyiv he told Professor Yefremov and the other leaders of the SVU that the forces of the Ukrainian intelligentsia must be consolidated and must be prepared for the possibility of events occurring which might provide a favourable opportunity for the restoration of Ukrainian sovereignty

As Yefremov and Nikovsky themselves testified, they were both in contact with the Ukrainian emigrants

THE PROGRAMME AND THE IDEOLOGY OF THE UNION

As can be seen from the testimony given by all the accused, the main task of the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" was to liberate Ukraine from Soviet Russian rule, to detach it from Russia and to establish an independent Ukrainian republic in all Ukrainian territories The new state was to be a democratic republic with a president and a ministerial council, which was to be responsible to the national assembly and was to safeguard all civic freedoms As the accused Nikovsky stressed, a normal type of European democratic republic was to be established after the proclamation of Ukraine's independence It is likewise evident from the testimony of the accused that the SVU intended to restore a Ukrainian national republic and that certain amendments to the constitutional laws, which had been approved by the Central Council and the Ukrainian Labour Congress (Trudovy Kongres), were to be introduced It had also been agreed that a military dictatorship would be inevitable for

a certain period of transition after the Soviet Russian state order had been overthrown, and that eventually a parliamentary state order would have to be introduced.

As far as the agrarian question was concerned, the SVU intended to introduce the principle of private property again: the land was to belong to those who tilled and cultivated it, that is to say, to the farmers. As Yefremov pointed out, the big landowners were to receive an appropriate payment for the land. The principle of private property was also to be introduced in industry and in trade. Only those enterprises which were of especial importance to the state were to be nationalized. As regards religious questions, Yefremov said that religion was each citizen's own private affair, but added that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, in so far as it was called upon to fulfil any cultural task, would in this respect be supported by the state. Hence the SVU considered it expedient that the Ukrainian Autocephalous Church should occupy a dominant position in the new Ukrainian state. In this connection we should, however, like to mention the fact that the SVU had no written programme since it engaged in a secret activity. This programme was merely explained by the accused in their oral testimony during the mock trial.

In ideological respect the SVU stood for the principle of national liberation and was decidedly opposed to the principles of a Communist International and of class conflict. The main principles which held good for all members of the SVU were, as Yefremov stressed during the trial, the following: the state before parties, the people before the classes, and, in particular, observance of the principles of democracy. In his testimony Yefremov stated that he was opposed to the Soviet state order for the simple reason that it refused to recognize the civic freedoms of the people.

TACTICS OF THE UNION

It is evident from the testimony given by Yefremov, Nikovsky and other accused that the chief means to be employed in order to attain the aims which the SVU had set itself were the following:

- a) all patriotic forces in the Ukraine were to be mobilized;
- b) with the help of trustworthy persons, the most important Soviet organizations and institutions were to be controlled, and persons in the Soviet apparatus who supported the aims pursued by the SVU were to be ascertained;
- c) cadres were to be trained which, at a suitable opportunity, would be able to lead the revolutionary campaign and a possible revolt;
- d) the national ideology was to be disseminated amongst the broad masses. To this end every endeavour was to be made to infiltrate and control the Soviet publishing and editorial offices and depart-

ments, as well as literary circles and groups of artists. In addition, choirs, theatrical companies, and enlightenment centres, etc., were to be organized,

e) the Ukrainian public was constantly to be kept informed of political events through the press and information bureau run by Mykola Chekhivsky in Kharkiv,

f) in addition, the farmers and workers were to be mobilized against the Soviet Russian regime in connection with difficulties regarding food and supplies. In fact, these difficulties were to be created in the cooperative and industrial organizations with the aid of confidential agents

As Nikovsky pointed out in this respect in his testimony, it was hoped that these measures would result in complications with regard to the international position of the Soviet Union and in the formation of a united front of the European powers against the USSR. In the event of a war between the Western powers and the USSR, the SVU would engage in military operations against Soviet Russia

Yefremov stressed that an armed revolt had not been regarded as the only means of fighting against Soviet Russia. Other means which would have led to a liberation of Ukraine, had also been taken into consideration. As far as terrorism as a combatant means was concerned, there was no evidence in the course of the trial which proved that the SVU had intended using this means, even though the prosecution constantly tried to deduce this conclusion from the testimony given by the accused. The student Pavlushkov testified that the Union of Ukrainian Youth had advocated the application of terrorism and that some of its members had considered it expedient that such terrorism should be applied against prominent personalities of the Soviet government. The remaining members were of the opinion that terrorism should also be applied against the representatives of the local authorities. Yefremov, so it was affirmed, had told Pavlushkov that, although he did not advocate acts of terrorism, he considered it possible that such fighting methods could be applied but that they must however only be directed against the most prominent representatives of the Soviet government for only under these circumstances was a terrorist activity likely to be successful. On this point Yefremov himself told the Soviet Russian judges that not only had the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine refrained from resorting to acts of terrorism but it had also not even possessed the means to carry out such acts. This was rather a subject for theoretical discussions for in no single instance had the limits in this respect been overstepped. In practice as Yefremov testified the Union had committed no acts of terrorism and had not killed a single Communist.

An extremely interesting fact is apparent as regards the practices of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. Its members concealed their true political views and pretended to support Communism. In this way they gained access to various Soviet institutions and were

able to disguise their anti-Soviet activity. For example, one of the chief accused, Hermayze, already pretended in 1922 that he was disappointed in the Ukrainian national movement and that he had for this reason become a so-called "Zminovikhovets" (the designation used for those who changed their political opinion in favour of the Communists), that is to say, he had recognized the Soviet platform. The accused Pavlushkov corroborated this fact and added that the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine had recommended its members to resort to such tactics. Public Prosecutor Akhmatov also mentioned this fact and referred to the accused Ivanytsia in this connection. Ivanytsia played a double game, on the one hand, he wrote Communist articles for Soviet papers and was a member of the municipal council, whilst on the other hand, he was in reality one of the most active members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine.

THE UNION AND THE UKRAINIAN EMIGRANTS

As is known, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine came into being as a result of certain information which Yefremov had received from abroad. Two facts in particular proved decisive in this respect. In 1924 Nikovsky returned to Kyiv. Referring to the instructions which he had received from the leaders of the Ukrainian emigrants and from Symon Petlura, he told Yefremov that it was time to begin the fight for the liberation and independence of Ukraine. The second decisive event was the fact that the murder of Petlura created an extremely deep impression amongst the Ukrainians in Kyiv and thus served as the signal to initiate a campaign as soon as possible. Contact with the Ukrainian political emigrants was maintained under the guise of academic study trips abroad on the part of individual Ukrainian scholars. In this way it was possible to arrange the visits abroad of Hantsov and Cherniakhivsky, who at the advice of Yefremov then conferred with the leaders of the Ukrainian emigrants. Thus the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine maintained constant contact with abroad and in this way received information about the international position of the Soviet Union fairly regularly, and, on the other hand, also passed on information about the situation in Ukraine to the leaders of the emigrants.

The accused Durdukivsky affirmed in his testimony, for instance, that the head group of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine had above all endeavoured to maintain constant contact with the Ukrainian emigrants.

Towards the end of 1926, the accused Cherniakhivsky undertook a trip abroad in order to inform the leaders of the Ukrainian emigrants about the formation of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and also to receive information about the attitude and the plans of the emigrants in connection with the murder of Petlura. Cherniakhivsky conferred with Doroshenko, Prokopovych, Lototsky and other leaders of the Ukrainian emigrants. As Durdukivsky

pointed out, the leaders of the SVU were anxious to know what the position of the Ukrainian exile government was after the murder of Petlura and also what the attitude of the Major Powers was towards the Ukrainian government Cherniakhivsky was informed that Andriy Liviysky, who was supported as a candidate by a large number of the Ukrainian emigrants, had taken the place of Petlura. After his return from abroad Cherniakhivsky related his impressions to the members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, whereupon a lengthy discussion about the role and importance of the Ukrainian emigrants ensued. Starytska-Cherniakhivska assessed the activity of the political emigrants and of the exile government of the Ukrainian National Republic as not particularly important, and she expressed the opinion that it might perhaps be advisable to liquidate the state leadership in exile, which was known as the Government of the Ukrainian National Republic, and to set up in its stead a real state leadership, which was to be established in Kyiv in the form of an All-Ukrainian Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. Practically all the members of the presidium of the SVU, however, opposed this idea.

In this connection it should be stressed that almost all the accused, as they themselves confirmed in their testimony, recognized the banner of the Ukrainian National Republic, even though the supporters of the latter belonged to different political trends. Thus the chairman of the Union of Ukrainian Youth, Pavlushkov, for instance, stated that — even though he was a supporter of the Ukrainian hetmanate — he must continue his activity in accordance with the platform of the Ukrainian National Republic. Indeed, almost the entire younger generation, including the students, wholeheartedly supported the principles of the Ukrainian National Republic. At the same time they were also influenced by the ideology of Petlura, who was on the whole regarded as a national hero. He was so greatly venerated by the young people of Ukraine that — as was confirmed by one of the accused, the student Matushevsky — some of the students forged Petlura's signature on their certificates in order to give them more authority amongst other young persons. Pavlushkov also testified that the Petlura cult was widespread in other educational institutions. After the murder of Petlura in May 1926 a secret requiem was celebrated in St. Sophia's Cathedral in Kyiv. On this occasion a large crowd gathered in the church and students distributed proclamations dedicated to Petlura amongst the people. Yefremov and Cherniakhivsky testified that, in addition to the secret requiem in Kyiv Cathedral, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine also arranged secret lectures on Petlura in almost all the towns and in many villages throughout Ukraine. Poems, written by well-known contemporary poets and dedicated to the memory of Petlura, were also distributed amongst the population. Petlura's popularity and the influence of his ideas were so great that all activity directed against the Soviet Union could only be continued under his watchwords.

In this connection the accused Nikovsky gave evidence which was significant. As he himself admitted, he had in 1924 severed his connection with Petlura and gone to Berlin, where he established contact with the group that supported the former Hetman Skoropadsky. At the same time he informed the former Foreign Minister of the Ukrainian National Republic, Professor Shulhyn, and other representatives of the exile government that in the event of his return to Ukraine he would not cause either Petlura or the exile government any trouble. After his return Nikovsky informed Yefremov and other leading Ukrainian personalities about the situation abroad and sharply criticized Petlura and his government. Professor Yefremov and the other leaders of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, however, stressed that if Nikovsky hoped to be successful in his political and civic activity, he must on no account criticize Petlura since Petlura was regarded as a national hero throughout Ukraine. Thereupon Nikovsky, as he himself testified, was obliged to alter his political tactics.

THE ACTIVITY OF THE UNION FOR THE LIBERATION OF UKRAINE AMONGST THE YOUNG PEOPLE

One of the most important spheres of activity of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine was the school sector. Under the leadership of the pedagogue and headmaster of the Soviet 'Shevchenko School' in Kyiv, Professor Durdukevsky, the school group of the Union developed a lively activity as regards national education and training amongst the children and young people. This sector of the activity of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine aroused considerable interest during the mock trial. The prosecution designated this activity as a fight on the part of the nationalists for the soul of the young people. Durdukevsky testified that his school had for a considerable time achieved an ideological task inasmuch as it had tried to train young people in a spirit which was entirely different from that of Communism and the Soviet government, even though to outward appearance this school was like any other Soviet school. Another accused, Professor Kholodny, headmaster of a school in Chernyiv which was named after the writer Kotsiubynsky, stated that his school was only pro-Soviet to outward appearance and officially, all the teachers were opposed to the Soviet power, that is to say they were persons who looked to the West from where the liberation of Ukraine was to come. This kind of school undoubtedly trained children in the nationalist spirit.

The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine definitely rejected the principle of a class-training for children. It is apparent from the testimony given by the accused Hrebenetsky that it was the task of the school group of the Union to use the legal form of the Soviet school for the secret purpose of training the children in accordance

with the ideology of the Union. The accused Tokarivska stressed that it was the aim of the school group to train national-minded children and to protect the national school from international influences.

The accused Pavlushkov testified with regard to the origin of the Union of Ukrainian Youth. According to his testimony, Yefremov was opposed to the idea of admitting young people to the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine since he maintained that they should have an organization of their own in which the political and national attitude of Ukrainian youth could develop. In 1923, at the initiative of Durdukivsky, a legal literary society of young people who had attended and completed their studies at Soviet schools was formed. In this society lectures were held on the history of Ukrainian literature and an endeavour was made to arouse the interest of the young people in the pre-war literature of Ukraine. Two years later the so-called "Society for Unity and Harmony" was founded, its members met once a month to discuss current problems concerning youth. On these occasions political subjects were also discussed. The organization itself existed illegally, and in 1925 it had to be dissolved for reasons of secrecy. In that same year, however, the Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM) was founded at the initiative of Yefremov and Durdukivsky. This organization was likewise a secret one, that is to say, a five-person group was first of all formed, which assumed the function of a central committee and then formed further five-person cells. The programme of the SUM was adapted to the programme of the SVU. Every member of the SUM had to swear an oath that he or she would belong to the organization all their life. If, however, anyone left the organization, or betrayed it, this would incur the penalty of death. As regards the anti-Soviet activity of the SUM, there were three variants, as Pavlushkov himself testified. The first variant consisted in all the members of the SUM asserting themselves together as a cadre of the future insurgent army at a given time. According to the second variant, the members of the SUM were to be divided up into several groups and were to be assimilated with various groups of the Ukrainian insurgents. In this case the groups in question were to be assigned their tasks either by the leaders of the insurgent formations or by the latter's political advisers. The third variant provided that the SUM, which was composed of students of various schools and colleges, in the event of an insurrection in these educational institutions should organize combatant groups and that its leading members should then be in command of these groups. Every member of the organization had to make a careful study of the terrain of his school or college and its surroundings, so as to be able to use this knowledge to advantage in the event of an insurrection. It was also the duty of the members of the SUM to gather information about the distribution and the strength of the local Soviet Russian military units.

As Pavlushkov further testified, the SUM considered the possibility of resorting to acts of terrorism in its fight against the Communists and the representatives of the Soviet Russian authorities. As can be

seen from the testimony given by the accused Matushevsky, the SUM was a fighting and terrorist organization. Opinion differed as to how this terrorism could be applied in practice. And there was some controversy as to whether to apply terrorism solely against the prominent representatives of the Party and the government, or also against the local representatives of the Soviet Russian authorities. Funds were collected in order to purchase arms. As regards the planning of this campaign, two different views prevailed amongst the members of the youth organization, so Pavlushkov added. Some of them were of the opinion that an insurrection against the Soviet Russians would, in the event of a war or of any entry of the army of the Ukrainian National Republic in Ukraine, only play a subordinate part, whereas other members of the SUM held the view that an organized insurrection would in no way result in the liberation of Ukraine and the overthrow of the Soviet government, but would solely lead to an armed intervention on the part of the Western powers. The political attitude and the ideology of the SUM were not in agreement. Pavlushkov, for instance, supported the nationalist order or hetmanate, that is to say a government with strong authority. Other members of the SUM, on the other hand, supported the platform of the Ukrainian National Republic.

The activity of the members of the SUM was not confined solely to the school sector. SUM members frequently toured the provinces in order to form nationalist centres there amongst the young Ukrainians. On such occasions they held lectures illegally and sought to influence the youth of the rural areas. From the point of view of organization the SUM belonged to the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine as the latter's youth organization.

THE FIGHT FOR THE NATIONAL CHARACTER OF UKRAINIAN CULTURE

The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine devoted especial attention to the defence of Ukrainian cultural life against Russian Communist influences. To this end a series of centres were formed in practically all the educational and cultural institutions in Ukraine. This campaign was led by the well-known Ukrainian woman-writer Ludmyla Starytska-Cherniakhivska, whose home in Kyiv was a kind of salon for Ukrainian writers where the most interesting problems of current cultural work were constantly discussed. Interest was focussed above all on the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences (UVAN) in Kyiv, and since Professor Yefremov was the Vice-President of this Academy until 1926 the work of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine within a short time assumed considerable proportions. As the Public Prosecutor stressed in his speech, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine transformed the Academy from a centre of Ukrainian science into one of nationalist activity. Most of the members and co-workers of the Academy regarded the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as a fiction, which had been created in

order to mislead Europe, and for this reason they endeavoured to overthrow the Soviet government by every possible means. In order to train young scholars in the nationalist spirit, they organized a semi-legal society known as 'The Young Academy', its task was to protect young scientists and scholars against internationalist and Russian influences and to instil the national ideology into them. This same aim was also pursued in the medical department of the Academy and in the Scientific Pedagogic Society. Here a leading part was played by Professor Ivanytsia, the author of numerous school textbooks. In spite of the Soviet Russian censorship these textbooks contained nationalist trends, which influenced thousands of pupils. The SVU also attached considerable importance to the propaganda campaign which was carried out amongst the Ukrainian writers. The writers' group of the SVU, headed by Professor Yefremov, succeeded in developing an extremely lively activity amongst the writers, publishers and artists of Ukraine.

It devoted most attention to the criticism of the Soviet Russian national policy. The accused Ivchenko stated in his testimony that the Soviet national policy, which was only prepared to effect a Ukrainization formally, had aggravated the hostile attitude of the Ukrainian writers towards the Soviets and Communism still more. And the Communist slogan to the effect that literature was only to be national in form but international in content, had aroused considerable opposition amongst the Ukrainian writers. The Union writers were to observe in their works

1) to stress the national problem in conjunction with the principles of the Ukrainian National Republic and to combat Russian imperialism,

2) to criticize and censure the so called construction of socialism and to emphasize the negative aspects of Communism,

3) to combat most vigorously the demoralization and signs of degeneration called forth by Communism in civic and family life, and

4) to undermine the influence of the 'proletariat' in political and civic life and, at the same time, to stress the role of the individual.

The accused Ivchenko also stated that the revolution had hampered his creative powers as a writer and for this reason he had accepted the tactics of the SVU. In his opinion the Soviet Russian government and the entire Communist order represented an impetuous and violent power which was likely to destroy every cultural initiative. On the other hand however, the idea of the independence of Ukraine had played a positive role. It was to lead to the rebirth of the Ukrainian state and to a harmonious civic order. Literature, so he stressed, must not merely be national in form but also in content and for this reason one must reject the Soviet so-called Ukrainization and must combat internationalism in Ukrainian literature. A further step in this direction would have been to adopt the principle of an

orientation of Ukrainian literature towards Western Europe and, at the same time, exclude the hegemony of Russian literature. As Ivchenko himself admitted during the trial, he had a high opinion of the Ukrainian farmer; and for this reason he gave an extremely vivid account of his efforts to combat the collectivization of agriculture. We should at this point like to stress that Ivchenko and other writers submitted their works to Yefremov for his approval prior to sending them to print and corrected them according to his directions. Thus the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine introduced its own censorship, as the Public Prosecutor Akhmatov sarcastically remarked, in addition to the Soviet Russian censorship. The purpose of this censorship introduced by the SVU was to purge Ukrainian literature of every trace of Communism and other Russian influences and to permeate it with truly nationalist ideals. It is interesting to note that those publishers who were influenced by the SVU showed a preference for publishing works of European literature in Ukrainian translations. The publishing firm "Slovo," for instance, published the work "Pan Tadeusz" by the Polish poet A. Mickiewicz, which was translated into Ukrainian by the well-known poet Maksym Rylsky.

The campaign carried out by the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine also included the religious sphere. It was decided that the Church should in future occupy a more influential position in the cultural life of the Ukrainian people, as had been the case in former times. Hence a special ecclesiastical section, headed by Volodymyr Chekhivsky, was formed in the SVU²⁾

THE SVU AND THE SOVIET NATIONAL POLICY

The Soviet Russian national policy met with fierce opposition on the part of the Ukrainian people. Hence there were in Ukraine two hostile and conflicting trends, — the national and the Russian Communist trend. In this connection we solely wish to refer to the opposition of Shumsky and Maksymovych in this respect and to the notorious conflict of the Ukrainian writer Khvylyovy with the Russians. As already mentioned, the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine aimed to protect Ukrainian cultural life against Russian Communist influences. The main watchword of this self-defence stressed that the Ukrainian people wanted to be their own masters in their state and to enjoy their national rights, whereas the Soviet Russian national policy sought to assimilate Ukraine not only in political but also in cultural respect with so-called Soviet culture, which is nothing but Russian culture.

In order to undermine the Ukrainian national movement, the Soviet Russian government drew up an extensive programme which purported to "protect" the national minorities in Ukraine. Allegedly

²⁾ The fate of the Ukrainian Church in Soviet Ukraine is dealt with at length in the article by Dr. Lev Mydlovsky in this book.

in order to do justice to the latter's rights, a decree was issued to the effect that the Ukrainian language was to be regarded as equal to the languages of the other "minorities," which actually set the Russian language on a par with the Ukrainian language. At the same time, the Jewish colonization in Ukraine and the forcible deportation of Ukrainians to Siberia and the Far East resulted in a constant growth of nationalist feeling in Ukraine. The accused Matushevsky, for example, testified that the majority of Jews in Ukraine advocated the principle of an indivisible Russia. As can be seen from the testimony given by Pavlushkov, Yefremov, too, regarded most of the Jews as supporters of the idea of an indivisible Russia, which was disguised by the name of USSR, and thus came to the logical conclusion that they were opposed to Ukrainian independence. Hence Yefremov and other members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine regarded the future development of Ukrainian-Jewish relations somewhat pessimistically. The reason for this attitude was not only the fact that the head of the Ukrainian state, Symon Petlura, was murdered by a Jewish Communist Schwarzbart, but also the Soviet Russian policy of that time favouring the Jews and the residence of the majority of the Jews in Ukraine. For this reason Pavlushkov, in giving testimony during the trial, expressed his fears that these conditions might result in an anti-Jewish attitude in Ukraine. At the same time, Yefremov and other accused stressed that they were not anti-Semites and that the Ukrainian people did not harbour anti-Semitic feelings. The accused merely sought to emphasize the fact that Ukrainian national feeling had been insulted and abused as a result of the above-mentioned conditions.

The Soviet Russian national policy also evoked a fairly violent reaction in Ukraine against the Russians.

The accused Zalisky expressed the opinion that it would be advisable to set up high mountains along the northern frontier of Ukraine in order to protect this country against the political and cultural influence of Moscow. Similar anti-Russian sentiments were also apparent in the testimony given by other accused. On the strength of all these facts, the conclusion can be drawn that the Soviet Russian national policy resulted in strong anti-Russian feeling in Ukraine. If one considers the entire Soviet Russian national policy, which aimed to effect a complete centralization and sought to hamper or destroy the Ukrainian national element in Ukraine, then one cannot fail to realize why this policy aggravated relations between the Ukrainian and Russian peoples. This fact was particularly obvious in the mock trial in Kharkiv.

THE SVU AND THE POLES

In the course of the trial the Soviet Russian prosecution did its utmost to produce evidence to prove that both the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine as well as the entire Ukrainian liberation

movement in Ukraine were in the pay and service of big landowners in Poland. Public Prosecutor Mykhaylyk affirmed in his speech that the SVU had set its hopes not only on a revolt in Ukraine but also on help from other states. In particular it had hoped for help from Poland and Germany, since its members had been firmly convinced that in the event of a revolt in Ukraine against the Soviet Russian power one or other of the states would come to the aid of the Ukrainians. Finally, attention had been focussed on an orientation towards Poland, which was allegedly well-disposed towards the freedom idea of the Ukrainian people. In addition, the SVU could have expected effective military aid from Poland since it was a neighbouring state of Ukraine. Public Prosecutor Mykhaylyk even tried to produce evidence to prove that the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine had actually sought to set up a "federation with fascist Poland." This view was also expressed by Lyubchenko, who tried to prove that the SVU had opposed the Soviet Russian plan to industrialize Ukraine since it had wanted to preserve the former agrarian status of Ukraine. All this was allegedly done for Poland's sake, since Polish industry needed Ukraine not only as a customer for Polish products but also as a prolific source of raw materials. The Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, so the prosecution stressed, wanted "to sell Ukraine to Polish fascism, which was to become its true ruler."

It is interesting to note that neither Yefremov nor any other accused made a secret of their attitude to Poland, but stated that they did not wish Ukraine to be subordinated to Poland in any way whatever, particularly not as Ukraine would then be degraded to the status of a Polish colony. When Yefremov was asked by the Public Prosecutor whether he was not of the opinion that Petlura and his supporters had fought not for an independent Ukraine but for Ukraine's subjection to Poland, he replied that he was convinced that Petlura had fought for the liberation and independence of Ukraine, even though some of the methods applied by Petlura had perhaps not been right. From all the anti-Polish views expressed by the Soviet Russian prosecution only one conclusion could be drawn, namely that the prosecution was intent upon creating the impression that the Ukrainian liberation movement was a Polish plot to weaken Russia and that this liberation movement was by no means popular in Ukraine.

THE VERDICT

On April 17, 1930, proceedings closed. The court adjourned in order to reach a verdict. The judges conferred for two days. On the evening of April 19th, the verdict was pronounced. Thirteen of the accused — Yefremov, Chekhivsky, Durdukivsky, Hermayze, Nikovsky, Starytska-Cherniakhivska, Hrebenetsky, Cherniakhivsky, Hantsov, Pavlushkov, Barbar, Udovenko and Pidhayetsky — were

sentenced to death, but "in view of the political and economic power of the Soviet government" the court decided that it was possible not to execute the sentence but to commute it into a penal sentence of 8 to 10 years. After serving their sentence the accused were to be deprived of their civic rights for a period of 2 to 5 years. The remaining accused were sentenced to imprisonment for 2 to 5 years. In the case of nine of the accused sentence was qualified. In addition, 11 of the accused were to be expelled from Ukraine after having served their sentence.

This verdict can be criticized from two different aspects. If one takes into consideration the daily judicial practice of the Soviet Russian courts, which sentence people to death for the least form of resistance or opposition, then this verdict was undoubtedly very mild. This clemency can only be explained by the fact — as was, incidentally, stressed by defence counsel Ratner — that the Kharkiv trial attracted the attention of the free world. Hence it would have been unwise to execute prominent Ukrainian scholars, for such a measure would have compromised the Soviet Russian national policy too seriously.

If one regards this verdict from the point of view of the legal standards of civilized peoples, however, one is bound to admit that it was undoubtedly extremely severe and most unfounded. For many of the accused were by no means young when they were sentenced to years of imprisonment, which in their case was thus equal to life-sentence³⁾

The political significance of this mock trial lies in the fact that in the course of a six weeks it clearly revealed the manner in which the Soviet Russian government seeks to combat the national development of Ukraine. It is thus hardly surprising that this trial made a deep impression on the Ukrainian population both in Soviet Ukraine and elsewhere. It was, however, of particular significance inasmuch as it determined political feeling in the Ukrainian territories occupied by Poland. As a result of the Kharkiv mock trial feeling there and amongst the Ukrainians all over the world became even more strongly anti Soviet and anti-Russian. And proof of this fact can be seen from the mass demonstrations held in Volhynia, Galicia, and Polissia, and also in the USA and Canada, etc., as well as from the protest resolutions which were published in the Ukrainian press.

³⁾ Immediately after the trial all the persons sentenced were taken to an unknown destination where they died as martyrs. Such was socialist justice in practice in Stalin's era and it is still the same today.

Dr. Mykola Kovalivsky

COLLECTIVIZATION AND STARVATION OF THE FARMERS

THE WAR FOR THE UKRAINIAN GRAIN

The Soviet Russian national policy can be divided into three different periods

The initial period coincides with the war of conquest during the years 1919 to 1922. This was the period of the military subjugation of Ukraine, the Caucasus, the Cossack territories and Turkestan. Russian Communism fulfilled its mission of reuniting the former Russian imperium under one watchword, which was indeed new in form and content but which, however, only differed outwardly from that of the Muscovite tsars, for this watchword was 'Back to the imperium!'

1923 saw the beginning of a new period of the so-called "positive" policy of Communism as regards the national problems, a period which was characterized by the linguistic nationalization of the Party and state apparatus, of the press, the schools and other spheres of public life. The purpose of this linguistic nationalization, as for instance the "Ukrainization" of Ukraine or the "White Ruthenization" of White Ruthenia, was to instil the Communist ideology into the broad masses and to dominate and control the culture of the peoples in question. The immediate result of this nationalization process in Ukraine was a political ferment, since the watchword of the cultural rule of Communism over Ukraine developed into a struggle for the Russian cultural hegemony.

After this period of ferment, which has gone down in the annals of the Communist Party history of Ukraine as Ukrainian opposition, the Soviet regime refused to pursue a policy of further concessions and also to make linguistic or cultural concessions. At the same time,

all spheres of life, the political, economic and cultural sectors alike, were centralized. Thus, by degrees the autonomous rights of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic were restricted, and the constitutional order, which so far had been based on the principle of federalism in accordance with the federation treaty, which in its turn constituted part of the structure of the USSR, was unified. The realization of the unification process which was effected in this way was merely a preliminary to the realization of the industrial Five-Year Plan and of the so-called collectivization of agriculture. These two far-reaching reforms demanded the services of a centrally controlled apparatus, which was to pave the way for a complete economic and administrative subordination of Ukraine, a country of the USSR which was richest in natural resources.

In view of the above-mentioned periods of the Soviet national policy, the fight for the national independence of Ukraine assumed certain characteristic forms.

Up to 1923 this fight was of a purely military nature and was characterized by victories and defeats. During the Ukrainization period the nationally conscious elements fought to gain influence in the political and cultural life of the country and in this respect legal methods were also applied. This fight was characterized by the following factors: disapproval of the Party policy by Ukrainian Communists, led by Shumsky and Maksymovych, fierce attacks by Ukrainian writers, headed by Khvylyovy, the deviations of the economic and in particular the cooperative organizations from the general Party line, and, lastly, opposition to the economic exploitation of Ukraine by the central authorities. The collectivization of agriculture decreed by Stalin not only aimed "to restore the agricultural order," but also pursued a purely political purpose, its aim was above all to effect an increasing proletarianization of the rural population and, furthermore, to deprive Ukrainian nationalism of its social and economic basis.

Under these circumstances the Ukrainian national idea was obliged to adapt itself to various situations, it became necessary to change the political fighting methods, but the aims of the fight remained the same. In the initial stages the demand for independence was expressed in literature, in the sciences and in art, occasionally it was also expressed in the form of disapproval within the Communist Party of Ukraine, in the further course of the demands for national independence the fight was confined almost exclusively to the economic sector, that is to say it was now transferred in particular to the rural districts. Soviet sources constantly reported fierce resistance on the part of the Ukrainian farmers against the state apparatus and its plans with regard to agriculture. This resistance spread not only to individual private agricultural enterprises but also to the collectives (kolkhozes), the latter, so Stalin hoped and

planned, were to become the grain factories and, at the same time, the foundations of Communism in the rural areas. The most obvious proof of the resistance of the Ukrainian farmers is furnished by the official statistical data on the delivery of grain to the USSR by Ukraine, it is clearly evident from these statistics that the big economic plans of the Soviet government with regard to Ukraine failed to materialize. According to these plans, Ukraine in 1932 and 1933 was to deliver on an average 35 per cent of its entire grain harvest to the USSR (i.e. of 1,000 million puds, about 350 million puds)*. The acts of sabotage in the agricultural sector already began during the spring-sowing, in spite of drastic measures on the part of the government, the farmers refused to sow seed on the entire arable land available. The direct result of these acts of sabotage was a decrease in the total area under cultivation of about 20 per cent as compared to previous years. During the harvest these acts of sabotage assumed even greater proportions. The Prime Minister of Soviet Ukraine, Chubar, who inspected a number of kolkhozes and held lectures there in order to win over the Ukrainian farmers for the development of the socialist economic system, stated on his return that he had seen whole swarms of kolkhoz workers in the fields of the kolkhozes who did not know what their duty was, they had been entirely demoralized, had simply abandoned their work and stolen the grain. At a Party conference in Kharkiv in November 1932, the Secretary-General of the Communist Party of Ukraine, Kosior, affirmed that Ukrainian agriculture had suffered serious losses. He calculated that these losses amounted to 300 million pud, that is, about the same amount of grain which Ukraine was to have produced for the USSR. As a result of these disastrous conditions, Ukraine, up to December 15th, had only delivered 56 per cent of its fixed quota, and, as the journal "Ekonomicheskaya Zhizn" ('Economic Life') reported, there was no prospect of this quota being fulfilled later on.

In order to understand the entire far-reaching significance of the opposition in the Communist Party of Ukraine, one must take into consideration the great agricultural catastrophe which began in 1930 and reached its climax in 1932.

It is an established fact that the introduction of the first Five Year Plan for the industrialization of the country in 1928 went hand in hand with the decision to collectivize agriculture. And this plan provided for a far more intensive collectivization of agriculture in Ukraine and in the North Caucasus than in the central and northern provinces of the USSR, that is to say in the Russian ethnographical territory itself.

The political motive of this reform was clearly evident. It was always a favourite idea of Stalin to destroy the social and economic roots of Ukrainian nationalism. Millions of privately owned farms

*) i.e. of 164 million metric tons about 57 million metric tons

could not be included by force in the narrow framework of the Communist reforms, and thus they were a constant threat to Communism in Ukraine. It was therefore necessary to carry out an artificial proletarianization of the farmers, and this was effected by the collectivization of agriculture.

The watchword of the collectivization of Ukrainian agriculture was regarded by the Communist rulers as a means of fighting the largest social class of the Ukrainian people, — the farmers. The introduction of collectivization brought with it a steady decrease in prosperity, resistance on the part of the Ukrainian farmers meant their physical extermination as a social class. Furthermore, collectivization resulted in complete disorganization in production, a fact which led to local riots on the part of the Ukrainian farmers against the Soviet regime. And since Ukraine was an occupied country these riots were crushed in the most brutal and ruthless manner. As a result of all these conditions and the general discontent which prevailed, some of the members of the Communist Party of Ukraine began to manifest a certain opposition. This, incidentally, explains the tension which now began to develop within the Party itself. In 1930 a terrible agricultural catastrophe commenced in Ukraine. In spite of the good harvest in that year, the quotas of grain to be delivered to the state were only fulfilled with considerable difficulty. Up to June 1, 1931, 461 million puds¹⁾ of grain were removed from Ukraine.

In that year, i.e. 1931, general collectivization already included 38 per cent of all the farms. At the same time, the number of machine and tractor stations (MTS) in Ukraine increased from 47 to 300, and the number of tractors increased from 15,000 to 25,000. In spite of all these improvements, however, the Soviet regime was obliged to reduce the quota of grain to be delivered to the state to 434 million puds. But even this quota could not be fulfilled.

By the following year — 1932 — already 73 per cent of the total number of farms were collectivized, the number of MTS²⁾ increased to 445 and that of tractors to 35,000. Various other measures were also introduced in order to ensure that the quota should be fulfilled. But the situation was so hopeless that the Soviet government was obliged to change its plan three times. Instead of the fixed quota of 1930, namely 464 million puds, only 355 million puds were now demanded, actually only 195 million puds³⁾ of grain were received by the end of 1932, and the Russian Communist regime only managed to exact this amount by force and by resorting to all sorts of drastic measures. Combatant groups of workers were formed and they were sent to the villages in order to obtain the grain. In spite of these drastic measures, acts of sabotage on the part of the farmers

1) 76 million metric tons (1 pud = 16.38 kilograms.)

2) MTS = Agricultural Machinery and Tractor Station.

3) 3.2 million metric tons.

continued to increase; they consisted for the most part in the farmers concealing the grain from the intermediaries of the regime, or if this was not possible, in simply leaving the grain in the fields until it rotted. In one of his speeches Kosior stated that in 1932 200 million puds¹⁾ of grain had been destroyed in the fields in Ukraine in this way. Consequently, a famine broke out in Ukraine in 1932.

In 1933 the Soviet government, alarmed at the disastrous state of affairs in Ukraine, sent Postyshev and Balytsky and a whole staff of "government sowers" there. It was Postyshev's task not only "to appease" Ukraine but also to restore "the agricultural order" there. In the first place he resorted to rigorous measures in order to collect all the grain that was left. This collection — it was known as "requisition to the death" — was carried out under the slogan of a "special reserve" for the spring-sowing. Not only the rural population but also the inhabitants of the towns were deprived of their last supply of grain.

This disastrous state of affairs was the result of all the reforms and innovations introduced by the Soviet government. The famine in Ukraine will always remain a dreadful example of the intentional physical extermination of the Ukrainian people by the Soviet Russian occupant. During the years 1930 to 1933, 6 million Ukrainians starved to death.

The fight for the grain of Ukraine was obviously also political in character. This is clearly evident from a resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine: it was stated in this resolution of November 18, 1932, that in a large number of rural Party centres, in particular during the harvest-season, "whole groups of Communists and individual leaders of these Party centres had obviously worked hand in hand with the wealthy farmers — the kurkuls — and with the so-called Petlurists (supporters of Petlura), a fact which had led to the Party organizations becoming exponents of the class enemy." (Quoted from the periodical "Kommunist.") This resolution, so it was pointed out, showed how necessary it was to carry out a new "purge" in the ranks of the Communist Party of Ukraine and to liquidate those elements that were sabotaging the delivery of the grain quotas in Ukraine to the state.

Thus the Soviet government began to carry out its purges not only amongst the non-Party population but also amongst the members of its own ranks. Exclusion from the Party meant that the person in question was immediately arrested and handed over to the GPU. In their editions of December 10, 1932, the periodicals "Kommunist" and "Proletarskaya Pravda" ("The Proletarian Truth") reported at length in their leading articles on these measures and expressed the opinion that the most drastic forms of punishment for "acts of sabotage against the interests of the proletariat" should be applied in the case of those elements in Ukraine that were opposed to Communism.

¹⁾ About 33 million metric tons

On December 6, 1932, the Soviet (council) of the People's Commissars of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic adopted an extraordinary resolution

In view of the disgraceful arrears in the delivery of grain to the state by individual districts of Ukraine the Soviet of the People's Commissars and the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine order the local Party and administrative authorities to put a stop to the acts of sabotage which have so far been carried out by the wealthy kurkuls¹⁾ and by the counter-revolutionaries. The resistance of those Communists who were the actual instigators of the acts of sabotage must also be broken in addition the passive and tolerant attitude of certain Party organizations must likewise be censured most emphatically. The Soviet of the People's Commissars and the Central Committee have decided to put all those places which participate in acts of sabotage on a black list and to adopt the following measures against them

1) Any town or village which participates in acts of sabotage shall immediately be prohibited from receiving any supply whatever of goods and from engaging in any form of trade. State and cooperative stores shall be closed down and all supplies of goods still on hand shall be removed

2) The sale of goods for ordinary consumption which was so far carried on by the kolkhozes and private farms shall be prohibited

3) Such towns and villages shall in future receive no loans whatever the loans already granted to them shall be withdrawn immediately

4) The composition of the administration and of the economic organizations must be carefully investigated as far as the individual persons employed there are concerned and all hostile elements must be eliminated

5) The counter-revolutionary elements that is persons responsible for acts of sabotage must be eliminated from the kolkhozes

In such cases the Soviet government, as can be seen from this resolution, applied the principle of collective responsibility or blame, just as occupation powers are wont to do in enemy territory during a war. These reprisals were a great hardship for the population of the 'dangerous' districts. The shifting of the centre of gravity of the Ukrainian-Russian conflict to the economic sphere is the most significant feature of the national conditions in the USSR at that time. Up to this point the interests of Russia and of Ukraine had clashed in the field of literature, science, political discussion and in the Party centres, although such clashes and differences were the source of ideological unrest, their significance nevertheless did not exceed the bounds of the political fighting sphere. But in 1930 this fight for material goods assumed a different aspect and developed into a struggle for daily bread. All the efforts undertaken hitherto by the Soviet government in order to destroy the vitality of Ukrainian nationalism and to deprive it of all its economic and social foundations must be regarded as a failure, in fact, they led to the very opposite results. The aggravation of Ukrainian-Russian antagonism and the shifting of the national problem from the level of theoretical discussions and ideological clashes to the level of the

¹⁾ Ukrainian equivalent of the Russian term kulak meaning a well-to-do peasant.

daily struggle for the material goods of Ukraine are a fairly convincing refutation of the allegation that the national problem of the USSR, in view of the effects of large-scale economic experiments, is no longer actual and only plays a very subordinate part in daily life.

MYKOLA SKRYPNYK'S SUICIDE

The radical change in the Soviet national policy found its expression in the sending of a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Postyshev, to Kharkiv and in the passing of a number of decrees which completely changed the course pursued hitherto in the Ukrainization process. This, incidentally, was one of the reasons for the personal catastrophes suffered by various Communists of Ukrainian nationality. In May 1933 the leading Communist writer of Soviet Ukraine, Mykola Khvylyovy, shot himself. Barely two months later, Mykola Skrypnyk, the influential Ukrainian Politbureau Member and People's Commissar of Education of Ukraine, followed his example. Their voluntary death reflected the disastrous events which occurred in Ukraine during the years 1932 to 1933. The tragedy of Mykola Khvylyovy was one of the many writers' tragedies; Skrypnyk's suicide, on the other hand, was symptomatic of the tragic situation in which a leading "old Bolshevik," an out-and-out Communist, a personal friend of Lenin and, at the same time, an advocate of his ideology in Ukraine, found himself.

The Commissar Skrypnyk played an unusual role in the life of Soviet Ukraine. As a co-founder of Soviet power in Ukraine, he played an active part in the so-called Civil War in the puppet government of Soviet Ukraine and in the Ukrainian branch of the Russian Communist Party. He was one of the founders of the Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks) of Ukraine and exercised general supervision over the Communist Party of West Ukraine which was then under the Polish rule. He furthermore took part as an expert in the drawing up of the first constitution of the USSR. In the Soviet state apparatus he held the post of People's Commissar of Justice and later that of People's Commissar of Education in Soviet Ukraine; finally, he was promoted to the post of Chairman of the Soviet of the Nationalities of the USSR. He distinguished himself as the author of numerous works on the Communist theory of the national problem, and also as a critic and publicist, a politician and Soviet statesman. In addition, he also belonged to the so-called old guard of the Bolsheviks, and in this capacity inspired and led the pro-Soviet movement in West Ukraine, which became known as the "Sovietophil trend."

The above-mentioned duties and functions exercised by Skrypnyk show that he was not just an average Soviet politician but that he was one of the outstanding leaders and organizers of the Soviet

regime. He certainly did not belong to the so-called fellow-travellers of the regime, as for example the former Borotbists with Shumsky as their head, who had gone over to the Communist Party from the left-wing of the national Ukrainian camp.

It was thus particularly significant that the suicide of this "old Bolshevik" (Skrypnyk at that time was over 60 years of age) occurred when a Party tribunal was convened in Moscow in order to deal with his case. He was to be called to account because of his "nationalist deviation," that is to say, he was to atone in keeping with the usual Muscovite methods in this respect.

It is interesting to note that numerous Party members had previously accepted this course in order to repent for their errors, as for instance Bukharin, Rykov, Radek and many others. Skrypnyk, however, preferred death rather than follow the example of his Russian colleagues. Perhaps it was the proverbial Ukrainian obstinacy which prompted him to choose this alternative? Or perhaps he did not want to see the destruction of his illusions at the end of his life, namely that Ukraine can only receive its freedom under the Soviet regime? He took the answer to these questions with him into the grave.

The above-mentioned reprisals became legally valid on the strength of the resolution passed on January 21, 1933, by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the non-fulfilment of the quota plan in Ukraine.

Although this economic failure was due to the openly hostile attitude and the acts of sabotage of the Ukrainian population, the central leadership in Moscow chose to hold the Ukrainian Communists and Skrypnyk as their leader responsible. This group had, incidentally, for some time been regarded as a chauvinistic and nationalist opposition in the Party. In order to eliminate all obstacles to the change in the economic course to be pursued in future, it was decided to carry out reprisals against anti-Party elements. And Skrypnyk paid for these experiments with his life.

After his death he was reproached with having carried on the fight against Russian chauvinism and Ukrainian nationalism without having achieved any success. It was affirmed that his attitude as regards this question had been fundamentally wrong, since he had only attacked Russian chauvinism and had reconciled Ukrainian nationalism with his ideological (Communist) conviction. In addition, he had, so it was stressed, put the national problem on a level with the problem of the liberation of the proletariat, and in doing so, had overlooked the fact that Lenin subordinated the national problem to the interests of the class conflict and regarded it as being of secondary importance. Moreover, he was accused of having falsely interpreted the Leninist theory, according to which the national problem is not regarded as an integral part of the theory of the class conflict. Furthermore, Skrypnyk had formed his own interpretation of the Stalinist theory on the union of all nationalities

and the formation of a universal language, which according to Stalin's opinion was only to be created after the realization of Communism in the whole world. According to Skrypnyk's view, the said Stalinist theory, in view of the non-realization of a world revolution, was of no practical significance. In order to solve this situation, so he affirmed, one should first of all further all national characteristics and not realize the idea of the union of all peoples until a later stage. This view held by Skrypnyk logically resulted in the watchword of national consciousness and solidarity in Ukraine. These reproaches against Skrypnyk and his suicide reflect the widely differing attitude to the national problem on the part of the Russian Communists on the one hand and the Ukrainian Communists on the other. The national policy pursued by Skrypnyk in Ukraine was in practice in direct opposition to Stalin's "universalism". Stalin regarded universalism from the aspect of the Russian element in it and was loyal to the Slavophil theory of Moscow as the Third Rome. He regarded Moscow as the bulwark of the world revolution and the theory of the Third Rome as the evolution of Russian culture to a proletarian and Communist "world culture".

POSTYSHEV AT WORK

After Postyshev's pacification of Ukraine, the Soviet government and the Communist Party continued to try to expose those elements in their ranks who were openly opposed to the Soviet national policy.

One of the most significant events of this period was the dissolution of the All-Ukrainian Union of Proletarian Writers and also of other writers' unions in Ukraine. The reason for this dissolution was the endeavour to found a new union, which was to include all Ukrainian writers and make them the servile megaphone of the "proletarian state". This innovation was, incidentally, introduced in all the Soviet Republics, even in the RSFSR (Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic).

After the national protests of a number of Ukrainian writers and publicists (Khvylyovy, Polishchuk, Sosyura, Shumsky, Volobuyev, Maksymovych), the Soviet regime and the Communist Party, still prompted by the desire to destroy the dynamic attraction of Ukrainian nationalism, introduced further reprisals, in addition extremely strict standards were enforced as regards all literary activity and thus many of the Ukrainian writers were deprived of every chance of publishing their works.

The reorganization of the Academy of Sciences must also be regarded as one of the significant events which were typical of this period, Moscow condemned the scientific activity of the greatest Ukrainian historian Professor Hrushevsky, and his school because it regarded the national problem as the axis of Ukraine's historical development. Professor Hrushevsky was, incidentally, exiled from Ukraine since the Soviet regime regarded his presence in Ukraine

as dangerous. Lastly, mention must also be made of the mass-arrests of Ukrainian settlers from West Ukraine. Amongst those arrested there were a number of prominent personalities from Galicia. Under the influence of Sovietophil sentiments, they settled in Soviet Ukraine. Many West Ukrainians had also remained in East Ukraine after the war. Some of them had accepted Communist ideas and had become Communists out of conviction, they worked and were active for the Soviet regime not from fear but from inner conviction — But when Muscovite chauvinism, disguised as internationalism, once more launched an attack against the Ukrainian element, the Galicians (West Ukrainians) were its first victims since the Russian Communist Party had not trusted them from the outset. Practically all the West Ukrainians who held leading posts in East Ukraine were liquidated one after another. Konar-Palashchuk, who held a leading position in the state publishing office (Gosizdat) and later in the Soviet state bank, was shot. Havryliv committed suicide, and a number of professors (Lozynsky, Rudnytsky, Chaykivsky) went into exile. In connection with the murder of Kirov in Leningrad mass-arrests were carried out in December 1934, and on December 25th of the same year the Galician journalists Ivan and Taras Krushelnytsky and Skazynsky were executed in Kyiv. The writers Kosynka, Vlyzko and Falkivsky were also executed with them, Antin Krushelnytsky, the leader of the Galician Sovietophil movement, was exiled. All these brutal reprisals, arrests, executions and cases of exile to the island of Solovki or to Central Russia were carried out on the strength of the accusation of nationalism and counter-revolutionary activity. Nothing could show more plainly than these constant reprisals that the fierce fight between Moscow and Ukraine never ceased and that the national problem continued to remain a dominant problem for the USSR.

THE BALANCE-SHEET OF PURGES

At a Party meeting in Kharkiv in November 1933 Postyshev stated that of the 125,000 members of the Communist Party of Ukraine, 27,400 had been expelled from the Party during 1933. About 1000 "Nationalist Petlurists" were expelled from the People's Commissariat for Education and its representative branches in the provinces. About 2000 persons were excluded from the cooperatives. And on account of "nationalist heresy" about 300 professors and lecturers were dismissed from their posts at academic institutes at the Academy of Sciences and the Institute for Marxism-Leninism.

At the general plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and its Control Commission, which was held from November 20 to 30, 1933, the First Secretary of the Central Committee, Kosior, held a speech, in which he gave an account of the political situation in Ukraine and stressed the fact

that the Bolsheviks were becoming lax in their vigilance. This he said was the main reason for the increasing counter-revolutionary actions of the nationalist elements in Ukraine. Actually this, so he pointed out, was a combination of two phenomena. On the one hand, there was the activity of the "purely counter-revolutionary elements," who to some extent also consisted of persons who had returned home from abroad. And, on the other hand, there was the activity and conspiracy of the nationalist opposition in the ranks of the Party, led by Skrypnyk. These two trends, he added, had united for the purpose of working for the cause of the "intervention." The leading role in the "counter-revolutionary" activity of the nationalists was played by such Party enemies within the Party as Volokh, Yalovy, Rychysky, Avdiyenko, Vasyl Sirko, Tur, and others. Kosior then went on to say that the leaders of the "counter-revolutionary" nationalist groups had succeeded in strengthening the ranks of their organizations during the repatriation of the Ukrainians from abroad in the years 1922 to 1923. Under the guise of the Bolshevik Ukrainianization, these elements had effected a "Petlurization" in the state apparatus. They had also furthered the development of Ukrainian "bourgeois" culture and, at the same time, with the aid of Polish and German state secret service organs, had prepared an armed revolt. The secret organization known as the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU) had been discovered and liquidated. Soon afterwards, so Kosior added, the nationalist activity of the Marxist historian Matviy Yavorsky in the ranks of the Party, who had falsified the history of the revolution in Ukraine, had been exposed. The so-called National Centre, led by Professor Hrushevsky, Hryts Kossak and M. Yavorsky, had likewise been exposed, as well as the "counter-revolutionary" nationalist organization headed by Shumsky, Solodub and Maksymovych, at the beginning of 1933. This organization, as Kosior pointed out, had been in contact with Colonel Konovalets, who was living abroad. In order to consolidate the activity of this group, the former Otaman of the Sich infantry, Bukshovany, had been sneaked into the ranks of the Communist Party of West Ukraine. In addition, an organization of the Ukrainian Socialist-Revolutionary Party, which was likewise aiming to create an armed "intervention," had also been discovered. The double game played by Skrypnyk, whose nationalist errors went back a fairly long way into the past, had eventually been exposed. By degrees he had gradually gone over to the nationalist camp and had found supporters in persons such as Ersteniuk, Yavorsky, Badan and others. Most of these persons, according to Kosior, were spies in the pay of foreign intelligence services.

A similar speech was held on this occasion by Postyshev. He stressed that the elimination of the errors committed and the realization of the Leninist national policy had a twofold purpose. The foremost task was the destruction of the national counter-revolution, which was being conducted from abroad by Konovalets,

Livyt'sky, Sheptyt'sky, Donzov, Skoropad'sky and others fanatics who advocated the secession of Ukraine from the USSR. Postyshev added that a counter-revolutionary group had for instance been active in the People's Commissariat for Agriculture for several years and that the members of this group had held high positions as administrative council members, departmental heads, etc., in this Commissariat. These persons had intentionally wormed their way into the agricultural administrative departments in order to sabotage the agricultural quotas of Ukraine and carry on their counter-revolutionary machinations. Similar conditions had also prevailed in the People's Commissariat for Education, where a considerable number of posts had been held by typical Petlurists such as Ozersky, Badan, Zozulyak, Koniv, Baran and Yavorsky. The same state of affairs also existed in the Academy of Sciences. But, so Postyshev affirmed, Ukrainian nationalism had been successfully wiped out there. The second task of the Party, according to Postyshev, was the exposure and elimination of Skrypnyk's nationalist deviation. Skrypnyk had gone to such lengths that he was prepared to attack everything that bore All-Union mark with bayonets. He aimed to bring about the disintegration of the USSR, and in this aim he shared the views of Yavorsky, Konoval's, and Skoropad'sky, as well as of the imperialist invaders. Skrypnyk's policy of the "forcible Ukrainization" of the school system, for which Shum'sky had been called to account, Postyshev added, had released various nationalist forces, which had secretly infiltrated into the socialist structure and were propagating nationalism and the secession of Ukraine from the USSR. At the close of his speech, Postyshev emphasized that it was almost impossible to assess the importance of the destruction of Skrypnyk's nationalist deviations high enough.

It is interesting to note that the main factor in the national problem continued to remain the cultural orientation of Ukraine towards the West. This problem, which had already been formulated by Khvylyovy five years earlier, was still as topical as ever. Ukraine continued to be a battlefield of ideas between East and West. Postyshev also indicated as much in his speech when he said that under the signboard of the VUAN (All-Ukrainian Academy of Sciences) works had been published which openly propagated chauvinism and the secession of Ukraine from the USSR; one could not fail to be surprised at this fact, so he added, if one bore in mind that Party functionaries and Academy members who belonged to the Communist Party held posts in the offices of the "UkrLit" (department of the People's Commissariat of Education responsible for literary affairs). It is an established fact that a work published by the Academy in 1933 actually contained the following passage: "Ukraine — apart from its relations to Asia — was always and still is today a cultural 'corner' of Europe. It is impossible to understand Ukrainian culture and art if one does not consider its relations to Europe."

The leading theoretician of the Communist nationality policy, Popov, who took part in the said session, expressed the opinion that the Ukrainian counter-revolution was oriented towards international imperialism. The Ukrainian counter-revolution, he added, was seeking support everywhere, but its strategic plans corresponded to those of the Polish and German fascists. These plans had as their aim the secession of Ukraine from the USSR. Indeed, this was the common aim of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO) and of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), of the Petlura government and of the various bourgeois West Ukrainian parties. The GPU, so he stressed, had inflicted a heavy defeat on the Ukrainian counter-revolution and its Polish and German instigators, but the Ukrainian counter-revolution had not yet abandoned its fight, it was resorting to other measures in its fight against the Soviet power and was carrying on a subversive activity under a false Communist banner. From this fact it could be concluded, according to the view expressed by Popov, that Ukrainian nationalism still represented the main danger in Ukraine.

After the speeches and the discussions which followed, the plenary session of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of Ukraine on November 29, 1933, passed an important resolution, which for the most part reflected all these accounts and statements. This resolution contained a short summary of the national opposition in the ranks of the Communist Party of Ukraine, which showed that the counter-revolutionary elements had infiltrated into the state apparatus and into the cultural and academic institutions in order to develop their nationalist activity from this vantage-ground. The resolution also stressed the revival of nationalism after Hitler assumed power in Germany. At the same time, it censured the treacherous activity of the leaders of the Ukrainian National Republic (UNR), of the Ukrainian National Democratic Union (UNDO), of the Ukrainian Social Revolutionaries, of Skoropadsky's group of monarchists, of the Metropolitan Sheptytsky and of Bishop Khomyshyn, as well as of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), led by Konovalts. In addition, the resolution stated that nationalist cells existed in the People's Commissariats for Education, for Justice and for Agriculture, as well as in the Party organs, and sharply condemned the activity of the former Commissar for Education, Skrypnyk, who, so it was affirmed, had endeavoured to undermine the cultural and economic relations between Ukraine and the USSR. Finally, the resolution stressed that Russian chauvinism — prompted by lust of power — no longer constituted the gravest danger for Ukraine, which was now Ukrainian nationalism. The resolution exhorted all members of the Communist Party of Ukraine to do their share in consolidating the relations between Soviet Ukraine and the USSR. It was pointed out that their main task consisted in rounding up Communists of Ukrainian origin for the purpose of training Party and administrative personnel, and that such candidates must give definite proof of their loyalty to the principles of the Leninist national policy.

The actual tasks of the Communist Party of Ukraine with regard to the national problem were formulated in detail by Kosior. He affirmed that the foremost task lay in the training of the masses in the international spirit and in the spirit of the militant revolutionary union of all peoples of the USSR. The second task was the training of a Ukrainian Bolshevik personnel for the state and economic apparatus who would remain loyally devoted to the cause of the construction of socialism. The third task consisted in the control and guidance of the press by Communists and in the political education of the masses. The fourth task was the consolidation of the authority of the People's Commissariat for Church Affairs and Education and also the activation of work in the academic institutes. The fifth task was the continuation of the fight against the 'bourgeois nationalist' ideology and the training of the necessary Communist scholars for this purpose. The sixth task consisted in the control and guidance of literature and art, whilst the seventh and last task was the Communist training and education of the national minorities in Ukraine.

If one analyses the statements and opinions expressed by the main speakers and also the above-mentioned resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, one is bound to conclude that the main factor of the national problem in Ukraine continued to be the fight against Ukrainian nationalism.

In January 1934 the Party congresses of the Communist Party of Ukraine and of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union convened. On both occasions various Party leaders in their speeches stressed the great significance of the year 1933 for the Soviet national policy in Ukraine.

From the speeches held by the Communist leaders it is obvious that the year 1933 occupied a special position in political and national respect and that exaggerated importance was attached to the work of the Soviet power in Ukraine in that year.

Referring to the tense situation in Ukraine, the chairman of the All-Ukrainian Executive Committee, Petrovsky, said at the 17th Party Congress: 'It was difficult to carry on the fight until a breakthrough in the national front could be effected. Formerly the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and the Party as a whole were obliged to put up with the criticism directed against them by the nationalist elements. Under the leadership of Kaganovich the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine refuted these attacks. But in recent times it was not easy for us to ward off these nationalist attacks, since the chief aggressor was an old Bolshevik, Skrypnyk, and he was backed up by the nationalist rabble that was making plans to attack the Soviet Union'. As can be seen from this statement, Petrovsky viewed the possibility of defeating the nationalist-minded members of the Party with some pessimism. He added, however, 'the help of the Central Committee and the sending of well-known Party members to aid us came in

the nick of time We now eliminate every failure in the economic sector in time, and the GPU, led by Comrade Balytsky, exposes and liquidates the counter-revolution" But all this indicates that the Communist Party of Ukraine was itself not in a position to counter the nationalist forces effectively. It was only "help" from Moscow that enabled it to gain the upper hand once more

Seen chronologically, it became obvious in December 1932 that neither the quotas for the delivery of grain to the state, which had already been reduced three times, nor any other economic plans could be fulfilled On January 11, 1933, Stalin held a lengthy speech before the plenum of the Central Committee and the Central Control Commission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on the work in the rural areas, he stressed that the main difficulty which the Party was obliged to face lay in its fight with the farmers regarding the grain to be delivered to the state, and, in particular, in its fight with the Ukrainian farmers, amongst whom former "Petlurists" still exercised considerable influence in the kolkhozes and who had adopted new tactics of "subversive undermining"

Thereupon the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sent an experienced and well-trying group of Communists to Ukraine, they were headed by Postyshev and accompanied by the former chief of the GPU, Balytsky, who for the past two years had been Menzhinsky's deputy in Moscow With his aid, Postyshev succeeded in frustrating all attempts at acts of sabotage on the part of leading Ukrainian Communists within two months' time, but it was not until March 1933 that the henchmen sent from Moscow were at liberty to concentrate their attention on Skrypnyk and his group

These purges assumed proportions hitherto unheard of in Ukraine Life became increasingly difficult for the Ukrainian Communists

In addition to preventive and repressive methods, a number of positive measures were also introduced which represented a further milestone in the Soviet national policy The decree issued in 1926 on the equality of the languages of the minorities and the Ukrainian language in practice now meant the re-introduction of the Russian language in public life Ukrainization measures, on the other hand, particularly amongst the workers, were reduced considerably This fact is obviously a contradiction of the theory of the Soviet national policy, namely that the proletariat shall play a considerable part in the construction of Ukrainian socialist culture In the school system, for example, the so-called school plebiscite was introduced, according to which the children themselves were to decide in which language they wished to be taught, and lastly, as the crowning-point of the new course that was now adopted, the capital of the Ukrainian Soviet Republic was transferred from Kharkiv to Kyiv, that is to say from the industrial to the agricultural centre of Ukraine The reason for this transfer was that the Ukrainization could not be prohibited or limited in the town in which the government of the

Ukrainian Soviet Republic had its official seat. After the government had been transferred to Kyiv the Russian language could be given the same status as the Ukrainian language in the industrial centre of Ukraine.

In conclusion, mention must be made of the fact that in spite of Postyshev's reprisals and the introduction of all these new trends as regards the national policy, conditions remained and still continue to remain unchanged fundamentally. National discontent was still evident and prevails to this day; nationalist forces come to the fore again and again, and there is no indication whatever that the year 1933 brought about any alleviation or stabilization of the general situation. A new type of Ukrainian has developed; an individual who is conscious of his national interests, whose national feeling overcomes the Communist ideas forced upon him; an individual who is prepared to carry on the daily fight for the national idea, who applies entirely new methods and measures in this fight; an individual with an entirely new psychological attitude and entirely new views, who has only one aim, — namely the gradual but nevertheless inevitable liberation of Ukraine.

V. P.

UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUAL VICTIMS OF BOLSHEVIST TERROR

I

The Bolshevik Revolution which broke out on 7 November*) 1917 has, according to the official Communist Party nomenclature, been called the Proletarian Revolution. This should mean that a definition of the October Revolution, besides noting the chronological event, should also include a social reference. But of what kind? Should it imply that the purpose of revolution was to solve the principal social problems, improving the living conditions of the working people, and eliminating social injustice and social oppression?

In one of H. Kosynka's stories, written in the early twenties, a Ukrainian farmer complains as follows: "It would seem that now the government is ours, and the order is ours, but yet all is as it used to be before. We rid ourselves of the great lords, but there were bred many small ones that suck people's blood. You plough and you do not see any better days. There was the Tzar — we had to work, the Soviets have come — we have to work, and the "lords," clad in silks, stroll in their gardens as they used to do."

The farmer whose complaints H. Kosynka recorded at the time knew as did millions of other farmers, that he had been cheated. But the complaints were in vain. The famine in the Volga district and in Ukraine in 1921/22, the organised famine in Ukraine in 1933, terror, concentration camps, misery during every year of Soviet rule, are the best proofs that Soviets have never cared and have never intended to care, not even in the least degree, for the improvement of the lot of the working man. To care for him has never been a part of Soviet social policy.

*) In the Julian Calendar 26 October

Lenin mocked maliciously at such "magnanimous illusions" He believed he could in very short time build up a Communist state by means of decrees and paper work, but he did not believe in social justice as the basis of a social order. Bolsheviki have never had a weakness for magnanimity.

Mankind! This has been provided for neither by statute nor by programmes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) Not the abolition of social evil and the removal of social oppression but, on the contrary, their intensification, not a change in the process characteristic of capitalist society but, on the contrary, its development to the utmost and to its final fulfilment — this is how bolshevism has understood its historical mission as the destroyer of capitalism

At the root of this political doctrine there lies an illusive and atrocious thesis that only through anti-social measures would it be possible to achieve social improvement The "social" has been reserved for future generations while the diet for the present one is the "anti-social" What the future is to be is a question of belief, as to the present — the peoples under Soviet rule have lived in anti-social conditions of misery, oppression and constant fear

THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT AND THE FARMERS

M Khvylyovy, who during the civil war took an active part in the armed struggle on the side of bolshevism, later wrote a passionate story about a Ukrainian Communist who killed his mother — Ukraine From a different aspect and in a different interpretation this story has been the fruit of the same moods of the masses as are pictured in the story by H Kosynka "It would seem that now the government is ours, and the order is ours, but yet all is as it used to be before"

The characteristic trait of all bolshevist slogans is their ambiguity While denying magnanimity as a political principle, the bolsheviks have at the same time readily used the magnanimous credulity of the masses Bolsheviki have always been matchless masters at the art of juggling with slogans They have never been pacifist, but they proclaimed the slogan "Peace for the Cottages" in order to seize power, and, after doing away with the palaces, they altered "War on the Palaces" to "War against hovels"

Bolsheviki have never approved of land distribution reform However, with the slogan "Land for the Working People" — of the Socialist Revolutionary Party — they assured themselves of support from the farmers at the most critical time of the struggle for power, 1917-21 In the following period they suddenly gave this slogan quite a different meaning, using it against the so-called kurkul (kulak), i.e. well-to-do peasant The main thesis of bolshevik social policy towards the farmers has not been improvement in their economic situation,

but its aggravation, not the granting of land, but its forfeit, not strengthening farmers as a social class, but their destruction and conversion into landless, economically insecure peasants — i.e. changing them into proletarians, changing them from owners of the 'means of production,' land, buildings, vehicles, into industrial workers who possess no property and who work as hired labour

As a matter of fact, there is nothing new in this. In enforcing the policy of proletarianisation of the farmers, and their economic expropriation, thus achieving a concentration of property, bolshevism merely carried to the extremes the trend of the capitalist world, all these processes being leading tendencies of the capitalist social order. Bolshevism took over the anti-social functions of capitalism with respect to farmers, with this difference, however, that in capitalist society they were purely economical in character, whereas in bolshevik society they have been the political and administrative means applied by force on farmers by the Communist state. It must be added that this forced proletarianisation and expropriation were accompanied by mass forced resettlement and physical extermination.

In official language this bolshevik policy has been called the "Liquidation of the Kurkul (i.e. wealthy farmer) as a social class, on the basis of the collectivisation," but in actual fact it embraced all farmers, since the dispossession of the "kurkul" was not applied only to him but to all other farmers as well. Thus the land has been taken away not only from the more wealthy, but from all, regardless of their social status and social security.

The Soviet social policy towards farmers has not been one of social peace, but of social war. It has been directed against the farmer, and has been a policy of terrorism and destruction without exception or pity. Violation of elementary human rights has become a method, and terrorism a principle. There have been no limits to Soviet atrocity nor to Soviet rage in dealing with farmers. So, when we speak of the ruinous factor in bolshevism, we have in mind not only the sum total of all repressions, expropriations, deportations and executions applied to farmers, even not only the organised famine of 1933 which was a result of that policy, but the very being and purpose of bolshevism itself for the foundation of bolshevism is not acknowledgement or acceptance, but negation, not the creative spirit of peace, but the destructive influence of negation designed to become universal.

In the first place, bolshevism has not given its theses "abolition of classes" and "establishment of classless society" any cultural or economic meaning, but the literal and concrete sense of physical annihilation. Towards its classless society strode bolshevism through an ocean of blood. The slogan of destruction was interpreted in the merciless and hideously bare sense of the word. Bolshevik social policy was anti-social in character.

Millions of farmers became victims of the slogan "Liquidation of the Kurkul as a Class," which hid a broader meaning behind its outward form. As the result of this policy in many villages, and

sometimes in whole regions of Ukraine, there were no farmers left at all some were repressed, others deported to Siberia, others again died from starvation or emigrated to towns, some simply ran away. The picture of ruined Ukraine contained in the so-called "Livelihood Books" of the Muscovite State of the seventeenth century was to be seen in Ukraine of the twentieth century. The rural population of this agricultural country that had once been a grain store for almost the whole of Europe was starving at the doors of the town bakeries Desperate cases of cannibalism occurred, houses were nailed up with boards Future research workers compiling the "Livelihood Books" of the thirties of our century will note down that as a result of the liquidation of the "kurkul" and of collectivisation, there were, in some villages of Ukraine — for example, the Uman district — none of the farmers families left at all, and the villages had to be repopulated by bringing farmers from Vinnytsia district and from Podillya They will further note that, in Kyiv district, the farmer families that survived the famine of 1933 were not allowed to stay in their own houses, for a proletarianised farmer could not be left in his father's house The feeling for property, the links with the homestead, were rooted out systematically and completely

The notion of one's own home has become out-dated in Ukraine

BOLSHEVISM AND THE INTELLECTUAL

Soviet policy with regard to the intelligentsia did not differ from that applied to farmers The slogan "Proletarianisation of the Farmer" was supplemented by that of "Proletarianisation of the Intelligentsia" This meant that the intelligentsia as a separate social group was to be abolished, and the proletariat should fill the vacant place The difference between the manual worker and the intellectual worker was to be destroyed

The epoch of spiritual rebirth which had replaced the Middle Ages advanced learning and science Physical strength became opposed by intellect, violence by education, and all-embracing dogma by knowledge and the will to criticise and probe Education, not birth into a social class, or wealthy class, began to determine the social position of the individual With education, a person might cross social barriers The process of historical development led to the formation of a separate social class — the intelligentsia, which, in turn led to a sharp division of the population into manual and intellectual workers It may be said that the next and most important problem to be solved in our epoch the twentieth century, is the removal of the differences and contrasts between physical and intellectual work

Attempts of the bolsheviks to solve this particular problem were typical of their method They incorporated brutality, atrocity and a chaotic haste The enlightened way of solving this problem by

means of the gradual extension of education applied by the democracies, was opposed by the typical bolshevik way of imposing administrative regulations by and on the initiative of the party and organs of the state. The removal of contrasts between manual and intellectual worker was replaced simply by the removal of the latter. The elimination of contrasts ended in the destruction of the intelligentsia. Thus was the policy towards the intelligentsia the same as that applied to farmers' repressions, mass resettlement, mass extinction.

PROLETARIAT SUMMONED TO REPLACE INTELLIGENTSIA

The process of the removal of educational differences between the proletariat and the intelligentsia, or the proletarianisation of the latter, began in the early years of the existence of the Soviet regime. The first step was Lenin's decree of 1919, annulling all diplomas, scientific degrees, titles, school certificates, and so on. It was maintained that proletarian origin should replace education, intellect, and experience. Skilled labour was not taken into consideration at all.

It was Lenin who advanced the thesis about the cook called to manage the state. And not only the state, but art, literature, scientific research, trusts, factories and the like. People with party membership cards — on account of their membership alone — were appointed directors of mills, collective and state farms, meteorological stations, bacteriological institutes. They were bank managers and directors, judges, captains of ships, commanders-in-chief of entire fronts. It mattered not who they might have been yesterday or who they might be tomorrow: he who was once a machinist was appointed manager of a laundry and bathing establishment, or again he might be sent to supervise the delivery of agricultural products and later on to head some geological or archaeological expedition of the Academy of Science. The individual was losing his identity. He was becoming an impersonal function of the party machinery, mechanically moved from one section of the social life to another. Nobody saw any objective reasons why the holder of a party membership card should do one job rather than another: the individual was supposed to be universal, and, thus being impossible, he became nothing.

It may be noted that the former machinist, locksmith, or turner, now appointed director of a big trust or mill or scientific research institute might hardly be able to sign his name. Yet he was obliged to direct the establishment without any professional education or training. Some standard phrases from the party literature and some technical terms picked up at random was all he had in place of intellectual and scientific equipment. Naturally, he followed the line of least resistance. Conferences and speeches were substituted for work, presiding over assemblies and meetings covered his helplessness in administration and his ignorance in management.

If one pictures a country for its first fifteen years following its destiny without competent managers, with bogus directors and foremen in industry, science, art and even the army — then that was the USSR. The country was decapitated. The legendary image of S. Dennis entering the city carrying his head in his hands is the best illustration of the situation in the Soviet Union after it lost its intelligentsia. The director of a trust, a mill or a scientific institution studying elementary mathematics with the help of a teacher in the morning and lecturing about the philosophy of Hegel before an audience consisting of professors and engineers at the evening meetings of his political club — of which he was the head — was considered a normal occurrence that surprised no one. And there was no risk the bolsheviks would not run. Factories and mills produced rubbish, research institutes published rubbish, economy deteriorated and so did financial affairs — big sums being spent to no purpose. Budgets and bureaucracy grew together, the population starved, battles were lost and yet the principle triumphed: the principle of party leadership.

Social descent and the number of one's party membership card to be inserted in columns of personal questionnaires left little room for blanks on education, professional training and experience in one's job. A university student in his first or second term who became rector of that very institution would occasion little surprise, nor would an engine driver appointed director of the Academy of Science, Institute of Archaeology or a person with small attendance at evening courses heading the Institute of Ukrainian Folklore of the above-mentioned Academy.

Disdain for practical knowledge and respect for amateurism became principles. A modest gardener from Kozlov, Michurin, was hailed as a pillar of science. Academician Vavilov, a botanist of world-reputation, was on the other hand opposed by a nobody, Maria Demchenko, while agronomist Lysenko, without any intermediate degrees, was made a full member of the Academy of Science and appointed Director of the Peter Rozumovsky Agricultural Academy. And there have been no results upon bolshevik social policy in one of his speeches. Molotov mocked at the projected taming and domestication of foxes while at the same time the agronomist Tsarin was praised for his proposition to cross wheat with other plants.

THE SCHEME TO DESTROY UKRAINIAN INTELLECTUALS

Every social and political slogan in the Soviet Union has been an appeal to bring about destruction of some kind. No political measure of the Soviet Government has ever been enforced other

than by means of mass terrorism — Katyn and Vinnytsia were not exceptions, but the rule. Mass shootings have been a characteristic of the times. Terrorism and politics in the Soviet Union have become synonymous. But nowhere have these ruinous tendencies of bolshevism appeared more clearly and with such inevitable finality than with regard to Ukrainian intelligentsia. From the very beginning of the Soviet State and ever since that time bolshevism has been engaged busily destroying Ukrainian intellectuals — planning the destruction in gradual waves and with inexorable intent. With the exactitude of a perfect mechanism the huge Kremlin mincing-machine has worked on the thousands, tens of thousands, and hundreds of thousands of persons who have incorporated within themselves the spirit, the intellect, and the conscience of the Ukrainian people. From the most outstanding to the ordinary, from the ingenious creator, the politician, philosopher, writer, scientist of world repute to the most humble, passive and indifferent white-collar employee with no pretensions whatever, political or otherwise, and independently of whether they were representatives of the older generation and were active before the Revolution, or whether they were the younger ones born after the Revolution and bred, educated and raised by it — the Ukrainian "intellectual" of any age, social origin, conviction and relation to the Soviet Government, has been doomed.

Tens, hundreds, thousands of good, renowned names worthy of the highest praise and esteem — archaeologists, historians, linguists, musicologists, ethnologists, folklorists, specialists in musical folklore, lexicographers, dialectologists, specialists in Ukrainian syntax, editors of literary magazines, pedagogues, jurists, translators from ancient and modern languages, copyreaders, bookkeepers, agronomists, veterinaries, teachers, film producers, cinema operators, playwrights, professors, assistant professors and lecturers, librarians, poets, novelists, painters, photographers, architects, all these people of varied standing and varied profession, all of them representatives of Ukrainian cultural and administrative life, met the common fate: imprisonment, deportation, and death.

THE TRIALS

At the end of the twenties, on the borderline between the NEP and the "period of building-up a classless society," there were three big political trials: the trial of the SVU (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine), the Shakhty trial, and the trial of the "Industrial Party" (Prom-Partiya). The aim of those trials was, first, to compromise the intelligentsia politically, and secondly, to prove that it was necessary to remove the intelligentsia from all the spheres of action where it had remained during the NEP, and accordingly to prove that it was necessary to replace the intelligentsia, which "obstructed the building-up of a socialist society" by means of acts of sabotage, by reliable promoted workers devoted to the cause of the proletariat, by bench-workers, by people with the Party-membership card.

Like all subsequent trials in the USSR, the above mentioned ones were organised in the "selective" way. 20-30 people were in the dock, while dozens, thousands, hundreds of thousands were kept behind the curtain. After their arrest they disappeared without any mention. Although every Soviet citizen expected that he might be arrested on any day, at any hour, still every arrest would come unexpectedly. The searching of his house was, of course, a mere formality, like the avowal of crimes provided for by articles 58 and 59 and by numerous paragraphs added to them, and only formally confirmed later.

What was it that was understood by 'crime' in the Soviet Union? Individual guilt was clearly of no consequence at all.

YEVHEN PLUZHNYK

We repeat: Individual guilt was of no consequence. Of what special guilt could there be question in the case of Yevhen Pluzhnyk?

One of the latest critics writes about Ye Pluzhnyk that "his three collections of poems belong to the highest achievements of modern Ukrainian poetry." Rejecting the brutal Soviet reality the poet resorted to philosophy, to himself, hence some breath of resignation and pessimism, but that is just a characteristic proof of his creative enthusiasm under conditions entirely non-inducive to poetry.

In his life he behaved cautiously and stood aloof. He was even-tempered, quiet, as if absent-minded. He was rather silent. He was unwell, suffering from tuberculosis. He usually wore an overcoat. He coughed slightly, as if undecided, and stooped.

The collection of his poems under the title *Rivnovaha (Equilibrium)* which he had prepared for the press, and which bore the date 'Kyiv 1933' remained unprinted because the poet was already arrested by that time. A glance at that collection of poems published in the fourth volume of *Ukrainsky Zasyv (Ukrainian Seed)* only ten years later in 1943, would be enough to show Pluzhnyk's complete indifference to politics.

In the collection there are no attacks on Soviet reality, nor is there any servile flattery. In the years when the disgusting Soviet servility, so typical of the time of Postyshev in Ukraine, flourished, Pluzhnyk made no concessions: he did not flatter anybody. In spite of the fact that writers were faced with the choice "either or," Pluzhnyk did not exhibit any tendency to Sovietisation. He behaved very correctly and with restraint. He was a poet, was it not enough?

He believed in his self-sufficiency and in his closed poetical world in which he lived. He has created a series of matchless poems of the narrative genre where pictures and images of the social history of Europe pass in his imagination one after another.

He amused himself with the story of Abelard and Heloise. In dim and exuberant lines he speaks of the candles by Heloise's coffin and about the pale and cold hands of her whom Abelard loved ardently all through his life. He makes one think of Hamlet and Ophelia. He considered himself to be an heir and participant of European culture.

The author could be reproached with some estrangement from life because he had no sense of the future and could not find a place for himself in it, but — with the exception of this — neither the collection *Rivnovaha* nor the poetical activity of Pluzhnyk on the whole gave occasion to arrest him and still less to sentence him to be shot.

Nevertheless, he was arrested and sentenced. True, they did not shoot him, they commuted the maximum penalty into ten years' exile. But it was only a meaningless play on the dead formulas of "paper" jurisdiction because ten years' stay in the Far North, under the hard conditions of the polar climate, dirt and stink of the half-starved life of the people confined in barracks, spelled death for a man suffering from tuberculosis.

After six months' imprisonment on the Solovetskiye Islands Pluzhnyk died of tuberculosis. The commutation of the death sentence to one of banishment was only a fiction.

Pluzhnyk was liquidated although neither his literary works nor his activity on the whole gave occasion for that. If Europe now, as three decades ago, is faced with the menace of a new Bolshevik aggression, and people who do not realise the danger which threatens them find relief in the thought that they have not been active, they should not forget the unhappy fate of Yevhen Pluzhnyk who was only a poet, and nothing else, and who was liquidated nevertheless.

HRYHORIY KOSYNKA (1899-1934)

The fate of H. Kosynka was no less tragic.

The person, the talent, the psychological motivation behind the act — all this lost its meaning from the moment that the Bolsheviks proclaimed the slogan of class struggle, and the focus of attention was transferred from the individual to the class. The fate of the individual depended upon the class to which he belonged.

The slogan of the "Liquidation of the Kulak as a Class," proclaimed in the years 1929-30 in the name of complete collectivisation, became at the same time a slogan of the liquidation, the removal from the literary sphere of those writers, to whom the Soviet critics, with the fury of rabid dogs, began more and more persistently with the onset of the thirties to attach the name of "Kulak" or, as it meant in Soviet journalism of that time, "bandit." Let us not forget that such a designation was at the same time a formula for political accusation.

In Soviet criticism at the end of the twenties, the name of Kosynka was always referred to in association with those two epithets. It was a warning which could be interpreted as a threat.

The most talented Ukrainian novelist of the twenties Hryhoriy Kosynka, stepped from his village background directly into the field of Ukrainian literature. He published his first book *Na buryakakh* (In the Beet Field) in 1919. At the beginning of the twenties he resembled a village boy, his coat was that usually worn by clerks in rural communities, he was strong, thickset, quick to respond, of an accurate judgement, and had hands which before taking up the pen had known how to handle not only the scythe and the flail, but also the sawn-off rifle. He carried with him the atmosphere of the steppe, the sun, the night winds, and the sunset glows, from the time of the national war which the people of Ukraine waged against the Russian Bolsheviks during the years 1918-21.

The records of the national war, in which Kosynka was directly involved, determined the contents of his first novels 'Bolshevism is the modern method of enslavement of the Ukrainian people by Russia — this opinion is evoked in the reader by the internal logic of Kosynka's artistic images,' writes one of the contemporary critics. In his novel *Temna nich* (Dark Night) Kosynka tells us how the village insurrectionists captured a Bolshevik commissar who had come to establish a commune among them, and shot him.

The stormy period had passed by. The sunset glows have receded. The peasant working his soil ploughs up a skull. He has recognised it: it is the skull of a Chinese Khodya who had been killed during the national war by a peasant bullet, had defended the achievements of the proletarian revolution in Ukraine, and given his life for a foreign cause. In complete indifference the peasant kicks aside the Khodya skull (*Holova Khody — Khodya's Head*).

The war is over. The peasant ploughs his soil. But the GPU celebrates its bloody victory over those who were involved in the national war. Those times are described in one of Kosynka's most powerful novels which has, however, remained unfinished, and was not published until recently (*Faust*), about a Ukrainian Faust, a leader of the peasant insurrection against the Bolsheviks, a peasant from Podillya, Prokip Konyushyna. The organ of investigation of the GPU demands that he should confess the place of assembly of the insurgents committee. He is held for months in "a cell cold and wet, and dark as night." He is tortured and beaten, but refuses to confess. "Rest assured," he would say, addressing the wall of his cell, "Prokip Konyushyna has never been a traitor. I am ready to die like hundreds and thousands of others, but I shall never betray my country. I shall betray nobody, I shall never be a Judas!"

H Kosynka's novels convey a spirit of irreconcilability, the spirit of the national war. They are characterised by a sharp and bold laconism, a vividness of colour, tonal purity combined with a certain

freedom of ornamental and descriptive writing — the peculiarities of style which Kosynka inherited directly from the pictorial village tradition

Certainly, Kosynka's life under Soviet conditions was difficult, and his position as a writer was precarious "The censors are displeased with my book! They are very displeased," Kosynka wrote to his wife on 26 October 1924 "In principle they permit this publication, but intend to prohibit *Holova Khodi, Anketa (Form)*, the best of my novels" (9 December 1925) It was the time of the NEP and Kosynka's works were published and appeared in the newspapers

At the beginning of the thirties, along with the introduction of the process of proletarianisation of literature, when the slogan of unification of literature, though in its first R A P version, had been announced, Kosynka was suppressed The collection *Serise (Heart)*, which had already been printed, was withheld by the Government Department for Literature at the last moment Access to the literary sphere was denied to the poet "One can hardly expect to earn money through writing," wrote Kosynka on 22 October 1931

Kosynka was beset The pursuit developed from day to day "The pursuit, I think, must limit itself, but it seems that I am mistaken" "Nevertheless I am standing ground I am not losing it, anyone in my position might have lost it long ago," he wrote on 16 April 1932 At that time he earned additional fees by writing film scenarios which were never printed He became pale, losing his former robust complexion, his features greyed as if covered with the dust of fatigue Formerly he had been vehement and rough, but if he was now outwardly quieter it was the quiet of a nervous man His nerves could not tolerate any further strain

In 1934 an inaugural speech was given by Kulyk at the House of Writers in Kharkiv Kosynka participated in the discussion following the address And then he could no longer contain himself Instead of confining himself to the banality of forced declarations as was the case with others, he burst out into a torrent of complaints, protests With sharp and vehement fury he began to speak on the subject "Brother writers, in your destiny there is something fatal" He spoke about the fact that, under the conditions of a "socialist order," when the individual is held by the throat he is unable to create

It was not a speech It was a hysterical outbreak It was a spasm of hopelessness It was a cry of despair in the loneliness and emptiness of the dark The Communists responded to Kosynka's speech with whistless and cries of indignation From the dark corners of the gallery the writer was greeted with loud cheers

Soon afterwards, sometime in November 1934, he was arrested In the verdict were these words

'The court has ascertained that most of the accused have entered the USSR through Poland, and some of them through Rumania, having been directed to carry out a series of acts of terrorism on

the territory of the Ukrainian S.S.R. On their arrest revolvers and hand-grenades were confiscated from the majority of the accused."

The verdict was a phoney document. The whole argument — complete nonsense. None of those who were executed in accordance with the verdict, neither H. Kosynka nor D. Falkivsky, nor O. Vlyzko, nor R. Savchenko, with the exception of Krushelnytsky and his sons, had ever been in Poland or Rumania. As to the Krushelnytskys, they were the prey of their sentimental trustfulness. They had been Communists and came to Ukraine on the invitation of the Soviet Government.

MYKOLA KHVYLYOVY (1893-1933)

Literary incompleteness, impure and untidy language, a loose and unbalanced manner of writing, the chaotic blurr, a certain impressionistic vagueness ("in my works there is a drizzle" according to Khvylyovy's own statement), prove that we do not know a mature Khvylyovy from his writings, that we know Khvylyovy only at the initial stage of his creative work.

But, while in an estimate of the work of M. Khvylyovy as a prose writer there may be a certain and even considerable difference of opinion, there can be no doubt about the value of Khvylyovy as a certain figure in the Ukrainian literary movement of the twenties.

To what extent the pamphlets of Khvylyovy alarmed his contemporaries may be seen from the words of M. Mohylyansky who declared at one of the literary discussions: "our impression of Khvylyovy's articles was as if, finding ourselves in a sultry room where it was difficult to breathe, the windows were opened and the lungs suddenly began to inhale fresh air."

Our impression was that the wind had forced a passage into the house, rushed through the rooms, banged against the windows, the panes rattled, the glass rang. It was a joyful but terrifying experience!

O. Shumsky, a friend and adherent of Khvylyovy, describes the stages in development of the "literary discussion during the years 1925-27." "The literary discussion having begun with the speeches of Khvylyovy against graphomania and illiteracy in literature, so to speak, with the fight for quality, soon exceeded the bounds of the struggle for organisational principles, between "Pluh" (Plough) — "massovism" — and "Vaplite" — academism — and developed on the level of pure questions of principle (Europe or enlightenment), regarding the prospects of the development of Ukrainian literature and the whole social-cultural process."*

* See *Bilshovyk Ukrainy, The Bolshevik of Ukraine*, 1927, No 11, page 12.

Khvylovy took the part of those who contemptuously rejected primitive literature for the masses and provincial enlightenment, who spoke in support of the idea of a highly individualised culture elevated to the European level

In the person of Panteleymon Kulish, a 19th century Ukrainian writer, Khvylovy found a banner and a name necessary for the exact definition of his attitude In his collection of pamphlets (1925) under the title **Dumky proty techiyi** (Thoughts against the Current) Khvylovy wrote "as to an ideal revolutionary and citizen, there is none greater than Panko Kulish to be found He seems to be the only bright source of light shining out of a dark Ukrainian past He alone may be considered a real European, a man who most nearly approximates the type of the western intellectual" (page 53)

This is Khvylovy's central idea This is what most excited and perplexed him during those years "Psychological Europe — this is the Europe from which we must take our bearings! It is this Europe which will lead our art on the great and joyful way to the world's goal"

And then he outlines his ideas about psychological Europe 'Living man with his thoughts, will, and talents is a psychological category Living man is public life The classical type of public man has developed in the west Consequently one cannot imagine a social criterion without psychological Europe"

This is the idea which was evoked by Khvylovy one cannot accuse it of a lack of continuity It is — in each of its theses, in every single word — thoroughly polemical, sharply directed against the official party line, and in diametrical opposition to the theoretical principle of Bolshevik doctrine Khvylovy preached that which the party denied He emphasised what the party ignored

It was dangerous to advocate European culture, while in the country the degraded culture of proletarian art was still held in awe, to preach 'psychologism' while the official doctrine recognised solely "materialism" and to defend "man with his thoughts, will and talents," while the policy of the Communist Party recognised the "masses" and the "proletariat," and denied the individual All that meant going against the stream Khvylovy according to his own statement, "made an attack on the integrity of the Communist party"

Nobody doubted that in proclaiming the slogans 'Away from Moscow,' "As far as possible away from Moscow!," 'Westwards to Europe!' Khvylovy began a campaign against Moscow as a symbol of Russia, "as the centre of the world Communist movement"

The plenary session of the Central Committee of the C P of Ukraine of June 1926 passed the following resolution on Khvylovy

'The slogans of orientation towards Europe, "Away from Moscow" and the like, launched in the press are quite unimpressive those slogans may be a banner for the Ukrainian petit bourgeoisie which

is thriving on NEP, because by orientation towards Europe it undoubtedly understands a total separation from the fortress of the international revolution, the capital of the USSR — Moscow”

Thus, as early as 1926 Khvylovy's belligerent enmity towards the official Bolshevik party line became apparent. He believed in the cultural upheaval and was aware of the material and spiritual degradation introduced by the Bolsheviks into Ukraine. He defended the “individual” and saw the total destruction of everything that was human.

He could not reconcile himself to the fact of the idea that impoverishment and oppression, that the whip of the G.P.U., that the total prohibition of thought, that the annihilation of the intelligentsia, that the exhaustion of the Stakhanovite worker, and the expropriation of the collectivised peasant, that chaos in a disorganised country, that violence, ruin, terror, hunger, fear, and death, that all these may be proof of an “upsurge” and “efflorescence”.

The circle round Khvylovy became continually tighter. The slogan of destruction of the peasantry launched by the party in 1928 was also applied to the intelligentsia in 1930. The life of the individual was strictly categorised.

The year 1933 came. Hunger reigned throughout the land. Khvylovy saw with his own eyes the consequences of the collectivisation — introduced by the Party. He saw Ukrainian peasants starved to death in the streets of Bolshevik towns. He saw with his own eyes the tragic death of the village, which Bolshevism had brought even to cannibalism.

At the end of April Khvylovy had recently returned from the country, which he had travelled through, in order to, according to his own ironical statement, “study a new cardinal process of socialist construction — hunger!”

After his return he was continually in a state of internal tension, nervous exaltation, bordering on hysteria and despair. It was clear that things could not continue in this way. One looked about instinctively for a weapon. Something had to happen. What? He did not know.

G.P.U. raged. Everywhere Ukrainian intellectuals were being arrested. Khvylovy lived in a fever, and his heart was burdened with a feeling of oppression.

Then one morning at the end of April, the quiet of his room was pierced by the ring of the telephone. The call came from the lodging of Yalovy, a writer and editor, one of Khvylovy's closest friends. An excited female voice informed him of the unexpected arrest of Yalovy.

The news left him stupified. He turned cold and there was a pain in his heart. Suddenly everything became extraordinary clear. It had begun! Yalovy was the first! He would be the next! Others would follow!

At once Khvylovy realised the whole sad prospect that lay before him and his friends. It was not the end — and then at once he

realised his responsibility He had to do everything possible to save Yalovy and the others He had to do it

Hard, difficult, absurd days began Telephoning and silently awaiting the response Running from one responsible official to the next Turning to the Central Committee All without results A week, two weeks, passed by Khvylovy then realised the complete hopelessness of his efforts, and that night as he deliberated and decided what to do, he did not go to bed He sat at his desk until morning He wrote his last letter As the first trams were heard outside he got up and went into the living room His wife was still asleep, his daughter Lyuba was getting ready to go to school, and his elderly mother was preparing the breakfast He greeted them as usual with jokes and kisses He told them that today he would invite his friends, that tea should be prepared Then he approached the telephone and called up all his writer friends He asked them all to visit him that day, to listen to his new work which he had written in his social competition with the fellow-writer, Epik

An hour later O Dosvitny and Mykola Kulish were at Khvylovy's Other writers who had been invited were present All were aware of the unusual mood of exhilaration which Khvylovy was in He was like someone who had been drinking And during the tea he seemed more and more to lose control of himself He took his guitar and with feeling sang several of his favourite songs All were excited But all waited with impatience the reading of his new book Someone reminded Khvylovy about it

"Of course! Today I will surprise you," he said, jumping up 'It was extremely difficult for me to write this work, but I have understood how the writer must think in this Stalinistic epoch In this way I was inspired to write this book Perhaps I shall be able to tell you today how one should write and how one should not write in our times"

With these words he disappeared behind the doors of his study

His friends waited several minutes in complete silence until Khvylovy should reappear with his new work

All of a sudden the sharp sound of a revolver shot was heard from the writer's study In the same instant the others rushed into the study Khvylovy sat at his desk, his head thrown back

His dangling arm clutched a revolver The torn up fragments of his book Komsomoltsi (Members of the Young Communist League) were littered round his chair They were flecked with red blood stains

On the table lay a rectangular piece of white paper, the letter of farewell in which Khvylovy had written before his death

The arrest of Yalovy has convinced me that the persecution of Ukrainian writers has begun

Let my blood be the proof of Yalovy's complete innocence'

On 13 May 1933 Khvylovy committed suicide O Sisarenko was also arrested in May Soon afterwards O Dosvitny and Ostap Vyshnya were arrested and a little later it was the turn of others

II

THE LIQUIDATION OF THE LITERARY ORGANIZATIONS

All Ukrainian literary organisations ceased to exist at the beginning of the thirties in one and the same way. They were neither closed down nor dissolved. The Soviet government never openly resorted to measures which might awaken the idea that they were non-democratic. Ukrainian literary organisations ceased to exist in another manner, so to speak automatically, through the non-participation of their members.

We repeat none of the organisations was prohibited. The administrative authorities did not interfere with the internal life of the organisations. The freedom to assemble, to speak, and to publish was never infringed upon. All democratic rights were completely guaranteed. As far however as the repression of the members of the organisations is concerned it was another matter. They were liquidated not as writers but as counter-revolutionaries and class enemies.

Let us not forget there is no literature apart from class. There is only class literature. In other words, on the one hand proletarian literature, and on the other hand anti-proletarian class hostile literature, i.e. literature which had to be eliminated. As however proletarian literature as such did not exist at all, it meant that without exception, the entire literature was liable to be destroyed.

The slogan of proletarian literature — now, across the perspective of the past years this is quite clearly to be seen — was not a creative slogan, because no proletarian literature had been written. Efforts to give the conception of proletarian literature a positive content, alone through the proletarianisation of the subject matter and of the author through the actual proletarianisation of the literature i.e. through the advance of a working proletarian order, ended in failure. All their efforts were in vain. It was pure bluff.

The conception of proletarian literature was not positive but negative, whose real meaning was reached only through contrast, i.e. as a principle of negation. It was precisely that which led to the situation which existed at the beginning of the thirties: the work of a writer was assessed not by literary critics, the success of a literary work was not decided by the reader, the fate of a writer by no means depended on the brilliance of his works.

The centre of attention was transferred from specific literary character to elements which bore no direct relation to literature, but were linked up with the socio-political class struggle, propagated by the party. Naturally literary matters were controlled by organs of political administration of the state. In this way a departmental approach to literary problems was created.

The raised pistol and the shot in the back of the head were the principles of organisation not only of the whole state system, but at the same time of the literature. In the thirties Bolshevism applied only one universal method of organisation of literary activity: the method of liquidation of the classes which were regarded as hostile to the proletariat.

To enumerate the names of the members of any Ukrainian literary group is to mention the writers who were banished, shot, who committed suicide, who died of various diseases in exile, having been unable to withstand the hard conditions of a severe northern climate, or who succumbed to madness. Borys Teneta hanged himself. Hryhoriy Chuprynka, Dmytro Falkivsky, Hryhoriy Kosynka, Olyzko Lyada Mohylyanska were shot. The poet Svidzinsky was burnt alive.

The individual annihilation of Ukrainian writers became a group elimination. What was at issue was not the extermination of individual writers but of whole groups, and, what was more, of the entire Ukrainian literature. Ukrainian literature as such was destined to liquidation. Thus, one can say that the Ukrainian literature of the twenties and thirties was a literature of those eliminated. The fact that the literary and artistic groups concerned were of 'left' or 'right' persuasion, "proletarian" or "non-proletarian," whether they consisted of party or non-party members, of panegyrical flatterers, or on the other hand of the nobly reserved, whether they proclaimed destructivism or constructivism, futurism or classicism, "vers libre" or the classical sonnet, was of no significance. That was all of no importance. Over everyone reigned the unalterable and fatal law: the law of force to which Bolshevism had given the significance of a social and political formula.

In the process of the consistent development of acts of repression which the Soviet Government had applied to Ukrainian literature, the year 1934 should be designated a critical year. Everything that had gone before had only an anterior, episodic, or excursive character (for example, the execution of H. Chuprynka, the arrest of Maksym Rylsky, Mykhaylo Ivchenko and L. Starytska-Chernyakhivska in connection with the SVU). The concentrated mass blow was dealt to Ukrainian literature by Bolshevism in the year 1934. The majority of Ukrainian writers and literary organisations ceased to exist precisely in that year.

"The Free Academy of Proletarian Literature," abbreviated as 'Vaplite' (later 'Prolitfront') was naturally the leading centre of Ukrainian literature of the twenties. It was a literary organisation which had arisen and developed on the initiative, and with the immediate participation of Mykola Khvylovy. It put into practice his slogans for the struggle for creativity and academism, for the development of a European level of Ukrainian literature, against massovism, popular enlightenment, and an epigonic imitation of Russian literature.

To Vaplite belonged P Tychna, Mykola Khvylovy, O Shisarenko, V Yalovy, M Yohansen, Hordiy Kotsiuba, P Panch, M Maysky, H Epik, O Kopylenko, I Senchenko, Yu Smolych, O Dosvitny, I Dniprovsky. Those of them who were liquidated in the years 1933-1934 were the following Yalovy, Mykola Khvylovy, O Dosvitny, O Shisarenko, A Paniv, H Epik, Mykola Kulish, M Yohansen, and others.

It suffices to mention only one of all the members of 'Vaplite,' Mykola Kulish, in order to grasp with complete clarity what this group meant for Ukrainian literature, and what a heavy blow Bolshevism had dealt Ukrainian literature through the liquidation of 'Vaplite.'

The plays of Kulish (97, *Narodnyy Malakhny, Myna Mazaylo, Patetychna Sonata*) are the highest achievements of Ukrainian dramaturgy of recent decades.

The theatre 'Berezil' created by Les Kurbas was in the field of the theatre what Mykola Kulish was in the field of dramaturgy. 'Berezil' found in the person of Kulish his dramatist, and Kulish found in 'Berezil' his theatre. Kurbas and Kulish united themselves in order to determine the path of modern Ukrainian theatrical art.

Rural intelligentsia belonged to the first rank of the Ukrainian literary movement which attained European importance. But it was not a process of peaceful integration and systematic development. It was a process which resulted from the conflict between village and town, the village condemned to death, ("the village is dying out") and the bolshevised town. The conflict between Bolshevism and the Ukrainian village (cf. the story "I" by Mykola Khvylovy) became the prevailing and unique theme of all Kulish's plays from 97 to *Patetychna Sonata*. Precisely herein lies the root of Kulish's artistic style. In their artistic style the plays of Kulish approach expressionism. They are schematic, incomplete, chaotic, and relative. They arise from within. If in comparison we had to name a dramatist with whom Kulish has something in common we would name Chapek.

As to their ideological content the plays of Kulish were a protest of the hurt feeling of the Ukrainian against Bolshevism and an

expression of confusion and fear of the dictatorship of the proletariat which destroyed the village. The organs of dictatorship had crushed the writer, but there remained suffering and art, the art which embodied the suffering and the protest of the crushed individual.

'LANKA-MARS

In 1934, that fateful year for Ukrainian literature, not only the "Vaplite-Proletfront" (a literary organisation in Kharkiv), but also another no less important literary organisation in Kyiv, the "Lanka-Mars," was liquidated. The "Lanka-Mars" was as important for Kyiv as the "Vaplite-Proletfront" was for Kharkiv, it included in its ranks the majority of writers in this town, the most important of whom were the following: Yevhen Pluzhnyk, Dmytro Falkivsky, Mykola Tereshchenko, Todos Osmachka, Hryhoriy Kosynka, Mykhaylo Ivchenko, Valerian Pidmohylny, Borys Antonenko-Davydovych, Borys Teneta, Volodymyr Yaroshenko, Hr Brasiuk, Dmytro Tas (Mohylyansky), Maria Halych, and various others.

With the exception of Maria Halych, a talented writer whose works were written in the lyrical impressionistic style cultivated by Stefanyk and Kosynka and who, although not persecuted, was obliged to keep silent for decades all the other members of the "Lanka-Mars" were persecuted. Mykhaylo Ivchenko was one of the first to be arrested, namely in connection with the trial of the SVU (Union for the Liberation of Ukraine), other members were arrested soon afterwards (as for instance, Dmytro Tas), and the majority of them in 1934. In December 1934, two members of the "Lanka-Mars," Hryhoriy Kosynka and Dmytro Falkivsky, were executed.

The December execution were carried out in chronological order, namely after the assassination of Kirov. Although, according to official reports, Red terrorism was intensified as the government's retaliation for Kirov's death, actually those persons who were executed in December, 1934, were arrested much earlier. In fact the victims of this retaliation were determined and selected beforehand. It was merely an ostentatious gesture on Moscow's part to connect these persecutions and executions with the Kirov affair. The carefully calculated schemes of dictatorship, the timing of executions and the algebraic plans of class conflict operated independently of any additional circumstances.

THE NEW GENERATION

In addition to Kosynka and Falkivsky, the names of Oleksa Vlyzko and Kost Burevyy also appeared on the list of writers executed in December, 1934. This fact indicates that the list was drawn up

according to the principle of representation; that is to say, every literary organisation was represented on the list by two members — two members of the "Lanka-Mars," two members of the "New Generation"

On what grounds was Vlyzko shot? He did not have an anti-Soviet past like Kosynka. He did not take part in the armed fight against Soviet rule during the peasants' guerilla war, nor did he give critics any cause to designate him as a "Ukrainian nationalist bandit". Moreover, he did not translate any literary works from Latin and thus did not manifest the "bourgeois" attitude of a poet who detaches himself from reality. It is true that he wrote a polemical article directed against Samiylo Shchupak, the Communist critic, for the "Nova Generatsiya" ("New Generation"). But this was hardly sufficient reason to warrant his execution. It was, however, affirmed in literary circles in Kyiv that precisely this clash with Shchupak was the direct cause of Vlyzko's arrest.

Similar incidents were likely to happen all the time. The petty Soviet potentates — one-day caliphs in the stories of the "Arabian Nights," which were being re-enacted under Soviet conditions, where nothing was impossible — were busy enough trying to give all personal quarrels the appearance of a class conflict. But in the flood of terrorism action they themselves perished, together with those whom they sent to their death. Whether it is true or not that Shchupak was responsible for Oleksa Vlyzko's death, the fact remains that he himself was executed within a year of this event.

O Vlyzko was deaf and dumb, and it attests to his great strength of mind and spirit that he was able to suppress his own feelings and to endow words which to him were soundless with a sonorous quality for others. Though himself limited to visual perception, he succeeded in finding a source of sound creation in himself. Though sound to him was something purely abstract, his verses, as E Malaniuk stresses, reveal "an unbelievable wealth of harmonious and musical sound."

Kost Bureviy (1888-1934), an authority on the theatre, a dramatist, publicist and literary critic and the author of several monographs on the history of the theatre and art, wrote for the "Nova Generatsiya" ("New Generation") under the pseudonym of Edward Strikha. He was arrested in 1923 in connection with the trial of the Socialist Revolutionaries. He was on trial for six months. In 1934 he was again arrested and executed. His historical work, "Pavlo Polubotok," published abroad after World War II, deals with the "friendly" state relations between Ukraine and Moscow. Mykhaylo Semenko suffered the same fate as the writers of the "New Generation" — Bureviy, Vlyzko and Shkurupiy — though a little later. It was he who first introduced futurism in Ukrainian literature. He was far more of a doctrinaire than a writer. In any case, he was much more interested in setting up a doctrine of literary destructivism and in the possibility of playing the part of a dictator in his own group, even though it was only a small one,

than in creative literary work as such. He blindly copied Soviet political reality, where destructivism, abstract doctrines and the principles of group exclusiveness were valued more highly than independent creative work.

THE NEO CLASSICISTS

The end of this case did not by any means imply the cessation of repressive measures. On the contrary, it meant the beginning of another trial. At the end of March 1935, the case of the 'Lanka-Mars' ended, and on March 28, 1935, sentence was pronounced on Pluzhnyk. One month later, at the end of April, Mykola Zerov was arrested. He was the first of the "neo-classicists" to be arrested, and his arrest was followed by that of Pavlo Fylypovych in the summer and of Mykhaylo Dray Khmara on September 5th of the same year. In addition to these three "neo-classicists," others also suffered the same fate, Anatol Lebid was arrested for the second time and the young poet, Marko Vorony, the son of Mykola Vorony, and a certain fellow-worker at the Historical Museum, namely the person who provided information about the "organisation," were also arrested. On the basis of the depositions made by the latter, so it is said, the whole case was a put-up show. The "objectivity" of these depositions was stressed by the fact that none of the above-mentioned persons had ever had anything to do with him. This also applies in the case of Marko Vorony, who had never had any contact with the neo-classicists. Indeed the names of Lebid and Vorony were added to the list of victims by way of compulsory selection.

It is true that there were some other extras — unimportant persons who were useful solely for the purpose of completing the fictitious 'organisations,' since every organisation had to have an adequate number of members. These persons could not take any steps to verify this fact and protect themselves against the allegations of the Russians and no one inquired into the matter. The other facts were examined on the basis of this fact and the final conclusions drawn on the membership of certain persons in the organisation. On the same basis the final conclusion was drawn regarding participation in the 'terrorist nationalist group, which was allegedly led by Prof. Mykola Zerov and included among its members, in addition to the neo-classicists Pavlo Fylypovych and M. Dray Khmara the above-mentioned fellow-worker of the Historical Museum and also Marko Vorony, Anatol Lebid and various other persons.

The methods applied in their case were those used in neuropathy, which aim to convince the patient that exactly the opposite is true. A man was accused of things which were obviously absurd. He was then forced to admit them against his will, against his conscience, his moral principles and standards against his intellect and his imagination.

Day after day, night after night, Professor Zerov was forced forced? No, they tried to convince him that the department of the INO (Institute for People's Education) of which he was the head was not a department at all, but only a group of criminals, conspirators and murderers camouflaged by its legal name, and that friendly relations among poets was not a personal friendliness and not a friendship of poets, but a form of conspiracy, a union of terrorists, complete with a code and a secret way of action

Night after night, the conscience of the victims was gradually weakened. He was deprived of his sense of reality, assiduously, cruelly and inevitably.

Professor Zerov was a great authority on Latin, a brilliant poet and an excellent translator. He translated the ancient Roman poets — Virgil, Horace and Catullus. Was this fact not sufficient reason to demand that he should admit that his work was counter-revolutionary and anti-Soviet and that he had terrorist plans? What inference can be drawn from the fact that a poet translates Catullus and Virgil? Obviously, that he does not take the themes for his creative poetical activity from Soviet reality! Does it not mean that he is trying to escape from or rather refuse to recognise Soviet reality! And what is the significance of this non-recognition when judged as a political act? It is an act against Soviet authority, an act of denying the latter, which like any other political act and any other political denial finds its expression in propagandistic activity, in the winning over of followers, in the setting up of an organisation, in subversive activity, sabotage, espionage, and finally in the height of terrorism

An accusation of "Ukrainian nationalism" led to an accusation of "espionage," of contacts with foreign intelligence services and also of "terrorism." These three types of accusations were closely connected, the first being the basis for the other two. To plead guilty was equal to exposing oneself to the danger of the death sentence

As early as 1926, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Bolsheviks in Ukraine passed a resolution according to which the "ideological work of the Ukrainian intelligentsia of the neo-classicist type" was to be considered as aiming "to satisfy the Ukrainian bourgeoisie's interests which grew," thanks to the NEP*) Like other decisions reached by the Central Committee, this one, too, was of a directive nature. And according to this resolution, Zerov's sonnets and his translations of Greek and Roman poets must be considered not as a valuable cultural achievement on the part of the Ukrainian people, but as an expression of the NEP spirit

The main question at issue lay not in the never committed crimes provided for in these resolutions nor in the concrete offence of each accused but in the general line of Bolshevik policy which had as its aim the liquidation of Ukrainian culture and the physical destruction of the Ukrainian intellectuals

*) New Economic Policy

In the December lists of the writers who had been shot during the year 1934, Western Ukraine was represented by the family of the Krushelnytskys. The Krushelnytskys engaged in Communist activity in Halychyna (Galicia), where they edited a pro-Soviet paper, *Novi Shlyakhy* ("New Ways"). Later, they went to Kharkiv, where they were arrested and shot. Other persons concerned were persecuted and deported, including Dmytro Zahul, the most brilliant of the group of poets of "Western Ukraine," who, during the existence of the "Muzahet" (a pre-war literary organization), together with Yakiv Savchenko, represented symbolism in Ukrainian literature, further V Atamanuk, V Gzhytsky, V Gadzinsky, P Kozoris, Pavlyuk, Dmytro Rudyk, and Vasyl Bobynsky.

The fate of Vasyl Bobynsky, a poet, who together with R Kupchynsky, Y Shkrumelyak and O Babry was on the editorial staff of the "Mytusa" (a West Ukrainian literary organisation), was a particularly tragic one. In trying to escape from the clutches of the Polish police, he hoped to find safety and security in the Ukrainian S S R.

VICTIMISATION CONTINUES UNABATED

Is the list of Ukrainian writers who were murdered complete if we mention the names of those who belonged to the "Vaplite," "Lanka-Mars," "New Generation," "Neo-Classicists" and "Western Ukraine"? Most certainly not! To compile a complete list of writers who were the victims of Bolshevik terrorism would be an endless task. Indeed, it would be equal to the task of compiling a biography of the Ukrainian writers of the second and third decade of the 20th century Ukrainian literature.

PARTY MEN

No one was safe. Neither genius nor age nor even membership of the Party was a guarantee. In the 1930's the Party membership card ceased to be a protective measure against death. We have already mentioned the names of the Party members who belonged to the "Vaplite" and were liquidated: Khvylovy, Yalovy, Dosvitny, Serhiy Pylypenko, the founder and chairman of the "Pluh," was shot. Borys Teneta, who belonged to the "Lanka-Mars" group, committed suicide. Mykola Lyubchenko (Kost Kotko) was liquidated.

Though a man might enjoy the status of a Soviet potentate, this fact was no guarantee for the security of his personal life as an individual. One of the rank and file aspirants to the Bolshevik "Chair of Marxism and Leninism," A H Senchenko, thanks to P Postyshev's

proposal, was appointed chairman of the newly founded Union of Soviet Writers of Ukraine (S.R.P.U.), which took the place of the former organisation of V.U.S.P.P. Once again it was a case of a man's career in Soviet life being comparable to the "Arabian Nights" Senchenko's star waxed and waned. Waned? In the U.S.S.R. this meant that the person in question was liquidated

Even orthodoxy could not save such "leaders" of "proletarian literature" as I Mykytenko, I. Kyrylenko, V. Desniak (V. Vasylenko), Borys Kovalenko and Yevhen Shablyovsky. In this respect the fate of I Mykytenko was especially typical. At the end of the 1920's and beginning of the 1930's Ivan Mykytenko was without rivals His official position in Ukrainian literature may perhaps best be compared with the present position of O Kornychuk Like the latter, he was a dramatist Together with Kirshon, Mykytenko determined the main trend of the Soviet theatrical repertoire of those days. He visited Spain during the civil war there He headed a delegation of writers at one of the Party congresses He was one of the most important personalities in the USSR But despite this fact he left home one day, disappeared and never returned Various rumours were circulated as regards his disappearance There were rumours about his suicide, about his escape, about a corpse found in the Sviatoshyno Forest near Kyiv which was never identified, and finally about his having been deported for fifteen years "A faithful son of the Church" — the word "Church" is here used to mean the Party and its political ideology — Mykytenko was "burnt" like the "heretic" and "schismatic" Khvylovy.

The Bolsheviks selected the more talented and gifted writers, but at the same time they did not entirely overlook the rank and file, to whom the designation "graphomen" was applied as a compliment Of the good-for-nothing and unworthy literary hooligans who speculated with their Party membership cards for a long time, the writer Antin Dyky suffered the common fate Like other victims he was suppressed and crushed under the fist of Yezhov

THE SEPTUAGENARIANS

The writers of the younger generation, "contemporaries of the October Revolution," and the writers of the older generation, up to seventy years of age the so-called "Septuagenarians," Ivan Steshenko, Mykola Vorony, Mykola Filyansky, Yuriy Budyak, Evhen Tymchenko, L Starytska-Chernyakhivska, and Ahatanhel Krymsky, all met the same fate — some of them earlier, some of them later, but their fate was always the same

Writers who were born in the 1870's did not cross the threshold of the year 1917 The revolution relegated them to oblivion and excluded them from the literary process They played no part in the Ukrainian literature of the 1920's and were replaced by the writers of the younger generation This measure was introduced as a matter

of course, and yet they were liquidated in the 1930's when "pensioners" became the object of the "class conflict"

Poets wrote poems and put them in drawers, they wrote novels and hid them in boxes For whom did Zerov translate the "Aeneid"? For whom did Khotkevych write his "Shevchenko" and "Dovbush"? Silence, benevolence and solitude were the only ideals left to them "Three pleasures are my powerful possession — solitude, work, silence," said Volodymyr Svidzinsky

UNIFIED

It must be stressed that this process of liquidation as regards the Ukrainian writers was only one aspect of the policy of the Communist Party as far as Ukrainian literature was concerned It was closely connected with another process, namely that of unification, in which two stages are clearly recognisable, the first stage, the V U S P P (Vseukrayins'ka Spilka Proletars'kykh Pys'mennykiv), the All-Ukrainian Union of Proletarian Writers, up to the adoption of the April resolution of the Central Committee of the CPSU in 1932, and the second stage of the "Union of Soviet Writers," from 1932, after the aforesaid decision, up to the present time

The adoption of the Central Committee resolution on literature in 1932 meant that the Party itself took over complete control of literature The watchword of the "proletarianisation" of literature was rejected and replaced by another watchword of "Sovietisation"

The writers who in the previous stage had been excluded from literary activity on account of their non-proletarian origin were now included in the Union But this step towards "democratisation," like the rejection of proletarian watchwords, in no way meant the easing of pressure On the contrary, it was in 1933 that the wave of repression reached an unheard of level, control over writers was intensified, the atmosphere became unbearable, and the organs of state security began to interfere in literary matters

The practice of administrative interference from above, the setting up of a literature programme by the Politburo, and the taking over of complete control of literature by the higher organs of the Party were realised during this stage "Literary activity" ceased to be a "liberal profession," a profession of personal choice and individual initiative To cease writing was as dangerous and suspicious as to continue writing When a writer ceased writing he was accused of sabotage To write and to write according to the directives of the central organs of the Party became the writer's duty, a duty which he could not evade "I will" no longer existed A writer's work became an obligatory social task or rather a Party or state obligatory task which was controlled by the central organs of the Party and the state

A writer was obliged to be the promoter of orthodoxy. Truths which were not recognised by the "Church" as dogmas must find no place in his work. The creative work of Soviet writers must be a creation within the framework of "orthodox truths." This unification of writers from the organisational point of view was complemented by a unification of themes and ways of portrayal. The impressionist free selection of theme was superseded by the anti-psychological and anti-individual absolutism of centralised portrayal and a single theme: Stalin, Kirov, Party... "hero"... the same unchangeable theme. This central figure must appear absolute and the literary style used to portray him is accordingly universal and hierarchical in trend.

The functional destiny of the individual is determined from above. The place of the individual in society is determined by the central organs of Party and state. The personality of an individual, his *initiative, his personal attitude do not count at all.*

Today, "a prisoner at Kolyma" — tomorrow, a position in a Narkom (Narodny Kommissariat — the People's Commissariat). Today, a position in the Narkom, the holder of an order, a member of the Supreme Soviet, the owner of a personal car — tomorrow, a deportee, a toiler of the soil — a mere nobody. Pseudo-writers fill up the ranks of the Ukrainian writers. The talented writers have been liquidated and their place has been taken by pseudo-writers. The Ukrainian literature of the 1930's in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is Soviet literature in the Ukrainian language; it is disciplined and stifled literature with limited themes determined by Party directives; it is the product of artificial experiments. Cut off from its national soil, it resembles a pseudo-literature, an artificial creation — the result of the destructive policy of Bolshevism.

BOLSHEVIST PERSECUTION OF RELIGION AND CHURCH IN UKRAINE

1917-1957

Informative Outline

INTRODUCTION

Communism such as it is practised in the USSR is not merely a synthesis of distorted Marxism and the tyranny which prevails in Russia ever since the time of the Tzar Ivan the Terrible. Nor is Communism merely a modern form of the colonialism and imperialistic expansion of Russia. Communism is all these things and at the same time it is also a pseudo-religion which excludes the existence of true faith in God in its sphere of influence.

Communism destroys every religious or idealistic philosophy of life and moral principles, in order to overthrow tradition and civilisation which are based on unchangeable ethical principles that are binding for man's conscience. Communism negates the freedom of the human will in order to transform man into a being that has no will of its own and to make man conform to the living conditions of the totalitarian order of society.

Communism exterminates every form of culture which is not connected with it as regards ideology.

Christianity spread to Ukraine over a thousand years ago and it was on the basis of Christianity that the Ukrainian Church and the entire Ukrainian Christian culture and civilisation which ensured the general development and independence of the Ukrainian people developed.

For this reason the Communist leadership decided to destroy Ukrainian religious, ecclesiastical and national cultural life in order to force a Communist religion of atheism on Ukraine and in this way to subjugate Ukraine spiritually. In this way too the Communists are trying to extinguish the hope of Divine Justice in the hearts of the Ukrainian people and to paralyse the spirit of their fight for freedom. They are trying to transform the pious Ukrainian people into a formless mass of Soviet slaves.

CENTRAL AND EAST UKRAINIAN TERRITORIES¹⁾

1) THE FIRST REPRESSIVE MEASURES

The first aggression on the part of Soviet Russia against Ukraine began on December 27, 1917, when the Bolshevik troops launched a general offensive against the Central and East Ukrainian territories. And the beginning of Communist persecution of religion and the Church in Ukraine goes back to this date.

One of the first victims of Communist anti-religious terrorism in Ukraine was the Greek Orthodox Metropolitan of Kyiv, Volodymyr Bohoyavlensky, who was murdered there by Bolshevik partisans on January 25, 1918²⁾

On the strength of the decrees issued by the Soviet Russian state power on December 4, 1917, and January 23, 1918, the Communists began to confiscate the property of the Church both the buildings of churches and monasteries and also things of value belonging to the churches (icons, chalices, valuable vestments, etc.)

The Communists based their anti-religious policy on Point 13 of their Party programme (confirmed at the 8th Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1919), which proclaimed 'scientific materialism and atheism' as the ideological foundation in setting up a Communist order of society. It is true that the decree of January 23, 1918, conceded the Church the formal right to exist, but repressive police measures on the part of the Communist administration restricted its activity to an ever-increasing degree. It was, for instance, impossible to publish ecclesiastical writings, or hold religious instruction in the schools. The Communist administration dissolved theological academies and seminaries in order to put an end to the training and studies of candidates for the priesthood.

From the very outset, Bolshevik terrorism was directed against the clergy, and, in particular, against the monks. When Bolshevik troops seized in January, 1918, the monastery in Lubni (in the district of Poltava), their commander made the twenty-five monks who were still there and their abbot Ambrosius, line up and arrested them, the commissar, Bakay, then gave orders that they were all to be shot. In January, 1918, the Communists drove most of the

¹⁾ In the following footnotes the number of the bibliographical note will be given in parenthesis after the name of the author and abbreviated title of the work in question.

²⁾ F. Heyer, *Die orthodoxe Kirche* (2) p. 45-46.

monks out of the monastery in Sviatohorsk (in the district of Kharkiv) and then proceeded to ransack the church of the monastery. In the monastery itself they set up a "convalescent home," and transformed the church into an "anti-religious museum." In June, 1918, the Communists carried out a raid on the Holy Cross monastery near Poltava and on July 4th of the same year, they shot Father Nilus, a monk who had remained behind in the monastery³⁾

We have only quoted a few examples which illustrate the extent to which the monks were persecuted and the monasteries raided by the Communists, but the same also applies, in slightly different variations to almost all the monasteries and churches of monasteries in Central and East Ukraine. This campaign reached its culmination with the fate that befell the Pechersky monastery (the cave-monastery) in Kyiv, which was the centre of monastic life in the whole of Central and East Ukraine. In the year 1926 there were still about 500 monks in this monastery. Their abbot, Hermogenes Holubynsky was arrested by the Communists. Only seven monks were left behind in the monastery and they, too, were deported in 1928, when the monastery was closed down and transformed into an "anti-religious museum." It was only after World War II that some of the monastery buildings were handed over to the monks of the Russian Orthodox Church⁴⁾

2) THE UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH AND SOVIET EXPERIMENTS IN THE CHURCH QUESTIONS

The decree issued by the Russian Soviet government on January 23, 1918, fundamentally "regulated" the affairs of the Church inasmuch as it deprived the latter of its public legal character and status. From now onwards, communities of the Church were only to be allowed to continue to exist as private societies. This decree was extended to apply to Ukraine, too, by the Communists in 1919. The Church was also deprived of its right of ownership of property. Only if they paid rent for the future "state property" were church communities to be allowed by the administration to use church buildings for the purpose of worship. In addition, the Church was likewise strictly forbidden to engage in any form of charitable activity.

In spite of this constant persecution of the Church, of the bishops, priests and the faithful, most of the people of Central and East Ukraine unwaveringly retained their Christian faith and did their utmost to preserve the organised forms of Church life, at least within the very limited rights which the Soviet decree at that time conceded to church communities as private societies. In 1921 the

³⁾ Ibid, p 76

⁴⁾ Ibid, p 76

Greek Orthodox Ukrainians detached themselves from the supremacy of the Moscow Patriarchate which had been forced on them, and established the revived Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, which under the spiritual leadership of its Metropolitan, Basil (Vasyl) Lypkivsky, included the whole of Central and East Ukraine and in 1927 numbered about 3,000 parishes, more than 3,000 priests and 34 bishops

That this was possible under the Communist regime is explained by the fact that though the Soviet state power, in keeping with the Communist ideology of a militant atheism (based on Karl Marx's theory about religion as "opium for the people"), fought the Church again and again all the time, and continues to fight it even today, this fight, however, assumes various forms according to time and circumstances. And, incidentally, the same thing to some extent also applies to Soviet economic policy. When the Communists were threatened by an economic catastrophe as a result of their economic experiments at the time of the so-called "military Communism" Lenin, at the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party in 1921, proclaimed the so-called "New Economic Policy" (NEP), which partly — but only to a very limited extent — restored private property in industry and trade, exclusively in order to be able to exploit private initiative for the economic consolidation of the Communist state

In their fight against the Church the Communists resorted to various methods in turn, ranging from comparative tolerance — whenever the situation demanded that the people should for the time being be pacified — to ruthless terrorism. During the transition period up to 1926 the Communist state power endeavoured to destroy the organisation of the Church from within, by making use of the so-called "Living Church," founded in 1923, which in a similar way to the "New Economic Policy" was to become the instrument of the Communists for the purpose of consolidating their regime. The Communists also took part in the founding of the so-called "Active Church" so that, with the help of the latter's functionaries, they might be able to compromise religion and the Church in the eyes of the population. Thus, one of these functionaries, for instance, who posed as an orthodox priest, at the end of divine service — obviously at the instructions of the Communist elements — publicly declared in the church that he had so far been telling the people "lies" and would now, therefore, relinquish his office as a priest. In order to make this atheistic demonstration more striking, he tore off his priest's vestments and threw his priest's cross on the floor and trampled on it. Some time later, he was appointed leader of a "circle of atheists" and devoted himself to a lively anti-religious activity⁵⁾

⁵⁾ Prof H. Vashchenko, *Vidnovlennia U A P T s* (5), p. 8

3) ATHEISTIC PROPAGANDA AND INCREASED TERRORISM

The Communist Party continued to intensify its atheistic propaganda to an ever-increasing degree. For this reason a "Union of Atheists" was officially founded (with its seat in the central headquarters in Moscow), which was run by the Communist Party and was most generously supplied with all the necessary propagandist means (press, radio station, the right to hold public meetings, mobile propaganda vans and ships, anti-religious museums, so-called Communist training centres, etc.), the journals, "Bezbozhnik" ("The Godless") and "Antireligioznik" ("The Anti-Religious"), published by this "Union of Atheists" at the state's expense, were circulated in huge numbers by the Soviet authorities.

The Communist authorities exerted considerable pressure in order to make the population take part in the anti-religious campaign which they themselves organised, and readily resorted to threats and punitive measures against all those who openly refused to take part in this campaign. The Communists arranged public anti-religious rallies, usually at Christmas and Easter, which were for the most part attended by members of the "Union of Atheists" and of the Komsomolski (Young Communists) and by countless semi-criminal elements of the rabble. They donned priests' vestments and, holding a crucifix in their hand, held wild masquerades in the streets and ridiculed God, religious faith, the Church and the priesthood. They tried to provoke the faithful who had assembled in the churches for divine service, by screaming, shouting and whistling, sometimes they even forced their way into churches where they then started maltreating and beating the priests and the members of the congregation and demolishing pictures of saints and sacred vessels. All this was done either at public instigation or with the tacit permission of the Communist authorities.

These sacrilegious demonstrations were a prelude to a large-scale campaign which was intended to destroy completely religious and Church life in Central and East Ukraine. According to an official decree issued by the Soviet government on April 8, 1929, the Church ceased to exist legally as a hierarchic organisation. From now onwards, the Communist administration systematically began to close the churches and to use church buildings for other purposes or else to demolish them. Such measures were carried out in accordance with the government and Party directives, as can be seen for instance, from the following order which was issued to a Party functionary in the village of Petrovo (in the district of Pyatykhatka).

"In accordance with the directives of the District Executive Committee, the church in your village is to be converted into a granary for storing state grain. This order must be carried out within 48 hours and the competent authorities must be notified to the effect that it has been carried out."⁶⁾

⁶⁾ V. Kravchenko. I Chose Freedom (3) p. 120

Similar orders were issued to most of the towns and villages throughout Central and East Ukraine and they were all carried out in the same way. In Kyiv, where prior to the Bolshevik occupation there had been 140 churches, only two churches were later allowed to remain open, and that was chiefly in order to be able to demonstrate Soviet "tolerance" to foreigners. In many other towns not a single church was allowed to remain open. Moreover, both in Kyiv and elsewhere countless churches were demolished, which, as monuments of the Ukrainian architecture of the 12th to 17th century, were of great artistic and historic value, in Poltava fourteen such churches were demolished. In Odessa nineteen churches were demolished on one single occasion in 1937⁷⁾

4) THE SYSTEMATIC OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE CHURCH

The Communist Party and government not only made it impossible for the priests to administer their sacred office legally and for the faithful to fulfil their religious duties legally, but they also tried to force the priests by terrorist measures to publicly renounce their office. The priests were officially designated as the "non-working element" and for this reason were denied certain elementary civil rights. The authorities frequently refused to give bishops and priests permission to remain in the place where they held office and had them deported to far-off districts, the priests were likewise officially forbidden to carry out the religious duties of their office, including religious instruction, outside the church building. Those who violated this order were punished with five years imprisonment in a concentration camp (with penal servitude). Because of their "social origin," the children of the clergy were excluded from instruction at school and were not entitled to receive a normal wage if they had not publicly severed all connections with their parents.

The Communist administration imposed such exorbitant taxes on the priests and the parishes that, as a rule, they were not in a position to pay them and this fact, of course, provided the authorities with the desired 'legal reason for dissolving the church parishes. In the town of Proskuriv, for instance, the Provost of the cathedral, Father Okolovsky, was to pay a yearly tax of 5,000 roubles, whilst his colleague in Zhytomyr was to pay as much as 35 000-40 000 roubles⁸⁾. As a result of these exorbitant taxes a number of parishes in Poltava collapsed in 1931. And most of the communities of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were liquidated by this "cold" method.

⁷⁾ F Heyer loc cit (2) p 112 113 B Mikorskiy Razrusheniye (11) passim.

⁸⁾ F Heyer Die orthodoxe Kirche (2) p 112

The Communist authorities likewise confiscated and destroyed religious and liturgical writings. Employees and foremen were in effect forbidden to attend divine service and to take part in church rites, such as baptism, weddings, and funerals, etc. The Soviet government not only abolished all the Church feast-days, but also Sunday as a holiday, by introducing a "five-day week" (later, a six-day week^{*)}) so that the faithful amongst the "workers" would not be able to attend divine service on Sundays.

The next stage in the extermination of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church consisted in mass arrests of bishops, priests, professors of theology, secular advisers of the Church, vergers and other servants of the Church, as well as prominent persons amongst the faithful.

One of the first victims of this period of systematic persecution was Archbishop Alexander Yareshchenko of Kharkiv, who was arrested by the Secret State police (GPU) in April, 1926. At the same time, the cathedral in Kharkiv was also closed down. The Archbishop was, first of all, taken to Moscow and then deported to Tashkent (in Central Asia). Soon afterwards, the Protopresbyter Potiyenko and several other ecclesiastical heads were also arrested and put into concentration camps. The head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Vasyl Lypkivsky, was arrested by the GPU the first time in 1927 and the second (and last) time in 1929, nothing definite is known as regards his further fate, but it is highly probable that he was tortured to death by the Bolsheviks. Soon afterwards, his successor, Metropolitan Mykola (Nicholas) Boretsky, was also arrested and sent to the penitentiary in Solovki (on the White Sea), where he became insane as a result of the tortures he was forced to endure. He died in a mental institution in 1935.

The following heads of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were likewise arrested and imprisoned during this same period.

The Archbishops Nestor Sharayivsky, Yuriy (George) Mikhnovsky, Stepan (Stephan) Orlyk, Yosyp (Joseph) Oksiyuk, Ivan (John) Pavlovsky, Constantine Malushkevych, Constantine Krotevych, Mykola (Nicholas) Pyvovarov, the Bishops Hryhoriy (Gregory) Storozhenko, Pylyp (Philip) Buchylo, Alexander Chervinsky, Peter Romodanov, Yukhym (Euthymius) Kalishevsky, Mykola (Nicholas) Shyray, Peter Tarnavsky, Volodymyr Bzhoznovsky, Yuriy (George) Zhevchenko, Mykola (Nicholas) Karabinevych, Mark Hrushevsky, Anthony Hrynevych, Maxim Nadvirniak, Hryhoriy (Gregory) Mozalevsky, Yuriy (George) Teslenko, Mykhaylo (Michael) Maliarevsky, Volodymyr Samborsky, Volodymyr Dakhivnyk-Dakhivsky, Yakiv (Jacob) Chulayivsky, Konon Bey, Theodosius Serhiv, Yuriy (George) Prokopovych^{*)}

^{*)} Protopyerey M. Ternystym Shlyakhom (4) p. 6

All these ecclesiastical dignitaries of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church were sent to concentration camps, most of them to Siberia, as for instance Bishop Yuriy (George) Teslenko, who developed tuberculosis whilst interned and died of this disease after he had eventually been released from the concentration camp. Other bishops and archbishops died under dreadful conditions whilst interned in concentration camps, and a number of them were probably shot. Actually, there was not a single bishop of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church left in the whole of Soviet Ukraine after 1932.

During this same period the Soviet government imprisoned over 3,000 priests of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, they were forced to endure dreadful tortures, some of them were shot or murdered, and the rest were put into concentration camps. The same fate befell the secular adviser of the Church, too, Professor Volodymyr Chekhivsky, who was arrested in 1929 and sentenced to death, the death sentence was, however, revised and, instead, he was sentenced to ten years imprisonment in the penitentiary in Solovki, but was later sentenced to another 20 years imprisonment and was taken to a secret camp in East Siberia. Several hundred secular advisers of the Church and thousands of prominent persons amongst the faithful suffered the same fate in the course of this anti-religious terrorism.

5) THE DESTRUCTION OF THE UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH

At the end of January, 1930, the Communist Party and the Soviet police forced the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, by repressive measures, to disband, that is to say, to declare that it had ceased to exist, and in this connection mock trials were held in which the accused were the heads of this Church. The Communists endeavoured to motivate the repressive measures which they took against the Church by legally and factually unfounded arguments, arguments which from the political point of view were demagogic, as for instance, that the Ukrainian Church was "an anti-Soviet, counter-revolutionary and nationalistic organisation," that the entire administrative and ideological leadership of this Church was only concerned with "training the masses in an anti-Soviet spirit," and that the leaders of this Church were acting "in the interests of the international counter-revolution," etc.

In reality, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church had existed on an entirely legal basis and had carried on its activity by legal means, inasmuch as it respected the Soviet state constitution and obeyed the orders issued by the government. It even complied with certain requests of the Soviet state power which, under normal

conditions, no church in the world would be obliged to fulfil, for instance, at the request of the GPU, Metropolitan Vasyl (Basil) Lypkivsky resigned from office in 1927

The Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church looked after the spiritual welfare of its faithful and trained them in a religious spirit, it did not concern itself with political affairs, but, for understandable reasons, of course objected to the Communist Party and the Soviet state power trying to enforce their policy on the life of the Church

That the Communists were in this case intent upon completely exterminating religion, can be seen from the fact that they demolished about 90 per cent of all the churches in Soviet Ukraine or else converted them into storage depots, garages, stables, clubs, cinemas and anti-religious museums, etc¹⁰) Even Christian cemeteries were frequently demolished and the gravestones used for paving streets, church-bells were melted down and used for various industrial purposes

In 1936, the last parish, which had previously declared its adherence to the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, was officially dissolved¹¹), and thus the last vestige of the existence of this Church as an organised community on Soviet Ukrainian soil was now obliterated. Those priests and monks who had still engaged in their profession were now obliged to do so illegally. They went from place to place, preaching the Divine Word to the population and hiding from the police. Those who were caught, were shot, as for instance the monk Pylyp (Philip) in 1937 and the abbot Arsenius, some time before 1941. The police system of informers made it practically impossible for the priests to continue their religious activity even in secret, as is proved by the words of the priest Volodymyr B of Poltava "With the aid of all their satanic organisations — the Party, the Komsomol (Communist Youth organisation) and the Soviet trade unions — the Bolsheviks are even making it impossible for us to worship Christ in caves and catacombs, in forests and deserts. Fear of losing their last piece of bread, that is, their jobs, has forced the people to surrender their souls in despair to spiritual slavery"¹²)

The destruction of monuments of Ukrainian Christian civilization and culture, as for instance the Church of St Michael's Monastery in Kyiv, which dated back to the 12th century and on the site of which there now stands the building of the Regional Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine, was likewise a demonic feature of the extermination of religious life in Soviet Ukraine at that time

¹⁰) Eighth Interim Hearings (7) p 249

¹¹) Protolyey M Ternystym Shlyakhom (4) p 7

¹²) F Heyer Die orthodoxe Kirche (2) p 129

THE WEST UKRAINIAN TERRITORIES INCLUDING CARPATHO-UKRAINE

1) THE BLOODSHED OF THE FIRST SOVIET OCCUPATION

The Soviet Union occupied West Ukraine for the first time in September, 1939, on the strength of a treaty with Nazi Germany, the second Soviet occupation of West Ukraine — this time including Carpatho-Ukraine — took place in 1944. The Church which existed in these Ukrainian territories was the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (that is, a Catholic Church with an Eastern Rite).

At the time of the first occupation, the Metropolitan of Galicia, Count Andreas Sheptytsky, did his utmost to prevent anything from happening which might give the Communists cause to persecute the Church. In his pastoral messages to the priests (December, 1939) he admonished them to comply with all the orders issued by the Soviet state power provided that these were not contrary to the Divine Law.

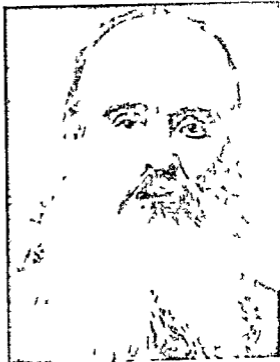
But the Communist rulers were not in the least interested in the good intentions of the heads of the Church and in their willingness to exist legally side by side with the administration. They promptly liquidated the Catholic press, all Catholic publishing firms and schools, religious societies and monastic and nuns' orders. At the same time, the Soviet state power ordered the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church, that is to say all bishops, priests and faithful, to sever all connections with the Vatican, even though the Church was authorised to uphold such relations on the strength of the Concordat of 1925, Article 1, the Concordat of 1929, Article 4, and the 'Modus Vivendi' of 1928 Article 1, and regardless of the fact that these agreements, from the point of view of international law, were to continue to be valid.

The priests were designated by the administration as 'cult servants' and were obliged to pay such exorbitant taxes (from 5 000 roubles a year upwards) that it was practically impossible for them to make regular payments. If they were in arrears, the church in question was closed down, for the churches, too, were taxed. The administration forbade the priests to visit members of their church who were in hospital, and to give religious instructions in the schools, it closed down theological seminaries and began to confiscate the property of the Church.



Vasyl Lypkivsky (b 1864 d ?)

Metropolitan of Kyiv and of all Ukraine
arrested by the GPU in 1927 and died
a martyr's death



Nestor Sharayivsky (b 1865 d 1929)

Archbishop of Kyiv and a scholar was
persecuted by the GPU and died of
physical exhaustion



Mykola Boretsky (b 1879 d about 1935)

Metropolitan of Kyiv and of all Ukraine
deported to the Solovki Islands in 1930
and died as a result of tortures inflicted
on him



Polikarp Sikorsky (b 1875 d 1953)

Metropolitan of the Ukrainian Auto
cephalous Orthodox Church (UAPTs)



Andreas Count Sheptytsky OSBM (b 1865 d 1944)
A Servant of God Metropolitan and Archbishop of the
Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church exiled to Siberia by
the Tsar persecuted by the Soviet Russians
and presumably poisoned



Joseph Slipy (b 1892)
Metropolitan and Archbishop of
the Greek Catholic Church of
Ukraine Rector of the Ukrainian
Theological Academy imprisoned
by the Soviet Russians since 1944



The Cathedral of St Sophia in Kyiv

The symbol of Christian Ukraine built in the 11th century, one of the finest churches in Ukraine turned into an antireligious museum by the Soviet Russians



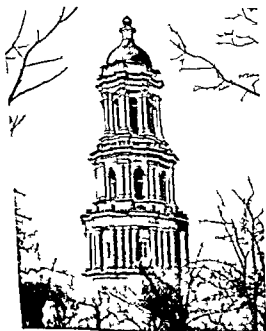
The Golden Cupola Monastery of St Michael in Kyiv

Built about 1060 and restored in the 17th century demolished by the Soviet Russians in 1934



Kyiv Pecherska Lavra

Catacomb monastery built in the 11th century and rebuilt in the 17th century partly destroyed by the Soviet Russians in 1941



Campanile of the Pecherska Lavra Monastery

restored (1731-1744) by the famous Ukrainian architect Stepan Kovchig after the fire of 1718



The Cathedral of St. Nicholas

Military cathedral of Kyiv endowed by Hetman Ivan Mazepa in the 17th century demolished by the Soviet Russians in 1934

Even in those days the Soviets were already intent upon liquidating the Ukrainian Catholic Church, above all, they were anxious to sever the latter's connections with the Vatican. They planned to consecrate Father Dr H Kostelnyk as bishop and he was then to proclaim the severance of the Ukrainian Catholic Church from the Vatican. When he refused to do so, the police put his seventeen-year old son into prison.

The outbreak of the war between Germany and the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941, prevented the Soviets from carrying out all their plans in this respect. But even so, the Soviet police had time enough to arrest a large number of priests immediately after the outbreak of the war, who were then either deported to the East or else murdered in a most dreadful way. Many of them were crucified, others had their stomachs slit open by the Bolsheviks, who then placed murdered babies in the stomachs of their victims. The twenty-seven priests who were bestially murdered in June and July, 1941, during the Soviet retreat from West Ukraine, included the following: Father Prof Dr Mykola Konrad of Stradche (near Lviv), who was murdered on June 26, 1941, Father Dr Ishchak of Sykhiv (near Lviv), Father Roman Bodnian of Borshchiv (near Peremyshlyany), Father Petro Dutko of Knyazhpil, Father Kebuz of Makova, Father Rychakivsky of Uhryn', Father Y Chemerynsky of Lviv, Father Y Sternuk, Father Boyarsky, and Father Kleisan.

2) THE ILLEGALITY OF THE SOVIET ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

During the second Soviet occupation of West Ukraine, which began in the early summer of 1944, the policy pursued by the Soviets as regards the Church was, at first, to all outward appearance moderate, but in essence treacherous, in view of the fact that the country was at war, the Soviets did not want to turn the pious Ukrainian people against themselves by adopting repressive measures right from the outset.

There are certain reasons to assume that Metropolitan Andreas Sheptytsky, who died on November 1, 1944, was poisoned by the Bolsheviks¹³⁾, who later voiced a completely unfounded suspicion that this was done by the Metropolitan's successor, the then Archbishop, Joseph Slipy. Metropolitan Andreas Sheptytsky happened to be an obstacle to the plans of the Bolsheviks since he enjoyed the greatest esteem amongst the population of Ukraine.

His successor, Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, conducted the affairs of the Church in such a manner that the Soviet state power could not reproach him. He even donated 100,000 roubles in the name of the Ukrainian Catholic Church for the welfare of the Soviet soldiers who had been wounded in the war¹⁴⁾.

¹³⁾ Communist Takeover and Occupation of Ukraine (6), p. 32.

¹⁴⁾ *Ibid.*, p. 32-33.

But already during the winter of 1944/45, the Bolsheviks began to harass the priests, namely by demanding that they should attend meetings at which Communist agitators criticized and ridiculed the Catholic Church, in this way the Bolsheviks aimed not only to undermine the morale of the population and bring discredit on the priesthood, but also to provoke individual priests to make unwise remarks

In spring 1945, the Bolsheviks intensified their propaganda against the Church very considerably, thus paving the way for more concrete repressive measures

On April 11, 1945, the Bolsheviks arrested five West Ukrainian Catholic bishops the Archbishop-Metropolitan Joseph Slipy, the Bishops Nykyta (Nicetas) Budka and Mykola (Nicholas) Charnetsky in Lviv, and the Bishops Hryhoriy (Gregory) Khomyshyn and Ivan (John) Lyatyshevsky in Stanyslaviv. At the same time, other members of the priesthood were also arrested, namely the Fathers M. Gahant, Kovalsky, Kunytsky, Gorchynsky, Beley, Sampara, Trush, Bilyk, Hodun'ko, and various others, Father Hodun'ko died a few days later as a result of the dreadful tortures inflicted on him during the police 'interrogations'. At the same time, the Apostolic Visitor for Catholic Ukrainians in Germany, Father Dr P. Verhun, was arrested in Berlin¹⁵. He died in exile on February 7, 1957, in Angarsky Poselok, district of Krasnoyarsk (East Siberia)

It was not until eleven months later, in March 1946, that the indictment against the incarcerated bishops was formulated by the Soviet Prosecutor in Kyiv. He accused them (on the strength of Article 54, sub-section 1a and 2, of the Criminal Code of the USSR) of 'high treason,' of "collaboration with the enemy" and of "hostile, criminal offences against the fatherland", all these "crimes" had allegedly been committed by the bishops in question during the German occupation of West Ukraine between 1941-1943.

The West Ukrainian Catholic bishops never collaborated with the German occupation forces at all. Naturally, it was unavoidable that they should be obliged to have formal contact with the German administration (just as had previously been the case with the Soviet administration) in the course of carrying out their ecclesiastical duties as for instance when it was a case of appointing a priest for the Ukrainian workers who had been forcibly abducted and taken to Germany, or of appointing priests as army chaplains in the Ukrainian Division. How unfounded and ridiculous the accusation of 'high treason' on the grounds of collaboration with the German occupation forces was, can be clearly seen from the following facts

¹⁵) Fate of Ukrainian Catholics (8)

During the German occupation Archbishop Joseph Slipy was placed under police surveillance and was interrogated on several occasions by the Gestapo. The Gestapo detained Bishop Mykola Charnetsky in Lviv and refused to give him permission to go to his diocese Kholm-Pidlyashshia-Volhynia. All the other bishops, too, were harassed by the Gestapo, which searched their dwellings and threatened them with imprisonment and actually imprisoned many of the co-workers of the bishops.

The West Ukrainian Catholic bishops committed no offences whatever against the U.S.S.R., and the Soviet court had no concrete evidence at all which might have incriminated them. For this reason they were imprisoned for eleven months so that an indictment could be prepared against them in the meantime. In the end, the Soviet military tribunal in Kyiv — although it was not competent in this case — conducted the trial in secret (the public were excluded) and sentenced the Metropolitan of Lviv, Archbishop Joseph Slipy, the Canadian subject, Bishop Nykyta Budka, and Bishop Ivan Lyatyshovsky to 8 years hard labour in a penitentiary, Bishop Hryhoriy Khomyshyn to 10 years, and Bishop Mykola Charnetsky to 5 years.

Quite apart from all this, the Polish Communist police arrested the Bishops Josaphat Kotsylovsky and Hryhoriy (Gregory) Lakota in Peremyshl (Przemysl), in September 1944, the first time, and the second time in June 1946, and finally handed them both over to the Soviets. Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovsky died in a Soviet prison on November 17, 1947, as a result of the dreadful tortures which were inflicted on him. Bishop Hryhoriy Lakota was taken to a concentration camp near Vorkuta where he died on November 12, 1950, according to accounts given by the monks, Father Jean Nicholas of Paris (a member of the order of Assumptionists) and Father Petrus Leon, S.J., who returned from Siberia.

Bishop Hryhoriy (Gregory) Khomyshyn, who was eighty, died in prison on December 24, 1945. Bishop Nykyta (Nictas) Budka, who had formerly worked in Canada (from 1912 to 1926), was deported to Karaganda and died there on October 6, 1949.

The sentence imposed on Metropolitan Yosyp (Joseph) Slipy ended in 1954, but the Soviets then sentenced him — without any legal reason whatever — to another 25 years imprisonment. A complete invalid as a result of the hard labour he was forced to do, he is now in Maklakovo, district of Yenisei, Krasnoyarsk region.

Bishop Mykola (Nicholas) Charnetsky was imprisoned in the notorious concentration camp in Vorkuta (West Siberia), in camp No 5110/33/1-7 for hard labour, despite the fact that his sentence ended in 1950, he was not released until 1956, when it was ascertained that he was suffering from an incurable disease. He died on April 2, 1959 at the age of 75.

Bishop John Lyatyshevsky was released in 1956, but was forbidden to perform his ecclesiastical duties. He died on November 29, 1957, in Stanyslaviv, as a result of sufferings during his 10 years imprisonment in Kazakhstan. The Soviets, incidentally, have now released a number of priests, but have moreover, made it impossible for them to get regular employment, so that most of them on their release from concentration camps are faced by poverty and starvation. In 1957 the Soviets have once more started arresting priests — including a number who were released only recently — and deporting them to concentration camps.

3) THE FORCIBLE LIQUIDATION OF THE UKRAINIAN CATHOLIC CHURCH IN THE THREE WEST UKRAINIAN DIOCESES

The actual reason for the incarceration of the seven West Ukrainian Catholic bishops was that they refused to break with the Vatican, and to be subordinated to the administration of the Moscow Patriarchate, that is to say, of the Russian Orthodox Church. The Bolshevik regime had only allowed the Russian Orthodox Church, which was under its control, to continue to exist, in order to spread Soviet influence with the aid of this Church and pave the way for the political expansion of Bolshevism. The Ukrainian Catholic Church, too, by being subordinated to the administration of the Moscow Orthodox Patriarchate, was likewise to come under the control of the Bolshevik regime and become the instrument of the latter's policy. When the above-mentioned bishops, however, refused to comply with this unfair request they were put into prison for no legal reason at all and were sentenced without legal evidence. At the same time the Communist administration with the aid of its police system, began to make preparations to unite the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church forcibly. High ecclesiastical dignitaries and priests were arrested and, at the same time, a large-scale propaganda campaign was conducted against the Pope and against the bishops who were loyal to the Vatican. Eventually, a kind of meeting was held in Lviv (Lemberg) from March 8 to 10th 1946, in the course of which 216 members proclaimed the union of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church with the Russian Orthodox Church. This meeting, though designated as a "church synod" could not lay claim to any authority, since the participants included renegates and even agents of the secret state police, some of whom were disguised as priests, but since the meeting had the police power of the Soviet administration on its side, its illegal decrees were regarded as valid.

On the other hand, however, the protest made by the 300 authorised representatives of the Ukrainian Catholic priesthood, who held a conference in Lviv, was ignored by the Soviet state power in Moscow¹⁶⁾ In this protest from July 1, 1945, which was addressed to the then Deputy Premier, Vyacheslav Molotov, the Soviet anti-religious policy was exposed and the request was made that the bishops who had been arrested should be released and the freedom of the religion restored The only result of this protest was that still more persons were arrested

After this forcible subordination of the Ukrainian Catholic Church to the Moscow Patriarchate, the Ministry for Internal Affairs (MVD) began to exert pressure on the priests to make them sign statements to the effect that they had 'voluntarily united' with the Russian Orthodox Church Those who refused to be intimidated by threats, were arrested, tortured and deported to concentration camps In 1946, about 800 priests were arrested and many of them were tortured to death¹⁷⁾ The following priests are known to have been murdered for certain T Chanyzh, V Mykytiuk, Telep, M Koltunuk, I Seredovych, M Holovach, D Nimelovych (his body was found quartered), H Syvak, Ya Kneychuk, T Kaminsky, S Salash, Ya Shchyrba, M Matsiuk, V Radosha, V Bolinsky, M Kachorovsky, I Demyanchuk, O Konkoliovsky, I Sorokevych, A Sembratovych, M Dobriansky, P Voytovych, P Volyanovych, L Sogar, O Bilyk, M Plakhta, S Koroluk, Huchko (and all his family), and Archpresbyter M Galant

The Soviets even set up special concentration camps, exclusively for priests, in West Ukraine (as for instance in Horodok, Lavriv, Krekhiv, Sambir and near Lviv), where they were to be "re-educated," that is to say subjected to physical and spiritual tortures Those who continued to adhere to their faith unwaveringly were deported en masse to Siberia, Karaganda, Vorkuta, etc., where most of those who survived are still interned today, in Mine No 8 alone, in Vorkuta, there were 32 priests and scores of monks from Lviv Naturally, very many of the priests who were deported at that time have in the meantime died as a result of the dreadful conditions in the prisons and concentration camps, the heavy work which they were forced to do and the physical tortures which they had to endure Clementius Sheptytsky, the abbot of the Studite order and brother of Metropolitan Andreas Sheptytsky, who died in 1944 under mysterious circumstances, was imprisoned by the Soviets in Vladimir on the Klyazma (region of Moscow) and died as a result of the tortures inflicted on him

In parishes whose priests had been arrested, the Soviet administration frequently closed down the church at once or else converted it into a storage depot. In Zarvanytsia, for instance, the church was

¹⁶⁾ First Victims (1) p 39

¹⁷⁾ Ibid p 42

converted into a granary and the monastery into stables. In Hoshiv the monastery was ransacked and subsequently the Soviet police was billeted there. In Luzhany and in Zastavna (both in Bukovyna) all the churches were converted into granaries or so-called "houses of culture". In many other towns and villages, too, churches were profaned or else handed over to the Russian Orthodox priests. It was in this way, that is to say with the help of the organs of the MVD, that the Russian Orthodox Bishop, Macarius, seized possession of the Cathedral of St. George in Lviv.

The Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church (that is to say, a Catholic Church with an Eastern rite) had enjoyed a legal status in Ukraine, namely on the strength of the Concordat of August 3, 1925, between the Vatican and Poland, which was never revoked and thus is still legally valid today. The Soviet government thus arbitrarily violated an agreement which is internationally valid.

It was not until some time later that the Moscow press agency, TASS, announced in an official communique that the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church had ceased to exist in the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as from January 1, 1948, and had no longer any rights, this official confirmation was thus published almost two years after the actual application of measures of violence. In reality, the Ukrainian Catholic Church continues to exist in West Ukraine secretly, in the catacombs of the 20th century. The Soviets persecute its priests and its faithful mercilessly. In Zoloty Potik (district of Rohatyn), for instance, the MVD shot the priest, Telishchuk, and thirty farmers solely because they refused to go over to the Russian Orthodox Church.

4) THE CRIMES OF THE SOVIET REGIME IN CARPATHO UKRAINE

The Soviet Army occupied Carpatho-Ukraine at the end of 1944. From the very outset, the Soviets began to ransack churches and burn the holy books used for divine service (as for instance in Uzhhorod-Tseholnia Ploskiv, Radvanets, etc.) Soon afterwards, the Soviet administration began to confiscate churches and to arrest Ukrainian Catholic priests, including P. Demyanovych (who was later shot), E. Pasulka, I. Egreshiy, D. Popovych, I. Popovych, M. Rusynok, E. Ortutay, K. Yelesh, I. Mynyok, Durnevych, I. Daniyevych, T. Skyba, O. Mondiy¹⁸⁾. Quite apart from these measures, Father Dr. Augustin Voloshyn, the former President of the Republic of Carpatho-Ukraine (1939), was arrested in Prague; he died in prison in Kyiv, in 1945, allegedly "during interrogations"¹⁹⁾.

The faithful were forced to go over to the Russian Orthodox Church and many were arrested because they refused to do so. The priests were forbidden to give religious instruction (even in

¹⁸⁾ R. N. Holhota Uniyi (9) p. 330

¹⁹⁾ Father M. Buchko. Mene vykynuly (8) p. 4

church, too) Catholic publishing firms were closed down and Catholic printing businesses were confiscated. In addition, the theological seminary in Uzhhorod was also closed down by the Soviet administration.

In order to compromise the priesthood in the eyes of the population, the Communists arranged "show trials" in which priests were accused of various fictitious "crimes", but this measure did not prove successful, since the population was not sufficiently convinced by Communist propaganda in the court.

On October 22, 1945, the Bishop of the Russian Orthodox Church, Nestor, arrived in Carpatho-Ukraine. The Communists placed an elegant car at his disposal so as to enable him to travel all over the country and disseminate propaganda for Russian orthodoxy. But since he was not particularly successful in this undertaking, the Soviet administration in 1946 began to bring pressure to bear on the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop Theodore Romzha, in the capital, Uzhhorod, in order to force him, his priests and the faithful to join the Russian Orthodox Church. This pressure was intensified to an ever-increasing degree. A representative of the Soviet government, who travelled from Kyiv to Uzhhorod specially for this purpose, explicitly told Bishop Romzha that "there can be no Catholic Church in the Soviet Union."

On March 22, 1947, the MVD closed the largest monastery in Carpatho-Ukraine, that of the Basilian Order in Chernecha Hora near Mukachiv, all the monks were arrested as they refused to go over to Russian Orthodoxy. Like other monasteries, this monastery was later handed over to Russian Orthodox monks.

But since the majority of the population continued to adhere unwaveringly to their Catholic faith in spite of all persecutions and loyally supported their courageous Bishop Romzha, the Communists decided to get rid of him, but in a different way to what was customary in Galicia, where the arresting of the bishops evoked considerable indignation on the part of the population. The Communists now, therefore, arranged a traffic accident. On October 27, 1947, as Bishop Romzha was driving along in a horse-drawn carriage — and, incidentally, he was on the right side of the road — on his way to consecrate a church in the village of Lokhovo (near Mukachiv), his carriage was intentionally rammed by an army truck and he himself was seriously injured. Soviet soldiers, who jumped down from the truck, then beat him with the butts of their rifles and left him lying unconscious in the road, in the firm conviction that he was dead, he was later found by civilian passers-by, who took him to the hospital in Mukachiv, where after an operation, he began to recover. On October 31st however, the hospital staff was unexpectedly

replaced by new staff, and during the night from October 31 to November 1, Bishop Romzha died, — after obviously having been poisoned by the new staff, as is corroborated by the fact that about an hour before his death a telephone inquiry came through to the hospital from Uzhhorod, as to whether the Bishop was still alive or whether he had already died ²⁰⁾

After the murder of Bishop Theodore Romzha and after a still more intensified Communist propaganda campaign on behalf of Russian Orthodoxy, the Soviets on August 28, 1949, actually carried out the forcible union of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Carpatho-Ukraine with the Russian Orthodox Church, all the Ukrainian Catholic priests who refused to go over to the Russian Orthodox Church were arrested and deported to concentration camps. Here, too, the Ukrainian Catholic Church was deprived of all its rights and was declared illegal, regardless of its legally guaranteed status under the Czecho-Slovak administration (1919-1937)

On the Western border of Carpatho-Ukraine, in the district of Priashiv (Preshov), which after World War II continued to remain in the possession of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia, the Communist administration on March 28, 1950, arrested the Ukrainian Catholic Bishop, Pavlo (Paul) Goydych, of Priashiv and completely demolished his residence, soon afterwards, his deputy, Bishop Vasyl (Basil) Hopko, was likewise arrested in Priashiv. In January 1951, a mock trial was staged against Bishop Goydych in Bratislava (Pressburg), but from the point of view of propaganda it was not a success. Bishop Goydych, who had no reason whatever to feel guilty, gave his evidence so courageously that the Communist court stopped the broadcast report of the trial and thus it had no propagandist effect whatever. For no legal reason at all and in spite of the fact that there was no incriminating evidence against him, Bishop Goydych was sentenced to imprisonment for life and died on July 19, 1960, in the Leopoldovo Prison. Thereupon, Bishop Hopko was not brought to trial before a court at all, but was simply left in a concentration camp.

On April 28, 1950, it was declared at a meeting held by Communists in Priashiv that Greek Catholic Church had ceased to exist in the diocese of Priashiv. Chronologically, this was the last of the Ukrainian Catholic dioceses to be forcibly liquidated by the Communists under the pretext of the "will of the people." With the consent of the Communist administration, the Russian Orthodox Church appropriated the entire Church property of this diocese, — churches, monasteries, schools, printing businesses, etc. The population however, continues to adhere unwaveringly and secretly to its religious faith which is persecuted by the Communists.

²⁰⁾ R. N. Holhota Uniyi (9), p 345-348

5) THE BALANCE-SHEET OF VIOLENCE

As a result of the Communist persecution of religion and the Church in West Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine, the life of the Catholic Church there was completely disorganised. This is obvious from the following comparison of the status of the Ukrainian Catholic Church there in 1939 and its status at present²¹⁾

<i>STATUS IN 1939</i>		<i>STATUS AT PRESENT</i>
Dioceses	5	All liquidated.
Circuits of Apostolic Administrators or Visitators	2	All liquidated
Bishops	10	All deprived of their rank and office and arrested or deported (1 murdered, 7 died in prison)
Secular priests	2 950	About 50 per cent imprisoned (or murdered) about 20 per cent fled or hid, about 30 per cent forced to give up their religious faith.
Priests in orders	520	
Nuns	1 090	
Parishes	3 040	The majority handed over to the Russian Orthodox Church church buildings partly used for profane purposes.
Churches and chapels	4 440	
Monasteries	195	
Ukrainian Catholic primary schools	9,900	All communised or closed down
Ukr-Cath. secondary schools	380	
Ukr-Cath colleges	56	
Ukr-Cath publishers	35	All liquidated or confiscated
Ukr-Cath. journals	38	
Other Ukrainian Catholic institutions	41	

Although the official Constitution of the Soviet Union ensures freedom of religion to all Soviet citizens (Article 123), the Soviet state power has actually deprived the population of West Ukraine and Carpatho-Ukraine of the right to follow their religious faith within the Ukrainian Catholic Church, and the latter has been liquidated by terrorist measures. In addition, a considerable part of the population, starting with the primary schools, has been forced to take part in the anti-religious atheist movement.

²¹⁾ First Victims (I) p. 64-68.

THE CHURCH POLICY OF THE SOVIETS IN RECENT YEARS

1) THE REACTIVATION OF THE RUSSIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH

During the war between the U S S R and Nazi Germany the Soviet government changed its tactics in the field of Church policy, and there were three main reasons for this

1) neither with the aid of their atheistic propoganda nor by their terrorist measures were the Bolsheviks able to exterminate religious sentiment and faith in God among the majority of the population of the Soviet Union, -

2) the demands of the war made it essential that there should be a more favourable attitude on the part of the population towards the administrative authorities,

3) the Bolshevik leaders in Moscow decided to allow the Russian Orthodox Church the right to exist, in order to make it more subservient to themselves and to use it to achieve the aims of their imperialistic policy both among the peoples in the Soviet Union who had been subjugated by Moscow and among the free peoples in other countries

The Bolsheviks explain their political manoeuvre with the re-activation of the Russian Orthodox Church to the outside world in the usual manner, namely by distorting facts. The U S S R official for Church Affairs, G Karpov, stated in the "Journal of the Moscow Patriarchy" (1948, No 8) that 'the Church in the Soviet Union, in accordance with the wish of the people, has been separated from the State for the past thirty years and enjoys complete freedom in its internal religious activity, and in this respect the mutual relations between the Church and the State are completely normal'

On the other hand however, the chairman of the Party Executive Committee in the Council of the People's Commissars (in the subsequent Ministerial Council) of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R S F S R), Mironov, during World War II gave a select group of the top-ranking Communist leaders in Moscow the following reasons for this tactical change in Church policy

"Comrades," he explained, "we have had to make some concessions to believers, especially as so many of the Red Army soldiers are drawn from backward villages where religion still has a considerable hold. Also the enemy is making use of our anti-religious attitudes for propaganda purposes, and the improved relations with the Russian Church cuts the ground from under them. Then there is another important consideration: our armies soon will be moving into Slav countries which have not had the benefit of Communist education. Of what value will the Pan-Slav Committee in Moscow be if we continue the old policy with regard to the church?"

'Our new religious policy will be valuable in smashing the anti-Soviet propaganda of the Roman Catholic, Lutheran and other religious groups. Therefore do not underestimate the wisdom of our Party's action. We must in the next period take a broad view of the problem. We have the chance to draw the Orthodox Church in other countries closer to Russia and make Moscow the Third Rome.'

'But Comrade Mironov,' one of the men present spoke up, 'isn't there a danger that the new generation, which will one day take our place, may be spoiled by religious superstition?'

"Don't worry on that score," he replied, smiling. 'There is neither soil nor sap on which religion can feed in the U.S.S.R. After all, the press, theatre, radio, schools, literature — all the forces of the mind are in the Party's sole control. It's clear to everyone that young men with religious inclinations cannot possibly make a career. If he is not on our side spiritually and politically, there is no place for him. This is our supreme advantage.'

'Remember, the Church is separated from the state — and the schools are in the hands of the state. The Komsomols you may be sure, will be a stronger force than the priests. Are we such idiots that we will turn over the new generation to the priests?'

For these reasons the Bolshevik government allowed the Russian Orthodox Church the right to exist, inasmuch as the head of the latter in return for this concession stated that he was willing to observe the instructions of the state administration. Since then, the Russian Orthodox Church has been completely under the control of the Bolshevik government. And, as a former officer of the "Propaganda Service" of the Ministry of the Interior of the U.S.S.R., Yuriy Rastvorov, recently affirmed very rightly, it is 'completely dependent on the State, and the State conducts all activities of the Church in the Soviet Union'²²⁾

Although the Russian Orthodox Church in the U.S.S.R. has a formal hierarchial system of organisation and its own religious ritual and although its functionaries formally exercise the functions of priests, it is in character not a religious institution, but a political instrument of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Bolshevik

²²⁾ V. Kravchenko: *I Chose Freedom* (3) p. 432-433

²³⁾ *Sworn Testimony* (12)

government, both as regards their internal and their foreign affairs. The Russian Orthodox Church has no religious authority whatever, since its bishops and its priests are not pastors in the true sense, but merely the executors of the orders issued by an atheistic state power. And what is more, some of these bishops and priests are themselves Communists and atheists in disguise. This fact is corroborated by the following incidents:

One day, a young couple went to the monastery in Chernecha Hora near Mukachiv (Carpatho-Ukraine) and asked to see the person in charge. An official of the Ministry of the Interior (MVD) of the USSR appeared, attired in police uniform. When he learnt that the young couple had come to see him about their wedding, he left the room and returned after a little while in the role of a priest and attired in priest's robes²⁴.)

In Zabolotiv (in the district of Stanyslaviv, Western Ukraine) a priest of the Russian Orthodox Church demanded half a litre of gin from the members of his congregation before he would go to church to hold the service, — as he put it, so that the service would turn out a good one ("Ukrainisch-Katholische Korrespondenz," No 12-36, October 1, 1947, St Peter, Austria)

It is hardly surprising that there are such priests as these who are recognised by the Soviet state, for the candidates for the office of priest in the Russian Orthodox Church are no better. Indeed, the Kyiv Communist daily, "Radyanska Ukrayina," of February 16, 1957, describes them as follows:

"Two youths who were half-drunk appeared in the doorway of the X-ray room

— We want to be X-rayed!

— Wait your turn, please, — they were told

The two young fellows thereupon began to shout and swear and finally got violent. In fact, they carried on to such an extent that they broke the latch on the door to the X-ray room and smashed several chairs. Men of the militia (i.e. the municipal police) eventually arrested the two rowdies, who turned out to be two students at the Kyiv Theological College, Tymofiy Rodin and Oleksiy Kondryshyn."

And the above-mentioned Yuriy Rastvorov states explicitly: "When the government permitted the Orthodox Church to operate more freely, the Church organised Seminaries, I think one or two, and a couple of people — not a couple but many people — from MVD headquarters were sent to the Seminaries as students." And he adds: "They sent officers, counter-intelligence officers, to the seminaries, and later they became bishops in many churches in the Soviet Union."²⁵)

²⁴) R. N. Holhota Uniyi (9), p. 342.

²⁵) Sworn Testimony (12)

2) COMMUNIST MESSIANISM AND THE ADVANCE TO ATHEISM

As far as Bolshevist dominion is concerned it is actually immaterial what kind of spiritual activity the Russian Orthodox Church practises, indeed, it is of advantage to the Communists if this Church, as a result of the activity and conduct of its bishops and priests, compromises itself and religion, since in this way it facilitates the task of atheistic propaganda amongst the population

Bolshevist state power is only concerned with seeing that the Russian Orthodox Church, controlled by this same power, influences the orthodox-minded population of the USSR in the direction of Bolshevist interests, russifies the religious life of the Ukrainian people and of other non-Russian peoples in the Soviet Union and also spreads Moscow's influence abroad From the point of view of Russian imperialistic policy a particularly important task of the Russian Orthodox Church consists in isolating the population of the USSR and, above all, of Ukraine from the West spiritually, that is to say to cut them off from the influence of Western ideas and culture and from the true conception of religious faith and of national and individual freedom Thus, as far as the Bolsheviks are concerned, the Russian Orthodox Church in its actual function is merely an instrument to consolidate their dominion over the peoples of the Soviet Union and of the satellite states and a means by which to realise the plans of Soviet Russian political expansion

The Russian Communist leaders have adopted their Messianist programme from tsarist Russia and have expanded it considerably In former times this programme of Russian Messianism, known as Pan-Slavism, was limited to the Slav peoples In theory Pan-Slavism aimed to effect the union of all Slavs and the liberation of all the Slav peoples who were still under the dominion of Austria-Hungary and Turkey In practice, however, the case was very different The Russians endeavoured to liberate Slav peoples only for the purpose of incorporating them in the Russian empire and under Russian rule In this way Russia wanted to extend her dominion to the countries of Central Europe and, via the Balkans, to gain control of the Mediterranean coast

The Russian Communists by resorting to the watchwords of the international unity and solidarity of the proletariat have now encompassed all the peoples with their Bolshevist Messianism For forty years Communist Moscow has been disseminating propaganda for the "liberation of all peoples from the capitalistic yoke" and is now aiming to rule the whole world, after it has succeeded in the past conquering almost all the Slav countries (with the exception of Yugoslavia) and many other countries, too (Hungary, Rumania, Albania, Northest Prussia and the three Baltic states), and has managed to extend the government and administration practices of Bolshevist doctrine to the Chinese mainland (including Tibet), North Korea, North Vietnam and East Germany

In connection with these far-reaching plans of the Russian Communists regarding the conquest of the world, the Russian Orthodox Church also furthers its own Messianist claims, namely to elevate Moscow above Rome, that is to make Moscow a religious world-centre. Since time immemorial the Russians have always manifested a hostile attitude to Rome, the apostolic capital of the Catholic Church confessions, since they are of the opinion that the leadership over all the Christians in the world should belong to the Russian Orthodox Church. Bolshevist state power tolerates the Messianism of the Russian Orthodox Church, since this trend helps it to extend its political influence in the free countries of the world still further.

The representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church actively support the so-called "peace campaigns" of Moscow at world congresses and establish contacts with other ecclesiastical organisations in the world which Russian Communist foreign policy could not reach by direct means. The Russian Orthodox Church helps red Moscow's ideological influence to infiltrate imperceptibly into these organisations by arousing sympathy in the world for the alleged "religious rebirth" in the U.S.S.R. and by endeavouring in this way to influence public opinion favourably as regards the Bolshevist regime prevailing in the Soviet Union, its "liberal" home policy and its "peace-loving" foreign policy.

But however eagerly the Russian Orthodox Church fawns on the Bolsheviks, it is only tolerated by them in so far as they need it at the present time. Fundamentally, the Bolsheviks have not changed their atheistic programme at all. And this is proved by the following facts:

1) Paragraph 58 (Article 10) of the Criminal Code of the U.S.S.R., which stipulates that "religious propaganda" shall be severely punished, still holds good, but the fact that it is not applied at present with regard to the Russian Orthodox Church merely proves that the Bolsheviks in the present situation wish it to continue to exist, since this is to their political advantage. But the Bolshevist state power only allows the Russian Orthodox Church to exist within certain limits. The legal conditions which exist in the Soviet Union with regard to the Church are described as follows by a member of the Supreme Federal Court of the U.S.A., Williams O. Douglas, who has visited the U.S.S.R.

"The Soviets confiscated all church property taking title to all land and buildings. The churches occupy the property merely at the sufferance of the government.

The church is not juridical person in Soviet law. That is to say the church cannot defend its property rights in the courts nor receive bequest under wills (Soviet courts have winked at that prohibition by recognizing bequests made to ministers or priests.)'

"The church is subject to the income tax paying 13 per cent of all its revenues to the state.

"The youth of Russia are taught that religion is evil, that atheism is the true faith. These teachings are drilled into their ears, beginning with the nursery."

"The state has destroyed the pulpit, as we of the West know it. Today no priest, no minister would dare preach social justice from his pulpit, except and unless the social justice he championed fits precisely the Communist pattern."²⁶)

2) The Bolsheviks have by no means renounced atheism as their ideological basic principle, and they continue their anti-religious propaganda quite officially, but merely in a different form, with new methods, more skilfully and less demonstratively. The fact that the aims of the Bolsheviks in this respect have remained unchanged is, for instance, corroborated by the officious journal "Sovietskaya Pedagogika" ("Soviet Pedagogics") of May 1955, — that is to say already in the post-Stalinist era under the present "collective dictatorship" of Khrushchev in the Kremlin. In the said issue of this journal the following basic and current instructions are given for Soviet teachers:

"The Soviet school, as an instrument of Communist training, must adopt an uncompromising attitude towards religion. But there can be nothing more harmful than to combat religion by ridicule, application of force or official pressure, which is what still occurs in some schools even nowadays. This only makes religious-minded parents hostile towards the school. The pupils must be warned not to behave in a tactless manner towards priests, since this is only likely to increase the biased opinion of the orthodox-minded. Pedagogic and educational work is to be carried out in such a way that all the pupils become capable of resisting all religious influence. But this is not all. The Soviet school must instil into the children an uncompromising hostility towards religion as well as the desire to combat religion. It is also the duty of the school to train conscious and completely convinced atheists. Religion is the strongest remnant of capitalistic ideology and the most powerful weapon of capitalistic circles. In our country there are thousands of religious functionaries engaged in preserving and spreading religious prejudices. But there is no reason to hope that religion will die out of its own accord, and we must therefore interfere with it and accelerate its annihilation."

Bolshevist power is thus merely juggling with a relative freedom of religion, for actually it has not given up the fight against religion; on the contrary, it has recently intensified it. It is true that the Bolsheviks have conceded the Russian Orthodox Church a certain right of existence, but only under the complete control of the state administrative system. Just as the Patriarch of this Church, as far as all ecclesiastical matters are concerned, is subordinated to a Communist Party official — the President of the Council for Religious Cults under the Ministerial Council of the U.S.S.R., so, too,

²⁶) Russian Journey, by William O. Douglas (13), p. 193-194

are the bishops subordinated to Communist Party officials, the authorised regional functionaries of this same Council So-called religious freedom exists in the USSR in order to pacify the orthodox-minded population a little, but, above all, in order to deceive the West, to demonstrate the new "liberal" course of Soviet home policy to the world and to be able to show Western tourists a small number of churches which have been reopened, — an unusual occurrence in Soviet reality

If there really were a genuine freedom of religion in the USSR, then Ukrainian bishops and priests would not have been imprisoned or deported, nor would the Ukrainian Catholic Church have been forbidden and forced to go underground, if there really were such a genuine freedom of religion, the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church would be allowed to exist side by side with the official Russian Orthodox Church

The population of Ukraine, however, wants to have its own Church And the youth of Ukraine is courageous enough to defend religious faith openly In a letter to the editor of the Kyiv Bolshevik periodical "Molod' Ukrainy" ("The Youth of Ukraine"), which was published in issue No 65 of April 2, 1957, a young Ukrainian of the village of Hraniv (in the district of Vinnytsia) writes as follows "I have read numerous articles in your organ, in which you talk about the alleged "opium" — religion, and maliciously attack decent-living Christians, and I have decided to write to you in order to make it clear to you that not we, the faithful, are living under the spell of an opium, but you, the unbelieving In writing this, I refer to the prophecies of Our Lord and to the writings of the Prophets and Apostles In every way you scorn all that is most valuable in mankind, — religious faith, by ascribing to religion much that it does not preach What are the best qualities in a good person? Faith, hope and charity You affirm that we do not know truth We know truth Read our Creed and your eyes will be opened!"

But the Bolshevik state power, as usual, completely ignores the voice and the will of the people and realises Soviet "religious freedom" in practice by continuing to arrest the Ukrainian priests and the faithful who are endeavouring to obtain the legal recognition of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, that is to say the permission for it to exist openly Thus the above-mentioned American judge, William O Douglas is perfectly right when he affirms on the strength of his own personal observations, that religion is suppressed in the Soviet Union and that the state continues to introduce atheism in spite of the fact that the majority of the population is striving to preserve religious faith He writes as follows

Once there were tsars in the Kremlin who oppressed the people The people withstood the oppression and continued to worship Christ the King There are new dictators in the Kremlin But Christ continues to live on in the hearts of the people 27)

27) Ibid (13) p 205

The above facts prove that, although the Communist leaders in the U.S.S.R. have changed their tactics with regard to religion and the Church, and although they are using the Russian Orthodox Church for the purposes of Bolshevist home and foreign policy, they still continue to adhere unchangeably to the principles of atheism and to endeavour as obstinately as ever to destroy true religious faith. But the Bolsheviks will never succeed in doing so, for "The spirit of Christ will live on after the names of the dictators are forgotten"²⁷). The free states of the world, however, should not look on indifferently whilst Communism violates the conscience of mankind, but should, in the name of the United Nations Charter, expose the anti-religious tyranny of the Communists and should make it their business to act as the protectors of the subjugated people of Ukraine and of all the other peoples enslaved by Moscow.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 205

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W. Hamaliya

KHRUSHCHOV'S PURGE OF UKRAINE IN 1937-1938

THE YEARS OF DEATH AND TERROR

The 1930's were a grim era for the semi-starved and shabbily clad millions of Stalin's subjects. The agricultural revolution unequalled in history swooped on the unwary peasants, robbed them overnight of their smallholdings and their proud though modest independence and herded them together in unwilling collectives. Like a pack of vultures the emissaries of the ruthless regime sapped the blood out of the peaceful population. Terrorised, famished and tortured mentally and physically it revolted in blind, unorganised outbursts of desperate violence or offered stubborn passive resistance. At last, after the convulsions of a horrible and hideous famine in which several million Ukrainians perished in their huts or at the roadside, the country was pacified and the merciless sun shone now on the serfs of the modern tyrant who from the heights of his Kremlin throne proclaimed that "Life has become merrier, life has become better, comrades!" The comparative peace did not however last long. Soon the fearful tremours of terror shook to the foundations the whole building of the Soviet monster empire. The sudden assassination of the close friend of Stalin — Kirov in December 1934 cast a shadow of suspicion across the entire Soviet prison of peoples, cut off as it was from the civilised world. The prisons and forced labour camps filled to overflowing, the long string of show trials gave the sanction for the murderous butchery in the dark recesses of the OGPU cellars. In Ukraine alone between 1930 and 1937 not less than 14 alleged underground organisations were "discovered," arrested, tried and "liquidated" in a bloodbath.

REAPPEARANCE OF KHRUSHCHOV

After several years of life in Moscow, where he rose from total obscurity to important position in the Party, the burly figure of Khrushchov, the right hand man of Stalin reappeared in Ukraine in the summer of 1937. He left Ukraine in 1929 as a rank and file Communist and a minor Trade Union organiser. Now he came as a member of a special commission sent by Stalin to Ukraine to investigate the secret reports of disloyalty on the part of Communist administration of Ukraine. The other two members of the Commission were the well known hammer-headed Molotov and Yezhov, the frenzied chief of the Secret Police whose terror-ridden period of office was even worse than that of Beria or Yagoda, and was dreaded by the people as "Yezhovshchina." Their arrival in Ukraine was Stalin's reaction to the carefully worded protest by the Communist government of Ukraine who demanded that the scores of Stalin's open and secret agents in Ukraine who flooded Kremlin's Party headquarters with reports of treachery and corruption in Ukraine, send the copies of their reports to Kyiv. Molotov, Yezhov, and the then still little known Khrushchov arrived in Kyiv in the middle of August 1937 accompanied by NKVD (Secret Police) troops from Moscow who "occupied" the city. The plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine was quickly convened and Molotov took over the role of Stalin's representative at the session. After a few crisp opening words spoken unenthusiastically by S. Kosior, the then Secretary of the CP of Ukraine, who sensed danger, Molotov spoke at length stating finally that 'the party leadership in Ukraine did not justify the political trust put in them by the Central Committee' in Moscow. He moved then the vote of non-confidence to Kosior, Khatayevich — the chief of NKVD in Ukraine, Popov — member of Ukrainian Politbureau, Petrovsky — President of Soviet Ukraine, Lyubchenko — Chairman of People's Commissars of Ukraine and proposed that they should be removed from the Central Committee and Politbureau. Then he suggested that KHRUSHCHOV should be elected the Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, i.e. that he should become in other words the real dictator of Ukraine under Stalin. This dictate cynically disguised as a proposal by Molotov struck Kyiv Communists like lightning. They could not believe that they, faithful old Bolsheviks, who themselves hunted out all those Ukrainians who were in any way prominent or potential opponents of the regime, that they were about to lose their positions, fruit of long years of arduous and unpleasant toil, to a nonentity like Nikita Khrushchov. They categorically refused believing that Stalin would not go so far as to eliminate all the old Bolshevik guard in Ukraine.

THE SUICIDE OF LYUBCHENKO

The categorical refusal of Ukrainian Communist leadership to submit to Molotov's reshuffle was a slap in the face of Khrushchov, and, indirectly, of Stalin. Talks and persuasions did not help, the Kyiv Communists were stubborn. Molotov rang up Moscow and asked Stalin's instructions. The session was adjourned till the following day. When members of the Ukrainian Politbureau gathered next day on Molotov's ground in the headquarters of the "mobile NKVD," beleaguered by NKVD troops who were in the state of full alertness, they must have wondered what fate was awaiting them. The exact nature of the talks which took place remained unknown. One thing is certain, however, that no agreement was reached. At the end of the prolonged session Molotov suggested what appeared to be a compromise solution, namely for all of them to go to Moscow for a combined session with the Politbureau under Stalin's chairmanship. This suggestion was reluctantly accepted by all members of Ukrainian Politbureau with the exception of Panas Lyubchenko, the head of the puppet government of Ukraine, who did not hide his suspicion of the intentions of the Kremlin, and openly accused Moscow of highhandedness. The stories of further events are conflicting in details, but the main outline is well-known. After the session adjourned to enable everybody to prepare for departure to Moscow on the following day, Lyubchenko saw clearly that a humiliating end was approaching and that Stalin's vengeance would be terrible. He knew the methods of the NKVD torture chambers, and he was too proud to seek alleviation of his fate by self-abasing confessions at a show trial. He decided to end his own life. After consulting his wife, he sent his two children out into the country on a pretext, and then shot dead his wife and himself. The next morning members of the Ukrainian Politbureau were horrified by the discovery of the suicide of the head of the Government of Ukraine. "Pravda" broke the news on 29 August 1937 on its last page in a few laconical lines between other unimportant events.

"Entangled in his anti-Soviet connections and, apparently, dreading responsibility before the Ukrainian people for his betrayal of the interests of Ukraine, the former Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine, Lyubchenko, ended his life by suicide on 30th August."

THE PURGE RAGES

The talks in Moscow have remained a secret to this day. Only a few of top-ranking members of the Kremlin clique know something certain about them. Their consequences however are evident to everybody. Immediately followed the arrests of Ukrainian Polit-

bureau members I S Shelekhes, S O Kudriavtsev, N N. Popov, V I Chernyavsky and others Even those members of the government of Ukraine who were temporarily allowed to return to Ukraine were very soon arrested one after another Among them were Deputy Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine — V I Porayko, Head of the Administration in Arts Affairs — A A Khvyliya, the Commissars for Agriculture — O H Shlikhter, Commissar for Finance — Rekis, Commissar for Health — Kantorovich, and the notorious old Bolshevik — V P Zatonsky, People's Commissar for Education and member of Politbureau

A wave of terror seized Ukraine Not only members of the government were arrested Widespread arrests among rank and file of the Communist Party of Ukraine and among population as a whole followed Especially directors of enterprises, scholars, scientists, writers, and people in any way eminent in intellectual life Even ordinary peasants and workers were arrested on slightest denunciation which gathered an abundant harvest at that time From heavily-guarded Kremlin citadel boot-licking Khrushchov co-operated with Yezhov in clean-up operations in Ukraine His prize was to be a satrapy of 30 million people, a country flowing with milk and honey, the richest jewel in Moscow's imperial crown The results of the purge were staggering This was a devastation, the like of which no region of the immense despotic Soviet Empire has so far experienced To give a few examples from 11 members and 5 candidates of Politbureau of the CP of Ukraine not even one remained free, from 8 members and 2 candidates of the Organisational Bureau — no one again, from 9 members of the Control Commission — no one, from 3 members of the Secretaryship of the Central Committee — Kosior, Khatayevych and Popov — no one remained alive, from 62 members and 40 candidates of the Central Committee — only 2 were not arrested, from 17 members of the Bolshevik government of Ukraine — no one remained in freedom All regional secretaries of the CP were liquidated, Chairmen of municipal councils, directors of all state enterprises, factories and establishments were deposed, arrested, and many of them liquidated Once again the Association of Writers of Ukraine suffered something which amounted to a pogrom Its President, a subservient Communist — I Kulyk together with many faithful Communist writers like — I K Mykytenko, I Kyrylenko, V D Koriak, B Kovalenko, and others were arrested and all trace of them was lost All scientific educational and cultural organisations suffered in like extent The former Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, S Kosior, was transferred to Moscow where he disappeared from the horizon for ever

Ukraine was deprived completely of its local Communist government as well as of the local leadership of the Communist Party "elected" according to all Soviet formalities at the 13th Congress of the CP of Ukraine (27 5 1937 - 4 6 1937) No one bothered to ask who was in charge of affairs in Ukraine at that time Somebody appointed Heads of Government and Commissars from among obscure

people and after a few weeks of precarious drifting they were suddenly arrested and disappeared as mysteriously as they appeared on the Ukrainian horizon. Instead of Ukrainian Communists who at least partially were in charge of affairs in Ukraine arrived finally newcomers from Russia. The entire operation was conducted under the smoke screen of hue and cry raised around the alleged discovery of the "Ukrainian nationalist-fascist organisation" Lyubchenko, now dead, was accused of having been the head of this mythical organisation, and many of the arrested members of the Government and Ukrainian Politbureau — its members. Their cases were linked up with those of Rykov, Hrynko, Hamarnyk, Yakir and others whose show trial was staged in Moscow.

KHRUSHCHOV — THE NEW BOSS IN UKRAINE

Finally when the stage was cleared well enough, Khrushchov reappeared in Ukraine again in January 1938 as an appointee of Stalin to the post, which was refused to him by the Ukrainian Communists four months earlier, and which action cost them their lives or their freedom. "Pravda" published on 29th January 1938 on the first page a large portrait of Khrushchov dressed in an embroidered Ukrainian shirt, and under it a communique about a plenary session of the Central Committee of C P of Ukraine (which, by the way, could not have taken place as all the formally elected members were either dead or under arrest with the exception of two minor members). This farcical session apparently "elected" Khrushchov to the post of the Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine and made him thus the boss of the country, directly responsible to Stalin. Khrushchov started to organise his own government and party apparatus in Ukraine from among minor and dull bureaucrats of Ukrainian origin, and particularly from among the newcomers from Moscow and other regions of Russia.

Among a host of new Russian appointees a personal friend of Khrushchov from the days of their common party work in Moscow — Demian Korotchenko was appointed Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars of Ukraine, and a young and sadistic security police official from Russia A. I. Uspensky — chief of the NKVD in Ukraine. Khrushchov's task in Ukraine was to nip in the bud the growing resistance of Ukraine to Russian overlordship, to bring Ukrainians to their knees and assure a subservient position of Ukraine towards Moscow by checking the attempts at an independent development of Ukrainian political, cultural and economic life by a severe policy of Russification. Many Russians were brought into key positions in the C P organisation, in educational and cultural life, economic establishments etc.

The Soviet "History of Ukraine" published in 1943 wrote thus about the role of Khrushchov

"With the arrival in Ukraine (in January 1938) of the close collaborator of Stalin — N S Khrushchov the eradication of all remnants of the enemy and the liquidation of the results of wrecking activities proceeded particularly successfully "

"Pravda" wrote on 13 June, 1938

'The Bolsheviks of Ukraine, while realising the decisions of the February and March (1937) plenary session and the directives of Comrade Stalin have carried out great work in rooting out hostile nests of Trotzkyist-Bukharinist, bourgeois-nationalist and every other kind of agents and bandits

The base enemies of the people, who wormed their way into a number of responsible positions in the party, governmental, economic and cultural organisations of Ukraine have caused a great harm

The gang of spies, of mischievous traitors of the Fatherland — people like Yakir, Lyubchenko, Zatonksy, Balytsky and others — were selling out the country by wholesale and retail "

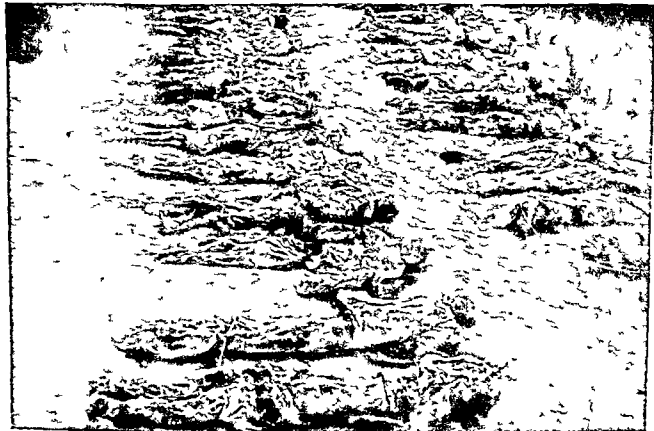
In his report to the XIVth Congress of the CP of Ukraine called in the first half of June 1938 to approve and consolidate the results of his purge of Ukraine, Stalin's slave Nikita Khrushchov promised "We will smash them once and for all"

And he fulfilled his promise as eagerly as he could Thousands of new graves enriched the landscape of Ukraine The best known of them are mass graves in the provincial Ukrainian town Vynnytsia, where nearly 12,000 massacred bodies of Ukrainians, mostly peasants, were discovered in a "Park of Culture and of Rest" and two other places after the Soviet troops left the territory before the advancing Germans in 1941

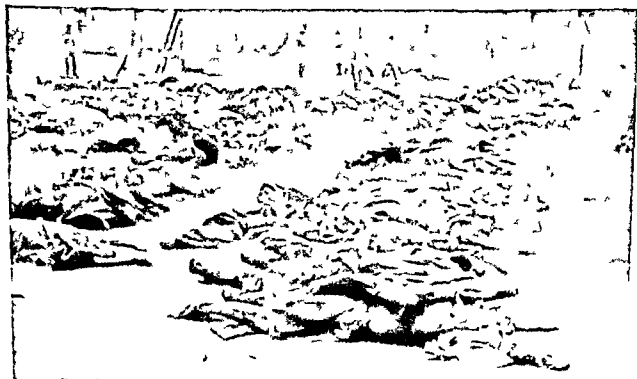
RUSSIFICATION

The Russification of Ukraine was intensified in all sections of state-controlled life Many newspapers which were formerly published in Ukrainian had to switch over to Russian language A new daily paper which began to be published in Kyiv was in Russian By the decision of the authorities from April 1938 compulsory teaching of Russian in all Ukrainian schools, beginning from the 2nd year of schooling was introduced Manipulations with the Ukrainian language were intensified so as to bring it nearer to the Russian Khrushchov himself said at the 14th Congress of the CP of Ukraine

'The enemies of the people the bourgeois nationalists, knew the strength and the influence of the Russian language and Russian culture They knew that this meant the influence of the teaching of Lenin and Stalin on the minds of the Ukrainian people, of the Ukrainian workers and peasants Therefore they chased out from the schools the Russian language



Vinnitsia — Khrushchov's mass murder of Ukrainians in 1938-1940



Ivlye — Khrushchov's mass murder of Ukrainians in 1941



Lviv — Relatives identifying the murdered victims after the retreat of the Soviet Russians



Zolochiv — Ukrainian women raped and murdered by the Soviet Russians in June 1941



Lenin



Stalin



Khrushchov



Dzerzhinsky



Yezhov



Beria



Kaganovich



Postyshev



Shepilov

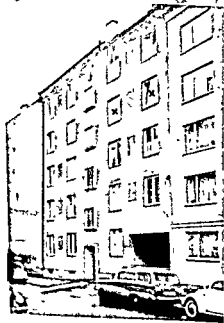
THE HANGMEN OF MILLIONS



Paris — The corner of Rue Racine and Bd St. Michel, where Symon Petlura was murdered



Rotterdam — Koolsingel
The mutilated body of Colonel Evhen Konovalets, who was murdered by a bomb planted by a Russian agent



Munich—Kreittmayrstr.
No 7, the house in which Stepan Bandera lived

The staircase — on which Stepan Bandera was murdered by a KGB agent

In many Ukrainian schools German, French, Polish and other languages were taught, but not Russian."

In his Russification policy Khrushchov followed the general trend of the rise of a most brutal Russian chauvinism which has since come into the open as the driving force behind Moscow's aggression. This expansionism and maniacal ambition of the Russian Communists to dominate the world is symbolised by the following exclamation of the writer of the leading article in "Pravda" of 7th July, 1938:

"Comrades, all nations now will learn the Russian language!"

This brief survey of the circumstances in which Khrushchov secured his grip on the throats of the Ukrainian people are only a part of the full story which will be told once when secret archives of the Kremlin will become available to the free world and when the victims of the deportations and arrests who may still survive will tell the gruesome tale of tortures undergone by them to satisfy Khrushchov's lust of power. In spite of the murderous blows which the mailed fist of Khrushchov and his associates inflicted on the Ukrainian people, Ukraine still lives, Ukraine still struggles, Ukraine still hopes for the glorious day of freedom

MOSCOW'S CRIME IN VINNYTSIA

MASS-MURDER OF 10,000 PRISONERS BY THE RUSSIAN NKVD IN A UKRAINIAN TOWN IN 1937-1939

CHEKA, GPU AND NKVD IN VINNYTSIA

Vinnytsia (Vinnitsa in Russian) is an old Ukrainian town situated in the Western part of Central Ukraine in the Podolia province on the upper course of the River Boh (known also as the Southern Bug) in the fertile wooded steppe land. Founded in the 14th century it played a considerable part in Ukrainian history. During the Ukrainian national uprising against the oppressive Polish rule in the 17th century, the leader of the Ukrainian Cossack Army, Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, deployed his troops in this area, and one of his distinguished lieutenants, Colonel Ivan Bohun, engaged the Poles in many a glorious battle in the region of Vinnytsia. During the Liberation War of 1917-1921, the Ukrainian National Government, forced to leave Kyiv (Kiev), the capital of Ukraine, in view of the overwhelming force of the Russian invaders, set up its headquarters in Vinnytsia for a brief period. Today Vinnytsia is the centre of a large administrative region, the Vinnytsia oblast, with the total population of about 2.5 million. The city itself numbers about 130,000 inhabitants.

The Russian Bolshevik invasion and occupation of Ukraine which began in 1918 and was finally completed in 1921-22 brought untold misery to the Ukrainian population. Harsh military occupation coupled with the suppression of every political, economic and cultural right of the individuals and the nation as a whole, despotic rule by the all-powerful representatives of the dictatorial Russian Communist Party with the exclusion of all other groups by means of ruthless physical annihilation of all declared opponents of the inhuman regime and the application of terrorism to everyone else — these are briefly the "blessings" which the "Soviet" Russian regime has brought its victims, in particular the Ukrainians. The people of Vinnytsia were not spared the solicitous attention of the appropriate organs of the brutal occupation regime either. In the years 1921-1922,

when the Vinnytsia region was still the scene of frequent and fierce combats between the scattered detachments of Ukrainian national partisans and the Russian occupation troops, the Vinnytsia region headquarters of the Russian security police, the Cheka*), was notorious for its wholesale shootings of arrested victims suspected of active opposition to the regime. Within a short time most former officials and clergy, as well as leading Ukrainian patriots, were shot in the cellars of the Cheka HQ in Vinnytsia. A new wave of mass-terror took place in 1929 when the GPU uncovered the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine and the Ukrainian Youth Association (underground Ukrainian nationalist organisations which aimed to prepare a general uprising against the alien Russian Communist occupation regime). Again the prison of Vinnytsia was filled with those arrested. Hundreds of Ukrainians were shot without trial.

The forced collectivisation campaign which raged in Ukraine in the years 1929-31 was accompanied by another wave of Russian Bolshevik brutality. As the Ukrainian peasants resisted the attempts of the Soviet Russian regime to take away land and cattle from them and to herd them together in Moscow-controlled collective farms, terrorist methods were used to "persuade" them to join the collective farms. About 20,000 peasants of Vinnytsia region paid with their lives for continuing their resistance. Many more were deprived of all their possessions, thrown out of their homes and deported thousands of miles away from their native country to the snow wastes of Siberia to die of exhaustion in forced labour camps. The famine which was intentionally inflicted on Ukraine by the Bolshevik Russian authorities in 1933, as a result of their policies of taking away the last crumb of bread from the Ukrainian peasants in reprisal for the latter's recalcitrant opposition to collectivisation methods, caused the deaths of at least 5,000,000 people in Ukraine, including about 150,000 people in Vinnytsia region. In December 1934, when Kirov, one of Stalin's henchmen, was assassinated in Leningrad, a wave of mass terror swept the entire Soviet Union, particularly Ukraine. In Vinnytsia region alone over 2,000 people were murdered by the Russian security police. During the last pre-war wave of mass terror in 1937-38 carried out by the infamous "People's Commissar" Yezhov, the head of the NKVD, the Russian security police, about 15,000 Ukrainians were murdered in Vinnytsia and the surrounding area. At that time about 30,000 prisoners filled to overflowing the Vinnytsia prisons. The cells were so full that prisoners had to stand all the time, for there was no room to sit or lie down. Even the corridors were full of prisoners as well as the courtyard where prisoners were standing for months on end without a roof over their heads to shelter them.

*) Cheka — Chrezvychaynaya Komissiya po bor'be s kontrrevolyutsiyey, sabotazhem i spekulyatsiyey. Extraordinary Commission for the Struggle Against Counterrevolution, Sabotage and Speculation which in later evolution was transformed consecutively into the GPU, NKVD, MVD, MGB and most recently into the KGB, Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti, the Committee for State Security, the main organ of terrorising the population into obedience.

It should be remembered that it was precisely in January 1938 that the present dictator of the Russian multi-national empire, "comrade" Nikita Sergeevich Khrushchov, was sent by Stalin from Moscow to take over the governorship of Ukraine as the all-powerful First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, in other words the highest-ranking servant and lieutenant of Stalin in Ukraine. It was under his general tutelage that many of the murders which we are going to describe took place in Vinnytsia. Khrushchov tries at present to blame Stalin alone for all the terrible excesses of the Soviet Russian regime. He admitted even at the 20th Party Congress in Moscow in February 1956 that Stalin intended to destroy the Ukrainian nation by deporting the Ukrainians to all parts of the USSR and that he failed in this macabre intention only because there were too many Ukrainians to deal with, about 40,000,000 to be precise. For all his artful manipulations, Khrushchov will not be able to escape responsibility for the horrible murders perpetrated by the terrorist organs of the ruling Russian Communist Party in Ukraine, particularly since January 1938, when Khrushchov was made directly responsible by Stalin for the carrying out of Moscow's policy in Ukraine by being appointed the governor of Ukraine.

The evidence of the Russian Bolshevik crimes which will be described in the following chapters has come to light accidentally as a result of the outbreak of the German-Russian War in June 1941, when the Soviet Russian Army and regime fled from Ukraine and the jealously guarded places where the Soviet security police tortured and murdered their victims were thrown open to public inspection.

THE GERMAN-RUSSIAN WAR

On 22nd June 1941, the Russian-Bolshevik iron curtain fell. After the flight of the Moscow invaders from Ukraine, the Ukrainians were able to realise the terrible devastation in their national community. Many Ukrainians further realised the devilish plans of Moscow to destroy the Ukrainian nation completely, a scheme made possible when we remember how Moscow, through the NKVD, controlled all Ukrainian life. None dared ask about those who were arrested by the NKVD and why they were arrested. None dared write about it to their friends. None dared try to establish the number of the arrested.

But all attempts to hide these crimes were unavailing, the crimes could not remain undiscovered. And Vinnytsia was the place where the iniquitous activity of the NKVD was discovered, although it is only a drop in the ocean of the bloody oppression perpetrated by the Communist Russians in Ukraine — complete exposure may take years.

HOW WERE THE CRIMES IN VINNYTSIA DISCOVERED?

In May 1943, the Ukrainian town authorities received information about mass graves of victims murdered by the NKVD in 1937-1939 in the western part of Vinnytsia in a fruit orchard at Pidlisna Street No 1, off Litynska Street With permission from the local German occupation authorities a group of Ukrainians began digging up the mass graves in the pear orchard in Pidlisna Street on May 24, 1943

The following witnesses, among others, gave information about the graves

An assistant at the hydro-biological station of Vinnytsia, H Hulevych, stated as follows "In the spring of 1938 I went to Kyiv and stayed there for three months During that period my brother was arrested in Vinnytsia After my return in the summer to Vinnytsia I noticed, opposite my work place in Litynska Street, a new wooden fence about three metres (1 metre=1 0936 yd) high It was a solid double fence My question as to why the fence was there and what was the meaning of it were answered in different ways Usually it was said that the fence was built by the NKVD A few days passed, and I heard that there was a large grave for those shot by the NKVD One day I sensed the smell of decomposed corpses Then having observed the fence very carefully I found a small knot-hole in it and looked through I saw a large heap of loam and as large a heap of corpses, which there had not been time to bury Every time a large motor lorry was passing my eyes followed it till it disappeared through the gateway I kept thinking that in one of those lorries might also be my brother Nearly every day when it was getting dark I saw a passing lorry and then saw it disappearing through the gateway and coming back on the following day full of loam '

A watchman of the market in Vinnytsia, Opanas Skrepka, made the following statement From 1935 to 1941 I was a watchman of the town fruit plantations in Litynska Street In March 1938 one of the orchards beside the plantation I was looking after was fenced with a high wooden fence Talking with the workmen who were building it, I was told there was a Children's Home being built About a month later I got on a tree beside the fence It was a very bright night Near the fence I saw six ditches about three square metres each Every ditch was filled with corpses It looked as if there was room for more because the ditches were still open For some time I had noticed that loaded lorries were coming to the garden, and had heard dull thumps on the ground but I could not see what was going on inside the garden A few times in the early mornings after the lorries had passed I noticed bloodstains on the road along Litynska Street and disappearing behind the garden fence In the morning an NKVD guardsman, who always stayed in the guardhouse in the garden was covering the stains with sand During the night I never heard any

shooting or noise, but sometimes during the day I saw Russian commissars coming in their cars, and then I heard shooting. Sometimes the wind blew the smell of decomposed corpses from the garden. There was nobody allowed to be near the garden, the guard was marching back and forward along the inner and outer side of the fence. In 1938 the officials of the NKVD demanded some young trees from me, and when I refused to satisfy their demand I was called to the town office of the NKVD. There I was told that I had no right to refuse. After that, about 200 young trees were taken away from my plantation and transplanted on the graves behind the fence. But only a few of them grew successfully afterwards."

Maria Ponomarchuk (44 Litynska Street) said "From 1927 I have occupied this house, and the distance from the fenced garden to my house is only 300 metres. Very often I saw NKVD men in uniform standing by beside the garden day and night. What they were building behind the fence nobody knew, but already people were muttering that, when the NKVD is doing something you cannot expect anything good. None of the people believed the suggestions that there was going to be a Children's Play-Garden built. Several times in 1938 I saw a heavy truck covered with a waterproof sheet entering the garden. Already people guessed that shot victims were buried there."

The foregoing was confirmed by many other witnesses, by information by a building technician, Fedor Stranets, by workmen Vasył Kozlovsky and Petro Zivak, by a driver, Evhen Binecky, by a watchman, Oleksa Kozlovsky, by the manager of the brick-kiln, Trokhym Amosov, and his wife Olena. Everyone of these testified that, after the fence was built, very often the smell of the decomposed corpses coming from the former orchard was noticeable, that, by night, heavy trucks were entering the garden, and that till 1941, when German occupation began, NKVD men were watching the garden without a break. Such statements certify that the NKVD had used this particular part of the land for burying their victims. And for their own security, not wanting to be discovered, they turned the place into a forbidden zone, as is shown in the Minutes of the local authorities of Vinnytsia, then under Communist control.

Extract of Minute No. 1 of the presidium of the Town Council in Vinnytsia dated 1.4.1939, reads as follows:

Were attending to an information of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD) about the prohibition of public use of the ground by Slovianska dairy-farm in Vinnytsia:

Agreed to close to the public the above-mentioned land which is the property of the Town Council, in extent 27 hectares and 9151 square metres and to reserve it for use of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs.

It is forbidden to build any kind of buildings on this ground without special permission of the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs. The boundaries of the forbidden zone are as follows: (a) on the north — local wood and all the land of the village of Platnychany, (b) on the east — a building, No. 646, (c) on the south — Litynska Street.

The cost of all the living rooms will be covered by the People's Commissariat. (Sgd.) The Chairman of the Town Council Fursa, The Secretary Stobodiantuk."

Such was the way taken to stop building in this large area, with the purpose of keeping secret the mass graves. The young trees planted were meant to prevent all possible clues to discovery.

But there was not enough room for all the victims shot by the NKVD during the years 1937-39. They had to use the local cemetery in Latynska Street as well. The first witness, Hulevych, who informed about the mass graves, said 'I was resident in a part of the town from which I could reach the centre by a short way through the local cemetery. Going to my work I saw very often people digging graves. I could not imagine for whom such a mass of graves was prepared. But having noticed a rubber boot and a few stains of blood beside it in the main alley in the autumn of 1937, I started careful observation. Shortly after that, walking along the alley, I noticed a heavy truck covered with a waterproof sheet. It was going towards the dug graves. I heard very distinctly the noise of the throwing down of the corpses, along with brutal swearing. In the hurry, having covered the graves with some earth, and still swearing, a few men jumped into the truck and left the cemetery.'

Yuriy Klymenko, a resident of Vobliv, on 20.4.1943 made the following statement: "Since 1941 I was employed as a watchman in Pirogov Hospital in Vinnytsia. There was only a fence between the hospital and the local cemetery of Vinnytsia. I could always see the cemetery very clearly. In the autumn of 1937 I noticed prisoners digging graves in the cemetery, in size about 2 square metres each. During their work they were watched by NKVD guardsmen. All this looked very strange to me and I began to watch the cemetery during the night. About two o'clock in the morning a heavy truck drove into the cemetery. By the reflector light I saw very clearly two men who were putting something from the truck into the graves. I never asked anybody about the strange incident, fearing that I would be arrested by the NKVD."

A book-keeper, Petro Bokchan testified: "In 1937 I was very often visiting my parents-in-law, who were resident near the cemetery. On my way, which led through the cemetery, I saw very often that graves were dug in the part of the cemetery which was near Pirogov Hospital. Coming back about 8 o'clock in the evening I still saw the men at work digging. But when I went through the cemetery next morning all the graves were covered."

A medical sister from Vinnytsia, Evheniya Prolinska, stated: "In the autumn of 1937 I was employed as a medical sister in Pirogov Hospital. Quite often I had to be on night duty. One night I noticed the doctor of the NKVD prison. I had seen him before several times when he came to the hospital. As a rule he was wearing NKVD uniform, but on this particular night he was in civilian clothing. He was looking for a mortuary man who stayed in hospital, and whom he ordered to take 3 or 4 spades and to follow him to the cemetery. Because my husband was arrested by the NKVD on 20th December, I was very interested in this night affair. Having changed my white coat to a black one, I went outside and noiselessly started to creep

into the cemetery It was about 2-3 o'clock in the morning Having stopped for a moment, I heard about ten people talking I was sorry that I could not hear well enough to understand them They were standing near two trucks covered with a waterproof sheet I think there were the dead bodies of victims shot by NKVD ready to be buried If the prisoners had died naturally they would not have been buried during the night When the men started the work, being afraid that they might notice me, I left the cemetery Later in the morning I went for a walk through the cemetery and noticed the militia man watching that particular spot of the cemetery I clearly remember this part of the cemetery, about three square metres in extent, level with the ground When I asked a watchman the next day about the night incident, he just answered 'it does not concern you, it is not your business' Such night incidents happened quite often, and the services of the mortuary man were demanded, not only by the NKVD doctor, but by commissars themselves Nobody had been buried in this particular part of the cemetery before "

The cemetery was chosen for a simple reason — it was less obvious to the public

Moscow cynicism was completed by choosing the largest of public parks in Vinnytsia for the same purpose — hiding their crime Bolsheviks ordered a fence to be put round this beautiful old park of the town, and forbade anyone to enter it without a ticket, the price of which was one rouble In one of the farthest parts of it, amongst the beautiful big trees, NKVD ordered graves to be dug for the usual purpose Nobody would ever have known about them but for a few people of Vinnytsia who witnessed the digging The first of these was Hulevych, who said "It was in March 1938 I was going home at about 8 o'clock in the evening On the corner of the park an NKVD guard was standing I stopped and looked around, when I heard the guard's voice 'Why are you standing there? Move on!' I went on and stopped behind a tree On a little hill beside the school No 2 I noticed a car giving light signals Then three trucks appeared from somewhere along the street, drove on to the park entrance, and disappeared in the darkness The signal car stopped by the entrance, too Three men came out of the car and went into the park Next I heard voices swearing, and 'Nearer, nearer' Swearing again, and the dull, heavy thuds on the ground After a while the signal car left the park, and, later, the trucks followed it in the same direction "

During the excavations on the site No 1, in the orchard, a watchman, Josyf Veys, a Ukrainian, appeared and said "At the beginning of 1929 I got a job as a watchman of the international cemetery near the stadium in the grounds of the municipal park I was employed there till 1933, when I was arrested and sentenced to 8 years' deportation In 1939 I was set free and took up my residence in Bryansk On 13th September 1941, as a soldier of the Red Army, I was taken prisoner by the Germans On 18th September 1941 I was released and went to Vinnytsia, where again I got a job as a watchman During my absence the international cemetery was rejoined to the municipal park,

and that is why I am in charge of the park at present I was much surprised to see a summer theatre, swings, a dance hall, and many other facilities for recreation in one part of the park My wife, who, during my deportation, was doing the duties of a watchman in my place, told me that one day, in 1937, she saw a deep ditch not far from the recreation ground, and on the next day the ditch was filled in and levelled with the ground She noticed a few more of these ditches amongst the trees, but never heard any shooting, and never thought at the time that NKVD prisoners could be buried there "

Medical Sister Prolinska stated "I have seen the same graves in the municipal park by the recreation ground As far I remember it was in the spring of 1939 "

The witness Bokchan stated "Sometime in April 1939 I was walking along Litynska Street when all of a sudden I saw three men in long rubber boots climbing over the fence of the park It looked suspicious, and I started to watch them — the three men were levelling the graves with the ground It was close by the recreation ground "

THE OPENING OF THE MASS GRAVES

All the witnesses came voluntarily to the offices They gave not only information as to their observations, but pointed out the exact situation of the graves of 1937-39 The witness Skrepko pointed out all three rows of the graves in the orchard, though they were difficult to find amongst the bushes The witness Veys remembered the situation of the graves in the park so well that, after his indication, one could start opening them with no difficulty in finding the place

The regular opening began on May 24, 1943 It was started from the pear orchard in Pidlisna Street No 1 In a short time there were found 39 graves Along 75 metres of the western side of the former fence 16 graves were found, along the northern side 10, and along the eastern side of the fence 7 Another 4 were found separately in the north-western corner of the garden Two more graves were found later All the graves were about 2x3 metres in size and about 3-4 metres deep At the depth of about 2 metres the spade came upon a pile of clothing and other personal belongings Under such a pile there were corpses In some graves they were lying in rows, in others they had been thrown in haphazardly In all the graves there was the same picture first a layer of soil, then the clothing and the corpses on the bottom There was a different number of corpses in each grave In each of the majority of the graves there were about a 100 corpses

A group of prominent citizens of Vinnytsia conducted the exhumation after obtaining the necessary permission from the local German occupation authorities

This group consisted of Dr S Doroshenko, Dr. O Klunk, both medical men, Professor Savostianov and Professor Dr. I. Malinin, as well as the editor A Trembovetsky. In the presence of the Ukrainian Orthodox Bishop of Vinnytsia, Evlohiy, they conducted an autopsy on 102 bodies dug up from the first grave and issued the following findings

- 1 Death occurred from a bullet injury in the lower brain
- 2 Entrance of the bullet was at the nape of the neck
3. From the presence of soot, it was evident that the shooting took place at very close range
- 4 The direction taken by the bullet indicated that the shooting took place when the victim was on his knees with his head bent low.
- 5 The absence, in many cases of bullet outlets and the external appearance of the lead bullets lodged in the skulls showed that small firearms were used in these instances, presumably pistols

Taking into account the decomposition undergone by the corpses, the length of time that these had lain in the graves was fixed at from three to five years

Ukrainian Orthodox Archbishop Hryhoriy also witnessed the opening of the first grave of the NKVD victims. He testified " I said that I was asked by representatives of Vinnytsia citizens to take part in the first search of these graves. I told of the morning of May 24, 1943 I, Bishop Evlohiy, the mayor of Vinnytsia, the editor of the local newspaper, doctors and others went into the large pear orchard surrounded by a high board fence. The local residents had suspected that graves were hidden there, but the orchard had belonged to the NKVD and entry had been prohibited to everyone else. We noticed several depressions in the ground, overgrown with tall grass. We started digging one of these depressions and about three feet down came upon some clothing and shoes. Throwing all this on the surface we beheld a horrible sight: a mass of half-decayed human corpses with their hands tied behind their backs. An examination of the bodies and articles, particularly papers found in the clothing, revealed that these people were arrested by the NKVD in Vinnytsia between 1937 and 1940. **)

On June 29, 1943, the reopening of the mass graves in the Orthodox Cemetery began. On June 30th, digging started on the graves in the "Gorky Park of Culture and Rest." The whole process of uncovering these graves in the three places off Litynska Street, lasted from May 24 to October 3, 1943. The 19th and last funeral took place on that day **)

*) 'The Black Deeds of the Kremlin. A White Book.' Page 424

***) Testimony by P Pavlovich, the chief witness of the discovery of the mass graves of NKVD victims in Vinnytsia published in 'The Black Deeds of the Kremlin. A White Book.' Pages 430-431.

The picture in the cemetery was the same as in the orchard the size of the graves was 2×3 metres and their depth was the same Under two metres from the surface clothing and then corpses were discovered During the first operation 14 graves were found, but according to the indications of the witnesses, there were another 20 The graves were situated here close by the central alley, and not in a row as in the orchard In the town park they were situated differently in comparison with those in the orchard and cemetery By the orders of the NKVD, the graves had been dug just where it suited them, under the trees or between them Had it not been for the witnesses, nobody would have discovered them Under one group of trees 14 graves were discovered and 10 under another, thanks to the witnesses of the crimes

MEDICO-LEGAL EXAMINATION

As soon as the opening of the graves began, the Ukrainian doctors of Vinnytsia served in the medical investigations From 15th June 1943 the head of the Medical Commission was a specialist in Medical Jurisprudence, Professor Schrader of the University of Halle He was helped by his assistant Doctor Kamerer, and other doctors of Vinnytsia who attended the investigation in their free time Professor Schrader issued a statement of their work, as follows

MEDICO-LEGAL REPORT OF THE MASS-MURDERS IN VINNYTSIA

1 The number of graves found in the orchard which was NKVD property is 37 But only 12 of them have been opened yet In one of the graves beside the clothing only 18 corpses were found, in the second 74 in others from 100 to 130 in two of them 250-280 corpses were found In the cemetery close to Pirogov Hospital 14 graves were found but the complete figure of these should be a minimum of 30 Considering the near situation of the hospital all these graves were not opened completely, but out of each grave were taken several corpses for examination In the municipal park amongst the trees 14 mass-graves were found and in the other part of the park 10, 40 corpses were taken for examination out of the 14 graves

2 Minute examination of 1 670 corpses gave most detailed reasons for death All corpses had marks of a shot in the back of the neck which paralysed the vertebrae of the neck or the action of the brain Almost in all cases two three or even four wounds were noted This can be explained only by the use of a small calibre pistol and lead bullets The weapon was so small and light that it had to be fired several times to kill a human being

It is very characteristic that in all cases wounds of a bullet after it was fired into the victim were noted but there were no marks of it coming out Instances when the bullets went through the head were very few Some bullets never went through this being proved by the missing flesh and skin on the head In about 60 cases besides the wounds of the bullets there were smashed scalps In other words while still alive after shooting the victims were killed with a heavy weapon gun butts or clubs

3 All killed had their hands tied together behind their backs In one case there was a victim with only one arm but it was tied behind his back just the same Three young women about 30 40 years of age were not tied up but they too had the marks of the bullets on the back of their necks They were found in the nude One woman about 30 years of age who too was naked had her arms tied behind her back The middle-aged women about 15 of them were found with some clothes on like the men

4 The ages of the murdered people were between 40 and 60 years, there were not many younger ones

5 The mass graves in the municipal park and the cemetery, opened and examined partly, gave the same evidence as those in the orchard. The corpses had their hands tied behind their backs and two or three wounds in their heads caused by the same weapon with lead bullets

6 After counting the corpses from the opened graves, the minimum figures are in the orchard about 4000, in the cemetery 3000, and in the municipal park 4000

In general the figure of the murdered victims buried in those three places of Vinnytsia is 11,000 to 12,000

7 The time of the murders. The corpses were found in different stages of decomposition. As a result of the two metres depth of clay, which kept the water from coming through, and of some clothing above the dead bodies most of the corpses had begun to mummify. Calcination of the brain was noted in most of the brains examined. Such conditions, on the examination by medico-legal experts, certify that death was brought about 5 to 6 years previously, in other words, the crimes were committed during 1937-39

Similarly examined 40 corpses from the cemetery and 40 from the municipal park gave the same indications. All the people must have been shot at the same time, unless it was done in groups at a time during the period of 1937-39

Such is the Report of the medico-legal examination

INQUEST BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION

During two days of July 13-14, 1943, Vinnytsia was visited by the International Commission of medical experts who were requested by the Germans to examine a number of corpses. This Commission carefully examined the dead bodies from the mass graves and gave the following Report on their work

'The members of the Commission have inspected all the places where the graves were found. The majority of the graves were similar in shape, size and depth. Ten of them were wider and deeper than the rest. The corpses were found lying anyhow in all inspected graves. The members of the Commission themselves have done post mortems of 24 court-medical examinations. All corpses found in the Place No 1 had post-mortems and one from the Place No 3 (municipal park)

All male corpses were dressed and had their hands tied behind their backs. Three female corpses were nude, their hands were not tied (graves 24-26). All corpses had wounds mostly in the back of the neck, caused by the use of a small calibre pistol 5.6 mm. All the bullets were lead. It has been proved that in most cases the firing was done from a short distance. Usually the bullets stuck fast in the heads. In many of the killed there were two or even three separate bullet wounds. Beside wounds on the head, caused by heavy blunt weapons, some of the victims had broken lower jaws, some smashed skulls and so on. In one of the cases the skull was smashed by many bullets fired into the back of the neck. In the majority, the death of the victims resulted from the shot. But many who were still alive after the bullet had entered into the lower part of the back of the neck were killed by additional wounding by blunt

weapons In some instances of the shooting in the back of the neck, when the bullet entered the lower part of the neck and there were no wounds caused by use of blunt weapons, it must be supposed that the victims died from indefinite causes When in one such case some clay was found in gullet and stomach it must be assumed that, being still alive, the victim swallowed soil being heaped on him

Having inspected all clothes which were on the corpses, one could come to the conclusion that nearly every one of the murdered people was of the working class, peasant, and middle aged

The large bushes on some graves, the hardness of the ground where the graves were, and, most of all, the look of the corpses and the state of their decomposition, indicate that the people were buried five years previously, and this was confirmed by the local population, and especially by the relatives of the dead and the officials of the local offices

General remarks The undersigned members of the Commission inspected 66 graves on the ground of the town of Vinnytsia All the inspected corpses had wounds from the firing weapon in the back of the neck, except one who was shot in the temple There were discovered many victims who had been killed instantly by the use of heavy weapons such as iron bars From the evidence of relatives and witnesses and from documents found in the clothes, and the condition of the corpses it is concluded that the murders were committed in 1938'

The signatures of the members of the Commission are as follows

Dr Soenen,	Ghent, Belgium
*Dr Mikhaylov,	Sofia, Bulgaria
Dr Pesonen,	Helsinki, Finland
Dr Duvour,	Paris, France
Dr Cazzaniga,	Milan, Italy
Dr Jurak,	Zagreb, Croatia
Dr Poorten,	Amsterdam, Holland
Dr Birkle,	Bucharest, Roumania
Dr Haggqvist,	Stockholm, Sweden
Dr Kresek,	Bratislava, Slovakia
Dr Orsoz,	Budapest, Hungary

The conclusions of the medical experts are all the same It must be said that the examination was done by some of the most famous specialists in Europe, known to the whole world Their conclusions as to the time of murder, 1937 to 1939, were unanimous

According to the testimony by P Pavlovich**) the chief witness of the opening of the mass-graves at Vinnytsia, the number of the victims of mass-murder discovered in Vinnytsia was 9,439 They were buried in 95 graves in three places, as follows

Pear orchard in Pidlisna Street — 39 graves — 5,644 bodies,
Orthodox Cemetery — 42 graves — 2,405 bodies,
Gorky Municipal Park of Culture and Rest — 14 graves — 1,390 bodies

*) Dr Mikhaylov is dead after the Russian occupation of Bulgaria he was liquidated by the Russian NKVD there

**) 'The Black Deeds of the Kremlin — A White Book,' Toronto, 1953, Vol. I pp 430-433

Altogether 682 bodies of victims were identified. It was established that 338 of them were peasants, 112 workers, 98 government officials of various grades, 36 specialists and professional men, 4 priests and 16 military men.

Of the total number there were 169 women's corpses uncovered, their hands tied behind their backs, and bullets in the napes of their necks. Some of them were completely nude. Twenty were identified, five of them were executed together with their husbands.

IDENTIFICATION OF THE VICTIMS

At last came the day when, soaked in blood, Ukrainian soil gave up the secrets of horrible crimes. During one year and in one town alone, 9,439 defenceless victims were killed, their hands tied behind their backs. For months they suffered in packed prisons, from cross-examinations and tortures. In vain might they expect temporary deportation, even if for many years, to the slave-labour camps in Siberia, which had at least the possibility of coming back, and ultimately seeing their relatives again. In vain! A bullet in the back of the neck was waiting for them. Who were all these victims? Were they really criminals, deserving such punishment as the NKVD had chosen? Not at all! The truth was soon exposed. The population of Vinnytsia was horror-stricken when, amongst the first 103 corpses from the graves, they recognised their relatives. Naturally, being buried for years, the features of victims had very much changed, but they were recognized by the clothes, by the Ukrainian shirts embroidered with love by the mothers and wives of the victims, and by the documents found in their pockets. There were horrible scenes at the spot where the corpses were found. The news of the fearful discovery spread like lightning through town and countryside. The newspaper "Vinnyts'ka Vist" ("The News of Vinnytsia") periodically had columns of the names of the murdered people who had been recognized by their documents or clothing. The relatives of those arrested by the NKVD in 1937-38 came to Vinnytsia from far away places. Not a day passed but some of the dead bodies were recognized by their relatives. The names of 682 murdered victims were ascertained by the help of relatives or documents. There was a special Legal Commission formed, and relatives gave most detailed information about those arrested and killed. And so, following 682 cases of such evidence, there was exposed the picture of the NKVD terror which had reigned in the district of Vinnytsia in the years 1937-38. Without embellishment, the evidence showed the inhuman sufferings of the Ukrainian Nation under the Russian-Bolshevik occupation.

Here is the evidence of a Ukrainian woman, Alexandra Prusak, from the village of Verkhivtsi, Bar district:

'My husband, Ivan Prusak, born in 1898, was, till 1937, employed as a worker in a collective farm of our village. Before that, till 1929, we had about 6 hectares of land and three cows. In 1929 we had to give our property to the collective farm. Till 1937, my husband was never arrested or suspected of a crime. But on 6th April 1937, during work in the field, he was taken away by the NKVD policemen. I tried to find out why he was arrested but in vain. I wrote to Kyiv and Moscow, but the answer was 'Apply to NKVD of Vinnytsia'. In 1938 my application was answered, informing me that my husband was sent away for 10 years to Siberia with no right of correspondence or any other way of communication. For how long my husband was kept in Vinnytsia I cannot say. To day, in the former place of NKVD (in orchard) I recognized a coat of my husband's. There can be no mistake about it, I recognized it by the patches which were sewn on by myself. This assured me that my husband must be buried in the same place. At the same time there were arrested 11 more men from our village, but their fate is not known."

Vinnytsia, 29th June 1943

Signature

Maria Mady, from the village Verkhivtsi, Bar district, stated

'My husband used to be a farmer with only 2 hectares of land. During the time of liquidation of kulaks' property we got from the Government some more land. Later we had to give everything away to the collective farm. One night in April 1937 my husband was arrested at home and taken to the NKVD prison. I was not told the reason of his arrest. And when my daughter and I went to Vinnytsia to inquire about him we were told that he was sent to a labour camp for 10 years. To-day, in the former place of NKVD, I recognized my husband's jacket."

Vinnytsia, 29th June 1943

Signature

The testimony of a widow, Ahafiya Usova, from the village of Tefylivka, Dzhulyinka district:

On first January 1938 my husband, Mykola Usov, was arrested at night, on his way home, by four NKVD men, and sent away to Dzhulyinka. At the same time seven more men from our village were sent away to Dzhulyinka. After the arrest of my husband, NKVD men came to search the house. I think that my husband's correspondence was the centre of their attention, but they were searching for weapons as well. When I asked the reason of his arrest, the answer was that he was guilty of sabotage. But they never gave me any confirmation and just ignored the rest of my questions. They even had the rudeness to tell me that I knew myself how guilty he was, and that he could not be released. About six months afterwards I had a similar visit from NKVD men who came with the intention of taking our clothing away. But, having heard of it before from others, I hid all my clothes and other things in neighbours' houses, and the NKVD men were not able to take anything. In Dzhulyinka my husband was kept only one day, and then he was sent to Haysyn. By chance I learned that in February 1938 he was transferred to Bratslav, and later to Vinnytsia. In March 1938 I went to see the NKVD of Vinnytsia. But I was put out in the most brutal way, and was told that they did not know anything at all about my husband. I was quite certain that my husband had been sent to Siberia. But to-day in the former place of NKVD I found some of his clothing, a corduroy jacket, a bread bag and four shirts, which told me that my husband was amongst the murdered victims."

Vinnytsia, 1st July 1943

Signature

Information by a widow, Maria Antoniuk, from the village of Polyovi-Berlyntsi, Murovano-Kurylivsky district

"My husband, Stephan Antoniuk, 46 years of age, employed as a farm worker in the local collective farm, was arrested by NKVD on 20th June 1938. He was taken during the night from his bed and driven away to Kopay Horod, where he was kept for six days. Where he was transferred afterwards I cannot say. At the same time another farm worker, by the name of Stadnyk was arrested. Stadnyk's wife and I were told by the NKVD that our husbands were spies. For six months we did not hear of our husbands. And then we wrote to Moscow to Kalinin. In a month's time we were called to the NKVD of Kopay-Horod and were informed that our husbands as spies were sentenced to 10 years' deportation to Siberia. This was all we were told. I am certain that neither my husband nor Stadnyk was guilty of any crime, as neither of them had ever anything to do with politics. In one of the mass-graves in the orchard which belonged to NKVD in Vinnytsia I found to-day my husband's shirt. I recognised it as it was I who made it. Now I know that my husband was not sent to Siberia but was shot in Vinnytsia."

Vinnytsia, 2nd July 1943

Signature

Halyna Hrushkivska, from the village of Horodnytsia, Nemryiv district, stated

"In October 1937, my father, Petro Hrushkivsky, 65 years of age, employed as a farm worker in a local collective farm, was arrested by the NKVD in Bratslav. My mother was told that he was an enemy of our country. But I am certain that my father, who never had any schooling, never had anything to do with politics. For two weeks he was kept in Bratslav, and then was transferred to Vinnytsia. Every day my mother was visiting the NKVD in Bratslav till she learned that he was transferred to Vinnytsia. But we did not like to apply to Vinnytsia. Therefore we never heard anything about my father from the day of his arrest. The same occurred with other ten men from our village who were arrested at the same time as my father. I read in a paper about the opening of the mass-graves in Vinnytsia and later I heard that a neighbour had found some clothing of her husband in the place where the graves had been opened. Therefore I also came here. To-day I found my father's cap. I know that it is his cap, because it used to be too big for him and I had to alter it myself. Now I know that my father was also shot by the NKVD."

Vinnytsia, 3rd July 1943

Signature

A widow, Nadiya Honchar, from the village of Stupievka, Murovano-Kurylivsky district, said

"In December 1937 two NKVD men made a search in my house seeking for weapons and documents in connection with sabotage. They did not find either, but they arrested my husband, Pavlo Honchar, 30 years of age, and drove him in a lorry to the NKVD. Neither of us was told the reason of the arrest. At that time I was not well and therefore could not find out what had happened to him after arrest. But I asked my father to go to the prison and inquire about him. The answer was that he had been sent to one of the northern islands named Novaya Zemlya. But when this had happened and where the Novaya Zemlya was my father was not told. Since then I never heard a word about my husband. And when after a couple of months I applied to the NKVD in Vinnytsia they gave me the same information as they did to my father. I must say that up till now I thought my husband had been sent for ten years to Siberia. But to-day in the place that used to be occupied by the NKVD I found some of my husband's belongings and a jacket which I recognised by the patches that I had sewn on some time before. Now I know that my husband was also amongst the murdered."

Vinnytsia, 5th June 1943

Signature

Hanna Hodovanets, from the village of Mykhaylivka, Murovano-Kurylivsky district, came to the office and stated as follows:

"On 3rd January 1938 my husband, Kasyan Hodovanets, born in 1886, was arrested during his work at the station in Kopay-Horod, by a member of our village council and a policeman who was present at the station. They took away my husband's passport and sent him first to Mykhaylivka and then to Mohyliv, and at last, on 3rd March 1938, to Vinnytsia. All this information I had from acquaintances who happened to witness the arrest of my husband. Later on, my son Vasyl, talking to a farm worker from Mykhaylivka, learned that he was called for an interview in connection with my husband's case to the district NKVD in Murovani-Kurylivtsi. He was asked if my husband said his prayers and why there were so many holy pictures in our house. It was evident that all this, and that my husband missed a day of his work because of a religious day, were the reasons for the arrest. At the end of April 1938 I was told that my husband was sent to one of the far away camps with no right of correspondence. Later I applied to the district NKVD authorities for more definite information about my husband, but it was in vain. Then I applied to Stalin himself, pleading with him to release my husband. On 3rd May 1938 I got a reply from Vyshinsky, General Prosecutor of USSR informing me that my husband was going to be released. But he never came back. On 24th June 1943, amongst the clothes found in the ground of the NKVD, I recognized a shirt, which was made by myself, a coat with the blue inner pocket which I put in, and a leather boot with a special heel, made by a blacksmith in Kopay-Horod, to my special requirement. All these articles I sent to my husband while he was in prison. Now I am sure that my husband was not going to be sent north or released, but that he was murdered in Vinnytsia."

Vinnytsia, 8th July 1943

Signature

Statement by a widow, Yavdokha Yavnych, from the village of Voznivtsi, Stanislavchik district.

"On 6th January 1937, after an unsuccessful search of our house, an NKVD man in presence of two witnesses, arrested my husband, Vasyl Yavnych. My husband, 40 years of age, was employed as a farm worker in the local collective farm. Later I learned the reason of his arrest — correspondence with his relatives in Galicia, Western Ukraine, then occupied by Poland. My husband was born in Western Ukraine in the village Lisok, Zhydachiv district. In Stanislavchik he was kept only for a few days, then he was transferred to Vinnytsia. After a month I went to the prison of Vinnytsia to enquire about him. I was told he was sentenced to 10 years' deportation with no right of correspondence, and that he was away already. I wrote to Moscow to Stalin, Kaganovich and other Soviet dignitaries, and had the same answer from each of them, that my husband had been sentenced to 10 years' deportation. To-day, 20th July 1943 in the former orchard of the NKVD, I recognized my husband's coat by its buttons. I feel that my husband was not sent away, but is lying here amongst the dead."

Vinnytsia, 20th July 1943

Signature

Olena Olkhivska, from Vinnytsia, stated

"In November 1937, NKVD arrested my husband Petro Olkhivsky, in our home, he was a Ukrainian, and had been employed in a baking-factory. At the same time they searched all through the house and took all my husband's documents. Later, I went to the prison of the NKVD, but was not allowed to enter the building. After a week's time I went to the local prison to which my husband had been transferred but again in vain. After a month I managed to send him a winter coat and a pair of winter boots, but I never got the chance to see him. And then I was informed that he had been sent to the Far North for 10 years, and had no right of correspondence. The reason of his arrest was

the accusation that he was an enemy of the country. My husband had never in his life anything to do with politics. When the opening of the mass graves started, every day I tried to be there. And one day, on one of the corpses, I recognized a black jacket, a pair of leather boots, a pair of trousers and a shirt. I was present at the time when this corpse was taken out of the grave. And later I definitely knew that he was my husband as he had a twisted finger on his right hand. Hence there can be no mistake about this."

Vinnitsia, 1st July 1943

Signature

Kateryna Horlevska, from Zhmerynka, said:

"Amongst the clothes found in the orchard of the NKVD I recognized some which belonged to my husband — an embroidered shirt and a winter jacket with a fur collar. My husband, Dmytro Horlevsky, a Ukrainian, born in 1888, was a railway engine-driver. He was arrested in Zhmerynka on 13th May 1938. He was called to NKVD for an interview and never returned. The next day our house was searched by NKVD men but nothing was taken away. The reason given for my husband's arrest was that he was accused of being an enemy of the people. But my husband had never anything to do with politics. And, as a matter of fact, three months before the arrest, he was awarded a prize for being a good engine-driver. In two weeks he was transferred from Zhmerynka to Vinnitsia. Every two weeks I went to Vinnitsia, taking something for my husband, and trying to see him, but I never had a chance. On one occasion I was told that he had been transferred to Kyiv. I went to Kyiv. And when I asked about my husband, the answer was that he had never been in Kyiv, but had been sent to Siberia, and had no right of correspondence. But now I am certain that my husband is amongst those killed by the NKVD. Just before the first of May 1937, 60 men were arrested in Zhmerynka, all railway workers from 35 to 50 years of age. Nobody ever heard of them again."

Vinnitsia, 1st July 1943

Signature

Information given by Mrs Solovyova, from Zyatkiwtsi:

"My husband, a Ukrainian who through illness had to leave his post as a teacher, was employed in a branch of the State bank in Zyatkiwtsi. He was 47 years of age, when, on 17th April 1938, he was arrested at work. It happened at 12.30 p.m., and at 2 p.m. he was taken by railway to Vinnitsia, and was put into a prison of the NKVD. When, on the third day, I went to the prison, I was told that my husband had been transferred to the town prison. But I could not get any information about him from this other prison, nor could I manage to see him or send him something. Later, I heard that on 5th May 1938, he was sent for ten years to the Far North, and had no right of correspondence. Since then I never heard of him again. Almost at once, after the arrest of my husband our house was searched. His sporting gun, some silver which I kept for filling teeth, and a little cross were taken away. Two years after the arrest I was ordered by the NKVD to give all his clothes, because, as they stated, he was an enemy of the people. The arrest took everyone in our village by surprise, because he never had anything to do with politics. In a newspaper "Vinnitski Visti" there was mentioned a handkerchief with the initials "AS". I have recognized it as my husband's handkerchief, and that is the proof that he was not deported, but is here — amongst the dead."

Vinnitsia, 1st July 1943

Signature

Evidence by Odarka Beletska, from the village of Zhyrovsk:ke:

"My husband, a priest, Leonid Beletsky, 35 years of age, was arrested on 24th September 1937. During the night, our house was searched when his vestment, books and documents were confiscated. My husband had studied at the theological seminary in Volhynia, and till 1935 was preaching as a priest in the village of Peleva. In 1935 the church in Peleva was closed and my husband had to leave the village. We went to the village of Hreblya, the village where I was born, and there he started to work as a forestry man. When he was arrested, the motive for the arrest was not mentioned, just one of the NKVD men said to my husband: 'Hel, you dog, you have lived too long.' First, my husband was put in a prison in the village of Zhyrovsk, and later, in about two weeks' time, was transferred to Vinnytsia, to the prison of the NKVD. When I tried to send him some clothes, only two handkerchiefs and a towel were permitted to be received by him. I never managed to see him again. In a month's time, I went to Vinnytsia again and learned that he had been sent away. No further information was given. I applied to Moscow, and in about six months I got a reply (through NKVD) that my husband was sent to the Far North for ten years, and had no right of correspondence. From the newspaper I learned about the Ukrainian mass graves here in Vinnytsia, and decided to come and see them for myself. I found a suit of my husband's. I know it was his suit, as I made it myself, and still have some of the material which was left over. I am certain that my husband was not sent away, but was murdered here."

Vinnytsia, 1st July 1943

Signature

Information by Antonia, from Zhyrovsk-Hreblya:

'My husband, a Ukrainian, a driver at machine-tractor station of our village, was arrested on 26th March 1938, while he was working in the field, and was put in a cell of the village police station. Our house was searched at once, but only his personal documents were taken away. My questions about the motives for the arrest was answered by the statement that my brothers, Savytski, who were resident in the same village, were corresponding with someone abroad. But my brothers never had any correspondence with any foreign countries. They were arrested in November 1937, and sent to Asia. We heard from them from Mongolia. My husband was kept for a month and a half in the village cell, and then he was transferred to the prison of Vinnytsia. While he was in the village cell, very often I had seen him from behind the fence, but never managed to have a talk with him, or to pass him anything that he might require. After he was transferred to Vinnytsia, I went to the prison for some information about him, and was informed that he had been sent away. I applied to the higher authorities, and after two years I got a reply that my husband had been sent to the Far North for 10 years, and had no right of correspondence. I never discovered the true motives of his arrest, but I do know that he never had anything to do with politics. From the paper I learned about these opened mass-graves and came here. I found a shirt which I embroidered some time ago, and had to patch later. I know that it is the shirt of my husband. I think he was murdered by the NKVD."

Vinnytsia, 1st July 1943

Signature

Comparing all the facts in these statements and in hundreds of others, one could see that this terror of the NKVD in all Vinnytsia district had been started during the summer of 1937, and had lasted throughout the following year. At the same time, a wave of arrests was spreading to the surrounding towns and villages. There were usually no real motives given for the arrests, and if sometimes motives were given, they were obviously merely excuses of the NKVD to the relatives of the victims, and not real motives for the arrest. As a rule, in every village, NKVD agents had selected their victims beforehand.

No evidence was necessary to cause the arrest of a person. Very often the arrests were based upon the personal interests of the agents. It could be said that, in general, NKVD agents knew what they were doing with those unfortunate people — just to prove their loyal service to the NKVD. The agents of the NKVD knew that nobody would ever bother about the true motives for the arrest of the victims, and that there was no escape for them anyway. Every victim had a pinned-on label, 'an enemy of the people' as formality, but the truth was otherwise.

What was the truth then? Often the agents themselves derived personal advantage from the arrest of their victims, frequently it was a matter of personal vengeance. Sometimes, when a young girl did not like to have love made to her by an NKVD man, her whole family were made to suffer.

But certain groups of the population were systematically watched by the NKVD. Among them were those who did not hide their religious beliefs. The fact that one was religious was considered a crime against the State. Among those arrested there were many former clergymen, who for years had been doing hard work, even in the wilds of the forest, but were still under the suspicion of attachment to the religion. But the majority of the arrested were not even told any fictitious reasons. All these arrests could be explained in a simple way: a certain percentage of the men were arrested in every village, so as to terrorise the whole Ukrainian village. This was generally the main reason for the terroristic methods used by the NKVD.

As a rule a search was made during the arrest or after it. At that time, something was usually confiscated — old photographs, letters, pictures, religious books, crosses, medals, and, especially, foreign literature. Very often personal documents of the arrested were confiscated. From former clergy especially, robes, books connected with the Church, rosaries, crosses, etc. were taken. Most of these articles were burned, but many were buried along with the corpses. During the searching, immediately before and after the arrest some clothes were taken away. This made the relatives think that the arrested were going to be sent to the forced labour camps. Therefore, most of the relatives brought underwear and some clothes to the prisons, the people of the Soviet Union knew too well the terrible conditions in those camps in the Far North or in Siberia.

All arrested were kept for some time in the local prisons, where sometimes women were fortunate enough to see their husbands and sons, and even to talk to them, but this happened very rarely. And as time passed, they were informed that the prisoners were transferred to Vinnytsia. Vinnytsia was a town of tears. Thousands of women regularly gathered by the gate of the prison or the NKVD department where there was a prison as well. What fears and torment those unfortunate women suffered, many false declarations, much wild laughter of NKVD-ists at their distress, they had to listen to. The women rushed from one place to another, from the town prison to the NKVD office, from the NKVD office to the head of the local

NKVD department, then to the procurator, but nowhere could they receive any definite information about the prisoners. Often they travelled as far as Kyiv but were sent back, tired and exhausted. Even if sometimes one of them was fortunate enough to find out where the prisoner was, this was not of much help. It was permitted to pass clothing and even money and food, but not to see the prisoner. And nobody could get the most painful question answered — what was going to happen to the prisoner? Some time after many visits to Vinnytsia some of the relatives were informed that the prisoner had been sent for ten years to a concentration camp in the Far East or the Far North. Correspondence was strictly forbidden. After receiving such information, grief-stricken women returned home. And then there was the one and only hope — to meet in ten years' time. But this was a vain hope. Every one of the NKVD agents, when giving any information, advised the woman not to wait for her husband's return, but to get married again. Of course, this advice was rarely followed. Just as one that is drowning tries to catch at anything to save himself, so all those people lived clinging to "10 years" in the hope of the return of their dearest. Millions of Ukrainians went through Russian concentration camps, and some managed to return, but many more never returned home. How many millions are still suffering in those camps, which like mushrooms after the rain, are springing up in the most unhealthy parts of Soviet Russia?

Such was the hope, the hope that millions of women cling to

One ought to have been present at the opening of the Ukrainian mass graves to be able to realize the grief of the women. Innocent victims lay there dead. All of them had their hands tied behind their backs. Sometimes the legs were tied as well, some of them had their mouths stuffed with dirty clothing, and very often marks of cruel torture could be recognised, although the bodies had been lying for 5 to 6 years. For instance, sometimes they had burnt patches on the neck, as if done by a lit cigarette. There were found corpses with parts of the body mutilated — sexual organs in most cases. The methods of the murders were enough to make one lose his senses. To kill a human being by the use of a small-calibre pistol and a soft lead bullet is the most horrible way of taking life that one can imagine. About two-thirds of the corpses had two, three and four wounds on the back of the neck. Medical experiments proved that very often the first and second bullet were crushed when they met a bone, leaving a large wound but not killing the victim outright. Even if such a bullet reached the brain, a human being might not die immediately, because it might only cause considerable bleeding, leading to a slow death. In some cases even three or four bullets were not sufficient to kill a miserable victim. Then a gun butt was used. The result of the latter action was a broken skull which ended the sufferings.

What tortures must those have suffered who were discovered in the mass graves!

WHO IS THE MURDERER?

Thousands of innocent Ukrainian peasants, workmen and intelligentsia were buried in the mass graves in Vinnytsia. Who was it that committed these crimes? The correct answer was given by the investigation.

Moscow hates the Ukrainian nation, and the crimes committed were the result of this hatred. Stalin, one of the most cruel Russian imperialist executioners of all time, has chosen terror as a way of maintaining his rule in Ukraine. NKVD was ordered to kill a certain number of people in every district, accusing them of being enemies of the people. It was sufficient for an agent to hear a baseless rumour to accuse an innocent man of crime. As the agents strove to prove their loyalty to NKVD, the figures of such "enemies" increased with lightning speed. Every agent tried to get more and more men who were "under suspicion" and more and more "enemies of the country" and every NKVD department strove to destroy as many "parasites" as they could. There is not a single house in Ukraine that did not lose someone during this unforgettable period. Nobody was laying bare the bloodstained Bolshevik system. An engine-driver who was praised and was awarded a prize for his good work was shot as an "enemy of the people" only three months later. Many people were arrested at their work, like a choir-singer, for instance, who was arrested in the radio-station during a broadcast. A dreadful feeling was created in the family when the father or some other member failed to come home from work, and it was later discovered that he had been arrested by the NKVD.

The fate that was meted out to a human being after arrest was unenviable. He or she had been condemned to death beforehand, the NKVD specialists used a diabolical technique of tortures to make the victim plead guilty. In most cases there was no investigation at all. There were no formalities, the victim had no opportunity to defend himself, the death sentence had already been passed.

According to reliable testimony, most of the prisoners died in the prison of Vinnytsia, where practically all the time the prison held about 18,000 prisoners. It should be remarked here that the population of Vinnytsia was not higher than 100,000 people. And the figure of the arrested was 30,000. Twelve thousand of them were sent to work at the stone quarry and other places in the neighbourhood. In a prison designed for only 2,000 prisoners, 18,000 were confined. One can imagine the conditions which prevailed. In a cell meant for 18 people there were 370 inmates. The prisoners were not able to move, and had to sleep standing. The same situation obtained in the prison

corridors and courtyard, packed with prisoners as well. It is quite evident that prisoners died every day and these were buried just outside the prison.

In the autumn of 1938, when the weather was particularly bad, a few times every week towards the night, a certain number of prisoners were called out of the cells. They were issued their own clothes which had been kept separate. Sometimes one hundred, sometimes two hundred, were put into big trucks, it was thought they were going to be sent to Siberia or the Far North. But the trucks stopped at the prison of the NKVD, and the prisoners were pushed into the cells situated almost underground. They were not kept there very long. During the night they were brought to the courtyard. The clothing was taken away and thrown on the truck and the prisoners were ordered to stand in a line. Then, their hands folded behind their backs were tied with a piece of wire. After that, one at a time, they were led to a garage. A square of the court in front of the garage was paved, being meant for washing cars. As soon as the prisoner reached the end of the square the end leading to a ditch, or drainage, a shot was heard. The unfortunate fell beside the drain, into which the blood ran. Often there were heard two, three and even four shots all fired to kill the victim. Corpses were thrown on to the lorries that were waiting just beside the drain. To drown the sound of the shots the engines of the lorries were kept running all the time. This continued almost every night for months. Then on some nights the corpses were buried in common graves that had been prepared by other prisoners the day before. The bodies were simply thrown into the grave. Very often some were still moving even after the fourth shot. In such a case a victim was finished off by a gun butt. But quite a number were thrown in still alive. Then the blood-soaked clothes were thrown after them as they were dying.

This ghastly picture is not a figment of imagination. It is proved by witnesses that thousands of Ukrainians were destroyed by NKVD men whose faces merely bore a cynical smile at the time of the murders. What can be more horrible than the mass murders in Vinnytsia? Does there really exist a more ghastly and cruel way of disposing of innocent victims than that chosen and practised by Moscow savages? Can there be found an example of greater and more cynical brutality than organizing a Public Park of Culture and Rest over the common graves? They did not merely want to hide their crime they actually wanted to enjoy seeing Ukrainian children playing on the graves of their fathers. Language has no words to express one's revulsion at the satanic methods of the Russian-Bolshevik sadists.

THE MASSACRE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN 1941

TESTIMONY BY FORMER PRISONERS AND EYE WITNESSES

KHRUSHCHOV'S MASS MURDERS IN THE PRISONS IN 1941

Below we publish a number of testimonies made under oath by eye witnesses and victims of the vile crimes which were carried out at the orders of Nikita Khrushchov in the prisons in Ukraine by NKVD men

A number of these witnesses testified personally under oath before the International Investigatory Commission Lemberg 1941 in The Hague in 1960

The said Commission consisted of four authorized representatives of the former resistance fighters of their respective countries all of whom were interned for several years in German concentration camps the Norwegian lawyer Dr Hans Cappelen the former Danish Foreign Minister and present President of the Danish Parliament Ole Bjorn Kraft the Dutch socialist Karel von Staal the Belgian professor Floor Peters and as a fifth member the Swiss lawyer and parliamentary deputy Dr Karl Schoch The results of the Investigatory Commission were published in The Hague in March 1960 and it is from this publication that we quote the various testimonies The following facts were ascertained

Immediately after the German campaign against the Soviet Union had begun on June 22 1941 the security organs of the Soviet secret police (NKVD) started arresting persons whom they considered politically untrustworthy in the western territories of the Soviet Union Thousands of persons of various nationalities in the Soviet Union were either deported or imprisoned When it became obvious owing to the collapse of the transport network that the persons who had been arrested could not be taken to the interior of Russia and to Siberia orders were issued by radio to the district commandants of the NKVD in the West to release the criminal elements and liquidate the political prisoners In Ukraine and thus in Lviv too the NKVD troops were under the authority of the Secretary General of the Communist Party of Ukraine Nikita Sergejevich Khrushchov at that time resident in Kyiv The commandants of the NKVD in Ukraine on June 24 1941 received orders by radio from Khrushchov personally that the political prisoners were to be liquidated Thereupon a mass murder which claimed thousands of victims began in the prisons in Lviv which were filled to overcrowding and in all the other towns in West Ukraine

According to reliable information obtained by the American Kersten Committee at least 80 000 to 100 000 persons were murdered by the special commandos of the NKVD during the period immediately prior to the entry of the German troops The person responsible for these orders was the

Secretary-General Nikita Khrushchov. After the entry of the German troops in the town of Lviv it was ascertained undisputably that 3,500 persons had been killed by the NKVD, most of them by a shot in the back of their head. The actual number of dead was much higher, for months later mass-graves containing the bodies of prisoners were discovered again and again."

For security reasons the Commission could not publish the full names of the 232 witnesses whose testimony it heard.

In conclusion, we wish to stress that the Russian Bolsheviks committed similar crimes in Byelorussia, the Caucasus, in Turkestan, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia, etc. The incidents in Ukraine are only one dreadful example of Russian colonial rule.

FIRST REPORTS ABOUT THE MASS-MURDERS IN LVIV

REPORT BY MR. ALVIN J. STEINKOPF, ASSOCIATED PRESS
CORRESPONDENT

Mr. Alvin J. Steinkopf, correspondent of the Associated Press, saw Khrushchov's handiwork with his own eyes and reported in 1941 to his agency as follows

"Lwow (Lviv), German-Occupied Ukraine, 7 July (AP). — Lwow was a city of funerals yesterday in the wake of mass killings accompanying the Russian withdrawal from the region occupied by the Red army for a year and a half.

The train of funerals was a parade of death such as few great cities have seen in modern times.

The spirit of the population of 225,000 appeared utterly crushed as the sombre processions moved towards the cemeteries.

Most of the mass funerals took place on Saturday. Simple coffins of scores of unidentified civilians were buried closely, side by side in long trenches

There were services for individuals who were identified and for whom there was someone left to mourn

Artillery, tanks and German supply trucks moving endlessly eastward paused at many street intersections for a moment to permit the funeral to pass

The funerals were made more tragic by the utmost confusion in all sections of the city's life as consequence of Russian occupation.

Many simple folk and many prominent citizens are missing. Their fate is a mystery.

Thus, many were buried without a tear or a thought from the nearest of kin. Families were hopelessly scattered.

The whole ghastly scene is a situation which any experienced correspondent would view with the greatest suspicion. It is a grisly episode which could be exploited by organized propaganda from this side or the other

But here are the cruel facts, which are beyond dispute.

Hundreds, possibly several thousands, of persons were killed in this and neighbouring communities before the region was occupied by the German army.

I saw scores of bodies

Military pathologists turned them over and indicated the usual manner of execution — a shot in back of the neck

In this city bodies were jammed for the most part into the basements of three prisons

German authorities say similar blood baths occurred in other communities in this district

Who were the dead?

The usual answer is that they were Ukrainians who either were, or were suspected of having been, agents of the Ukrainian independence movement.

That movement was vigorously suppressed by the Russian Government and was opposed with increasing bitterness as Russian and German differences reached a critical point "

THE CHEKA LIQUIDATES ITS VICTIMS BY SHOOTING THEM IN THE BACK OF THE HEAD

From the 'Stockholms-Tidningen'

An extract from the article entitled "Skörden oskadal i det erövrade Ukraina" (Harvest in Conquered Ukraine not Affected) by the paper's special correspondent in Lviv, Bertil Svahnstrom, and published in its edition of Monday July 7, 1941, p 4

Before beating a retreat, the Russians gave a last demonstration of their terrorist rule by committing inhuman atrocities among the prisoners in many of the prisons. In Lviv, for instance, several hundred political prisoners — Ukrainians and Poles — were murdered a few days before the entry of the German troops on June 29th. The information to the effect that the number of victims amounts to several thousands must be exaggerated, because the figures that I have received came from the German officers of the town commandant's headquarters who had been entrusted with the task of investigating the matter. According to this credible German information, about 150 corpses were found in the cellars of the military prison. According to one account 250 bodies were found in the cellar of Brygidky prison, according to another, 413 bodies, whilst several hundred more corpses are said to be still in the cellars. Two mass-graves containing 63 bodies were discovered in the GPU prison, and, in addition, five male corpses were found in a room in the prison-building.

We saw some of the victims of these terrible atrocities. The corpses had been placed in rows in the yard of the military prison so that the relatives of the prisoners should have an opportunity to try to identify them. Weeping women and grim-faced men moved past the rows of bodies, but the latter were so disfigured that it was extremely difficult to identify them.

Practically all of them had been killed by a shot in the back of the head, — a method of execution favoured by the Reds, which causes the face of the victim to turn black and blue and become unrecognizable. There were several women among the victims.

Cases of mutilation and bestial ill-treatment are also said to have occurred, though I myself saw no examples of this, and the military surgeon who showed us these scenes of horror also said that he had not come across any such cases. He merely stated that he had heard that such cases had occurred, but that he himself had no proof.

THE RUSSIANS LEFT NO PRISONERS BEHIND ALIVE

Shortly before they retreat, the Russians set fire to Brygidky prison and the building was still smouldering when we were there. Apart from the prison chapel, which was in ruins, only the upper floors, however, had been destroyed by fire, and access to the cellars was still possible. Here, the Communists had stacked up the bodies in layers. A layer of sand had been scattered over each layer so that one could walk over it, and then came the next layer. The executions had taken place in a special cellar, from which the dead had been removed on stretchers to the cellar containing the corpses. Prior to execution, the prisoners had been confined in cells intended for six persons, which had now, however, contained over 30 prisoners.

Last Sunday at 1 p.m. the Germans entered Lviv. They had immediately been entreated by the inhabitants to search the prisons without delay, — so the German officers report. At 2 p.m. the Germans had already forced their way into the burning building of Brygidky prison, where the cellar-windows that faced the street had been bricked up by the Communists.

But no prisoners were found alive. Most of the corpses were three days old. It was the same everywhere. The Russians had left no prisoners behind alive when they retreated. They had shot some of the prisoners and taken the rest with them. I did not hear anything about any revolts that were supposed to have taken place in Lviv a few days before the Russians withdrew and were crushed. In fact, there is nothing to indicate that this was the case. There is an abandoned tank standing in a street in the centre of the town, but otherwise there are no signs that there was any street-fighting. Some of the houses have been burnt down, but these are the only signs of destruction to be seen.

A GERMAN AIRMAN WHO WAS TAKEN PRISONER HAD HIS EYES PUT OUT

Together with the Poles and Ukrainians, five Germans were also murdered by the Communists. All of them were airmen. Three of them were shot in their beds in a hospital in the town, whilst the other two were murdered in the military prison. These two — we saw their bodies in the prison-yard — had had their eyes put out and one of them had had his throat cut.

THE HELL OF LVIV

From "Die Tat" of July 8, 1941, Zürich

Berlin, July 7th

This evening a number of neutral journalists returned from a visit to Lviv. Without exception, they all related with considerable emotion what they had witnessed there.

In the police headquarters, the prison in Kazymyryvska (Kazimierzowska) Street and the GPU barracks, 7,000 men and women, who had been arrested after the outbreak of the German-Russian war, had been herded together like cattle. Most of them were Ukrainians, who were suspected of being a danger to the Soviet regime because of their national Ukrainian attitude. When the military position of the Soviets in Lviv became more and more untenable, a week ago on Saturday, the GPU, shortly before its retreat, carried out a massacre amongst these unfortunate victims, which was more dreadful than any other massacre ever ascertained by neutral reporters anywhere else in the world. In the police headquarters, twenty persons were herded together in each of the small cells and were then mown down by machine-gun and sub-machine-gun fire through the closed doors. Most of these persons were only wounded, but they were then massacred later on. In the prison in Kazymyryvska Street, the dead and the living were thrown into the cellars, which were then bricked up before the building was set on fire. All the press correspondents stated that they would not have been able to inspect these scenes of horror, had they not held handkerchiefs soaked in eau-de-cologne over their noses. The total number of Ukrainians who have been murdered in the town is estimated at 2,000 to 2,500. So far, 700 corpses, including the bodies of scores of children, have been removed from these three prisons alone, not counting the bodies in the cellars of the prison in Kazymyryvska Street which are still bricked up.

In Lviv the notorious Brygidky prison, which is located in the main street leading into the town from the west, was still smouldering. There were German sentries on guard in front of the building and they affirmed that salvage work was in progress. They said that the Bolsheviks had carried out a dreadful massacre there. A day or two later, we then had an opportunity to have another look at the prison. Before their retreat, the Soviets murdered prominent political prisoners confined here, above all Ukrainians, but also Poles, in the overcrowded cells, by hurling hand-grenades into them and then bolting and barring the cell-doors. They also set fire to parts of the building by igniting petrol.

Various inhabitants of Lviv who lived nearby and whom, as was understandable, we questioned very exhaustively for publicistic reasons, told us that terrible scenes had been enacted here during the two nights prior to the Soviets' retreat from Lviv.

Some of the political prisoners, so they said, had been martyred and tortured before they were murdered. Red-hot nails had been pushed under their fingernails and red-hot iron had been held under the soles of their feet, in some cases their hands and arms had been held in boiling water and the scalded skin then torn off.

I also recall the inhabitants of Lviv were extremely intimidated but they quite candidly told the Germans about all that had happened in the town. They mentioned the GPU prisons, of which Brygidky prison and the one on Castle Hill*) in Lviv were referred to again and again, as the centres of the Soviet massacre campaigns. I myself did not visit the latter prison, but I did, however, spend several hours in one of the smaller GPU prisons in the town gathering information with regard to similar scenes which had also been enacted there. I cannot remember the name of the street in which this prison was located, I only know that it was a comparatively small and inconspicuous building that had a large yard, which was surrounded by a high wall. I recall that there was a huge crowd of people — about 2 000 persons — in front of the building that is in the street and they were clamouring to be allowed inside. They were all people whose relatives had disappeared shortly before the retreat of the Bolsheviks and they were now trying to find out something about the fate of those who had vanished. Word had got round that mass-graves had been opened in the yard of this prison, and many of these persons were now hoping to find some trace of their missing relatives.

In many cases this was possible for immediately after these mass-graves had been discovered the German military authorities had had the corpses exhumed and examined and as far as possible, identified. The large yard of the prison was covered with rows of corpses. Some of the dead had been bound and fettered and three German airmen had their eyes put out.

Together with my colleague Bergemann and several other gentlemen I spent a number of hours in various private houses close to the prison in order to ask the people who lived there all about the incidents connected with these mass graves. Naturally, I can no longer remember the names of the persons whom I questioned but I know that their accounts all tallied with regard to the fact that during the last two nights prior to the retreat of the Red Army from Lviv they had heard the ceaseless noise of cars driving to and fro bringing prisoners to the prison. They also said that they had heard the sound of shots again and again and that immediately after the entry of the German troops in Lviv these mass graves had been found and opened.

Throughout our entire trip we heard of similar atrocities everywhere. In Zalusshchyky a small health resort on the Dniester we were for instance told that the big bridge over the valley — a steel structure — had been blown up by the Soviets after they had shunted a goods train full of political prisoners from East Galicia on to it and had set fire to the train by igniting petrol.

*) A mistake obviously the prison in Lontsky Street is meant — Editor's note

In conclusion, I should like to mention a personal experience which I had in Stryy, where we had stopped for a short break on the marked square, a Pole, whom I did not at first recognize, rushed up to me and fell round my neck. It then turned out that he was a former student-colleague of mine, who had been at Vilna University with me from 1931 to 1933. He burst into tears and told me that the NKVD on the last day that they had been in Stryy had arrested and murdered numerous Poles and Ukrainians, above all persons who belonged to the intelligentsia. He then took me to a well in a school, where his brother had taught handicraft, and, sobbing bitterly, told me that the Bolsheviks had thrown some of the corpses, including the body of his brother, into this well and had then bricked it up with huge stones.

* * *

METROPOLITAN COUNT ANDREAS SHEPTYTSKY ON THE NKVD MASSACRE IN LVIV IN JUNE 1941

On June 22, 1941, the Germans went to war against the Russians and occupied Galicia. The physical and moral suffering which had prevailed so far now increased. On August 16, 1941, Metropolitan Sheptytsky wrote as follows: "God has protected us all this time in a truly miraculous way. He has allowed our Church and our people to make their sacrifice of many faithful believers to Him. The chief motive of the persecutions was undoubtedly hatred of Christ and of His Church, and those against whom this hatred was directed were convinced that they were suffering for the cause of Christianity and the Catholic faith."

"During the twenty-two months of their occupation the Bolsheviks did not feel secure enough to carry out all their plans. It was only after the German offensive on June 22, 1941, that they revealed their true intentions. They arrested everyone they could get hold of and massacred them in prison. Six thousand mutilated corpses of persons who had been murdered were found in the cellars of the police headquarters in Lviv. Among them were the bodies of 11 priests of my diocese. Other clergymen who were in prison were rescued in a miraculous way. And it was a miracle that we, too, survived. Two days before the Communists retreated, fire broke out in five places in our building and in the cupola of the church, by Divine Providence it was extinguished without the aid of the fire-brigade, without hoses and without an adequate supply of water."

"During the first weeks of the Russian occupation all the monasteries were closed down and the monks were evicted. The Bolsheviks tried to disorganize our Church inasmuch as they offered the office of Metropolitan to a candidate who turned it down."

"The morale of the rural population was admirable. Here and there, it is true, there was an occasional traitor, but the majority of the population revealed more Christian spirit than one would have expected."

"Communism gave rise to a great revival of Christian faith and this is an argument which holds good for the truth of the Gospel which we preach"

"The Bolshevist regime, which lasted almost two years, destroyed practically all the prosperity and the modest way of living of our people. The number of victims deported to Siberia or to the shores of the White Sea, of persons imprisoned and murdered is extremely large. Even though no exact statistics are so far available, it can be assumed that the number of victims in my diocese amounts to 200 000 and to twice this number throughout the whole country. In my diocese the number of priests who have been murdered amounts to 11 or 12, and in the diocese of Peremyshl to 20. The number of priests in my diocese who have been arrested and deported amounts to 33"

"The people however, that is to say the faithful believers, who were neither deported nor exiled likewise suffered dreadful hardships, — slave-labour, confiscation of property, exorbitant taxes, and malicious and repressive measures on the part of the police regime which interfered in every sphere of life and propagated atheism everywhere. Whole villages were transferred from one place to another"

"The intellectuals in the towns suffered other hardships, but these were equally severe: arrests without end, interrogations, constant surveillance and the confiscation of clothing and household property. These persecutions, however, and the destruction of material possessions were compensated for by a marked regeneration of religious faith. The churches and the confessionals were besieged by persons who had formerly never gone to confession, and the young people, who had not had any religious instructions, now revealed an admirable zeal to defend and preserve their religion"*)

* * *

TESTIMONY BY EYE-WITNESSES ABOUT THE NKVD MASSACRE IN LVIV

LVIV Mr B K testifies

As a political prisoner I was confined in the prison in Lviv, first of all in Zamarstyniv prison, then in Lontsky prison and, finally, in Brygidky prison. The war broke out on Sunday, June 22nd, and on that day there were over 12 thousand prisoners in Brygidky prison. It was easy to estimate this figure, since anyone who knew how many cells there were in the prison could work out the total number of prisoners as being over 12 thousand, as there were on an average 80 to 90 prisoners in each cell and all the cells were crowded to overflowing.

*) Dr G Prokopschuk Der Metropolit. Munich 1955

On the first day of the war the NKVD already began to fetch individual prisoners out of all the cells. In groups of 10 persons and more, they were then driven into the cellars of the prison and shot there. The sound of shooting could clearly be heard in the cells. Some of the prisoners refused to go into the cellars and were then dragged there by force, others were seized with convulsions. Through the window of our cell which looked on to the courtyard of the prison, we were able to observe all these incidents unnoticed.

The shooting went on day and night without a pause. A few days later, mainly by night, the windows and the entrance to the cellars were bricked up. From then onwards, the prisoners were driven into the prison chapel in the cellars, as the entrance to the chapel had not been bricked up. On the Thursday and the Friday, large groups of prisoners were then shot in the trench which had been dug in the prison yard.

One day, we watched the NKVD men bring a family with two children into the prison yard. They must have previously taken some valuables or other off the family, for the mother, in tears, kept pleading "You can take everything, but spare the children." But in spite of their mother's entreaties, the children were shot with their parents in the trench. It was truly amazing with what calmness the NKVD men carried out the executions, and they even went to the extent of cursing the prisoners and cracking silly jokes.

On the Saturday morning, June 28, 1941, there were only 12 prisoners left in our cell, in which there had, to begin with, been 95. The prisoners left in all the cells (9) on this floor were then rounded up — there were about 60 persons all together — and put into one cell. A few persons — I think about 7 — were then taken out of the cell, but their names were not called out. This was the last group to be shot. The NKVD men did not return to our corridor again, for the German artillery was already firing on Lviv. After a while we ascertained that the prison and the remainder of the prisoners who had survived were no longer guarded by the NKVD. But as the door was locked, we could not escape. Soon afterwards, a number of persons, armed with small firearms, forced their way into the prison courtyard and broke open the prison doors. These civilians told us that they were Ukrainian insurgents. In the whole prison there were only about 600 prisoners still alive. In small groups of about 10 persons, we cautiously left the prison, for there were still retreating units of the Red Army in the main streets. After leaving the cell in which we had been confined, we saw evil-smelling corpses in the prison chapel and in two trenches, barely covered with earth, in the prison yard. The insurgents hurried us out and we thus had no time to search the prison more closely. We — we were 21 persons — then found shelter in the cellars of St. George's Cathedral.

On Sunday, June 29, 1941, I went into town, for there were only one or two Bolshevist units proceeding now and again along Horodetska Street eastwards, and the town was otherwise quite

deserted. I went along to Lontsky prison in order to try and find the files on my case. I entered the prison yard from Lontsky Street and near to the gate I saw 7 corpses that had been mutilated and were in a state of putrefaction. They could hardly have been prisoners as there was no growth of beard on their faces as was the case with prisoners. In the prison yard there were two trenches, — one full of corpses, covered with earth, whilst the other trench was half-full and the earth had only been scattered on it. When I got to the so-called Guard Room (a large hall) in the prison, I found it piled half-full of corpses. For some reason or other, they had been stacked one on top of each other like blocks of wood. On top of the pile there lay the corpse of a young woman, fair-haired, half-naked, who had been stabbed in the breast. I noticed that many of the corpses were clean-shaven, so they must have been persons who were killed soon after they had been arrested. It was not until next day, June 30, 1941, towards sunrise, that the German troops and, with them, a company of the Ukrainian legion entered the town. With the help of the soldiers, the population of Lviv and environs began exhuming the bodies and searching for friends and relatives. It was impossible to get all the corpses out of the bricked-up cellars of Brigidky prison as part of the cellars had been destroyed by incendiary bombs, which were no doubt planted there by the NKVD when they retreated. Every one of the prisoners in Zamarstyniv prison was murdered and their bodies bricked up in the cellars. In fact, no one attempted to break open the cellars there on account of the dreadful stench of rotting corpses. Only part of the corpses in the prisons Brigidky, Lontsky and Jachowicz were exhumed; there were several thousands, and a report issued by the Germans mentioned the figure 5 thousand. But who knows how many corpses there were in the cellars that were not opened.

N. B.: I should like to mention the young prisoners whose acquaintance I made in the cell. one was a boy of seventeen, called Bereziuk, who came from the Radekhiv district, and the other a boy of fifteen, Oleh-Roman Luniv; the latter had been arrested for reading the history of Ukraine in a non-Soviet edition.

LVIV; Maria Strutynska related in "Svoboda", New York, 8 1 1960.

...As the widow of one of the murdered prisoners, the editor Mychajlo Strutynsky, I wish to make the following statement in this connection:

At the time of the entry of the German army into Lviv, all the prisons in Lviv were already full of murdered prisoners; the main prisons were the so-called Brygidky prison (5,000 prisoners); the annexes of Zamarstyniv garrison (I do not know the exact number of prisoners confined there, but in view of the size of this huge

building it must have been thousands); the NKVD prison in Lontsky Street (where whole piles of bodies of persons who had been tortured to death in a terrible way were found before Germans entered the town, — I do not know the exact number), and the prison in Jachowicz Street, a transit prison, where my husband was confined (of the 900 prisoners there, 80 criminals and all the Poles were released, whilst all the rest were murdered)

All these facts were corroborated by members of the families of the prisoners, after the Germans, at their request, had the prisons opened in their presence

In the prison in Jachowicz Street we found the cells filled with piles of things that we had sent the prisoners once a month. The cellars were full of corpses of murdered prisoners, and the corpses were already in a state of putrefaction. In the prison yard, near to the railed-in square where the prisoners took exercise, there were two huge trenches. They had been hastily covered with earth but here and there elbows and feet could be seen sticking out. The corpses were in such an advanced stage of putrefaction that there was a terrible stench about the whole place. In answer to our requests to have the bodies exhumed, the Germans said "pestilence, danger of pestilence" — and they gave orders that everything was to be sprayed with lime and covered with cement.

When the Bolsheviks retreated they set fire to St Brigid prison (Brygidky), and for a whole week the special labour gangs organized by the Germans carried charred corpses out of the prison, which were then buried in Yanivsky Cemetery.

Mrs A K testified as follows

In the autumn of 1940 the NKVD in Lviv arrested me because I was a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists. I was taken to Zamarstyniv prison and confined there until the beginning of June 1941, about two weeks before the outbreak of the German-Soviet war. I was then moved to Brygidky prison on account of illness, allegedly in order to put me in the prison hospital as I was suffering from jaundice and kidney trouble at the time, but instead of being taken to the hospital, I was put in a cell in the prison cellars. I was in this cell when the German-Soviet war broke out on June 22, 1941. The cell was crowded to overflowing with women who had been arrested.

In the afternoon of June 22, 1941, I and some of other women-prisoners were taken along to another cell (presumably No 5) on the ground-floor of the prison. It was the first cell to the right of the main entrance to the prison, and the window of this cell was exactly opposite the prison chapel in the courtyard. During the night from June 23rd to June 24th, all was strangely silent in the prison, there were no jailers to be heard in the corridors and no one watched us through the spy-holes as had so far always been the case. Shortly

before dawn the male prisoners from the first floor, who had broken out of their cells, forced the padlock on the door of our cell and we swarmed out into the corridor and made for the prison door. When we got as far as the door we saw the corpses of six, or, rather, seven prisoners, one of whom was a woman, lying outside. We were so horrified at this sight that we promptly went back to the cell which we had just left. I then went into the cell next-door in order to see my friends — it was a cell for prisoners who had been sentenced — but next minute I heard the sound of shots in the corridor and promptly rushed back into my cell. A second or two later, the governor of the prison, accompanied by a number of NKVD men and jailers, appeared in our cell which was the first cell from the entrance door, they pointed their guns at us and ordered us to put up our hands. There were now prisoners from other cells, including male prisoners, who had not had time to get back to their own cells, in our cell too. The NKVD men now ordered the prisoners to lie down on their face and hold their hands on their backs. The prison governor then asked us "why did you want to escape?", to which one of the women promptly answered in Russian, as she came from East Ukraine, "we didn't want to escape, — as you can see, we are sitting here just as we were before." The governor then ordered the male prisoners to be led away and we women were told to remain lying on the ground, with our hands on our backs. Whilst we were lying there, we heard loud voices in the corridor, in fact, I clearly heard three voices and the following words: "I welcomed you so warmly when you entered the town, and what are you going to do to me now?" — a woman's voice shouted, then I heard a man's voice say "Where are you taking me?" and a third voice — that of a man — entreated "give me my life and freedom." The sound of steps and voices then died away, but after a little while I clearly heard the sound of three shots from the direction of the prison chapel.

Immediately afterwards, we heard the sounds of engines of lorries running in the prison yard. At first we thought the prisoners were being taken away, but the noise continued without a break and it was obvious that the lorries were not driving away. It was only some time later, however, that we realized that the noise of the engines had been intended to drown the screams of the prisoners.

At short intervals, the jailers now appeared in our cell and, according to a list, they called out the names of individual prisoners and ordered them to step out into the corridor with all their belongings, either separately or in small groups. This procedure went on from Tuesday to Friday. Towards evening on the Thursday, the following persons whom I knew personally were ordered to step out into the corridor: Olha Chemerynska and Olha Sparyniak. I now realized that the two women were not merely being transferred to another cell, but that something else was going to happen to them, for they had both been accused of offences which the Soviet rulers punished with the death sentence. In the meantime, we noticed that the list

of names of the prisoners had got mixed up, for the jailers kept calling out the names of persons whom they had already taken away and also the names of prisoners who were not in our cell

At noon on the Friday, some more women were taken out of our cell, but after a while they came back again as the men in the guard room had not known what was to be done with them, since there was no information in their files regarding an offence. During the night from Friday to Saturday, the names of some more women were called out according to a list and they were told to collect their belongings and be ready to step out into the corridor. But hours passed and no one came to fetch them. At dawn on Saturday, we heard the voices of prisoners on the other floors, they were calling to their relatives who were confined in other cells. Soon afterwards, when it had become obvious that there were no longer any guards in the prison, the prisoners forced open the cell-doors and swarmed out into the corridor. Our door was forced open from the outside and we saw a civilian standing there, who assured us that the prison door leading on to Jachowicz Street was unguarded and that he had just entered the prison by this door. At first, we were frightened of leaving the cell because we dreaded the consequences if we should be caught again trying to escape, but eventually a friend and I ventured out into the corridor and safely reached the prison door and freedom. In the streets of Lviv we caught sight of retreating units of the Soviet army and we hurriedly sought shelter.

On the Sunday, I learnt from Dr Kashubynsky that the prisons were full of corpses of prisoners who had been murdered, and that this was, above all, the case as far as Lontsky prison was concerned. At dawn on the Monday, June 30, 1941, I noticed a German patrol on the street, through my window. Early that same morning I went along to Lontsky prison, but the stench of rotting corpses was so dreadful that it was impossible to enter the prison. I then walked on in the direction of Zamarstyniv prison, and on the way there I met a woman who had been in the same cell with me in Zamarstyniv prison, she told me that she had learnt from another prisoner that my brother had been murdered in Zamarstyniv prison. As I had already known during my imprisonment that my brother was also confined in the same prison, I now went there to search for his body. When I got there, I found a large crowd standing outside. German sentries were posted in front of the prison and they were letting people in, either separately or in small groups. When I told them that I had come to look for the body of my brother who had been murdered, they allowed me to go straight in.

I then witnessed the following scene: there were four rows of corpses of murdered prisoners, I counted 40 corpses, including 23 female ones. From their clothes, I recognized the bodies of three women with whom I had shared the same cell but their faces were no longer recognizable. One of the women was called Iryna Shust and came from Brody, the other woman was from Lviv, and the third was a Polish woman, whose Christian name was Marysia. One

could see from the corpses that some of their bones had been broken I failed to find my brother's body amongst the male corpses, and, in any case, I did not know what clothes he had been wearing whilst in prison, I then asked whether there were any more corpses and was told that there were, but that they could not be viewed as they were no longer recognizable, since they were already in an advanced stage of putrefaction

A few days later, I met a Jewess and a Polish woman on the street with whom I had also shared a cell, and they told me that most of the executions in Zamarstyniv prison had taken place on Thursday, June 26, 1941. The two women had been taken into the cellar to be shot and on the way there had met my brother, who was likewise being taken there to be shot and who had enquired after me. The women said that the prisoners were shot in the neck from behind when they reached the entrance to the cellar. They had escaped death by dropping down at the cellar entrance, they had then lain hidden amongst the corpses of those who had been murdered until all was quiet again and they had been able to leave the prison.

LVIV, Mr J M testifies

From the evening of February 21, 1940, to the morning of February 24th, the NKVD unexpectedly started a large scale arrest campaign in the whole of West Ukraine against the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). During the said time, over 80 000 Ukrainian patriots were arrested throughout West Ukraine because they were suspected of being active members of the OUN.

During the morning of February 22, 1940, whilst I was going about my work as head zoological technician near Lviv, I was arrested together with one of my OUN comrades, M from L, by the rayon NKVD. We were taken to the local NKVD prison, from which we were moved to Brygidky prison in Lviv on February 23, 1940.

The arrests were carried out by the rayon NKVD chief Potapov, the Communist Party district secretary Dobrovolsky, and Prosecutor Fedorovich.

From Brygidky prison I was taken to Zamarstyniv prison and then to Lontsky prison, where I remained until May 20, 1941, when I was once more taken back to Brygidky prison.

In Zamarstyniv prison I was put in the big cell on the first floor. And it was here that I realized the extent of the large-scale arrest campaign against the OUN. There were about 150 prisoners in this cell and about 70 per cent of them were OUN freedom fighters. It was here that I made the acquaintance of a leading OUN member, Engineer Mykola Matviychuk, who was the main person involved in the so-called trial of 59. The remaining 30 per cent of the prisoners consisted of 25 per cent Poles, mainly former officers and 5 per cent Jews and Germans, etc.

About three weeks after I had been arrested I was interrogated for the first time in Zamarstyniv prison by a young Russian NKVD official and was accused of being an active member of the OUN. During the whole of the time I was confined in Zamarstyniv prison, that is until January 1941, I was constantly interrogated by NKVD officials, mostly at night, and was subjected to dreadful physical and moral tortures during these interrogations. I was so exhausted by these tortures that I was frequently brought back unconscious to the cell by the NKVD jailers.

In January 1941, towards the end of my confinement in Zamarstyniv prison, I was interrogated on one occasion by an NKVD general from Moscow. In spite of all the physical and moral tortures inflicted on me, I refused to admit that I was a member of the OUN. Despite this fact, however, I was sentenced at the final trial, which took place behind locked doors on May 16, 1941, to be shot, together with many other persons. From Zamarstyniv prison I was taken to Lontsky prison in Lviv. That was in January 1941. Here I was subjected to several more rigorous interrogations before I was sentenced. I and others of my comrades were sentenced by a so-called "Special Troika" (three-men) NKVD court. On the last occasion I was beaten by the NKVD men to such an extent that I fell down unconscious and did not realize that sentence was being pronounced on me. It was only a few days later that I was informed of the sentence in the cell and we were told that the NKVD procurator had filed an appeal for amnesty for us as a matter of form. On the strength of this amnesty — so we were told — we might perhaps get imprisonment for life or 25 years in a penitentiary or hard labour in a prison-camp. After sentence had been passed (on May 16, 1941) I and my comrades who had been sentenced were taken to Brygidky prison. Whilst we were waiting for the amnesty decision war broke out between Germany and the Soviet Union. It was obvious to us from the air raids carried out by the German Luftwaffe during the night from June 23rd to 24th 1941, that a war really was in progress. During that same night all the NKVD men got ready to flee eastwards. Some NKVD units surrounded the prison from without, whilst other units were already fleeing. A large number of the prisoners managed to get out of their cells and went into the prison yard. In the meantime some prisoners or other destroyed the entire record cards in the prison office. At about 10 o'clock tanks drove along Kazymyryvska Street and drew up in front of the prison. As we were hoping for our speedy liberation we assumed that they were German tanks. But after one of the prisoners had looked out of a window in the corridor to try and see the tanks and had been shot whilst doing so we realized only too clearly that they must be Russian tanks. The NKVD then fired at random on the crowd of prisoners in the prison yard. Panic broke out in the prison. Between the volleys we could hear the screams of the wounded and the dying. There were hundreds of victims. After a while, the NKVD unit stopped firing and entered the prison building. The NKVD men ordered the prisoners to lie face

downwards on the ground for about 3 to 4 hours and later restricted their freedom of movement in the cells. In the evening the NKVD officials gave us each a card and a pencil and told us to write our surnames, Christian names, date of birth and the sentence passed on us on these cards. All the record cards in the prison had been destroyed and the NKVD now had no personal data about us. But of course we did not know this at that time. We filled out the cards as told.

From the night of June 24th until the evening of June 25th, the NKVD systematically fetched 5 men out of every cell and took them into the prison yard, where they were driven off in lorries.

These prisoners who were taken away by lorries were then shot in mass graves in various districts outside Lviv, in particular in Ponykovetsky Forest. From the night of June 25th to June 26th until early in the morning on June 27th, the NKVD men carried out mass murders of the prisoners even more quickly and on the prison premises. Prisoners were fetched out of the cells en masse and were murdered by the NKVD in a ruthless, terrible and inhuman way in the cellars, in the wash-rooms, sick-wards, in the garage and in front of the chapel and the prison.

I heard the screams of these prisoners and saw them being murdered by the NKVD through the window of the cell I was in. Whilst they were carrying out these murders, the NKVD men switched on the engines of motors and kept them running. Nine prisoners were also brought in from the town and murdered. When our names were called out by the NKVD men as the next to be murdered, I and some of my comrades kept quiet. By this time there were only about 10 to 15 men left in each cell. Originally there had been 60 to 70 prisoners in each cell. There were 8 cells on our corridor. On the Saturday morning, June 28, 1941, the NKVD men moved the remaining prisoners from these 8 cells into one cell and ordered them to "get ready for transport," in other words for being murdered. But towards noon the NKVD suddenly left the prison and fled as fast as they could, for German troops had broken through the fighting front and were advancing on Lviv. Thus, at the last moment we escaped death. And this time the Soviet Russians had really fled from Lviv.

The Ukrainian Nationalists then entered the prison and set us free. At the last moment, the NKVD, on leaving Brygidky prison, set fire to the building by igniting petrol and paraffin in the cellar. After leaving the prison, we former prisoners assembled in the Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral of St. George and hid there in the cellar, as the Germans had not yet occupied the town and there was danger of our falling into the hands of armed Soviet Russians who here and there were still patrolling the streets. Next day, June 29, 1941, we heard of the dreadful mass murders that had been carried out in all the prisons in Lviv, in particular in Lontsky prison. The corpses of the murdered prisoners in the prisons were already in a state of putrefaction. There were some terrible sights: priests who had been crucified on walls, pregnant women whose stomachs had been slit

open and the foetus of six or seven months removed, bodies tied up with barbed wire, persons who had been wounded had been buried alive, in the cellars prisoners had been nailed down alive in coffins and had later bitten the flesh off their fingers, in the sick wards there were bodies of prisoners who had been gassed, etc

Lviv, Mr T D testifies

I, the undersigned, T D, born on October 22, 1907, in K in the district of B, was arrested by the NKVD in S B on December 21, 1940, and after two days in the prison in Z was put into cell No 20. After I had been in custody for three weeks, I was taken to Zamarstyniv prison in Lviv. On February 22, 1941, I was removed to Lontsky prison in Lviv, cell No 26, where I remained until June 6, 1941. Then I was taken to Brygidky prison in Kazymyryvska Street. I have no desire to go into details regarding the methods of interrogation used by the NKVD against me and all the other prisoners. These methods were contrary to all human laws and consisted in dreadful tortures which were applied in order to make the prisoners confess to crimes that they had never committed.

The following prisoners, whose names I recall, shared a cell with me: the Reverend Zhdan, the Reverend Koverko, Engineer Bohdan Durbak, Kushpeta and Leonid Halandiuk, all of whom were Ukrainians. Of the prisoners of Polish nationality who were in the same cell with me, I recall the names of the following: Major Wilczynski, Captain Berezowski, Skrzydlowski (probably a poet from Poznan) and a Polish priest by the name of Orzechowski from Yavoriv.

The Soviet-German war broke out on June 22, 1941 (a Sunday), and on the Tuesday evening, June 24, 1941, the NKVD already began shooting prisoners. The prisoners were shot in the cells, after having been ordered to lie face downwards on the floor. Two prisoners were shot in our cell and three were wounded. During the night, immediately after this had happened, two of the wounded men were told to come out of the cell and they never came back again. The bodies of the two prisoners who had been shot dead were not removed from the cell until the Thursday morning, June 26, 1941. In order to deaden the noise of the shots, the NKVD switched on the engines of lorries and tractors in the prison yard.

The massacre of the prisoners continued for nights on end until the Saturday morning, June 28, 1941. During the daytime prisoners were called out by name and told to come out of the cells, allegedly because they were to be released and sent home (as 'Stalin issued a manifesto'), but none of them ever returned home.

There were 115 prisoners originally in cell No 84 in Brygidky prison. When my name was called out to leave the cell, at three o'clock a.m. on Saturday, June 28, 1941, there were only two persons

left in the cell: the Polish priest, Orzechowski, from Yavoriv, and the third of the three prisoners who had been wounded, whose name I no longer remember. Four NKVD men, armed with bayonets, took me along to the guard room, where there were already 16 prisoners, with their hands crossed and tied on their backs with wire. They then did the same thing to me. A few minutes later, we were taken through the yard and into the cellars of the prison. Here a dreadful sight met my eyes: countless corpses of prisoners who had been shot and their bodies maimed with all sorts of instruments. We were ordered to face the wall. On seeing the pile of bodies with smashed skulls, I fainted and fell on top of the corpses. It was not till about 8 o'clock on the Sunday morning, June 29, 1941, that I regained consciousness. I heard a dreadful scream and the robs of the women who had come to search for their relatives and friends. They were dragging the corpses from the heap. I had probably lain under the corpses, for I was covered with blood but not wounded. When they got me on my feet again and untied my hands, which were fastened together with wire, I did not realize what they were doing and in my fright rushed up the stairs and out of the prison. I continued running in a panic until I reached the street, where some people stopped me and tried to calm me by telling me that the Bolsheviks had left the town. Someone then took me into a house, where they washed me and gave me something to eat, and by degrees I came to again. The room was full of persons and they kept asking me the names of the prisoners who had been in the same cell with me. They mentioned the names of a lot of prisoners, but I did not know any of them. Whilst they were asking me all sorts of questions, three soldiers of the German army came into the room. But as none of us could speak any German, we could not talk to them. That same afternoon I went along to Uspenska Church in Ruska Street and told the vicar that his curate Zhdan had been in the same prison cell with me. When I asked him whether the latter had returned, he said no. Later in the afternoon the vicar and I went along to Zamarstyniv prison. In the yard we saw a pile of clothes in a corner, and I recognized a jacket which had belonged to Mychailo Zalishchyk from my village and which I myself had made him. The collar of the jacket was stained with blood. Later, the vicar and I went along to Lontsky prison and I showed him the cell in which the Reverend Zhdan and I had been confined. There were a lot of people in the prison yard, standing by a heap of corpses and weeping. The sight greatly upset me and the vicar was obliged to support me and take me out into the street, otherwise I should have fainted. That same Sunday evening, someone came to see the vicar in Uspenska Church and then took me home with them to spend the night at their house. On Monday morning I set out for home on foot, but it took me five days to cover the 87 kilometres, even though I was given a lift for part of the way. When I was arrested I weighed 16 stone, but when I came out of prison only 8 stone, which was far too little for my height — 5 ft. 10.

In answer to the request of the editorial office of the "Shlyakh Peremohy" for testimony on Moscow's Bolshevik atrocities in June and July 1941, I should like to give the following brief account of what I saw with my own eyes in the prison in Lontsky Street, Lviv

During the last three days before the Germans entered Lviv, there were no Bolshevik troops to be seen in the town, but a lot of NKVD men kept driving through all the streets in trucks. They set fire to the largest prison, in Kazymyryvska Street, and I saw dense clouds of smoke coming out of the windows and the lower roof, the entire prison yard was screened in smoke

On June 30, 1941, I was walking about the centre of the town, together with my comrades, — mainly in those streets where the Bolsheviks had formerly lived in groups. Before the Germans occupied all the administrative buildings, I and my friends had already gone along to Lontsky Street, where the NKVD had had its headquarters. The fence round the building and round the vegetable garden in Lontsky Street consisted of high, thick boards nailed together so that there was not a chink between them anywhere. The iron entrance-gate had also been boarded up. We managed to break open the gate and immediately beyond it I saw a large pile of male and female corpses, which were half-naked and were already decomposed. We went into the cellar and there, too, the same sight met our eyes. We also saw the bodies of children there, whose skulls had been smashed and who had been stabbed by bayonets.

As we went up the stairs to the first and second floor, we noticed that the whole staircase from top to bottom had been surrounded with string-nets, there was an egg-shaped hand-grenade on the table in each room, there were photographs of prisoners and unfinished stereo casts in the cupboards. We called to some German soldiers who were marching past and showed them all these dreadful things. Half an hour later, numerous Ukrainians who lived in the town arrived at the prison and, weeping bitterly, began searching among the corpses for their relatives.

The same sight could also be seen in the former Jewish school in Zhovkivska Street

* * *

TESTIMONIES BY EYE-WITNESSES ABOUT NKVD MASSACRES IN VARIOUS UKRAINIAN TOWNS

BEREZHANY

The witness M M (now in England) reported that during the first days of the German-Soviet war the NKVD shot 12 prisoners in Kushnirka woods and another 6 in Pysarka woods. After the retreat of the Soviets a large number of corpses were found in the town prison, only three persons were still alive. Corpses were also found in the cellars of the castle nearby on the other side of the River Zolota Lypa, the family seat of the Sieniawski.

BIBRKA

At the end of June 1941, the female witness K F (now in England) talked to two political prisoners who had managed to escape alive out of the town prison. The prisoners were taken into the prison yard and two at a time, were subjected to dreadful tortures, whilst all the others were forced to look on. After the flight of the Bolsheviks, 18 (recognizable) corpses were exhumed in the prison yard and the bodies of four other prisoners who had been shot were found in the prison building, 120 corpses were retrieved out of the river which passes through the town. Most of the bodies bore traces of dreadful tortures.

The witness S D (now in England) estimates the number of persons who were murdered at 105, tortures and executions (which were carried out on June 22nd and June 23rd) usually took place in the cellars; many of the victims were scalded with boiling water. Of those who were murdered, the bodies of Dr Roman Kulchytsky, a lawyer of the town, and of Bodnar and Kozakevych, both inhabitants of the town were identified.

CHORTKIV UMAN, BERDYCHIV

The witness Dibrova testifies that on July 15, 1941, he was removed from the town prison of Chortkiv, where he had been confined, together with other political prisoners (there were 3 groups consisting of 500 persons in each group), and that they were forced to proceed on foot, under guard, to Skala and from there to Uman. The prisoners were treated in a most inhuman way, 11 persons who were unable to walk any further were shot by the guard before reaching Skala. In Kamyanets-Podilsky the witness managed to escape, but he knows for certain that all his comrades were shot when they got to Uman.

including the personal acquaintances of the witness, Ivan Provalny and Ivan Tretyak, both of them from the village of Bila near Chortkiv, and Engineer Turula of Derenivka (district of Budzaniv), the body of the latter was identified by his wife (after the Germans entered Uman)

In the town prison of Chortkiv (after the entry of the Germans) the witness saw with his own eyes the bodies of hundreds of political prisoners who had been tortured and massacred by the NKVD (their genitals had been injured with barbed wire, in the case of female prisoners, too, and their breasts had been cut off) The body of Olya Yurchynska had also been mutilated in this way The witness recognized the body as she was the daughter of a lawyer in Chortkiv whom the witness knew personally

The witness also testified that at that time he met a former political prisoner who had fled from Berdychiv and returned to his village, Romanivka (district of Budzaniv), this man told him that when the NKVD were about to retreat they set fire to the prison in Berdychiv the prisoners smashed the doors from within and tried to rush out through the flames, but most of them were shot by the NKVD men Actually, one side of the man's face was completely disfigured by fresh scars received from burns

DROHOBYCH

The female witness M F (now in the Federal Republic of Germany) reports that after the entry of the Germans several hundred corpses were exhumed in the Jewish cemetery of the town, they had been buried in 6 large graves each grave measuring 18 ft by 6 ft, and there were about 50 bodies in each grave The corpses bore marks of tortures and were fastened together with barbed wire The victims had been killed by a shot in the neck The bodies of two German airmen were also found amongst the corpses a fact which clearly indicates when this massacre must have taken place

LOPATYN

The witness V L reports that during the night from June 22nd to 23rd, 1941, 12 persons were murdered in the prison in Lopatyn They were young men who had been called up for service in the Soviet army Some persons heard screams and shots from the prison that night On June 24th, the Germans entered Lopatyn About 30 persons went along to the prison In the cellar we recognized the bodies of our friends, who had been killed by a shot in the back of the neck The bodies were lying about on the stairs To judge from all the signs, it was obviously a case of murder Not all the corpses could be identified as they had been horribly disfigured by tortures

At the end of June 1941 — so Y A, now in Canada, testifies, — the Russian NKVD murdered 1,800 prisoners in Lutsk. He had this information from a friend of his who had a miraculous escape when he pretended to be dead during the shooting of the prisoners. I myself, Y A, was at the funeral, which was attended by thousands of persons from Lutsk and the neighbouring districts. The bodies were buried in the prison yard. There were three graves, two of which contained 500 bodies each, whilst in the third there were 800 bodies. The instruments of torture of the NKVD were set up by the side of the largest grave. Among them was a drum, which was lined with barbed wire, the Russians threw their victims into this drum and then turned it until the latter died in dreadful agony.

* * *

I, S N, was not arrested by the Bolsheviks, but my friend, N N, was, and he related the following incidents to me. When the Germans advanced on Lutsk, the NKVD took the prisoners into the yard in groups and made them stand against the wall. Machine-guns were then fired at them from the other side of the yard. Anyone who survived of the groups was ordered to carry the corpses to the craters which had been torn up by the bombs dropped by the German planes, that had bombed the prison. Whilst these executions were in progress, some of the prisoners tried to flee, but they were shot as they were scaling the prison walls. Some of the prisoners were wounded during the executions and begged the guards to kill them, but in spite of their entreaties they were thrown into the trench alive and corpses were dropped on top of them. My friend was in the last group but one to be shot. During the execution he fell to the ground, later, he was ordered to carry the corpses to the trench. He then returned to the cell where the NKVD were selecting the persons for the last group. The sudden appearance of the Germans saved his life.

NADVIRNA

H G and Y K, now in England, testify about the middle of July, 1941, two trenches were discovered not far from Nadvirna, one in a forest, the other on the banks of the Bystrytsia. There were 36 corpses in the first trench. They were fettered and there were marks of a blow with some heavy object, probably a hammer, on their foreheads. In the other grave there were 25 corpses. They, too, were bound, either with barbed wire or with rope. Rags had been wrapped round their heads, and the marks of blows were also visible on their foreheads.

Later on, another grave was discovered, but the Germans would not give permission for it to be opened, as it was the height of summer and they were afraid of pestilence. It was therefore only strewn with lime.

The witness, Father M. K. (at present in America) reports that soon after the flight of the Bolsheviks 82 corpses were exhumed in a nearby wood, with the exception of the body of a woman, who was recognized by her clothes by her young children, none of these corpses could be identified as they had been in a state of putrefaction for over a month

The female witness M S (now in England) reports that after the retreat of the Soviets the corpses of some young Hutzuls*) were also found in the town prison, iron nails had been driven through their tongues

PEREMYSHLYANY

The witness, N N now in England, testifies as follows Before the arrival of the Germans, the Bolsheviks murdered many Ukrainian political prisoners in Peremyshlyany In order to drown the sounds of the shooting and the screams of the victims, engines were switched on Before they died, the prisoners were tortured in a dreadful way parts of their body were cut off, — tongue, ears, nose, their eyes were put out Many of them were stabbed with red-hot wire, scalded with boiling water, or boiled alive

The witness M D (now in the Federal Republic of Germany) reports that he was told by eyewitnesses that immediately after the entry of the German troops the bodies of hundreds of prisoners who had been murdered were found in the town prison The victims had their noses, ears, fingers, etc , cut off, their eyes put out or burnt out, or else they were pierced with red-hot wire or scalded with boiling water, many of them were boiled alive in huge boilers

SAMBIR

The witness Eugen Rudyy (now in the USA) already testified before the U S Congress Kersten Committee on October 12, 1954, and his testimony was published in Record No 37, p 150-151

On June 26, 1941, there was some shooting by Soviet troops on various streets in Sambir By June 28th the NKVD had already fled and many people went along to the prison in order to look for their relatives Suddenly, six lorries with NKVD men on them drove up from the direction of Radlovychi The NKVD men immediately headed for the prison, and anyone they found there or nearby — old people, women and children — they promptly shot, about 80 persons were murdered in this way After the entry of the Germans, 720 corpses were found in the prison buildings and yard, and, in addition, another 117 corpses were exhumed from a mass grave on the other side of the River Dniester, all the victims had been killed by a shot in the neck, many of them had their arms and legs broken, their eyes put

*) Ukrainians inhabiting the easternmost part of Ukrainian Carpathians

out, their genitals (in the case of the women their breasts, too) cut off, or their scalps torn off. A wood-cutter and his fourteen-year old son saved themselves by hiding in a sewer-pipe of the prison before the massacre began.

The witness P. N. (now in the Federal Republic of Germany), who testified under oath, said that he had received his information from two eyewitnesses, two former Ukrainian Communists, Mykola Pylypchak and Vasyl Gerech, who were arrested by the NKVD but by chance managed to escape death. The prisoners were taken into the prison yard and shot there by machine-guns. Many of them, who threw themselves flat on the ground at the right moment, managed to survive, although most of them were given a "last merciful shot," too. Those who refused to leave their cells were killed by means of hand-grenades. The corpses were later examined by a non-German commission invited by the Germans, — the witness no longer remembers whether it was a Swedish or a Swiss commission. The bodies of two women and a child were found amongst the 117 corpses that were exhumed on the bank of the River Dnister.

SAMBIR, Mr. P. N. testifies

I, P... N..., testify to the following facts on oath: When the Bolsheviks carried out their massacres in West Ukraine, I was in my native village Vilshanyk near Sambir. Two former Communists, Mykola Pylypchak and Vasyl Gerech, of Vilshanyk, had been arrested in Sambir because they did not share the same views as their comrades, the Russian imperialists. On the Wednesday or Thursday evening, June 25th or June 26th, 1941, I met Pylypchak returning home from Sambir. He was terribly upset and frightened. He asked me to go home with him. When we got to his house, he told me the following. "We prisoners could tell from the strange behaviour of the NKVD that something must have happened. In the course of the Monday and Tuesday we heard that war had broken out between Germany and Russia. We were overjoyed because we hoped that the war would bring us our freedom. Today, all the cells in the prison were opened and the NKVD requested us politely but definitely to step outside into the prison yard. Most of the prisoners went into the yard. So did I. The remainder of the prisoners, who were afraid something terrible was going to happen, stayed behind in the cells. When we got into the yard we saw a few cars there and a lot of NKVD men with machine-guns. It looked as though there was going to be an execution. We were told to stand against the fence. When we lined up there, all the engines of the cars were switched on. There was a terrific din. Then all the machine-guns were levelled on us. At the last moment, I suddenly had an inspiration of how I might save my life. When the first shot was fired, I threw myself on the ground. That was what saved me. I heard the Russians go on shooting, the screams of the prisoners and the din of the engines. After a while all

was quiet, but the stillness was only of short duration. Then I heard the engines running again, the sound of a few shots and the explosion of grenades. After it had grown quiet again once more, I heard the gate of the prison being opened and the cars driving away. As I was in danger of being suffocated by the corpses that were on top of me, I tried to push them away in order to get some air. It was a difficult job, for I had to be careful, and there were many corpses on top of me. When I managed to see daylight again, I decided to wait until evening before moving. One or two hours later, the NKVD men came back again with the same cars and machine-guns, in order to look at their handiwork. Then they drove off again.

It seemed like eternity to me until it grew dark. I was lying there amongst the corpses, scared out of my wits, but I knew for certain that I was cured of Communism for good. When it was quite dark, I pushed the last corpses away and stood up. All was quiet in the prison. I did not venture to go through the prison gate, so I climbed up the fence on the side where the canal runs past and then jumped into the water. Now you know what has happened and why I am covered with blood and dirt and am all wet!'

When I went to Sambir with a number of other persons next day, I wanted to see whether what Pylypchak had told me was really true. There were several people standing in front of the prison, but we could not go inside as there were Russian sentries on guard outside. It was only when the German troops entered Sambir that we saw that there were hundreds of corpses lying in the prison yard. In the cells the corpses had been mutilated so badly by grenades that they were unrecognizable.

In the month of August a mass grave was discovered amongst the bushes along the River Dnister, not far from Sambir. The bodies of 114 men, 2 women and a child were found about two feet under the ground. This murder had been carried out in May 1941. This could be ascertained from the dates on various slips of paper found in the pockets of many of the persons who had been murdered.

When the massacre in West Ukraine was carried out, I myself was a member of the organization of Communist youth. But all these incidents and all that I learnt in this respect completely cured me of Communism.

STANYSLAVIV Mr Mykola K. now living in Austria testifies

During the first German air raids on Stanyslaviv (in June 1941), a small but determined and well-armed group of Ukrainian partisans was formed in my native village Ch. (near Stanyslaviv). When the Soviet troops began to withdraw from the environs of Stanyslaviv, this group — upon higher orders — carried out a raid on the prison in order to liberate the Ukrainian political prisoners. There were still a few Bolshevist units here and there in the town but they put up

no resistance. When we broke open the door of the prison and entered the building we found that there were no longer any NKVD men there and practically no prisoners who had survived, it was only in one or two cells that the prisoners were still alive; all the rest had been murdered.

I can well recall searching for the body of a Ukrainian patriot who was a close friend of mine, amongst the corpses. The marks of dreadful tortures were clearly visible on most of the bodies; broken arms and legs, or their eyes had been put out, and in the case of some of the women, their breasts had been cut off. Many of the prisoners had been killed by large nails driven through their nostrils into their brain, others by having their throats cut. In the prison yard three bodies were exhumed of persons who had apparently been buried alive.

The bodies of small children, who had been tied to the corpses of their parents with barbed wire, were also found.

STRYY, Mr Y Stryusky testifies

When the Soviet troops withdrew from the town of Stryy on June 27, 1941, a group of Ukrainian civilians hurried to the prison, broke open the entrance-gate and found the bodies of 200 prisoners, who had either been shot or tortured to death in some other way, in the prison yard; some had been boiled alive in the big boilers used for making soup, other had been baked alive in special iron cabins with gas heating, and others, as was discovered when the cellars were searched, had been bricked in alive. Most of those who had been shot had had their ears, noses or fingers cut off, or their eyes put out. Of those who had been bricked in, only very few were found alive, and (with the exception of one woman) they all died before they could be taken to hospital.

Although Stryy is only a small town, where practically everybody knows each other, only 46 of the 200 bodies could be identified, — partly because the corpses were already in such a state of putrefaction that the Germans who went into the prison buildings had to wear gas-masks.

("Shlyakh Peremohy", Ukrainian weekly published in Munich, edition of — January 1960)

UMAN

The witness R. W., now living in France, testifies. In July 1941, a German tank suddenly rolled into an open trench near to the prison in Uman. It was then discovered that there were numerous corpses in the trench. They had all been killed by a shot in the back of the neck. There was a tunnel leading from the cellars of the prison to

the water-pipes, and corpses had been piled up in this tunnel and strewn with lime and salt. They appeared to be the bodies of persons who had been killed fairly recently, but when the corpses were touched they fell apart. Some women from the village of Polyanecke recognized the bodies of their husbands who had been arrested in 1938. Among the corpses were the bodies of persons from Podolia, Vapnarka and environs. There were 4,500 corpses.

A list of the Ukrainians from the district of CHORTKIV who were murdered by the NKVD in the prison of the town of Uman after the outbreak of the German-Soviet war¹⁾

1) Engineer Petro Turula, born in Terebovlya in 1907 2) Mykola Kvasnytsia, graduate of the Theological College in Lviv, born in Dzhuryn, district of Chortkiv, in 1913 3) Mykola Sysak, high school student, born in Dzhuryn 4) Fedkiv Zynoviy (Kryvenke) 5) Berezhansky Omelyan (Kryvenke) 6) Brukhal' Stefaniya (Hadynkivtsi) 7) Bilynsky Victor (Tovstenke) 8) Sorokivsky Roman (Tovstenke) 9) Velychenko Mykola 10) Masly Ivan 11) Honchar Mykhaylo 12) Ocheretny Antin 13) Soltys Volodymyr (Ulaskivtsi) 14) Glembitsky M 15) Bala Osyp (Kotsyubyntsi) 16) Savytsky 17) Honchar Mykola, born in 1921 18) Uhryn Antin 19) Maslyv Mykhaylo 20) Karatnyk Stepan 21) Koloda Ivan 22) Mykhaylyuk (Hadynkivtsi) 23) Maslyv Antin 24) Kovalsky Yaroslav (Chornokintsi Velyki) 25) Koval Mykolayevych (Probizhna) 26) Heyda Dmytro 27) Chylynsky Stepan 28) Shevchuk M A 29) Osadtsa Y A 30) Kutsorsky M P 31) Dyak E A 32) Bodnar I D 33) Baran V M, born in 1921 34) Lytvynuk D P 35) Hluch I H 36) Ivantsiv D Yu 37) Yaremko Y S 38) Sovetsky 39) Khaba 40) Hrabets 41) Danylyshyn 42) Yanytsky 43) Fedortsiv 44) Havrylyshyn 45) Hutsal E S 46) Holovinsky D or O I 47) Ohynyk P S 48) Holodivsky I Ya 49) Melnyk M S 50) Provalny I P 51) Tretyak V Ya 52) Holubovych V K 53) Lyubinetsky I 54) Malysky L Ya 55) Medvid I N 56) Protskiv L or R S 57) Hrebenuk E S 58) Skoropada P 59) Kazanivsky Bohdan 60) Volokhatyuk (L) A 61) Halyas 62) Kovyak H 63) Manko P A 64) Tsybalyuk M 65) Zahorodnyy 66) Tsaruk P 67) Hrehorashchuk P M 68) Sahan (Sohan) A 69) Maruk 70) Yurkevych Evhen (passport from Horodyshe) 71) Vinyavka Pavlo Illich 72) Dyts (or Hets) Ilko (Zoloty Potik) 73) Zaporozhets A P (Vasyliv) 74) Tsaruk (Chortkiv) 75) Fedorovych (Polish document) 76) Telepko Ivan Dan (Chortkiv) 77) Mykhaylyuk 78) Surgot 79) Atamanyuk 80) Dzolk 81) Kozlovsky 82) Korotnyk 83) Kozak

¹⁾ The victims were sentenced to terms of imprisonment ranging from 5 to 10 years during a political trial on May 17 1941

VINNYTSIA

The witness T. P. testifies as follows: In the spring of 1941 I was moved from the prison in Lviv to Vinnytsia. When the Bolsheviks began to withdraw from Vinnytsia after the outbreak of the war, the NKVD started murdering prisoners in the prison yard and in the cells. On hearing the screams of those who were being murdered, the prisoners in the cells began rioting; they broke open the doors of the cells and hurled themselves at the murderers. There were only comparatively few NKVD men and they fled before the thousands of prisoners. We thought we were already free, but a large unit of NKVD men suddenly appeared at the main entrance to the prison and began firing at us. We fled back to the cells again. There was no way of escape and no mercy. The NKVD fired into the cells and hurled hand-grenades. I lay on the floor in one of the cells. The bodies of those who had been shot were on top of me and I was unable to move. I heard shots, groans and the explosions of hand-grenades. Many of the prisoners went mad. Blood flowed in streams on the floor and reached my mouth. I became unconscious.

Later, people told me that I had been carried away with the dead and that they had only realized that I was still alive when they washed my face.

ZHOVKVA

(renamed *Nesterov* by the Soviets)

The witness T. P. (now in England) reported that he had his information from Stepan Makar, a member of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), who succeeded in escaping from the town prison. (Later, S. Makar was arrested by the Nazi Gestapo and died in the concentration camp in Buchenwald).

After the retreat of the Soviets, hundreds of corpses were exhumed in the prison yard; the bodies bore the marks of dreadful tortures, — broken arms and legs, and some of the victims had been scalped. 36 of the bodies could be identified. S. Makar personally recognized the bodies of a girl-student, Salivna, of the teacher Mykola Yevych, of the farmers Onyshko and Kyryk, and of two other persons.

ZOLOCHIV

The witness I. Rubizhny*) reports that an air raid was carried out on Zolochiv during the night from July 4th to July 5th, 1941, and that the Germans then entered the town on July 6th. That some day hundreds of corpses were exhumed in the prison yard and, to judge

*) The name and exact address of this witness, now residing in England, is known to the Editor of the Ukrainian weekly "Shlyakh Peremohy" (published in Munich). The witness is prepared to testify before an international court commission, if necessary.

from the advanced stage of decomposition, they must have lain buried there for two or three weeks. Many of them had had their arms and legs broken or twisted, their finger-nails and toe-nails torn out, and their genitals injured (as for instance in the case of the women)

They had all of them been killed by a shot in the neck. In addition, a number of corpses were found of persons who had been murdered more recently, they had been bricked in in their cells and had suffocated. The total number of persons murdered amounted to 752 of whom only 21, however, could be identified

* * *

BOLSHEVIST MASS MURDER IN JUNE 1941

*From the Report of the Kersten Committee U S Congress of
December 31 1954 — House Report No 2684*

On June 21, 1941, the German-Soviet war broke out, and as the German troops crossed the frontier, the Soviets were forced to retreat hurriedly. But in every city in Western Ukraine in the first days of the war, the NKVD and its agents shot all political prisoners except a mere handful, who were miraculously saved.

One of these prisoners, Valentyna Nahurnyak, who had been connected with the theatre in Rivne, has given a graphic account of her escape. She had been put in a cell with seven other women, one an informer of the NKVD, set there to spy on the others. A band of the murderers came into the cell and shot at the prisoners until they fell. All but three were dead. A little later a man entered the cell and bayoneted all three of them. But although Nahurnyak had sustained six bullet wounds and two bayonet cuts, she survived.

The same process continued as the German armies advanced into Western Ukraine but even in Vinnytsia some 700 bodies were found near the railroad station. In Kharkiv, one of the main prisons was closed and set on fire, while the NKVD remained on guard to prevent any assistance until the interior was destroyed and the inmates were all dead.

Following the orders of Stalin to leave only scorched earth the Communists destroyed all supplies of food which they could reach so as to leave nothing for the population which had been left behind. They mined as many buildings as they could and allowed fire to finish off their work. It is small wonder that in the early days after this reign of terror, many of the Ukrainians welcomed the invading German forces. They hoped for the restoration of a free Ukraine. Accordingly, on the day of the German entrance into Lviv, the political leaders still alive formed a provisional government under Jaroslaw Stetzko. This was later broadened by a Committee of Seniors under Dr Kost Levytsky, who had been the Prime Minister of the Republic of Western Ukraine in 1918. This movement spread eastward with the German advance during the summer of 1941.

It did not however, fit in with the plans of Hitler, and so in August most of these political leaders were arrested and deported to Germany.

V. Petryshyn

MOSCOW'S FLAGRANT LIE

A CLUMSY ATTEMPT OF THE KREMLIN TO SHIFT THE BLAME FOR ITS CRIMES ON THE UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

I

For the past 20 years it has been an established fact, and, indeed, one that has been verified historically, that, with the retreat of the Soviet Russian occupation forces from the West Ukrainian territories in June and July, 1941, the Russian NKVD murdered thousands of prisoners and other civilians there before these territories were occupied anew by the German forces. At the last moment, before the Soviet Russians retreated, the NKVD agents carried out additional arrests among the civilian population. The persons arrested were taken eastwards and most of them were murdered on the way.

I myself saw victims of these murders with my own eyes. I was living not far from the prison in Lontsky Street and the NKVD building, and, at 6 o'clock in the morning on June 30, 1941, on learning that the Bolsheviks were no longer in the West Ukrainian capital of Lviv (Lemberg) and that German military units were patrolling the streets of the town, I ventured forth out of my hiding-place. Upon ascertaining that there were no longer any guards in front of the prison in Lontsky Street, I ventured inside the building. I immediately noticed a foul stench, and then I saw piles of corpses that were already in an advanced stage of decomposition. It was such a dreadful sight that I shall never forget it as long as I live. That same day, I also learned that the NKVD units had committed similar bestial atrocities in the other prisons in the town. Passers-by, whom I encountered on the street, told me that there was already Ukrainian infantry in the courtyard of St. George's Cathedral. I therefore proceeded from the prison to the Cathedral, where I found the Ukrainian soldiers reverently listening to divine service. After the service I talked to some of these young men, who told me that they had been the first to enter the town in the early hours of the morning and that they belonged to the so-called "Nightingale" battalion, which had been formed at the instigation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists.

I did not see these young Ukrainian infantry soldiers again in Lviv, but later heard that they had only been in the town a short time and had then moved eastwards with the German army. I should like to stress that they were mere boys who were hardly of an age for military service, still less capable of committing the mass murders imputed to them by the Soviet Russians.

I was therefore amazed to read in the Communist paper "Radyanska Ukrayina" of September 5, 1959, that these young men of the "Nightingale" battalion were allegedly the gangsters who, during the night from June 29th to 30th, 1941, had murdered hundreds of Communists in Lviv on the strength of lists which had been drawn up beforehand. Nearly 20 years later, the real criminals are trying to falsify history in order to thrust the blame for their obvious crime onto the Ukrainian soldiers of the "Nightingale" battalion. But a lie of this kind is doomed to exposure, for it is an established fact that during the week commencing June 22, 1941, all the civilian occupation staffs left the town in endless queues and that the only troops that passed through Lviv on June 29, 1941, were Soviet Russian troops. Even local supporters of the Communists managed to escape eastwards in time.

In any case, how could the "Nightingale" battalion within a couple of hours during a short June night have managed to arrest hundreds of Communists, scattered throughout the large town of Lviv, and shoot them? In order to get hold of these Communists, at least a thousand men who knew the town extremely well, as well as a considerable number of trucks would have been needed. Who is likely to believe that Communists remained in Lviv, when they had about a week's time to get out of the town? So who murdered the local Ukrainian political prisoners in the Lviv prisons? Surely not the men of the "Nightingale" battalion!

As already stressed above, the said lie is entirely unfounded, for even the Soviet Russian "Reports by the State Special Commission to investigate the crimes committed by the Germans in the region of Lviv," which were drawn up in 1944, did not venture to impute the murders in the Lviv prisons to the "Nightingale" battalion.

The shaky foundation on which this obvious lie on the part of the Soviet Russian press is based can be seen from the very fact that at a conference held in Moscow on April 5, 1959, the NKVD murders in the Lviv prisons were no longer imputed to the "Nightingale" battalion, a point which we shall refer to again, later on. Immediately after the press conference in Moscow, the inhabitants of Lviv naturally, at the orders of Moscow — condemned the "atrocities committed by the bourgeois nationalists" during the time from June 30th to July 6th, 1941, in letters to the Lviv papers. There can be no doubt about the fact that these letters, in compliance with the press conference, were fabricated in the Lviv editorial departments and no longer mentioned the murders in the Lviv prisons.

II

At the same time as the German troops entered Lviv on June 30, 1941, special police detachments, which had the same powers as NKVD had previously had, also arrived there

After July 3, 1941, I learnt that the German police had arrested various well-known Polish scholars and professors, etc One of them was a friend of mine, with whom I had worked in Lviv during the Soviet Russian occupation

Otherwise, all was fairly quiet in Lviv from June 30 1941, onwards Some of the houses that had been hit by bombs were still smouldering, there was no electricity, the trams were not running, and all the shops were closed For this reason and as I had nothing else to do, I spent most of the day in the centre of the town, where our Ukrainian institutions were located Here I met my friends from Lviv and the Ukrainian nationalists who had come from Poland, which was under German governor-generalship I should like to point out that neither I nor my friends, who came from various parts of the town, saw any corpses in the streets or hanging from balconies of buildings, during the early days of the German occupation We were, however, all aware of the fact that over 30 highly esteemed Poles, including persons who had not taken any part in politics at all (as for instance my colleague, who had been in the same profession as myself) had been arrested But none of us, including the Ukrainian nationalists who had come to Lviv from Poland knew anything at all about the further fate of the persons who had been arrested We were firmly convinced that they had already been taken or would be taken to concentration camps

On the strength of the above-mentioned 'Reports by the State Special Commission,' the Soviet Russian prosecutor Smirnov presented an indictment before the International Military Tribunal in Nuremberg and in this connection made the following statement "Professor Groer of the Faculty of Medicine of Lemberg University, who by a stroke of luck escaped death testified before Commission (in the above-mentioned it is meant — the Soviet Commission Translator's note) as follows 'When I was arrested at midnight on July 3, 1941, I was put on a truck, together with Professor Grek, Professor Boj-Zelenski, and others We were taken to a room in the Abrahamowicz Theological College As we were taken along the corridors, the Gestapo men jeered at us over the head (At this point in the official English statement, dots have been inserted, whereas in the official German statement the following words are to be found 'they hit us with their carbines dragged us by the hair and beat us over the head' See the official German text, Vol VII p 493) Later, in the same building, I saw some Germans taking five professors along the corridor Four of the professors were carrying the corpse, which was covered with blood, of the son of the well-known surgeon, Dr Ruf, who was murdered by the Germans during

interrogations Young Dr Ruf was also a specialist Closely guarded, the group of professors was taken to Cadets Hill About fifteen to twenty minutes later, I heard the sound of shots from the direction in which the professors had been taken' " (See Vol VII of the Records, p. 493) On the strength of the above testimony, Smirnov affirmed that the German police already had a list of the well-known Polish scholars who were to be murdered after the capture of Lviv, before the Germans entered the town And this seems quite possible, for subordinate organs of the German police would not have been able to carry out a mass murder of scholars, who for the most part had not played any political role at all, without the permission of the head authorities

From this document, that is to say from the testimony given by Prof Groer, it is perfectly obvious that his colleagues were arrested and murdered by Gestapo men, for Prof Groer, who had escaped death, frequently saw these Gestapo men in uniform later on Having studied abroad, he could also tell by the way they spoke German, that they were Germans and not young men of the "Nightingale" battalion, since the latter would most surely have only spoken broken German and with a foreign accent

At that time there was no Oberlander affair Hence, prosecutor of the USSR, in keeping with the truth and on the strength of the testimony of the Crown witness, Prof Groer, accused the German police of having murdered the elite of the Polish intelligentsia in Lviv on July 3, 1941

But what happened twenty years later, regardless of the records in three languages of the Nuremberg Tribunal, regardless of the "Reports by the State Special Commission" on the crimes committed by the Germans in the region of Lviv, and regardless of the fact that there are still thousands of eyewitnesses at home and in exile abroad who know perfectly well that the so-called 'Nightingale' battalion was in no way whatever responsible for the murders in Lviv?

The Soviet Russian government suddenly decided to hold a "re-trial" of the case against the German war criminals of World War II and to exonerate the German Gestapo and thrust the blame for the events which took place in Lviv from June 30th to July 6th, 1941, and, above all, for the murder of the elite of the Polish intelligentsia in Lviv on July 3, 1941, on to the "Nightingale" battalion

It is interesting to note and indeed, significant that the Soviet Russians in their "re-trial" of the crimes committed by the German occupants in Lviv refused to refer to the records of the trial before the International Military Tribunal and, instead, ordered their "State Special Commission" to fabricate a new report on the events in Lviv, which report was then published at the press conference It is likewise significant that the witnesses at this press conference were persons who had never been mentioned previously, and that no attempt was made to cite the most reliable witness in this case, namely Prof Groer, who is still living in Warsaw Prof Dr Piotrowski, who likewise lives in Warsaw and, incidentally, was the Polish delegate in the Inter-

national Military Tribunal, published a letter dated November 9, 1959, in the daily paper "Zycie Warszawy" of November 13, in which he wrote as follows about Prof Groer "Prof Groer has by no means forgotten the events which occurred after Lviv was occupied by German troops I talked to him a few days ago He can even recall typical details " But the organizers of the Moscow press conference passed over this witness in silence, for he by no means fits in with their new theory regarding the murder of the Polish intelligentsia

The statements made by the "eyewitnesses" at the press conference are of such a nature that no judge in the world and, in fact, no sane-minded and, at least, partly objective-minded person would believe them For there is not a single word in these testimonies which states that the witnesses themselves saw men of the "Nightingale" battalion either arrest or shoot one of the said Polish scholars And not one of the murdered persons is mentioned by name in these testimonies, even though their corpses allegedly lay in the streets of Lviv

In order to prove that someone committed a murder, one needs such a witness as Prof Groer This witness should be questioned in a public trial in the presence of both parties and in the presence of the prosecution and the defence, that is to say in accordance with all the usual trial rules and regulations in the free world and before entirely independent, impartial and experienced judges And in this connection we should like to point out that if there had been any mention of the "Nightingale" battalion and its participation in the murder of the Polish intelligentsia on July 3, 1941, and in other and similar crimes, in the "Report" of the Soviet Russian State Special Commission of 1944, then the Soviet Russian prosecutor would most certainly have referred to this fact and it would have appeared in the records

Hence, it is perfectly evident that the statements read out at the Moscow press conference about the "crimes" of the 'Nightingale' battalion and, in particular, about the murder of the Polish intelligentsia are a flagrant lie, purposely invented for the Oberlander affair

THE ATTEMPT OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO WEST GERMANY TO FRUSTRATE THE EXPOSURE OF KHRUSHCHOV'S CRIMES

The majority of the above-mentioned testimonies were given before the "International Investigatory Commission Lemberg 1941". Even the initiative taken in setting up a commission for the purpose of investigating the mass-murders in Lviv aroused fierce protests on the part of the Bolsheviks. Below we publish an authentic report by Kurt Ziesel, taken from his book "Der rote Rufmord," Eine Dokumentation zum Kalten Krieg ("Red Murderous Libel," Documents on the Cold War), published by Fritz Schlichtenmayer, Tübingen, 1961*)

The extent to which the Communists had a hand in the matter can be seen from the significant fact that when Oberländer for the first time affirmed that he would request the setting up of an investigatory committee in Germany on the murders in Lemberg (Lviv) the Soviet embassy sent a letter to the German Federal Foreign Office to the effect that the Soviet Union would regard it as an unfriendly action on the part of the German Federal Government if the Lemberg mass-murders and Soviet participation in the same were investigated on German territory. It was only due to this threatening attitude on the part of the Soviet Union that Oberländer decided to put his suggestion to leading resistance organizations abroad. After the Commission had taken up its activity however, an equally threatening campaign was launched against all its members. They were constantly threatened with murder and received telephone calls in the middle of the night and a session of the Commission in The Hague was accompanied by Communist demonstrations in the streets."

Since "co-existentialist" and "anti-Stalinist" Nikita S Khrushchov himself is personally responsible for these mass-murders, it is not surprising that the work of the Commission evoked such a counter-

*) Kurt Ziesel "Der rote Rufmord," p. 89

action It is of interest in this connection to quote the statement made by the Bonn Public Prosecutor in the case of the Lemberg murders taken from the above-mentioned book by Kurt Ziesel

After the outbreak of the German Russian war on June 22 1941 a new wave of arrests began which was above all directed against persons who were suspected of belonging to the national Ukrainian movement When the position of the Soviet administrative authorities in Lemberg became critical as a result of the rapid advance of the German troops the chief of the NKVD according to a witness who as a Russian subject was on an official mission in Lemberg at that time and had been given accomodation in the house of said NKVD chief received orders by radio to liquidate the Ukrainian nationalists imprisoned in various prisons listed in these orders

The Public Prosecutor in this his conclusive report avoids quoting verbatim the testimony of the witness, the former NKVD employee, whose name cannot be disclosed for the sake of his own security

In his report the Public Prosecutor then gives a detailed account based mainly on testimony given under oath by Jewish witnesses of the indescribable massacre of freedom-loving Ukrainians and Poles by the NKVD hangmen prior to their withdrawal from Lviv

In this connection Kurt Ziesel quotes the report mentioned by the Public Prosecutor, by Borys Levytsky, which was published in the Polish journal *Kultura* and concluded with the following words

The mass executions in the Lviv prisons during these tragic June days was an established and known fact in the town and neighbouring districts The population was reduced to such a state of despair and alarm that it regarded Hitler's soldiers as saviours It is no lie nor is it propaganda to affirm that Hitler's armies which marched into Lviv were welcomed by the terrorized population — both by the Ukrainians and Poles — with a feeling of relief **)

***) Ibid p 97

Jaroslav Stetzko

I ACCUSE KHRUSHCHOV OF MASS-MURDER OF THE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

*'Three-quarters of mankind may perish so that
the rest may experience Communism!'*

V I Lenin

"I am a Russian and proud of my nation!" — said Khrushchov during his visit to the Leipzig Fair in 1959 and thus refuted the assertions made in the free world, to the effect that he was a Ukrainian.

The Ukrainians accuse Khrushchov as one of the biggest and most ruthless mass-murderers of their people in their tragic history. For many years Khrushchov held the post of Stalin's governor in Ukraine and on the strength of his cruelty and ruthlessness proved himself to be the most loyal henchman of his master. From the beginning of the German-Russian war onwards, there was a man in the other camp who might have been his twin-brother, — Hitler's governor in Ukraine, Erich Koch, an equally ruthless tyrant and servile today. Two mass-murderers in Ukraine, two representatives of the two most terrible totalitarian systems, which clashed in 1941.

THE DISCOVERIES MADE BY THE NIGHTINGALE' DETACHMENT IN LVIV ON JUNE 30, 1941

Elsewhere in this book we publish accurate reports on the mass murders committed in Lviv against Ukrainian political prisoners by the NKVD prior to the entry of the German troops there. Numerous witnesses who have survived and who were in Lviv prisons at that time, as well as other trustworthy persons report here at length on these atrocities committed by the Bolshevik criminals. We also include the testimony of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Metropolitan, Archbishop Count Andreas Sheptytsky, who mentions as many as 6 000 murdered persons in one prison alone and definitely accuses the Russians of having committed these atrocities. The great Patriarch

of the Ukrainian Church and the greatest moral authority for all the 45 million Ukrainians accuses the Soviet Russian NKVD units of the mass murders in Lviv and other towns in Ukraine. There is no one in the free world who would doubt the accusations made by the aged Patriarch of the Ukrainian people, who may soon be canonized by the Apostolic See, or who would question the truth of his words. For he is the man who, during the Soviet Russian occupation of Ukraine, had the courage to ask the Pope to give him his apostolic blessing and send him to a martyr's death for the faith and unity of the Church. 'The Church has nothing to lose by this, it can only gain by such a step, as the spiritual father of the poor people who are obliged to endure so much suffering, have I not the right to die for their sake?' — And he also had the courage to intercede with Hitler himself for the persecuted Jews, a fact on which the Jewish Rabbi Dr Herzog in Palestine commented as follows: "When the Germans carried out a pogrom against the Jews in Rohatyn the Metropolitan Sheptytsky addressed a petition to Himmler, in which he emphatically objected to the murder of innocent and defenceless persons. This action on his part caused a considerable sensation for it was definitely proof of his great courage. There was no one in Europe at that time who ventured to openly support the Jews against the ruthless Gestapo. And the entire Ukrainian people took his action as an example and helped the persecuted Jews in every way possible, and, at risk to their own lives, frequently hid them in their own houses, a measure which was prohibited under penalty of death. It must also be pointed out in this connection that the Ukrainians themselves had to endure great suffering and hardship under the terrorism of the Gestapo."

When the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) defended the rights of the Ukrainians, Himmler requested the Metropolitan on the strength of his authority to inform the Ukrainian Insurgent Army that their activity was a violation of the fifth Commandment. To which the Metropolitan replied: 'The National Socialists do not believe in God and hence have no right to refer to God's Commandments!' When Himmler thereupon answered that for every German or every person of German descent who was shot, 20 Ukrainians were to be shot, the Metropolitan addressed a sharp and warning pastoral letter to the occupation army, in which, among other things, he stressed: 'God will punish those who disregard His Divine laws!' If the Metropolitan showed such courage in censuring the crimes of the Gestapo, he would most certainly not conceal any of the mass murders which so it is alleged, German units committed when they entered Lviv. On the other hand, however, the Metropolitan, in keeping with the true facts, accuses the Soviet Russian NKVD units and holds them responsible for the mass murders in Lviv, — murders which the Russians, in a mendacious and defamatory manner, are trying to blame on to the unit "Nightingale" and on to Prof Th Oberlander.

The Soviet Russians, incidentally, contradict themselves in their own accusations against the "Nightingale" unit and also in their accusations against Prof Oberlander

The "Krasnaya Zvezda" (the official organ of the Ministry of Defence in Moscow) of October 20, 1959, the "Radyanska Ukrayina" of October 21, 1959, and the "Komsomolskaya Pravda" of October 22 and 25, 1959, accuse the battalion "Nightingale" and Prof Oberlander of murdering over 310,000 persons in the district of Lviv, and they insinuate that Bandera was in command of the "Nightingale" and was in Lviv together with Prof Oberlander at the same time. Bandera is supposed to have known certain secret details about Oberlander's alleged crimes and for this reason was murdered at Oberlander's instructions. Actually, Bandera was not in Lviv at all at the time, but in Cracow, where he was under the police surveillance of the Gestapo. He was already arrested on July 5th and taken to Berlin. He was never a soldier, nor did he ever command the "Nightingale". The Ukrainian commander of the "Nightingale" was Roman Shukhevych, who found the body of his brother in a Lviv prison amongst the corpses of the persons murdered by the NKVD, a fact which became generally known.

The shameless manner in which the Soviet Russians lie can also be seen with regard to another point mentioned in the said organ of the Ministry of Defence, "Krasnaya Zvezda," which, among other things, accuses Bandera of having "joined the service of Nazi espionage as early as 1936 under the name of "the grey man" ("Siryi")." The actual truth is that at that time, namely from June 1934 onwards, Bandera was in the worst Polish prison, the "Święty Krzyż," to which he had been sentenced for life-imprisonment on account of his revolutionary activity.

Only fools believe the Kremlin liars!

The fact must also be mentioned that the "Nightingale" legion was organized by opposition circles of the German Supreme Command, including Admiral Canaris, who naturally did not set up this legion in conjunction with the German army for Himmler's purposes but with the intention of supporting the Ukrainian independence aims in this way.

THE CASE OF THE POLISH PROFESSORS

The Soviet Russians are now also blaming the "Nightingale" detachment and Professor Theodor Oberlander for the murder of the Polish professors in Lviv, in spite of the fact that the Soviet Russians themselves recently accused not the German army but, quite definitely, the Gestapo of having committed these murders. The Russians trip up on their own lies and defamations.

We should like to quote from the previous accusations made by the Soviet Russians¹⁾

" the case of the professors who were shot in Lviv also caused a sensation in the Nuremberg trials In the collection of documents on the Nuremberg trials, published in several volumes in the Soviet Union, we find a precise report on pages 243-245 of volume 3 "At the orders of the Reichs government, the Gestapo authorities, prior to the capture of Lviv, made a list of all the leading members of the intelligentsia who were to be liquidated " (a list containing the names of 38 professors in Lviv is then given) "Immediately after the capture of the town of Lviv, mass arrests and executions were carried out The Gestapo arrested " etc There is no mention of any army unit or of the "Nightingale" Thus, during the Nuremberg trials no one accused Prof Oberlander or the "Nightingale" battalion of these crimes

" On February 15, 1946, during the afternoon session of the Nuremberg tribunal, the Soviet Prosecutor Smirnov read out a testimony by Prof Groer of the Faculty of Medicine at Lviv University, who escaped death only by a stroke of luck, in which testimony Prof Groer definitely states that the Gestapo arrested and ill-treated Polish professors on July 3, 1941, and in this connection mentions his own case and that of Prof Bartel

"Prof Sosnicki told me in the winter of 1941/42' — so the author of the article published in the "Kultura" writes — that some of the families of the professors had received an official confirmation to the effect that their husbands or fathers had been shot on the strength of a 'special order by the security headquarters' "

In a pamphlet published by the Bolsheviks under the title "Pid chuzhymy prapor...ny" ("Under Foreign Flags"), the security service units are likewise held responsible for these murders and no mention whatever is made of the "Nightingale" in this connection

Incidentally, Himmler organized special security police units and security service units which were designated as "action groups" and divided into 'action commandos, special commandos and part commandos" They were intended to be used for the so-called pacification of the occupied East territories In sections 2b, 4 and 5 of the directives for special regions in connection with regulation 21 (the "Barbarossa Case"), the army was informed of Himmler's independent action as regards the security service (of March 13, 1941)

"2b) In the theatre of operations of the army the Reichs Leader of the SS in order to prepare the political administration has at the orders of the Fuhrer, been entrusted with special tasks, which arise out of the fight that must ultimately be fought between two opposite political systems As far as these tasks are concerned, the Reichs Leader of the SS is acting independently and on his own responsibility "

¹⁾ Quoted from the Polish periodical Kultura Paris No 1/147-2/148 p 176
1960

"In the rear theatres of operations of the army the action groups and commandos were only subordinated to the field army in so far as service with the troops was concerned, but as regards commands and their scope they were under the RSHA (Reichssicherheits-hauptamt)."

(Declaration on oath by Lieutenant-General Heusinger, Chief of the Operation Section of the German Supreme Command, of February 1, 1945).

The entire police force depended exclusively on Himmler. The action groups which operated in West Ukraine were under the command of the higher-ranking S.S. and police leader, Korsemann. Otto Ohlendorf, commander of the Action Group D, declared on oath: "As Chief of the Security Service, Section 3, of the head department of the security police and of the security service (RSHA), I declare that the action groups and action commandos were led by the personnel of the Gestapo, of the Security Service and of the criminal investigation police."

It is thus obvious to everyone who is unbiassed that the liquidations were carried out not by army formations, but by security police and security service units; and in the case of the Polish professors in Lviv, too, there can be no question of the murders having been carried out by army units

Furthermore, there appeared in the Polish daily published in London, "Dziennik Polski," of August 18, 1958, a letter by a Mrs Wl. Chomsowa of London, who was in contact with the family of Prof. Bartel from the outbreak of the war until January 1944. She writes that Prof. Bartel was shot on July 22, 1941, by personal order of the Reichs Leader of the S.S., Himmler. At that time, the "Nightingale" and Prof. Oberlander had for the past sixteen days been hundreds of kilometres away from Lviv, in the east²).

At that time there was a special S.S. commando under Eberhard Schongard and Heinz Heim, which had come to Lviv via Rudky, operating in Lviv. These two Gestapo officers are responsible for the physical liquidation of the Polish professors and for the political liquidation of the Ukrainian national government.

It is likewise obvious beyond all doubt to anyone who is unbiassed that — as the Swedish, Swiss, Portuguese and American press reported in this connection — the mass murders of the political prisoners in the Lviv prisons were carried out by the NKVD at the personal orders of Khrushchov, the First Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine at that time and Stalin's governor there, before the Germans entered the town

We hardly venture to put a rhetorical question: why should the Ukrainian nationalists of the "Nightingale" have committed mass murders against the other Ukrainian nationalists in the Lviv prisons; and why should Roman Shukhevych have murdered his own brother,

² See the article by V. Stakhiv, "A Monstrous Lie." in "Suchasna Ukrayina," of February 7, 1960, Munich

whose decomposed body he found among the corpses of those who had been murdered in Lviv?¹

Such shameless defamations and lies can only be invented by the criminal minds of the Kremlin murderers

Why should the Ukrainians shoot the Polish professors and thus open an additional and third front at a time when they already had Soviet Russia and Hitler's Germany as their enemies?² It was, on the other hand, precisely in the interests of Ukraine to form a joint front with all the subjugated peoples against the oppressors, a fact which is explicitly stated in the political resolution of the OUN conferences and congresses

In an article entitled 'Oberlander from Berlin's Perspective,' which is published in the Polish periodical "Kultura," No 3, 1960, p 138, a statement by the Polish professor Sokolnicki, who still holds lectures at the Technical College in Soviet-occupied Lviv, is quoted. In this statement he quite plainly and definitely holds the Gestapo responsible for the murder of Prof Bartel and the other Polish professors, and blames neither the Ukrainian nationalists of the "Nightingale" battalion, nor any German army for these murders

It is obvious to any objective-minded person from the gross contradictions in the Soviet sources that have been published at various times that the Soviet Russian accusations are based on lies

THE NEUTRAL PRESS ON THE RUSSIAN MASS MURDERS IN LVIV IN 1941

The Ukrainian socialist periodical "Vilna Ukrayina" ("Free Ukraine"), No 25/1960, Detroit, USA, definitely accuses the Soviet Russians of having committed the mass murders in Lviv in June 1941. It also quotes the Swiss paper "Die Tat" of July 6, 1941, which contained the following comments

"When the Soviet Russians were no longer in a position to assert themselves in Lemberg (Lviv) the NKVD, prior to its flight, carried out a terrible massacre of innocent prisoners. According to the reports of neutral press correspondents, this massacre is one of the most dreadful and ruthless massacres ever heard of in the history of the world. In the police prison 20 prisoners were crowded together in each of the smallest cells, they were then shot through the spy-holes. 2 000 to 2 500 persons were murdered in this way."

On July 7, 1941, the "Stockholms Tidningen" wrote as follows

"Prior to their retreat the Russians, giving vent to their hatred a last time, carried out mass murders with inhuman brutality in many of the prisons. Shortly before they retreated, they set fire to Brygidky prison. In the cellars the Communists stacked up the corpses of the murdered like blocks of wood. On each layer of corpses they strewed sand so thickly that one could walk on it. On this layer of sand they then spread another layer of corpses. I found no one alive amongst the prisoners" — so the correspondent added

In the book "Genocide in the U S S R," published by the American Institute for the Study of the U S S R in Munich (in July 1958), the following facts are stated regarding the NKVD crimes in West Ukraine "In 1941, when the German army began its Eastern campaign, the Bolsheviks murdered prisoners on the spot or else during transportation In Lviv, Stanyslaviv, Chortkiv, Berezhany, Stryi, Ternopil, Berestya, Rivne, Kremyanets and Lutsk, mass executions of thousands of prisoners were carried out at that time "

WHEREIN LIES THE PRIMARY MOTIVE OF THE KREMLIN'S
DEFAMATORY CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN
"NIGHTINGALE" UNIT INCORPORATED IN THE GERMAN
ARMY?

The primary motive of Moscow's defamatory campaign against the 'Nightingale' unit lies in the aim to defame the symbol of the armed Ukrainian fight for freedom and the heroic commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), General Taras Chuprynka

As was already mentioned above, Roman Shukhevych, later known as General Chuprynka, was the Ukrainian commander of the "Nightingale" After the Reichs government had refused to recognize Ukraine's independence, Shukhevych and his unit broke with the Germans, and practically all the members of the "Nightingale" went over to the UPA, the latter was now strengthened with these new cadres, and soon afterwards, Roman Shukhevych under the name of Taras Chuprynka assumed command of the UPA

The attempt to make out the 'Nightingale' soldiers as mass-murderers was intended as a deadly blow to the UPA, which has become the immortal standard-bearer of the Ukrainian fight for freedom, and to the memory of the former Ukrainian commander of the "Nightingale," General Chuprynka

To this end a systematic defamation campaign has been carried on in the Soviet press for over a year The said press accuses the members of the OUN of having committed unthinkable crimes against the innocent population during the time of the German occupation of Ukraine In this way the Ukrainian freedom fighters are to be held to blame for the Bolshevik mass murders!

A further aim of this campaign is to create a false picture of the Ukrainian liberation movement in the minds of the young Ukrainians, to whom the traditional ideas of freedom and liberation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army have gradually become an ideal

When the staff of the KGB (Committee for State Security in Moscow) planned the murder of Stepan Bandera, its intention was to divert public attention from itself to the Germans For this reason the murder of Stepan Bandera was planned in such a manner as to be

able to lay the blame, later, on Prof. Oberlander and thus kill two birds with one stone. The intention was, of course, to defame Adenauer's government!

It is easy to accuse the Germans with their Gestapo persecutions in Ukraine of various crimes, for the population there suffered great hardships under the Nazi occupation. On the other hand, however, Moscow is also trying to stir up hatred against the West, for Bandera was greatly loved and respected by the Ukrainian people. At the same time, the German Federal Republic is an ally of the Americans and a member of the NATO. Federal Minister Oberlander was to be the scapegoat for the perfidious game of the Russians, which aims to defame and discredit the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom in the eyes of the youth of Ukraine and of the public in the free world.

The German side, led by former Federal Minister Oberlander, however, defended itself very unskillfully, for it would do better to start a large-scale counter-attack and, in doing so, make use of the very accusations which the Russians are bringing in against it, namely, that the Germans actually did not commit any mass murders in Ukraine at that time, but that the Russians did, and the German side should also support the Ukrainian fight for freedom, which later was also directed against the Nazi occupation. But, unfortunately, nothing whatsoever is being done in this respect in Germany. In fact, some Germans even joined in the Moscow defamation campaign against their own Federal Minister and, like the Communists, demanded his resignation, instead of exposing the mass-murderer Khrushchov, who at that time was Moscow's governor in Ukraine and gave orders that these mass murders were to be committed there. Side by side with this new defamatory campaign against the Ukrainian unit "Nightingale," the Soviet government naturally has continued its constant campaign against the Ukrainian national government of 1941, which was and is accused of having consisted entirely of quislings.

THE DEMOCRATIC BASIS OF THE UKRAINIAN GOVERNMENT OF 1941

The defamatory character of Soviet Russian propaganda in its discrimination campaign against the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists can be seen from its lies about the alleged one-party composition of the national government of June 30, 1941. This government was not a one-party government, but was composed of the representatives of various party political trends in Ukraine, namely socialists, national democrats, Catholics, non-party representatives, and nationalists. Although the overwhelming majority of the population supported the OUN, the latter decided to take over only a certain

number of Ministries, namely, in addition to the office of Prime Minister, the police administration, the post of the second deputy of the head of the government, the department of political co-ordination, which the territorial leader of the OUN Evhen Legenda, who was later murdered by the Gestapo, took over, the OUN member V Stakhiv took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there were two deputy Ministers of War, — one was the later General Taras Chuprynska, and the other the later Chief of the UPA General Staff, Colonel Hasyn, the Minister of War was a social revolutionary, the famous Ukrainian general of the war of liberation 1918/20, General Petriv, and the Minister of Interior, for instance, was a socialist, the Minister of Economy a national democrat. In number the nationalists were in the minority in the Cabinet.

In addition, a provisional parliament, the Ukrainian National Council, under the honorary presidency of the Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytsky, was formed, and here, too, the representatives of the OUN were likewise in the minority. Dr Kost Levytsky (national democrat), who had spent two years in "Lubianka" prison in Moscow, was elected President of the National Council.

On July 11th, the head of the government was arrested and taken to Berlin, where, together with Mr Bandera, he was placed under police surveillance, various means were now resorted to in order to persuade them to revoke the action of June 30, 1941. When all these efforts failed, however, Bandera, Stetzko and thousands of other Ukrainian nationalists were arrested on September 15, 1941, and taken to Sachsenhausen and other concentration camps. On September 30, 1944, Bandera and Stetzko were taken to a villa near Berlin. That the Germans had made certain mistakes was admitted, and an attempt was now made to find a basis for cooperation by recognizing Ukrainian independence, but in view of Hitler's ruthless terrorist regime in Ukraine, this suggestion was once more turned down by the two spokesmen of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Incidentally, Ukraine was already being occupied again by the Russians. After Bandera and Stetzko had once more been put under the surveillance of the Berlin police they managed to flee, with the help of members of the Ukrainian underground movement, who were employed as civilian workers from the East in Germany²⁾.

After the head of the government had been arrested, the other nationalist members of the government, who had not gone into hiding, were arrested and put in concentration camps. It was only the nationalists who at that time actively combated the Nazi occupation. Neither the socialists nor the national democrats nor the non-party representatives were arrested.

Of the nationalist members of the government, the following were murdered by the Gestapo as already mentioned, the Minister of Political Co-ordination and territorial leader of the OUN, Evhen

²⁾ See also 'Germany and Ukraine' by R. Ilyntzky East Europe Institute Munich, 1958

Legenda-Klymiv, the deputy Minister of Economy Yatsiv, the Minister of Forestry Piasetsky (Front of National Unity, a small nationalist-minded group)

The following persons were arrested the deputy head of the government and member of the OUN, Dr Lev Rebet, the Minister of Foreign Affairs V Stakhiv, as well as other OUN members of the government, and, of course, the Head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera, who at that time was in Cracow and was arrested there on July 5th

We have intentionally reported on the events in Lviv on June 30th and at the beginning of July, 1941, in detail, in order to prove, on the strength of these irrefutable facts, how defamatory and treacherous Soviet Russian propaganda is. In defaming the Ukrainian government of 1941 and also the "Nightingale" detachment and Prof Oberlander, it ruthlessly resorts to its usual methods of attack, namely that if one repeats the same lies a thousand times, then some of them will eventually make an impression.

Khrushchov gave orders that the mass murders in Lviv and in other places in Ukraine were to be committed at the time in question. And he alone bears the whole blame!

WE ACCUSE!

We, Ukrainians, accuse Khrushchov of the mass-murder of the Ukrainian people, whom, in his capacity as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine from January 1938 until December 1947, as Prime Minister of Soviet Ukraine in 1947, and again as First Party Secretary from January 1948 to December 1949, he exterminated in a most ruthless way.

We accuse him not only of the mass-murders in Lviv in June 1941 and of having been responsible for other mass murders at that time in numerous towns and villages all over Ukraine, but also of the mass-murders of Vinnytsia in 1938/40 where over 10,000 Ukrainians were massacred at his orders. Khrushchov is the most ruthless hangman of the Ukrainian people, and it is this policy of extermination pursued by him in Ukraine that has fitted him so ably for the post of hangman of the entire Soviet Union.

We accuse him of mass murders in Budapest, in Poznan and in East Germany, we accuse him of ruthlessly crushing the riots of Ukrainian internees in the concentration camps during the years 1953 to 1956 (Vorkuta, Norilsk, Magadan, Mordovia, Tayshet and Kingir) and in 1959 in Temir-Tau. At his orders 500 Ukrainian women internees in Kingir were crushed by Russian tanks when, singing Ukrainian patriotic songs they tried to hold up the tanks in order to prevent a massacre in the concentration camp.

We accuse him of the mass deportation of young Ukrainians to Kazakhstan and Siberia. We accuse him of the treacherous Russifica-

tion of Ukraine and of the perfidious persecution of the Ukrainian freedom fighters.

We accuse Khrushchov of the murder of the leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, Stepan Bandera.

We accuse him of ruthlessly exterminating and fighting the Ukrainian Insurgent Army during and after the war when he held the office of Moscow's governor in Ukraine. We accuse him of ruthlessly crushing the Ukrainian insurrection by the most perfidious methods, including the use of gas and bacteriological means.

We accuse him as the blood-stained persecutor of our autocephalous Orthodox and Catholic Churches!

We demand that an international court be formed, before which we can bring forward the accusations against Khrushchov and his hirelings regarding the mass murders in Lviv in June 1941, which he is trying to blame on the Ukrainian nationalists, so that this blood-stained murderer will for the time being at least be condemned morally.

We demand the severance of all diplomatic, economic and cultural relations with the government of this hangman. We demand the exclusion of the Soviet Union and all its satellite governments from all international organizations, as for instance from the UNO, etc.

We warn against the coexistence policy and against the pilgrimages of Western statesmen to Moscow, as well as against invitations to this criminal to visit the West, on which occasions the said statesmen shake hands with this ruthless hangman, who is stained with the blood of millions of innocent men, women and children, and greet him as a "peace-maker"!

The so-called "Summit" conference did untold damage to the honour and conscience of the statesmen of the Western powers, who believe in God and respect human rights, but tried to sit at the same table with the most ruthless of mass-murderers, Khrushchov. He consistently pursues his aim, namely the recognition of the status quo by the West, a fact which is to provide the further starting-point for his conquest of the world.

We warn the free world not to fall into the abyss!
Caveant Consules!

Volodymyr Kosyk

COLONIAL EXPLOITATION OF UKRAINE BY RUSSIA

Every form of favouritism, every form of inequality between the nationalities of a state or of an empire, an inequality which is introduced deliberately, undeniably represents the most obvious sign and characteristic of national oppression and discrimination

Lenin in 1913 designated the Russian tsarist empire as a state with one single national centre, Great Russia" In 1914 he affirmed 'we do not support the privileges of Russia over the Ukrainians" But the Russian Soviet empire which he himself created is not merely another form of state with one single national Russian centre, but the domination and the privileges of the Russians there are officially sanctioned, though this is skilfully concealed behind the phraseology of Communism

It is V Kozlov, among others, who stresses this fact inasmuch as he proudly affirms that "the leading nation amongst the peoples of the USSR is the great Russian nation, the most outstanding of all those which are a part of the Soviet Union" ¹

But it was Stalin, the chief builder of the Russian Soviet empire after Lenin, who dispassionately and publicly acknowledged, with a certain degree of cynicism, the discrimination and inequality of the nations in the bosom of the Soviet Union, and the domination of the Russians

We have proclaimed the equality of rights, but there is a big difference between the equality of rights and the real equality A number of republics and peoples are not capable of rising to a higher level of development One nation alone — the Russians² — has shown itself to be more developed in the political sense than the other nations Hence the actual inequality" ³

Thus nothing has changed the USSR is likewise a state with one single national centre, Great Russia' about which Lenin spoke in his criticism of the Russian tsarist empire

As regards Ukraine, the fact of its occupation and oppression by Soviet Russia has been admitted on numerous occasions. Such admissions were frequently published in the Soviet Ukrainian press during the period immediately prior to 1933, a fatal year for Ukraine, in the form of reproaches addressed to the "Russian comrades"

One of the most interesting reproaches was the one formulated in the official organ of the Ukrainian Bolsheviks in Kharkiv (in those days the capital of Soviet Ukraine), "The Bolshevik of Ukraine," Nos 2 and 3, 1928⁴ In an article containing a lot of figures, statistical and other data, Professor M. Volobuyev proved that the position of Soviet Ukraine was no different from its position under the rule of tsarist Russia, that is to say, that the colonial exploitation of Ukraine by Russia continued. But M. Volobuyev went even farther. To his reproaches he added the demand that Ukraine and its economy should be separated from Soviet Russia.

M. Volobuyev said that already under tsarist rule Ukraine had aspired to play a part in world economy and that "the October revolution did not solve the national Ukrainian question, for Ukraine remained a member of the USSR." In his opinion, the central Russian power behaved towards Ukraine like "a power practising a colonial policy" and is intent upon destroying the independent ties of Ukraine with world economy. Professor Volobuyev then expressed the view that only the proletarian world revolution would enable Ukraine "to be included directly, and not by means of the Russian economy, in the system of world economy." And in any case until then, so he affirmed, the USSR should exist not as a centralized economic system but as a federal system of the separate and independent national economies.

Naturally, his article evoked a storm of fierce protests amongst the Russians. It was condemned and labelled with epithets such as chauvinism, counter-revolutionary ideas, social-fascism, Trotskyism! Moscow's censure followed immediately. And a little later M. Volobuyev was obliged to write his own self-criticism in a letter published in the Nos 22-23 edition of the same periodical.

But Moscow was by no means satisfied. The truth revealed by Volobuyev had fallen upon fertile soil, namely in all classes of Ukrainian society. Moreover it was too evident to be altered and concealed by a single self-criticism on the part of the author. For this reason Moscow ordered Volobuyev not only to re-write his self-criticism but above all to refute "scientifically" what this self-criticism had already designated as "volobuyevism."

Volobuyev complied with these orders.

In its editions No 5-6 and No 7 of 1930, the same journal — 'The Bolshevik of Ukraine' — published a long article by Volobuyev entitled 'Against the Economic Platform of Nationalism. A Criticism of Volobuyevism.'

After the publication of my letter — wrote Volobuyev — in which I admitted my faults and my culpability, I actually committed another error up to this point I had not waged war on volobuyevism' But now this 'volobuyevism,' according to the admission of the author — in reaching the stage 'of objectivism and of an independence of the author,' had become an instrument in the hands of the enemies of the proletarian class'

'Unknowingly, in expressing the idea of the separation of Ukraine from Russia, I became the spokesman of the Ukrainian bourgeoisie — said Volobuyev — Instead of reality, namely the friendly collaboration of the workers of all the nations that inhabit the USSR, I gave in my article the picture of animosity of perpetual strife between the various economies

The friendly collaboration of the nations — this is the false reality in which Moscow would make the world believe, a reality invented by the Russians in order to make any accusation to the effect that Moscow practises colonialism and imperialism for Russia's advantage impossible

The Ukapist Communists⁵ — so Volobuyev continued in his self-criticism — dare to accuse the Bolshevik Party of the USSR (VKPb) previously called the Bolshevik Party of Russia (RKPb) of pursuing a colonial policy towards Ukraine" I must admit objectively that my article was likewise an accusation against the USSR and the VKPb of conducting a colonial policy towards Ukraine"

'Between the lines of my article one could see the vile face of the Ukrainian kulak and it was he who was talking through my mouth when I insistently demanded economic independence, the necessity of being independent of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and independence for the capitalist progress, for a new enslavement of Ukraine'

To humble oneself to such an extent one must indeed be afraid of reprisals We should furthermore like to point out that the question of Ukrainian independence was at that time constantly brought up in Soviet Ukraine not only by nationalist and patriotic circles but also by certain well-known Ukrainian Communists For they could not fail to realize the colonial oppression — all too obvious — of Ukraine by Russia

Finally, it is interesting to see how convinced Professor Volobuyev

is

To suspect centralist chauvinism⁶ in every step taken by the central institutions is to show a lack of confidence in the Communist Party and the proletariat and to have doubts that they will be able to overcome Russian chauvinism'

Thus Russian chauvinism still existed after all! Moreover Lenin himself had talked about its existence And several other leaders of

Russian Communism had also talked about it It is this same chauvinism which is the basis of Russian imperialism and colonialism, which exploits Communism for its own advantage and which has never been seriously combatted by the new regime of the Soviet Russian empire In fact, quite the contrary!

FRANCE AND UKRAINE AREA AND POPULATION

One must bear in mind that Ukraine is a large country, with an area that is much bigger than that of France Ukraine — 232,046 sq miles, France — 212 884 sq miles

Although the natural increase of the population of Ukraine has always been considerably greater than that of the population of France, the population figure of France is at present greater than that of Ukraine

	Natural Increase (per 1000) ⁷					Actual Population	
	1913	1928	1940	1950	1958	(1959)	
Ukraine	19.1	23.7	13.1	14.1	13.0	Ukraine	41 869 000
France	0.9	3.0	5.1	7.9	7.0	France	45 100 000

At the beginning of the year 1932 the population of these two countries was however equal that is to say approximately 41,800 000 inhabitants⁸ But since then Ukraine has lost about 20 million inhabitants as a result of genocide persecutions and war¹

FRANCE AND UKRAINE COMPARATIVE INDUSTRIAL STRENGTH

As a rule, when one thinks of Ukraine, one thinks of wheat and of the famous granary of Europe But wheat only constitutes a small part of the huge wealth of Ukraine¹

Ukraine is one of the few countries that is economically self-sufficient In order to enable the reader to form an idea of the economic importance of Ukraine we give the following comparative figures regarding the industrial strength of Ukraine and France in 1960⁹

	Ukraine	France
Coal	172.2 million tons	58.2 million tons
Coke	30.1	13.8
Petroleum	2.2	1.9
Iron ore	59.1	" "
Crude steel	26.2	66.9
Cast iron	24.2	17.2
Flectricity	54.0 milliard kw/h	14.1
Gas	14.3 milliard cu.m.	72.1 milliard kw/h
		8.0 milliard cu.m

UKRAINIAN PRODUCTION IN THE WORLD

In addition to the natural wealth which we have just mentioned, Ukraine also possesses considerable mineral reserves, ranging from manganese (40 per cent of the world's reserves) to rare metals and precious stones

To gain an exact idea of the economic importance of Ukraine, Ukrainian production must be compared with the production of the leading countries of the world

In 1958 Ukraine ranked as follows in world production¹⁰

Cast iron (millions of tons)	Steel (millions of tons)	Coal (millions of tons)
1) USA 52.4	1) USA 77.3	1) USA 382.0
2) Ukraine 20.1	2) USSR without Ukraine 33.2	2) USSR without Ukraine 269.6
3) USSR without Ukraine 19.5	3) Germany (Federal Republic) 22.8	3) Great Britain 219.2
4) Germany (Federal Republic) 16.7	4) Ukraine 21.7	4) Germany (Federal Republic) 160.6
5) Great Britain 13.2	5) Great Britain 19.9	5) Ukraine 155.4
6) France 12.0	6) France 14.6	6) France 59.1
7) Japan 7.4	7) Japan 12.1	7) Japan 50.9
8) Canada 2.9	8) Italy 6.3	8) Canada 9.6
9) Italy 2.1	9) Canada 3.9	9) Italy 1.0
Electricity (milliards kw/h)	Cement (millions of tons)	Iron ore (millions of tons)
1) USA 724	1) USA 52.2	1) USA 68.6
2) USSR without Ukraine 189	2) USSR without Ukraine 27.0	2) France 60.1
3) Great Britain 113	3) Germany (Federal Republic) 19.9	3) Ukraine 49.8
4) Canada 97	4) Japan 14.8	4) USSR without Ukraine 39.0
5) Germany (Federal Republic) 95	5) France 13.6	5) Germany (Federal Republic) 17.9
6) Japan 75	6) Italy 12.4	6) Great Britain 14.8
7) France 62	7) Great Britain 11.9	7) Italy 2.1
8) Italy 45	8) Ukraine 6.3	
9) Ukraine 44	9) Canada 5.7	

UKRAINE'S SHARE IN THE USSR TOTAL OUTPUT

Ukraine occupies an important position in the economy of the Soviet Union (as it formerly did in the economy of the tsarist empire), a fact which explains the reason why the Russians constantly try to prove by means of subterfuges, lies and falsifications of facts that Ukraine "was and must be part of Russia"

The following figures show the proportion of Ukraine's production to the total output of the USSR in 1960¹¹

	Ukraine's Production	Percentage of Total Production of USSR
Cast iron	242 million tons	52
Steel	262	40
Rolled metals	211	41
Tubular steel	22	38
Iron ore	591	55
Coal	1722	54
Coke	301	29
Cement	81	18
Gas	143 milliard cum	30
Electricity	540 milliard kw/h	19
Metallurgical equipment	1063 million tons	49
Diesel engines	1142 units	90

The importance of Ukraine's economy is even more apparent if one takes into consideration the fact that Ukraine only constitutes 20 per cent of the total area and the Ukrainians only 18 per cent of the total population of the USSR. All the wealth of Ukraine is rapaciously exploited by Moscow to further her imperialist designs.

NOTES

1) V Kozlov Nations bourgeoises et nations socialistes (Bourgeois Nations and Socialist Nations) Editions en langues étrangères (Foreign Languages Publications) Moscow 1954 p 19

2) Stalin used the term Great Russians

3) J V Stalin Marxism and the National and Colonial Question (in Russian) Moscow 1935 pp 74 106 117

4) Mykhailo Volobuyev The Problems of Ukraine's Economy Bilshovyk Ukrayiny Kharkiv 1928 No 2 pp 46 72 and No 3 pp 52 63

5) Ukapiists were members of an opposition group the so called Ukrainian Communist Party who opposed the policy of the Bolshevik Party before they joined it

6) Since they objected to the use of the term Russian chauvinism the Russian Bolsheviks demanded that the term centralist chauvinism or textually great state socialist should be used that is referring to the state composed of the peoples of the former Russian empire the state in favour of which all the chauvinists and Russian imperialists in and outside the Bolshevik party had declared themselves to be

7) The National Economy of the USSR (in Russian) Central Bureau of Statistics in the Ministerial Council of the USSR Moscow 1959 p 34

8) Cf the development of the Ukrainian population in Ukrainian Review printed by the Institute for the Study of the USSR No 8 Munich 1959 pp 6 20 — Cf the development of the French population in La documentation française edited by the Présidence du Conseil Notes et études documentaires No 2 264 1957

9) For figures for Ukraine cf Soviet Ukraine in Figures Central Bureau of Statistics in Ministerial Council of Soviet Ukraine Kyiv 1960 p 10 — For figures for France cf Institut National de la Statistique Paris special report May 1961

10) Soviet Ukraine in Figures op cit pp 36-40 303

11) The Economy of Soviet Ukraine (in Ukrainian) No 2 Kyiv 1961 p 120 Moscow News No 4 1961 supplement p 9

Stepan Lenkavshy

THE ORGANIZED RESISTANCE FIGHT FOR THE UKRAINIAN STATE

THE UKRAINIAN MILITARY ORGANIZATION (UVO)

The Ukrainian state which had been called into being in 1918 ceased to exist in 1920 after the joint attack launched against it by its enemies. The territories of Ukraine were now divided up amongst Russia, Poland, Rumania and Czecho-Slovakia. In spite of its defeat, the Ukrainian people refused to renounce its freedom and national independence, however, and continued its fight for freedom against the occupants in a different form.

As early as the end of 1920 a group of former officers and men of the Ukrainian army, at the initiative of Colonel Evhen Konovalets founded the secret Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO — *Ukrayins'ka Viys'kova Orhanizatsiia*), of which Colonel Konovalets assumed command. To begin with, the main task of the UVO was to transfer the Ukrainian army to the underground and develop it still further there in order to organize an insurrection with its aid. Until this general armed insurrection the UVO was to make it impossible for the enemy occupation forces to gain a firm footing in the Ukrainian territories.

In Soviet Ukraine the operations of the UVO were carried out under the command of Captain Andrukh and Lieutenant Opoka, who had been sent to Soviet Ukraine specially for this purpose by Colonel Konovalets. Under their leadership a "Central Ukrainian Insurgent Committee" was formed, which guided the activity of the numerous local committees. The armed insurgent movements in the territories of Central and East Ukraine lasted until 1924. After the Russian Bolshevik occupation regime in Ukraine had consolidated its positions, the Ukrainian insurgent movement changed its fighting tactics, emphasis was now placed on the activity — of an ideological and political character — of the underground organizations. The most important of these organizations were the "Brotherhood of the Supporters of a Ukrainian State" (BUD), the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU) and the "Ukrainian Youth Association" (SUM). Of these, the SVU and the SUM survived longest, for they were not discovered and liquidated until 1929.

Compared to Soviet Ukraine, political conditions in the West Ukrainian territories under Polish occupation were easier; hence the UVO was able to expand and consolidate its organization to such an extent in these territories that they became the main base for its activity.

During the first period of its existence in the West Ukrainian territories (1920-1923) the UVO constantly endeavoured to shake the pillars of Polish statehood, which was seeking to establish itself by force in these territories. The question of whether the West Ukrainian territories belonged to Poland had at that time not yet been decided. By forcibly occupying West Ukraine and incorporating it in the Polish state, Poland wanted to confront the Western powers and the Ukrainians with a *fait accompli*. These Polish aspirations were however definitely and unanimously opposed by the Ukrainian people, who put up an active and a passive resistance against the occupants. The active resistance was organized and led by the UVO.

The Polish occupation forces relied in the first place on the army garrisons and police detachments, who terrorized the Ukrainian population by arrests, house-searches, looting, plundering, and rape. The UVO carried out a large-scale bomb-operation against these police detachments which put an end to this disgraceful, state legalized brigandism. In addition, it organized acts of sabotage against the Polish landowners and against the military colonization which had recently begun. By way of retaliation for the dismissal of 6,000 state employees and civil servants, including all the Ukrainian railwaymen, who had refused to swear an oath of allegiance to the Polish state, the UVO carried out acts of sabotage on the railway. At the same time, passive resistance was applied in all spheres of life. In addition to the refusal of the Ukrainian railwaymen to swear an oath of allegiance to the Polish state, a boycott was also launched against the registration of all Ukrainian officers and non-commissioned officers which had been ordered by Poland, against the general census, against the first elections for the Polish Sejm (parliament) and Senate, and against the calling up of recruits for the Polish army. These boycott campaigns were intensified by corresponding acts of sabotage.

In addition to its revolutionary activity, the UVO also fostered the revival of Ukrainian cultural life, which had been disrupted as a result of the events of the war, above all by the founding of Under-ground Ukrainian University. This University, which certainly was unique in the whole world, was constantly persecuted by the Polish police but it nevertheless managed to continue its activity until 1925.

The approval of the incorporation of the West Ukrainian territories in the Polish state by the decision of the Ambassadors' Council in Paris on March 15, 1923, changed the political situation. Instead of the unanimous rejection of Polish occupation which had so far been manifested in these territories, three political trends now developed and were in evidence amongst the Ukrainians: 1) the revolutionary

UVO, 2) the legal parties, and 3) the pro-Soviet group. The latter was, however, only of slight importance and in the course of time entirely ceased to play a part.

The UVO based its policy on the following principles:

The policy of the West Ukrainians must not merely consider the interests of the Ukrainian population in Poland, it must also represent the entire Ukrainian fight for freedom.

The fight of the legal parties for the realization of the autonomy of West Ukraine is a false aim, for inasmuch as Poland must be forced to recognize the complete independence of the Ukrainian people, she can refuse to concede autonomy. Thus the fight must from the outset be waged for the independence but not for the autonomy of Ukraine.

The fight for freedom can only be conducted by revolutionary methods. Neither in Soviet Ukraine nor in Poland is there any prospect of achieving a victory in this respect by lawful methods. True, the lawful aspect of the fight must not be neglected, but it must only play an inferior part.

The freedom of the Ukrainian people lies in its own hands. Foreign powers will not present it with freedom. It is however the duty of the leaders of the Ukrainian fight for freedom to use the international situation to the advantage of Ukrainian interests to a greater extent than has hitherto been the case.

The legal parties regarded the foremost task of Ukrainian policy as follows:

To force the political government to realize its international obligations towards the Ukrainian people, that is to say to introduce territorial autonomy,

To use the autonomy of West Ukraine as the stepping-stone to the attainment of complete independence on the part of the Ukrainian people in the entire Ukrainian national territory.

To wage the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people solely by lawful methods without having to resort to arms or to revolutionary action.

The UVO now concentrated its activity on countless armed operations. In addition to the confiscation of state funds from various departments and authorities, measures which usually ended with legal trials of considerable propagandist importance, an attempt to assassinate the Polish President Wojciechowski was carried out in 1923 and in 1926 the Curator of Schools Sobinski was shot for having liquidated or polonized Ukrainian schools.

The publicistic battle against the Sovietophil trend and against the policy of the legal parties was first taken up by the leading ideologist of Ukrainian nationalism, Dr Dmytro Donzow. His courageous activity had a decisive influence on shaping the political ideology which became the basis of the ideas of the new generation of Ukrainian nationalists. Thus the younger generation which was

most enthusiastic about the revolutionary activity of the UVO, was provided with an ideological and political basis for its aspirations. In West Ukraine and in exile countless groups of nationalist youth now began to be founded. The organization and political structure of the UVO was gradually becoming too narrow in scope. It became more and more imperative that the political activity of the UVO should be expanded still further and that it should be drawn up on a larger scale from the political and ideological point of view.

In 1925 there was a difference of opinion in leading circles of the UVO as regards two opposite political conceptions: those who supported the first of these two conceptions were of the opinion that the legal organizations of the Ukrainian nationalist youth should become organizations of the legal parties in order to strengthen the nationalist front in these parties, those who adhered to the second conception regarded the nationalist groups as the nucleus of the political organization on which the UVO should base its political activity. The spokesman of this second conception was Captain Yulian Holovinsky, the territorial Commander-in-chief of the UVO in West Ukraine. The second conception finally asserted itself, and, as the first result of this success, the UVO and the nationalist groups organized big anti-Polish demonstrations in Lviv on November 1, 1928 (the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of an independent Ukrainian state in the West Ukrainian territories).

After preparations lasting almost two years, the 1st Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists was held in Vienna at the beginning of 1929. At this Congress leading representatives of the UVO and of the various nationalist groups and unions founded a new uniform organization, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The commander-in-chief of the UVO, Colonel Evhen Konovalts, was appointed chairman of this new organization.

THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN)

With the foundation of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists the cadres of the UVO gradually began to be assimilated with the OUN. This process of fusion was completed within the next two years, when the UVO was finally transformed into the military department of the OUN. The new organization expanded its network in all the Ukrainian territories as well as in the countries where Ukrainians were living in exile.

To begin with, the most important sphere of activity of the OUN were the West Ukrainian territories, where all the actions were organized by the territorial Executive Committee of the OUN.

With the help of the newly formed local OUN groups, the campaign of including the broad masses in the revolutionary activity was now launched. The means of enlightenment and propaganda activity

included the dissemination of underground literature, propagandist use of political trials, fostering and spreading of hero-worship amongst the masses, a cult which was obviously directed against the occupants, training and organizing of students, village youth and young persons of the working classes, and, lastly, the use of the legal cultural, educational, cooperative and sports societies in the interests of the OUN.

In addition to this activity, the OUN also continued its revolutionary campaigns. Since the armed operations of individual combatant groups, which were carried out from time to time in order to keep up the political tension, did not afford the masses a direct opportunity of taking an active part in this fight, the OUN now began to resort to the method of mass-demonstrations.

The constant social problem of the Ukrainian farmers in West Ukraine was shortage of land. All the Ukrainian farmers were small-holders, whereas vast areas of fertile land were in the hands of a few big Polish landowners. The Polish land reform provided for a partial division of this land, but the beneficiaries of this reform were to be Polish settlers from Central Poland. As a protest against this Polish plan the OUN in 1930 carried out a large-scale sabotage campaign; the estates and granaries belonging to Polish landowners in all districts of West Ukraine were set on fire. This campaign, which was actively supported by the masses, assumed such proportions that it caused considerable alarm and confusion amongst the enemy.

It was not until the sabotage campaign was almost over that the Polish occupation regime adopted repressive measures against the Ukrainian population. Punitive expeditions of the Polish army and the police were sent into the Ukrainian territories. They surrounded Ukrainian villages, dragged the farmers out of their houses and beat them until they were unconscious, raided and searched houses, and looted and destroyed the property of Ukrainian farmers. Thousands of Ukrainians were put into prison.

In the meantime extensive documentary material was collected on this disgraceful Polish "pacification" in West Ukraine. The publication of this material in special white books and in the international press evoke considerable response in public circles all over the world and, in particular, in the League of Nations in Geneva. For the first time since the destruction of the independent Ukrainian state the international press remembered the existence of the subjugated Ukrainian people. These early mass campaigns on the part of the OUN were welcomed most enthusiastically by the Ukrainian masses, since they activated and presented the Ukrainian problem on an international level.

In 1930 the Poles dealt the revolutionary liberation movement in West Ukraine a cruel blow by the treacherous murder of the territorial commander-in-chief of the OUN-UVO, Captain Yulian Holovinsky.

But the Polish reprisals did not succeed in breaking the power and strength of the Ukrainian liberation movement; on the contrary, they only served to intensify the revolutionary feelings of the masses still more. These reprisals speeded up the crystallization process of two opposite trends in evidence amongst the general public in Ukraine and led to a clear division into a revolutionary and an opportunist camp.

With the increasing consolidation of the power of the nationalist revolutionary movement, the Sovietophil trend began to decay. The fight against this trend which had been taken up in 1929 found a ready response amongst the general public in Ukraine and resulted in a complete and ultimate defeat of the pro-Soviet version in West Ukraine. A particularly intensive anti-Soviet campaign was carried out by the OUN when the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU) and the "Ukrainian Youth Association" (SUM) were discovered and liquidated in 1929 in Soviet Ukraine and their leading members were sentenced in mock-trials in Kharkiv (at that time the capital of Ukraine). Mass-demonstrations were held in front of the Soviet consulate in Lviv, and pro-Communist propaganda centres were smashed up.

The anti-Bolshevist campaigns of the OUN during the dreadful famine in Soviet Ukraine in 1932 and 1933 assumed even greater proportions. Since April 1933 the territorial Executive Committee of the OUN had been headed by Stepan Bandera, who stressed the intensity of the revolutionary work and the participation of the masses in this activity and regarded the anti-Bolshevist fight as being just as important as the anti-Polish fight. As a protest against the famine which had been artificially created by the Russian Bolshevist occupation regime and in the course of which millions of Ukrainians died, the OUN carried out campaigns against Bolshevist agents and agitators and succeeded in causing the collapse of Communist activity in West Ukraine. The climax of these campaigns was the assassination of Alexander Maylov, the secretary and actual leader of the Soviet consulate and agents' headquarters in Lviv, in 1933. It was carried out by Mykola Lemyk, a member of the OUN.

While Moscow was exterminating the Ukrainian people en masse in Soviet Ukraine, the Polish occupation regime intensified its anti-Ukrainian course in West Ukraine and, at the same time, started the so-called normalization of Polish-Ukrainian relations. The precondition for this "normalization" was to be the complete subjugation of the Ukrainians to the Poles and the complete renunciation of their independence aims by the Ukrainian population. The advocate of this "normalization," T. Holówko, was assassinated in 1931, as was also the police commissar Czechowski, the "expert" in ruthlessly combatting the OUN, a short time afterwards.

The Polish occupants replied to the counter-actions of the OUN with trials against members of the Ukrainian revolutionary under-

ground, a fact which only intensified anti-Polish feeling amongst the Ukrainian population still more. The execution of the death sentence by hanging in the case of two Ukrainian revolutionaries, Dmytro Danylyshyn and Vasyl Bilas, created an atmosphere of open animosity, in which the Ukrainian population reacted spontaneously with an open boycott against the tax system.

As a counter-measure to the restrictions imposed on Ukrainian schools by the Polish authorities, the OUN supported the school plebiscite, included the schoolchildren in its campaign and prompted them to hold demonstrations. When the Polish policy of the 'firm hand' began to impose restrictions on the patriotic demonstrations held by the Ukrainians every year at Whitsuntide to commemorate those who had laid down their lives in the Ukrainian fight for freedom, the OUN replied by setting up symbolical cairns. The attempts on the part of the Polish police to remove these cairns were, however, frustrated since the areas surrounding them had been mined.

The climax of the fight against Polish terrorism was the assassination of the Polish Minister of the Interior B. Pieracki in June 1934. The occupants now decided to annihilate the Ukrainian revolutionary movement at all costs. Following the example of Communist Russia and of Nazi Germany, Poland now set up a concentration camp in Bereza Kartuzka, to which Ukrainian revolutionaries and patriots were sent. Here they were subjected to the most inhuman treatment imaginable.

The OUN now suffered heavy losses. On the strength of information received from the Czech police, the Poles succeeded in gaining possession of the secret files of the OUN which were stored in Czecho-Slovakia. Stepan Bandera and all the members of the territorial Executive Committee of the OUN were arrested. At a show-trial in Warsaw four of the accused, including Stepan Bandera, were sentenced to death, whilst the other members of the OUN were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. The Poles, however, did not venture to execute the death sentences, but commuted them into imprisonment for life. The assassination of Pieracki and the trials in Warsaw were headline news in the world press and drew attention to the Ukrainian problem. Stepan Bandera's courageous and undaunted attitude during the Warsaw mock-trial also played an important part in this respect.

The fact that the Polish prisons were full of Ukrainian nationalists led to a new type of political demonstration. As a protest against the mass-arrests, all the Ukrainian prisoners in the Polish prisons simultaneously went on a hunger-strike, which in some prisons lasted 20 days and longer.

But all these blows could not prevent the growth of the OUN. Its ramified network included every sphere of life. The masses were trained in a revolutionary manner, their ideological and political

consciousness was of a high standard, and within a short time they were filling up the ranks of the nationalist revolutionaries which had been decimated by the arrests. The influence of the OUN on the Ukrainian emigrants continued to grow and embraced all community institutions. In France, Canada and the United States, in particular legal organizations, which were closely allied to the OUN in ideological respect, began to be founded.

At the same time, Ukrainian nationalism also developed in Bukovyna, which was occupied by Rumania. In 1937 the Rumanian occupation regime carried out many arrests, which were followed by big political trials. Numerous members of nationalist groups were sentenced at these trials, but in spite of this fact, the secret network of the OUN continued to be active in Bukovyna.

In the West Ukrainian territories the OUN after its reorganization carried out a number of farmers' and workers' strikes, which it intensified by acts of sabotage. The purpose of these strikes was, on the one hand, to effect an improvement in the material living conditions of the farmers and workers, and, on the other hand, to include the masses in the direct fight against the Polish slave-drivers. Most of these strikes occurred in 1936 and 1937. In reply to the decree which prohibited Ukrainians from acquiring land in their own country and to the settlement of Polish colonists, the OUN launched an anti-colonization campaign and destroyed the Polish settlements. Until the collapse of the Polish state in the autumn of 1939, anti-Communist campaigns, which in some cases resulted in fierce clashes with the foreign hirelings and servants of Bolshevism were launched regularly every year.

The growing tension of the international situation and the constantly increasing power of the OUN prompted Moscow to liquidate the leader of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists Colonel Evhen Konovalts. With the aid of a time-bomb a Soviet agent, known under the alias of Valyukh, treacherously killed Colonel Konovalts in Rotterdam on May 23, 1938. But even this tragic blow did not break the fighting spirit of the OUN, as was to become apparent in the autumn of that same year.

THE STRUGGLE FOR CARPATHO-UKRAINE

After the incorporation of the Sudetenland into Germany and simultaneously with the founding of an independent Slovakia Carpatho-Ukraine also had an opportunity to fight for its state rights. In view of the superior numbers of the enemy, however, its own forces did not suffice. The OUN therefore decided to support the setting up of an independent Ukrainian state in Carpatho-Ukraine by means of its cadres abroad. Simultaneously members of the OUN and of the revolutionary youth organizations in West Ukraine began to cross the frontier into Carpatho-Ukraine illegally.

in order to reinforce the Ukrainian military troops there, the 'Carpathian Sich' Meanwhile free elections were held in Carpatho-Ukraine, and on March 15, 1939, the deputies of the first parliament proclaimed the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine

The rebirth of Carpatho-Ukraine stirred Ukrainians all over the world to action and called forth a large-scale patriotic upsurge In West Ukraine the OUN carried out countless mass-demonstrations which were, indeed, a manifestation of the national unity of all Ukraine These demonstrations were ruthlessly crushed by the Poles with much bloodshed The enemies of Ukraine, above all Russia and Poland, did their utmost to prevent this newly founded Ukrainian state from becoming the germ for the rebirth of an all-Ukrainian independent state As a result of hostile intrigues, sabotage and acts of terrorism, Carpatho-Ukraine — betrayed by Germany, allegedly its ally, — finally became the victim of an attack by Hungarian troops Countless Ukrainians, including the well-known revolutionary leaders from West Ukraine — Zenon Kossak and Mykhailo Kolodzynsky, were killed whilst defending the state independence of Carpatho-Ukraine Most of them lost their lives in the battle of Krasne Pole, near Khust,

At the same time, Poland intensified its attacks against the OUN and, in fact, against everything that was Ukrainian The last abominable act on the part of the Polish occupants was the destruction of the churches in Kholm and Pidlyasha regions The outbreak of World War II on September 1, 1939, and the subsequent capitulation of Poland prevented the OUN from extending the partisan operations which it had prepared and partly also begun

O U N A C T I V I T Y D U R I N G T H E W A R

After the Russian occupation of West Ukraine, Bukovina and Bessarabia, the active Ukrainian nationalists in these territories joined forces to form a common anti-Russian front The opportunist legal parties had meanwhile vanished into oblivion

In view of the new political situation, new opportunities now presented themselves for the OUN to extend its network still further over the central and eastern territories of Ukraine The most urgent task was the resumption of contacts which had been severed by the events of the war and the adjustment of combat tactics to the new conditions which now prevailed under the Russian occupation Volhynia became a new bulwark of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement Many armed combat groups and partisan detachments of the OUN were formed there

By the end of 1940 and beginning of 1941 the internal crystalization process of the OUN had been completed There were differences of opinion, or rather, two different opinions as to how the fight of the OUN should be conducted in future Some members of the OUN leadership held the view that the political intentions of Nazi Germany should be considered in order to avoid a fatal conflict with this

major power Other leading members of the OUN, who had been liberated from Polish prisons, on the other hand, refused to allow themselves to be intimidated by the intentions of foreign powers and wanted to conduct the fight for freedom exclusively from the point of view of the interests of Ukrainian statehood They were prepared to join with Germany in fighting against Russia, but only on condition that the right of the Ukrainian people to State independence was recognized If this was not the case, then they were determined not to maintain a passive attitude but, on the contrary, to resort to active measures against Germany On February 10, 1940, these men, members of the former territorial Executive Committee of the OUN, set up the Revolutionary Leadership of the OUN, headed by Stepan Bandera

The 2nd Congress of the OUN was held in March 1941 in Cracow It unanimously elected Stepan Bandera as chairman of the OUN and approved a number of directives pertaining to organization and ideology, in accordance with which the activity of the OUN under the changed conditions was to be continued with a view to the imminent conflict between Germany and the Soviet Union This Congress stressed in particular the necessity of co-operating with other peoples subjugated by Moscow, and it was here for the first time that the new watchword "Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!" was adopted

As a result of wartime events many members of the OUN had been driven into the Ukrainian territories west of the River San These active nationalists developed a lively activity in the Ukrainian territories under German occupation Lemky, Kholm and Pidlyasha regions They strengthened the national consciousness of the Ukrainian population in these territories The fruits of their labour became obvious later on, during the renewed Polish Bolshevik occupation of these territories, namely in the heroic fight of the so-called "Zakerzonnia" — the name given to the Ukrainian territories to the west of the Curzon Line — against the Polish and Russian oppressors shortly before and after the end of World War II

In view of the tension of German and Russian relations and of the imminent danger of war, the OUN expanded the underground organization network in all its centres in Soviet Ukraine so as to be able to seize power when the opportunity presented itself In the "Zakerzonnia" so-called "marching groups of the OUN" were set up it was to be their task to help the population in the Ukrainian territories liberated from Russian occupation after the outbreak of the war to normalize life and also to ensure that the administration and governmental power were in the hands of the Ukrainians

Meanwhile Moscow intensified its terrorism in Ukraine The prisons were filled with nationally conscious Ukrainians, whose attitude towards the occupants was a hostile one After the outbreak of the war between Germany and Russia in June 1941, the Russians carried out mass-murders in the prisons, and only relatively few prisoners succeeded in escaping from the clutches of the NKVD alive

The retreat of the Red Army was the signal for the OUN and for the Ukrainian population to seize governmental power, and in some important territories of Ukraine they actually succeeded in doing so before the entry of the German troops. In various districts and towns the German occupation forces, upon entry, were confronted with the fact that a Ukrainian administration had been set up and was already functioning perfectly.

THE ARMED STRUGGLE ON TWO FRONTS

At the initiative and under the leadership of the OUN, the Ukrainian National Assembly in Lviv on June 30, 1941, proclaimed the restoration of the independent Ukrainian State. The new government was headed by Jaroslaw Stetzko.

The proclamation of the Ukrainian state forced Hitler to reveal his true intentions as regards Ukraine. The arrest of the leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, of the Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government, Jaroslaw Stetzko, and of other members of the government by the Germans, the persecution and arrest of members of the marching groups of the OUN and of leading personalities of the Ukrainian liberation movement — all these measures left no doubts as to the true attitude of Hitler and Germany towards Ukraine and towards the OUN. The OUN once more resumed its underground activity and began an open fight against the new occupants.

The great national consciousness, the patriotism and the ability to form a state on the part of the Ukrainian people were already manifested during the early months of the German-Russian war, when the Ukrainian population, relying entirely on its own means succeeded in reconstructing the administrative apparatus and ensuring the normal functioning of all the organs of social and state life. This process of Ukrainian state reconstruction was at first restricted to a considerable extent by the German occupation authorities and later prevented completely, when the policy of national subjugation and ruthless colonial exploitation was applied. The mass-arrests and execution of Ukrainian patriots, the deportation of thousands of Ukrainians to Germany for the purpose of forced labour, the liquidation of the Ukrainian school system, the pillaging of the economic reserves of Ukraine, — all these facts forced the Ukrainian people to fight the new occupant. Moscow tried to use the anti-German feeling which prevailed amongst the masses for its own aims. The Bolsheviks had left countless agents behind in Ukraine when they retreated. Their ranks were constantly being reinforced by paratroops and by armed combat groups. In this way Moscow created its own partisan movement in Ukraine, and under the guise of anti-German campaigns the members of this movement liquidated Ukrainian patriots either by shooting them, or by pogroms, or by provoking German reprisals. The same methods were also applied by the Polish partisans operating in the West Ukrainian territories.

The OUN began to set up its own armed detachments in order to protect the Ukrainian population against the terrorism of the German conquerors and of the Russian and Polish partisans. These armed detachments of the OUN in October 1942 led to the formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA — Ukrayins'ka Povstans'ka Armiya), which during the next few years developed into a considerable military force.

In August 1943 the special 3rd Congress of the OUN convened at which directives pertaining to programme and tactics were discussed and adopted. The resolutions of this Congress defined the social programme of the OUN and emphasized the anti-imperialistic trend of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement.

The revolutionary watchwords of the OUN met with a positive response on the part of all the other peoples subjugated by Russia. Concrete proof of this is the fact that many non-German units of the German army, which were composed for the most part of captured soldiers of the Red Army and were used against the UPA, went over in a body to the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Special national battalions, under the High Command of the UPA, were then set up with these units. At the initiative of the OUN and UPA the first conference of the subjugated peoples was convened in November 1943. It was this conference which laid the foundations for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN).

For reasons of co-ordination and unified political leadership of the fight for freedom, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR — Ukrayins'ka Holovna Vyzvolna Rada) was founded in June 1944 at the initiative of the OUN leaders and the High Command of the UPA. The Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council became a revolutionary parliament and its secretariat-general, the revolutionary government of Ukraine.

After the renewed occupation of Ukraine by the Red Army, a division of tasks was undertaken between the OUN and the UPA. Politics, propaganda, self-defence, provision of supplies, and the organization and carrying out of political mass-campaigns were assigned to the OUN, whilst the UPA concentrated on military operations.

The political training work of the OUN included not only UPA fighters but also the population in general. In this way the resistance of the latter to the influence of Bolshevik propaganda was strengthened. Oral propaganda was supplemented by countless underground publications, periodicals, pamphlets, leaflets and placards, which were distributed in large quantities. In 1945 the OUN carried out a large scale propaganda campaign in the Red Army. This campaign was so successful that the soldiers of the Red Army changed their attitude towards the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement and though they were not openly friendly towards it at least now adopted a neutral attitude.

After World War II practically all the Ukrainian territories were incorporated into the Soviet Union, and only a few small regions remained under the rule of Moscow's satellites, Poland and Czechoslovakia. The OUN and UPA were active in all these territories, they attached most importance, however, to the revolutionary activity in Soviet Ukraine.

The armed fight of the OUN and UPA continued until 1949. They then changed their fighting methods and adapted them to new circumstances and conditions. The UPA split up into smaller combat groups and continued its activity wholly underground.

Proof of the continued existence of the Ukrainian liberation movement in Ukraine can be seen not only from the countless trials against OUN members and UPA fighters, which are held from time to time in Soviet Ukraine, in Poland and in Czechoslovakia, but also from the constant agitation campaign against the liberation movement and from the unceasing resistance of the Ukrainian people.

In order to crush this resistance for all time, Moscow, in addition to mass-arrests, carries out a systematic abduction of the Ukrainian population to Siberia and the Asian taiga and tundra regions and to countless concentration camps.

But even amongst those Ukrainians whom the enemy has expelled or deported from their own property and native soil, the spirit of uncompromising implacability and the will to active resistance still prevail, as can be seen from the numerous armed insurrections in the concentration camps in Vorkuta, Norilsk, Magadan, Kingir, Taishet, and Temir-Tau, in which the Ukrainians, former UPA fighters and OUN members play a leading and decisive part.

THE WORK OF THE OUN ABROAD

During World War II the OUN also continued its revolutionary activity abroad, above all in the territory of the German Reich. At that time there were several million Ukrainians and other East Europeans in Germany, mainly persons deported to Germany for forced labour, prisoners-of-war, internees in concentration camps, and members of military units. Amongst these masses the OUN developed a lively activity in spite of the grim Nazi terrorism against members of the "Bandera Movement" (Bandera Movement is the German designation, derived from the name of its leader Stepan Bandera for the revolutionary OUN).

After the "repatriation" campaign — in most cases it was forcible — at the end of World War II there were about 200,000 Ukrainians left in Germany, Austria and Italy. The majority of them later emigrated to the USA, Canada, Great Britain and other countries. As a result of this emigration, large Ukrainian settlements came into being in many countries in which prior to the war there had

only been a few Ukrainians (as for instance Great Britain, Belgium) or none at all (for example, Australia, Venezuela, Paraguay, Chile) The OUN now extended its activity to these countries, too The members in exile of the OUN were organized as the Units Abroad of the OUN (Z Ch OUN)

The Units Abroad of the OUN devote the utmost effort to maintaining the Ukrainian underground with material for training and propaganda purposes The realization of these tasks demands not only considerable financial means but, above all, the willingness of courageous, ideologically and technically trained fighters and revolutionaries to take upon themselves the great dangers and risks which the carrying out of these tasks involves

Many of these patriots have paid with their lives for their willingness to undertake these dangerous courier missions between the Units Abroad and the OUN in Ukraine The fact that the Units Abroad of the OUN have to rely entirely on their own resources in every way in this respect and that they are able to cope with such tasks attests to their high ideals and moral attitude, as well as to their revolutionary potential

The political and propagandist work on an international level is carried out by the Units Abroad of the OUN with the help of their members or of organizations, societies, institutions and publishing firms under their influence Their work assumes various forms, but, to a large extent, the form of countless mass-campaigns (demonstrations and protest rallies) directed against Russian colonialism and imperialism

The Units Abroad of the OUN attach considerable importance to the co-ordination and consolidation of the revolutionary liberation movements of all the peoples subjugated by Moscow, and devote their entire energy to this task Their aim and objective is an anti-Bolshevik front of the entire free world And for this reason the Units Abroad of the OUN support the activity of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) and actively co-operate with this organization

The Units Abroad of the OUN constitute a decisive factor in the life of the Ukrainian emigrants, who number over one and a half million The Ukrainian national patriotic community is oriented politically to the OUN, which it supports wholeheartedly and in whose work it takes an active share and interest It regards the Units Abroad of the OUN as the spokesman and advocate of the Ukrainian fight for freedom before the public of the world

In Ukraine and abroad the OUN has become the advocate and champion of the uncompromising and consistent fight of the Ukrainian people for its national and social freedom and justice, for the human rights of Ukraine, and for an independent and unified Ukrainian State

THE PROCLAMATION OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF UKRAINE ON JUNE 30, 1941

A DOCUMENTARY REPORT

THE RESTORATION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE DURING THE WORLD WAR II

For centuries Russia was the deadly enemy of Ukraine. After the unfortunate battle of Poltava in 1709, in which the head of the Ukrainian state, Hetman Ivan Mazepa, together with his ally King Charles XII of Sweden, was defeated by the huge armies of the Russian Tsar Peter I, Russia restricted the rights of the Ukrainian people to an ever-increasing extent until eventually even Ukrainian was prohibited as a written language. The Ukrainian struggle for liberation continued until in 1917/18 Ukraine succeeded in restoring its independence for a short time. As a people oriented to the West with a thousand-year old national culture, history and state tradition, the Ukrainians constantly hoped for the support of the Western powers in their resistance against the Russian-Eurasian expansion towards the West, all the more so since they were convinced that with the restoration of the Ukrainian state, with its population of over 50 million, Russia's pressure on Western Europe would be broken for good.

As on the eve of World War II Germany was the only power interested in the defeat of Russia the Ukrainians took this objective fact into account in their liberation plans. Neither the ideological, party or internal political systems of the allies that might eventually be won over played a part in this respect ¹⁾

¹⁾ Resolutions of the 2nd Congress of the OUN 1941 §§ 3 and 8

After the Ukrainians realized that the Western allies had no intention of relying on the fight for freedom of all the peoples subjugated both by Nazi and Russian imperialism, in the future campaign against Hitler, they sought to use the German-Soviet war to advantage for their own interests, that is to say, for their national state independence. On June 23, 1941, the leaders of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) handed the German government a memorandum, which not only clearly formulated the principles for a possible co-operation, but also contained certain warnings if the German war aims in the East should not be in keeping with the Ukrainian ideal of freedom.

This memorandum contained the following statement:

'Even if the Germans on entering Ukraine are naturally welcomed there as liberators, this attitude may soon change if Germany does not enter Ukraine with the aim of restoring the Ukrainian state and with the appropriate watchwords in mind. A new order in Europe is unthinkable without an independent national Ukrainian state.

For centuries and not only during the past twenty years the Ukrainians have manifested their infinite love of freedom. It is this urge to independence, this fighting spirit and an attitude of constant defence against foreign influence that have created the typical Ukrainian as he is today, namely an individual who adopts an attitude of distrust and opposition towards all that is foreign.

It was further stressed in the OUN memorandum that a military occupation in Europe would eventually prove untenable, and the Hitler government was warned against possibly pursuing its occupation policy based on violence and against disregarding the national rights of the East European peoples. The memorandum then added:

The Ukrainian military power will have to defend the East European continental front when Ukraine released from its two-front war, will be able to use its entire military potential against Russia. An independent Ukrainian military power which would be in keeping with the mental attitude of the Ukrainians will put a stop to Russian pressure on Europe.

It was clearly emphasized in the memorandum that Ukraine would not conduct a war against the Western allies but solely against Soviet Russia.

PREPARATION FOR THE WAR

Both in Ukraine and also abroad the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists systematically organized its cadres for the independent revolutionary fight for freedom, in order to use them independently of the Eastern policy pursued by the German Reich. The main factor of the liberation policy of the OUN was thus not reliance on foreign support but on its own forces, on a Ukrainian insurgent army, and on the national revolution of all the peoples subjugated by Russia. And it was this same idea which prompted the intention of the leaders of the OUN of not letting soldiers of Ukrainian nationality

in the Red Army fall into the hands of the German troops but of making them members of a Ukrainian insurgent army before they were taken prisoners-of-war.

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists carried out its preparations for the war in four directions: the organization and consolidation of its cadres in Ukraine, the setting up of so-called marching units of the OUN abroad, the national revolt in Ukraine under Russian occupation, and the formation of a Ukrainian government. Additional measures included the organization of the military detachments "Nightingale" and "Roland," which were incorporated in the German army, and the formation of a Ukrainian National Committee in Cracow.

The entire preparations for war were based on the following political principles: national state independence and the unification of all ethnographical territories in one Ukrainian state. It was held that the way to restore the Ukrainian independent state lay in the revolt of the Ukrainian people, as well as in preparation for a lengthy war in the East and in the mobilization of all the peoples subjugated by Russia in the USSR, for a co-ordinated national revolution.

Taking these principles as its starting-point, the OUN regarded the war between Russia and other states as a good opportunity to develop the Ukrainian liberation revolution, the aim of which was the restoration of the sovereign united Ukrainian state. In addition to the activation of the Ukrainian revolution, the OUN was also to spur on the revolution of other peoples subjugated by Moscow.

The leaders of the OUN drew up general directives for the activity of the OUN in a pamphlet entitled "The Fight and Activity of the OUN during the War," which was distributed to all Ukrainian freedom fighters in Ukraine. In these general directives the following problems were discussed: circumstances and possibilities of a revolt, the invasion of foreign armies in Ukraine, Ukrainian independence aims, the setting up of the Ukrainian state, the OUN and other revolutionary initiatives destined to establish the state, the question of state power, and the setting up and consolidation of the political organization.

The military planning provided for four stages in the revolution: preparations prior to the outbreak of the war, preparations during the war, the revolt itself, and the stage after the revolt. According to this plan, the Germans were to be forced to recognize the fact established by the Ukrainians — that is to say, the independence of Ukraine.

On the assumption that the war against Russia would last a long time, the outbreak of the revolution against the Russian occupation forces was planned for the moment when the Bolshevik front began to weaken. The revolution could be carried out in two ways: either as a general revolt, or as a revolt which would increase and by degrees assume more extensive proportions as a result of individual actions. The OUN intended to organize the armed fight in two forms.

a) revolutionary insurgent actions in the enemy's rear lines at the moment when the Red Army and the Bolshevik system were weakened by war operations,

b) the participation of the Ukrainian army in the war operations against Russia, this army would consist of insurgent units, of Ukrainian units from the Red Army, who would rise up in revolt against Russia, and of military units that had been organized in exile

It was stated in the above-mentioned general directives

We shall include the members of the subjugated peoples in our territory in the fight in the Ukrainian territories just as the Ukrainians in the territories of other peoples will fight for the latter's independence. If however Moscow should concentrate its main forces on Ukraine in order to crush our revolution first of all, then other subjugated peoples must come to the assistance of Ukraine, for our common fate is at stake. The freedom of other peoples depends on the freedom of Ukraine. We shall help the leading representatives of the subjugated peoples to return to their native countries and in this way shall establish constant contact with them (Par A, I/4)

It was further stressed in the said general directives

Prior to the entry of the German troops we shall of our own accord establish law and order and assume power, we shall act as partners of the German forces who enter our country and whom we regard as our allies against Russia provided that the Germans recognize our political aims. Simultaneously with the armed revolt we shall proclaim the Ukrainian state and shall take over the administration in all towns and villages. We shall exhort the population to revolt for an independent, unified Ukrainian state (Par A II/13)

Once the Bolshevik regime shows signs of weakening we shall undertake armed operations in the territories of East Ukraine, that is to say, we shall give the sign for an armed revolt. If, however, this initiative is taken by Ukrainians of other political trends there, then we shall join forces with them and give them our wholehearted support (Par B II/4)

During the process of disintegration of the USSR, Ukrainian armies shall be formed not only in Ukraine but also in the Far East as well as in the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic. These armies will enter Ukraine as the representatives of Ukrainian state independence. Hence the OUN as the advocate of the complete freedom and independence of the people must remain firm and true to its principles in all problems pertaining to liberation. The problem of Ukraine will be decided on far larger territories than the area in which the German armies are stationed for the Ukrainian problem is a world problem (Par B IV/18)

The military instructions for the development of the liberation campaign were summarized in the general directives as follows

Preparation of our military cadres so that at the decisive moment they will be in a position

- a) to carry out certain combatant operations
- b) to organize the revolt and to centralize the spontaneous insurrections of the masses and of the former soldiers of the Red Army,
- c) to direct the military actions of the insurgent units,
- d) to organize the army, the militia and other paramilitary organizations.

The purpose of this measure is to control the spontaneous revolutionary insurrection of the masses and also to control the

situation so that law and order are established in the territories evacuated by the Bolsheviks, and the allies, on their arrival find organized and armed Ukrainian military units established everywhere,

- e) to create the nucleus of the future Ukrainian army out of our military initiative (Par C, I)

In addition to its preparations in Ukraine, the OUN also carried out large-scale preparations abroad for the development of the revolution. The most important preparations included the organization of marching units of the OUN and the formation of the Ukrainian National Committee in Cracow

THE MARCHING UNITS OF THE OUN²⁾

In the plans of the OUN in the event of war the marching units played a far more significant part than the legion. These units constituted the backbone of the political and revolutionary plans of the OUN in the East Ukrainian regions, that is to say in the territory which up to 1939 had been part of the Soviet Union and had become the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

In the West Ukrainian regions the OUN had set up a network of illegal groups of revolutionaries and enjoyed the support of the majority of the population. After the occupation of West Ukraine by the Soviet Union in 1939 the problem of the frontiers between East and West Ukraine had been overcome and the population had, if only by degrees, been able to mingle. The extremely difficult tasks with which the OUN had to cope from 1939 onwards, however, prevented it from using this favourable opportunity to full advantage. Its entire reserves were used for its work in West Ukraine. The forces which were available for action were in exile — in occupied Poland and in Germany — and it was now essential that they should be used in East Ukraine. They consisted of several thousand revolutionaries who had been recently trained in various political and technical sectors and were, moreover, not fatigued by military operations. They were to be sent to the territory of East Ukraine in order to spread the influence of the OUN there. The German-Soviet war was regarded as a favourable opportunity for this plan, although even before its outbreak numerous units had already been sent across the frontier.

The entire plan was drawn up on a long-term basis. The names of all the members of the OUN in occupied Poland and also of a large number of those who were in Germany were registered on lists and they were assigned to one of the marching units. The marching units were designated as "North," "Centre" and "South." The "North" command was concentrated on the left bank of the Bug, the "Centre" command on the left bank of the San, and the

²⁾ From the book 'Deutschland und die Ukraine 1934-1945' by Roman Hlntzky Osteuropa-Institut, Munich 1958, vol II pp 142-144

"South" command in the Carpathians, near to the little town of Sanok Each unit was under the command of a general staff headed by a commander-in-chief

The commander-in-chief of the "North" command was Mykola Klymyshyn, of the "Centre" command Mykola Lemyk, and of the "South" command M R³⁾ Each of these units was divided into marching detachments (Pokhidni zvena) consisting of 7 to 12 men

The largest unit was the "North" command, the second largest the "Centre" command, and the smallest the "South" command All three units together numbered about 4,000 men, including those who joined the units of their own accord whilst the latter were advancing eastwards in Ukraine

The aim of the individual units was as follows "North" was to get through to Kyiv, "Centre" to Kharkiv, and "South" to Odessa and the Crimea

Since the "marching detachments" were active immediately behind the fighting front, many of them were killed in combat, many of them were also shot or arrested by the Germans after the latter discovered very soon that the activity of these detachments was an organized operation For instance, the commander-in-chief of the "Centre" unit, Mykola Lemyk, was shot by the Gestapo in Myrhorod in October 1941, and the commander-in-chief of the "North" unit, M Klymyshyn, was arrested in Zhytomyr Many of the persons arrested were sent back to their native towns or villages in West Ukraine, but if they were discovered in East Ukraine a second time, they were usually shot After being en route for about two to three months, the members of the marching units reached their destination In this way a ramified network of secret OUN groups, which in the following years of the war played a decisive part in influencing the anti-Hitlerite and anti Bolshevist insurrection of the Ukrainian people, was established in East Ukraine At the same time, these groups were also the most active promoters of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army

The OUN had thus achieved its aim for its influence had now been extended to the territories of East Ukraine

In October 1941 the German police (IM T — 102-R — extract of the situation report of the German security service units of October 1st to 30th, 1941) reported to Berlin on the marching units as follows

The strongest group which advocates an independent Ukraine continues to be the Bandera group (the OUN is meant by this⁴⁾ whose supporters are extremely active and whose fanaticism is prompted partly by personal motives and partly by a profound patriotism

At the beginning of the campaign in Lemberg and Sanok the Bandera supporters were organized in small groups and were given a brief training They were also supplied with money and with propaganda material Under the pretext of carrying out tasks concerned with restoring order political activity was engaged in⁵⁾

³⁾ Since M R is still in Ukraine we have only given the initials of his name

⁴⁾ Author's note

⁵⁾ R Ilytzyk Ibid p 144

The German occupation forces in no way tolerated the OUN. According to police instructions, every member of this organization was to be sentenced to death⁶⁾:

Service Command of the
Security Police and of
the Security Service C/5
Command Log-book No 12432/41

Headquarters,
November 25, 1941

To the advanced posts of
Kyiv, Dnipropetrovsk,
Rivne, Mykolyaiv,
Zhytomyr, Vinnytsia.

Subject: OUN (Bandera Movement)

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

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

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

(signature — illegible)
SS — Obersturmbannführer

FORMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE IN CRACOW

"The decision of the OUN⁷⁾ to take the political initiative and the responsibility for the liberation struggle in West Ukraine in its own hands brought up the question of the large-scale mobilization not only of the masses but also of the leading Ukrainian intelligentsia, who until the outbreak of the German-Polish war had been organized in the legal Ukrainian parties.

In this connection the OUN in April 1941 took the initiative inasmuch as it suggested the forming of a Ukrainian National Committee, in which leading personalities of the Ukrainian intelligentsia in exile should be included and united on an individual but not on a party political basis.

It was assumed that the formation of such a committee would make it easier to influence the politically neutral elements of the Ukrainian public along the lines of the OUN policy. The aim of this committee was, in particular, to confront the leading German politicians with the fact of the united Ukrainian national front in order to make it impossible from the outset for the Ukrainian forces

⁶⁾ Quoted from the above source, Vol. II, p 94

⁷⁾ R Ilnytzky' Ibid, pp 144-147.

to be played off against each other. In view of its intended policy the OUN was particularly anxious to eliminate all possibility of any internal Ukrainian political rivalry, since this would be bound to have an extremely unfavourable influence on the chances of realizing its policy...

It seemed that the organizers of the committee would find it particularly difficult to win over the older Ukrainian politicians of the era of the first Ukrainian revolution (1917-1921), who supported the exile government, for their plan. But the first negotiations already revealed that the individual politicians who were connected with the exile government had no illusions as to their political position and were prepared to join the committee without many reservations. They hoped that the formation of the committee would give them an opportunity to play an active part in the practical policy...

Thus politicians in this camp such as Mykola Livytsky, Petro Shkurat, Mykhailo Krat, Spyrydon Dovhal, A. Makarenko, Zinaida Myrna and others joined the committee.

The organizers of the committee had similar misgivings regarding negotiations with the politicians of the second existing political group, namely the supporters of the Hetman Movement. But in this case, too, it soon became evident that the Ukrainian monarchists had no doubts about cooperating with the OUN; they were merely in doubt as to whether they could play an active part in a committee which also consisted of Ukrainian republicans.

Negotiations with the former members of the West Ukrainian parties, which were dissolved in 1939, were likewise successful. They welcomed the plan of the OUN as a positive political initiative which should be furthered for all-Ukrainian reasons.

After two and a half months of negotiations, which were conducted in Cracow, Lublin, Warsaw, Prague, Berlin, Kalisz and Brno, the Ukrainian National Committee was formed.

The foundation assembly was convened for Sunday, June 22, 1941. By that time a list containing the names of 113 prominent persons, who had declared that they wished to join the committee, had been drawn up.

Eighty-six persons were actually present at the foundation assembly in Cracow. The atmosphere was nervous and tense owing to the fact that the outbreak of the German-Soviet war had just been announced. The programme of the assembly and also the speeches were cut down considerably. The tension of the discussions came to a climax when two members of the security service appeared in the hall and demanded that the meeting should disperse. In great haste the leading organs of the committee were then elected with the unanimous consent of all present. The following persons were elected by vote:

As President of the National Committee: General Vsevolod Petriv; as first Vice-President: Judge Dr. Volodymyr Horbovy⁸⁾; as second Vice-President: Prof. Victor Andriyevsky; as first Secretary: Lawyer Dr. Stephan Shukhevych; as second Secretary: Vasyl Mudry, former Deputy Speaker of the Polish Sejm and chairman of the UNDO (Ukrainian National Democratic Union).

That same day a memorandum addressed to Adolf Hitler, Joachim von Ribbentrop and Alfred Rosenberg was drawn up in the name of the committee. After a brief explanatory introduction on the National Committee itself, the wish of the Ukrainian people for state independence and their willingness to fight against Moscow were stressed, and the hope was expressed that the German government would respect the political will of the Ukrainian people."

The plans of the OUN leaders could only be partly realized, since under the pressure of the German forces and thanks to millions of deserters, the Russian front in Ukraine collapsed very quickly. But Germany's policy then showed itself to be anti-Ukrainian, and the OUN was obliged to adjust itself to a two-front war. But it also needed a certain amount of time in order to engage in this two-front war in the military sense.

The OUN carried out the political directives exactly, as for instance in the capital of West Ukraine, Lviv, where the Ukrainian Nationalists took up arms.

"On June 27, 1941, that is to say three days before the Germans seized the town, the OUN in Lemberg decided to resort to military action against the Bolsheviks. The opportunity was favourable. In view of the German victories so far, the Red Army withdrew from the town. OUN men set up machine-guns at some of the street-corners and opened fire on the retreating Bolsheviks. The Germans, however, arrived later than expected. But NKVD units entered the town again and arrested countless persons and carried out a massacre in the prisons, which is regarded as one of the worst massacres to have occurred during the whole war. The OUN was too weak to protect the inhabitants of the town against Bolshevik terrorism. Thus thousands of Ukrainians sacrificed their lives for liberation and for their love of freedom"⁹⁾

Even German national socialist papers, as for example the "Volkischer Beobachter" (of July 7, 1941), which were not in the least interested in emphasizing the merits of the Ukrainians in fighting the Russians, wrote as follows.

"The nationalists were active in the entire Ukrainian territory. The population resorted to self-defence. The doors of Lemberg Cathedral were barricaded, machine-guns were set up on towers, and the Soviets were obliged to retreat with bloody heads. But their revenge was terrible¹⁰⁾. During the days in question, as many as 7,000 Ukrainians were arrested in Lemberg. Not only the leaders of the nationalists, but

⁸⁾ Imprisoned in the concentration camp in Vorkuta

⁹⁾ R. Ilytzyky: *Ibid.*, Vol II, p 167.

¹⁰⁾ For further details on the mass-murders of Ukrainian political prisoners in Lviv, which were committed by the NKVD prior to the entry of the German troops there on June 30, 1941, see pp 169-223 of this book

also their relatives, women and children were arrested, imprisoned and tortured. And the Bolsheviks thus succeeded in crushing the Ukrainian national movement in Lviv once more.

On July 9, 1941, Dr. Hans Joachim Bayer, political adviser of the German security service in Lviv, told newspaper correspondents:

"As far as I know, the Ukrainian national population in some places carried out armed attacks against the Soviet Russian rulers and against the Red Army. In Lviv, for instance, several hundred Red employees and soldiers were shot. The tanks in the streets are a reminder of the street-fighting that took place here."

Even the Bolsheviks admitted, though in a distorted version, that the Ukrainian freedom fighters in Lviv fought against them.

They distinguished themselves by shooting from roofs and windows on women and children who were trying to leave Lviv with the units of the Red Army. (Mstyslavets 'Pid chuzhymy praporamy' p. 57¹¹)

UKRAINIAN UNITS IN THE GERMAN ARMY

In addition to the preparations of the OUN in Ukraine and the marching units abroad, which constituted the main elements of the preparations for the war, the OUN leaders also decided to form a Ukrainian legion within the German army, namely for the following reasons: on the one hand, relations with pro-Ukrainian German Supreme Command circles would in this way be strengthened and activated politically, and, on the other hand, the legion would, under favourable circumstances, fulfil the function of a collecting point for prisoners-of-war and deserters of Ukrainian nationality. Should it however transpire that the German policy in the East did not intend to effect disintegration of the Russian imperium into independent national states and thus was opposed to the vital interests of the Ukrainian people, then the Ukrainian legion might play an extremely important part in turning the active Ukrainian national revolutionary groups into a regular army (a measure which was to a certain extent carried out later in 1943).

Neither Churchill nor Eden became quailings when they made a military alliance with Soviet Russia in order to defend their own country against Hitler's advance. When there was still a certain prospect of success, the Ukrainian partner, with Germany's support, tried to help Ukraine to regain its national state independence. Surely the Ukrainians are not in any way to blame for the fact that Hitler's policy with regard to the East later proved to be completely destructive!

Certain German Supreme Command circles were in complete agreement with the Ukrainian political aims. In an agreement¹²⁾

¹¹⁾ R. Illytzyk Ibid. Vol. II p. 170

¹²⁾ Druhyny Ukrayins'kykh Natsionalistiv 1941-42, Nasha Knyhozbirnia 1953 p. 5 et seq.

which was arranged with the German Supreme Command, the following points were stipulated:

1) The Ukrainian legion is a unit which is formed for the fight for the Ukrainian state

2) The legion swears allegiance to the Ukrainian state but not to Germany and not to Hitler as the latter's representative, accordingly, the political training of the soldiers in absolute loyalty to the Ukrainian political aims will be guaranteed

3) The legion will be commanded by Ukrainian officers, the German officers will only be responsible for the general supervision. Every day military training will begin with the hoisting of the Ukrainian flag and will end with the singing of the Ukrainian patriotic prayer. German political or ideological subjects of instruction will not be included at all in the curriculum of training

A few days after the outbreak of the war the Ukrainian legion was already used in active service, and on June 30th it entered Lviv, the capital of West Ukraine

When Hitler's government revealed its true intentions as regards Ukraine by its policy, Captain Roman Shukhevych, the Ukrainian commander of the "Nightingale" legion, which at that time was stationed in Vinnytsia, decided to send a memorandum to the German Supreme Command, in which he stressed that under the given circumstances the legion did not feel that it could continue to fight on the German side

On August 27, 1941, the German Supreme Command replied that the "Nightingale" legion was to be withdrawn from the fighting front. It was then transferred to Neuhammer (in Germany). The same thing happened in the case of the detachment "Roland," which was operating in South Ukraine. On September 15, 1941, the Legion ("Nightingale" and "Roland" together) addressed a memorandum¹³⁾ to the German Supreme Command in Berlin. It was signed by every soldier and contained the following demands:

1) Independence for the Ukrainian state, which was to be subsequently recognized by Germany,

2) all Ukrainian political prisoners, headed by Stepan Bandera, and all members of the government in Lviv, headed by Jaroslav Stetzko, were to be released from custody,

3) the legion was only to be used for active service on the Eastern front and on Ukrainian territory,

4) the legion was to be led exclusively by Ukrainian officers, the duties and rights of the Ukrainian officers were to be equal to those of the German officers,

5) those relatives of soldiers who had been arrested were to be released from custody and were to have the same rights as the Germans,

¹³⁾ Ibid., p. 55

6) the soldiers of the legion must not be expected to swear allegiance to Germany,

7) the legion would be prepared under these circumstances and preconditions to sign a contract of service for one year, which contract would be signed by each soldier in his own name

By way of answer the Legion was moved to Frankfurt on the Oder. On November 1st a reply to the memorandum was received from the German Supreme Command. It declared that it was not competent to deal with political demands. As regards other points in the memorandum it was stated that "The legion is only to be used for active service on the Eastern front, an additional oath of allegiance to Germany need not to be sworn", other demands were also agreed to.

Although the political points of the memorandum were not dealt with, the members of the legion nevertheless decided to sign the contract of service, since one already foresaw the necessity of an armed fight against Hitlerite Germany and at the same time against Russia, and a thorough training of a military character in practical service in the German army was to be of decisive importance in the future fight for freedom.

After a year of fighting against Red partisans in Byelorussia, in the course of which the legion won the friendship of the Byelorussian population and earned the recognition of the German army command, all the legionaries on October 31, 1942, rejected the German suggestion to renew the contract of service, the legion was disbanded, the officers of the legion were arrested by the Gestapo and all the non-commissioned officers and soldiers were placed under police surveillance. Captain Shukhevych managed to escape during transport and a few months later became the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) under the name of Taras Chuprynka.

Practically all the legionaries went over to the UPA, where they assumed important posts. In the course of time the UPA developed into a big army, 200 000 strong.

In connection with the further development of the two-front war the following events in the history of the UPA must be mentioned.

In the fight against the UPA the Chief of the Nazi Sturm Abteilung (S A), Victor Lutze was killed in May 1943 near Kovel, on March 20 1944, the Soviet Marshal Vatutin was killed in North Volhynia on May 3 1946. General Moskalenko of the NKVD was killed in the neighbourhood of Stanyslaviv, and on March 29, 1947, the Polish Vice-Minister of Defence Walter Swierczewski was killed. On May 12 1947, the USSR, Poland and Czecho-Slovakia signed a tripartite agreement to combat the UPA¹⁴⁾

¹⁴⁾ O. Martovych. The Ukrainian Liberation Movement. Edinburgh 1951.

THE UKRAINIANS SEIZE POWER IN LVIV ON JUNE 30, 1941

In the early morning hours of June 30, 1941, a group of leading OUN men, who were disguised as propaganda unit and came from Cracow, drove into Lviv. It was their task to make the necessary preparations for the execution of the resolutions of the National Committee and of the OUN. In Lviv the OUN, with the help of its local organization there, took over the broadcasting station, and at a rally of the leading Ukrainians of the town, held that same afternoon, the mayor and the town council were appointed and the administration was taken over by the Ukrainians.

Although the revolt of the OUN in Lviv on June 27th had been crushed by NKVD units, and considerable losses had been suffered, the OUN was nevertheless still strong enough to give the leaders who had hastened there on June 30th active and effective support. After Jaroslaw Stetzko had discussed the plan for the proclamation of the restoration of the Ukrainian state and the formation of a national government in all its details with the Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytsky, at that time the greatest spiritual authority in Ukraine, J. Stetzko, on the evening of June 30th, convened the National Assembly in the venerable building of the oldest Ukrainian national society of recent times, the "Prosvita" — as R. Ilnytsky reports¹⁵⁾. This Assembly consisted of the leading politicians, economists, scholars, clergymen and other prominent personalities in Ukrainian public life, who had managed to survive Russian terrorism, they were headed by Kost Levytsky, the former Prime Minister of the government of West Ukraine in 1918 and by Bishop Joseph Slipy, the envoy of the Metropolitan. On the following day, the Metropolitan in a pastoral message announced the glad news to his people that the independent Ukrainian state had been restored once more, and he exhorted the people of Ukraine to show themselves worthy of their freedom. He recognized the new government and expressed the hope that all citizens, irrespective of their origin, nationality, race and religious faith would enjoy equal treatment and prosperity. The same attitude was also expressed by the head of the Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, Bishop Polikarp who gave the Lviv government his blessing.

The National Assembly unanimously approved the proclamation proposed by the OUN of the restoration of Ukrainian national independence and appointed Jaroslaw Stetzko head of the government. The misgivings voiced in the address given by Prof. Dr. Hans Koch, the authorized representative of the German Supreme Command and of the German Ministry for East European Affairs who suddenly appeared towards the end of the meeting, clearly revealed the true intentions of the Nazi government to those present.

¹⁵⁾ Ibid., Vol II pp 173-179

The original plan of the OUN leaders to hold the proclamation of the Ukrainian independent government and of the restoration of the Ukrainian state in Kyiv was, however, changed at the last minute when it became obvious that a formal proclamation on July 2nd in the opera house in Lviv would probably be prevented by the Gestapo, who would be sure to hurry to the scene.

The proclamation of the independence of Ukraine was intentionally held in Lviv. It would have been impossible to have waited until Kyiv — the capital of the whole of Ukraine — had been taken by the Germans, since the Nazi government would by that time have taken steps to prevent this. The formation of the government in Lviv was intended to make Ukraine the main subject of events from the very outset. The government in Lviv (Lemberg) always acted as the government of the whole of Ukraine and it was likewise regarded as such at that time and also later by the outside world.

It had become the symbol of the Ukrainian state will. The state act of June 30, 1941, was approved by the entire Ukrainian people, a fact which was expressed by a spontaneous plebiscite on the part of the population in all the towns and villages of the territory which had been evacuated by the Russians.

The broadcasting station and all the public buildings in the town of Lviv were in the hands of the Ukrainian nationalists and the insurgents, or armed Ukrainian militia; Ukrainian insurgent units, which on June 27th had engaged in street-fighting with the Soviet Russians in Lviv, were stationed in the forests near the town. There was also a Ukrainian unit in German uniform ("Nightingale") in Lviv. Under these circumstances it was impossible for Himmler to apply any measures of violence before stronger units of the Gestapo and the German security service had been brought up. It was only ten days later, when the German security service had completed its preparations, that violence was resorted to.

On July 10th, in the evening, an attempt to assassinate the head of the government, by shooting at him, was made, and his chauffeur was seriously wounded. It was assumed that this attempt was carried out either by NKVD agents who had remained behind in Lviv, or by some Gestapo centre or other.

The Ukrainian national government formed on June 30, 1941, was composed of representatives of various political trends in Ukraine, — nationalists, national democrats, socialists, and independents. Although the overwhelming majority of the population supported the OUN, the latter decided to take over only a certain number of Ministries; namely, in addition to the office of Prime Minister, the office of the second deputy of the head of the government, as well as the department of political co-ordination, which the territorial leader of the OUN, Ivan Klymiv-Legenda, who was later murdered by the Gestapo, held. The OUN member V Stakhiv took over the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; there were two deputy Ministers of War, — one was Roman Shukhevych, who later became General of the UPA,

and the other was Colonel O. Hasyn, later Chief of the UPA General Staff; the Minister of War was a social revolutionary, the famous Ukrainian general of the war of liberation of 1918-20, General Vsevolod Petriv; the Minister of the Interior was a socialist, and the Minister of Economy a national democrat.

In addition, a provisional parliament, the Ukrainian National Council, under the honorary presidency of the Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytsky, was formed, and here, too, the representatives of the OUN were likewise in the minority. Dr. Kost Levytsky (national democrat), who had spent two years in "Lubianka" prison in Moscow, was elected President of the National Council.

THE ARRESTS

The activity of the government and of the provisional parliament, which, with the general approval and support of the population, had set about reconstructing the state, was forcibly interrupted by the German occupation authorities. After the head of the government had been arrested, the other nationalist members of the government, who had not gone into hiding, were also arrested and put in concentration camps. It was only the nationalists who, supported by the masses, at that time actively combated the Nazi occupation. Neither the socialist nor the national democratic members of the government were arrested.

The following nationalist members of the government were murdered by the Gestapo: as already mentioned above, the Minister of Political Co-ordination and territorial leader of the OUN, Ivan Klymiv-Legenda; the deputy Minister of Economy Dmytro Yatsiv; the Minister of Forestry Piasetsky (Front of National Unity, a small nationalist-minded group). The following were arrested: the deputy Prime Minister and member of the OUN, Dr. Lev Rebet, who was murdered in Munich in 1957 by a KGB agent; the Minister of Foreign Affairs V. Stakhiv, as well as other members of the government who belonged to the OUN, and, of course, the president of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera, who was already arrested on July 5th in Cracow.

In the compilation of documents "Deutschland und die Ukraine 1934-1945," Vol. II, pp. 186-188 — Tatsachen europäischer Ostpolitik (facts of Europe's eastern policy), published by the Osteuropa-Institut, Munich, in 1958, the section "Germany refuses to acknowledge the Lemberg government" contains the following statements:

"The development of German-Ukrainian relations in Lemberg clearly indicated that the June events there were not in keeping with the general character of Germany's policy. The political act of Lemberg was a contradiction of this policy in every single point, for it was based on the fundamental principle of the right of self-determination of the peoples instead of on Hitler's intended colonialism in the East. Hence there was no one on the German

side who was willing to give the Lemberg events the support of his authority .. Whilst the adherents of Hitler's principles urged that the originators of a policy which opposed theirs should be forcibly crushed, the supporters of Rosenberg's policy advocated milder tactics

In view of this situation, it is not surprising that the efforts of J Stetzko, Kost Levytzky, Jaroslaw Staruch and Roman Ilnytzky to clarify and explain the position to the Commandant of Lemberg, Lieutenant General Rogues, failed "

On July 11, 1941, the staff of the German security service command asked J Stetzko and R Ilnytzky to come along to its headquarters There they were informed that Hitler had issued orders to the effect that all the persons concerned in the events of June 30, 1941, were to be removed from office J Stetzko and R Ilnytzky were then subjected to the usual police interrogation and were arrested Next day they were taken under police escort to Peremyshl on a lorry, and from there by car to Rzeszow and, later, to Cracow In Cracow they were again interrogated by the police It was not until after this second interrogation that they were handed over to the German army authorities The officer in whose care they were placed treated them decently and respectfully, he took them by train to Berlin and handed them over to the Supreme Command at the latter's headquarters in Bendlerstrasse, Berlin Here they were received and interrogated by Colonel Erwin Stoltze

Colonel Stoltze greeted them with the following words

"You have complicated our position in the East very considerably by your policy, you have revealed our cards, so that we may well expect a fanatical defence on the part of the Russian soldiers, who will now fight for the unity of the imperium Your policy will cost the lives of our soldiers'

To this, J Stetzko replied

I assess the situation quite differently Because of your false policy towards the Ukrainian people your soldiers will have to sacrifice their lives The Russians are against you in any case for the simple reason that you started the war against their imperium but now you will have the Ukrainians against you, too "

Colonel Stoltze then asked

'What part did Prof Hans Koch play in the proclamation of the restoration of the Ukrainian state?'

J Stetzko's answer was

"None Prof Koch appeared at the National Assembly when it was already over He asked those present to go home and to put their trust in the German leadership "

After the minutes of this interrogation had been signed, Colonel Stoltze made the following statement

"The part of the German army in this question is thus ended We shall now hand you over to the police What they intend doing with you, I do not know "

Two police officers dressed in civilian clothes then entered the room and requested J Stetzko and R Ilnytzky to come with them. Upon arriving at the department for East European affairs of the security service in Berlin, Lichterfelde-Ost, they were again interrogated. At the end of this interrogation, the interrogating SS officer, Weinmann, said

"I am sorry that matters have come to such a head that we have been obliged to arrest you and remove you from Ukraine. We have also had to arrest Stepan Bandera in order to protect the German Reich from unpleasant surprises."

These events were the result of Hitler's previous decision. As the recorder of the minutes, an official of the German Foreign Office, informed Mr Volodymyr Stakhiv, the discussion regarding the liquidation of the Ukrainian government, which took place in Hitler's headquarters in the presence of Ribbentrop, Keitel, Himmler and Hitler, only lasted a few minutes.

Hitler commanded Himmler 'to establish order' and to liquidate the "gang," as he designated the Ukrainian nationalists, in spite of the warnings of Canaris who had been summoned to the scene and who stressed the fact that the Ukrainian nationalists were determined to fight for their ideas — And this was precisely the decisive moment in which Nazi Germany lost the war in East Europe.

Those responsible for Germany's senseless policy even went so far as to try to persuade S Bandera and J Stetzko to revoke the act of June 30, 1941. But when all efforts in this direction failed, Bandera, Stetzko and thousands of other Ukrainian nationalists were arrested on September 15, 1941, and taken to the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen and also to other camps.

Three years later, on September 28, 1944, S Bandera and J Stetzko were taken from Sachsenhausen to Berlin. The Germans admitted their error and now tried to find a basis for a German-Ukrainian collaboration by declaring that they were prepared to recognize Ukrainian independence, but in view of Hitler's ruthless terrorist regime in Ukraine this proposal was once more turned down by the two spokesmen of the Ukrainian liberation movement. In any case, the whole of Ukraine was once more occupied by the Russians. In spite of the fact that they were under police surveillance in Berlin, Bandera and Stetzko managed to escape from the German capital thanks to the help of various members of the Ukrainian underground movement who had been brought to Germany for the purpose of doing forced labour.

THE PERSONAL COURAGE OF THE METROPOLITAN

The fact that the members of the government and the OUN leaders had been arrested in no way undermined the will to freedom of the Ukrainian people, for the Ukrainian political public un-animously approved of the act of June 30, 1941, and the heads of

both Ukrainian Churches also gave this act their full moral support. It was particularly significant that the greatest spiritual authority in Ukraine, Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytsky, supported the resolution of the National Assembly and assumed the office of honorary president of the provisional parliament, the Ukrainian National Council. In order to illustrate the important part which the Metropolitan played in his country, we should like to quote some examples of his personal courage ¹⁶⁾

During the Russian occupation of West Ukraine the Metropolitan asked the Pope to give him his apostolic and paternal blessing and to send him to a martyr's death for the faith and unity of the Church. 'The Church has nothing to lose by this, it can only gain by it. As the spiritual father of the poor people who are obliged to endure so much suffering have I not the right to die for their salvation?'

During the German occupation of Ukraine he also had the courage to intercede with Himmler for the persecuted Jews, a fact on which the Jewish Rabbi Dr Herzog in Palestine commented as follows:

When the Germans carried out a pogrom against the Jews in Rohatyn the Metropolitan Sheptytsky addressed a petition to Himmler in which he emphatically objected to the murder of innocent and defenceless persons. This action on his part caused a considerable sensation for it was definitely proof of his great courage. There was no one in Europe at that time who ventured to openly support the Jews against the ruthless Gestapo. And the entire Ukrainian people took his action as an example and helped the persecuted Jews in every way possible and at risk to their own lives frequently hid them in their own houses in spite of the fact that this was prohibited under penalty of death. It must also be pointed out in this connection that the Ukrainians themselves had to endure great suffering and hardship under the terrorism of the Gestapo.

When the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) defended the rights of the Ukrainians in the fight against the German occupation Himmler requested the Metropolitan on the strength of his authority to inform the Ukrainian Insurgent Army that their activity was a violation of the fifth Commandment. To which the Metropolitan replied:

'The National Socialists do not believe in God and hence have no right to refer to God's Commandments!' When Himmler thereupon retorted that for every German or every person of German descent who was shot 20 Ukrainians were to be shot the Metropolitan addressed a sharp and warning pastoral letter to the occupation army in which among other things he stressed:

God will punish those who disregard His Divine Laws!

¹⁶⁾ Dr G Prokoptchuk Der Metropolit Munich, 1955 Verlag Ukraine pp 218 230

ACT OF PROCLAMATION OF THE UKRAINIAN STATE

1 By the will of the Ukrainian people, the Organization 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 Organization 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 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 Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists!

Long live the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists—
Stepan Bandera!

The City of Lviv, June 30, 1941, 8 p m
Head of the National Congress
Jaroslav Stetzko

PASTORAL LETTER BY THE METROPOLITAN ANDREAS COUNT SHEPTYTSKY

By the Will of Almighty and Most Gracious God in the Holy Trinity a new epoch has commenced in the life of the independent Ukrainian state
The National Assembly which convened yesterday confirmed and proclaimed this historical event

Since our fervent prayers have been heard I exhort you Ukrainian people to express your gratitude to the Almighty, your loyalty to His Church and your obedience to the government The war will claim many more victims but the task which has been begun in God's Name and with God's Blessing will be conducted to a successful end

The sacrifices which are necessary for the attainment of our aim will in the first place consist in obedient execution of the justified orders of the government, which are in keeping with God's Laws.

At this historical time the Ukrainian people must show that they have the necessary respect for authority and the living strength to make them deserve a position amongst the peoples of Europe in which they can develop the forces granted to them by God

Prove by your discipline solidarity and conscientious fulfilment of your duty that you have become mature enough to lead a state life We offer the

appointed government the obedience that is its due We recognize Mr Jaroslaw Stetko as the Prime Minister of the state government of Ukraine

Of the government which he has called into being we expect a wise, just leadership and legislation which will consider the needs and the welfare of all citizens of our country, irrespective of which religious faith nationality and social class they belong to

May God bless all your deeds people of Ukraine, and endow all our statesmen with holy wisdom!

Lviv The Cathedral Church of St. George

July 1st 1941

ANDREAS Metropolitan

PASTORAL LETTER BY THE BISHOP POLIKARP OF THE UKRAINIAN AUTOCEPHALOUS ORTHODOX CHURCH

To all the Ukrainians living in Volhynia!

The Peace of the Almighty Father and of Our Lord Jesus Christ be with you!

My dear children! God in His great Mercy and Justice is with us For many years our sorely tried people were obliged to endure ridicule mockery, persecution and humiliation of their sacred orthodox faith of their national feelings and of their human dignity In the state of the Bolshevist Antichrist terrorism and fear assumed proportions which were unparalleled even in the persecution of the Christians under the Roman Emperors Nero and Diocletian The godless exterminated the Christian faith in the most ruthless manner by murdering bishops and thousands upon thousands of pious Christians and priests and by disseminating the law of treachery and hatred

But God's Justice has now been revealed to us one God one nation and a better future for us all.

The hope that our people have cherished for centuries has been fulfilled From the city of Prince Lev the radio is spreading the glad news across our mountains fields and steppes across our blood-stained land an independent Ukrainian state has been proclaimed The joy of the Ukrainian people is shared by our sorely tried Church The regenerated Ukrainian free Orthodox Church in the free Ukrainian state will form an inseparable unity with the Ukrainian people

In this great hour I address the words of St Paul to you my beloved children Now I beseech you brethren through the name of our Lord Jesus Christ that ye all speak the same thing and that there be no divisions among you but that ye be perfected together in the same mind and in the same judgement (The First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Corinthians 1 10)

To love God to love one's native country — these are the greatest virtues And to serve one's native country — the highest duty

May God in His Mercy help you my people and you our government to build the independent Ukrainian state My prayers before the Throne of the Almighty will always be for you

In this great hour all the Ukrainians must unite and must work hand in hand for in unity lies strength and we must prove this unity by our deeds

We need neither parties nor a fight amongst us We must all unite around our holy orthodox Church around our government and national leaders

I pray for the Blessing of God Almighty on all our Ukrainian people and on our government

Lutsk Volhynia July 10 1941

POLIKARP Bishop of Lutsk

Slava Stetzko

THE SUPREME COMMANDER OF THE INSURGENT ARMY

GENERAL ROMAN SHUKHEVYCH — TARAS CHUPRYNKA

March 5th marks the anniversary of the day on which the Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, Lieutenant-General Taras Chuprynka (Roman Shukhevych), was killed in action whilst fighting for the freedom and independence of his Ukrainian fatherland in the fight against Russian Bolshevik tyranny.

Taras Chuprynka is one of those few happy mortals whose name not only goes down in the history of their own nation, but of whom posterity can rightly say that they neither lived in vain nor died in vain.

Relying entirely on his own strength and on that of his loyal Ukrainian followers, and without any external aid whatsoever, he for many years — despite fierce persecution on the part of Russian Bolshevik terrorists — organised the Ukrainian liberation movement and secretly commanded the heroic resistance of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which under his leadership became renowned throughout the whole world. And Chuprynka's name will not live on in the history of Ukraine solely as a legend!

Roman Shukhevych was born in Krakovets, West Ukraine, in 1907 as the son of a judge. His mother, who came of an old clerical family, was profoundly religious and pious and brought up her son Roman in this same spirit.

After leaving the Ukrainian grammar school in Lviv, he studied at the technical college there, and later completed his studies as civil engineer in Danzig.

Whilst still at school Roman Shukhevych had already belonged to the revolutionary Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and later he became one of its leading members. In 1931 he took over the command of the combatant detachment of the revolutionary Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and during the years 1938-1939 he played an active part in setting up the military units of the "Ukrainian Carpathian Sitch" in Carpatho-Ukraine.

In 1943 the 3rd Congress of the OUN elected him President of the OUN and at the same time he also became Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). In November that same year, at his initiative, the

basis for the foundation of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was established on the occasion of the conference of the revolutionary liberation movements of the subjugated peoples. In July 1944 Shukhevych was appointed Chairman of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHSVR) and Secretary-General of the Military Department of this supreme Ukrainian revolutionary institution.

On March 5 1950 General Roman Shukhevych holder of the Golden Cross for Distinguished Services of the UPA and Knight of the Golden Cross for Distinguished Services was killed in action in the village of Bilohorshcha near Lviv whilst fighting against the Soviet Russian occupants.

The intrepid conduct of the UPA and its courageous fight in subjugated Ukraine were for the most part inspired by its heroic Commander-in-Chief who has become the symbol of the Ukrainian fight for freedom.

Amidst the confusion of our troubled times the news of the death of this great Ukrainian champion of freedom passed almost unnoticed in the free Western world. But when the darkness of tyranny is superseded by the light of freedom for all the nations of the earth Chuprynka's name will become truly illustrious and will be revered in lasting gratitude not only by posterity in his own native country, but also in Europe.

Why is the name of General Chuprynka of so great historical importance? In order to answer this question it is necessary to give a brief survey of the historical epoch in which Chuprynka appeared on the stage of world politics.

WAR ON TWO FRONTS

On 30 June 1941 the restoration of Ukraine's independence was proclaimed by the Ukrainian National Assembly in Lviv (Lemberg). Chuprynka joined the National Government as acting Minister of Defence. These were troubled and fateful times for the people of Ukraine. Germany, under Hitler's regime, refused to recognise the independence of Ukraine. The leading men of the government and of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists were arrested, and there now ensued the grimmest fight in the history of Ukraine, against two enemies: Hitler's Germany and Russia. Ukraine was involved in a two-front war. Indeed this was the hardest decision which the leaders of the Ukrainian national liberation movement were called upon to reach. Hitler had conquered practically the whole of Europe even France had capitulated but Ukraine refused to surrender! The Ukrainian National Government of which Chuprynka was a member, was the only coalition government in Hitler-ruled Europe of that time which was based on democratic principles. The universal watchword 'Freedom for Nations! Freedom for Individuals!' was inscribed on the banner of the Ukrainian liberation movement. And the leaders of this movement had already far-sightedly realised the significance of the present epoch: that is to say the fact that in the

conflict between the imperial and the national idea the future would belong to the latter. But at a time when the second World War was raging, this insight and active support for the national liberation idea, which was suppressed by imperialism, demanded immense sacrifices and even greater courage. The momentous decision itself — to take up the fight against Germany and Russia on two fronts — indicated that here, in the steppes and forests of Ukraine, a new beacon of the underground movement had been kindled. The two biggest imperialisms had clashed in the East and they were now confronted and opposed by the liberation will of Ukraine and the other nations who were inspired by the idea of national and individual freedom.

Even at that time the Ukrainian champions of freedom, headed by General Chuprynka, sent out to the world the following appeal: "Freedom-loving nations and peoples all over the world, unite in the fight against tyranny!"

Chuprynka rejected the idea of forming an alliance with one enemy in order to conquer the other, which was what the Western world erroneously did, joining forces with Beelzebub in order to drive out the Devil. Ukraine at that time warned the Western world to refrain from pursuing such an alliance policy, but her warning went unheeded.

In 1943 General Chuprynka also took over the leadership of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, the revolutionary organisation of the Ukrainian people which has never, at any time, made a compromise with any opponent of Ukrainian independence. From July 1944 onwards, General Chuprynka was also in charge of the General Secretariat of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, the underground government of Ukraine, which still exists and carries on its activity in opposition to the Muscovite agents' government of Soviet Ukraine in Kyiv. This is probably the only case behind the Iron Curtain where not only an organised political force, the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, and not only the underground army, the UPA, but also an underground government, recognised by the Ukrainians in Ukraine, stands for the fight for freedom and the right of Ukraine to independence.

General Chuprynka knew that the only way to secure a victory is to rely on one's own forces. His ideas held and still hold good for Ukraine in her fight, namely the importance of the national liberation revolution, that is to say the destruction of the Russian imperium from within and its disintegration into independent national states of the peoples subjugated by Russian imperialism, within their own ethnographical boundaries. Chuprynka realised that the common fate which other peoples subjugated by Hitlerism and Bolshevism were having to suffer would unite them. For this very reason he called a conference of the subjugated peoples in November 1943, in the forests of Ukraine, for the purpose of setting up a common anti-Bolshevik front. At the conference he addressed those present and said

This conference is not only of importance to us because of what it has achieved today for our fight. It has also convinced us that the matter of a common front of the subjugated peoples is not only absolutely essential, but is also a reality. We have chosen the right way. From today our fight for independence is no longer the isolated fight of a single nation, but a revolution in East Europe and Asia for the freedom of all subjugated nations and for a new order in this part of the world."

In precisely that fighting sector of Volynia, even at that time, there were already various other national combat groups in the ranks of the UPA as for instance the national groups of the Georgians, Azerbaijanians, Turkestanians, Byelorussians, Tartars, and so forth. An eyewitness gives the following report of a visit which the General paid to these national combat groups:

"The General got into conversation with the soldiers and officers and then gradually directed the talk to political subjects. As on other occasions, the General, thanks to his education, his open-mindedness, and his natural gift of being able to adjust himself to others, immediately created an atmosphere of confidence, genuine soldierly candour and comradeship. In this respect, too, he was incomparable during the conference. All those who met him on that occasion were deeply impressed and felt drawn to this honest and friendly man."

THE GREAT STRATEGIST OF THE PARTISAN WARFARE

General Chuprynka, thanks to his natural ability for making a synthesis, knew how to combine and balance the military and political factors of the fight for freedom. Without resorting to extremes, he always sought to achieve a proper balance between these two factors in every situation. He had the great gift of being able to understand the wishes of the people. And he also had the insight to include social factors in the universal fight for freedom, in order to intensify the latter. With his armed forces he also defended the people against social and economic exploitation by Russia and Hitler's Germany. With his armed forces he fought against the compulsory resettlement of the Ukrainians in Siberia, against the collective system, against Hitler's deportations of the Ukrainians to forced labour in German factories, and against the compulsory measures enforced to ensure the fulfilment of quotas. He mobilised the people against the Russian so-called people's election for the Supreme Soviets. He adjusted the whole life of the people to the law of an organised and systematic fight against the enemy.

Ukraine was not merely in a state of political ferment, but in a state of conflagration. Hitler's propaganda decried the fight of the UPA as the work of Bolshevik agents. Stalin's henchmen decried the valiant UPA, which by 1943 numbered 200,000 men, as "Hitler's mercenaries." Whereas the truth of the matter was that the Ukrainian national liberation movement relied entirely on its own strength and had two enemies, the Hitler terrorist regime and Russia.

When the notorious leader of the Russian red partisans, Kovpak, carried out a raid in Ukraine, his gangs were defeated on the edge of the Carpathians by Ukrainian insurgents Chuprynka, who was an outstanding strategist and knew all the tactics of guerrilla warfare, always succeeded in attacking again and again and evading the enemy, even on two fronts

In order to mobilise the entire Ukrainian nation and also the friendly nations and to win them over for the idea of a universal active fight, Chuprynka, right up to his death, organised the world-famous raids of the UPA. In 1949 a UPA unit under the leadership of Commander Lys penetrated as far as Caucasia. In the summer of the same year, a UPA unit commanded by Captain Khmara carried out raids in various districts of Rumania. The unit was given a friendly welcome by the population everywhere. The members of the unit distributed thousands of political leaflets in the towns and rural districts. They held political enlightenment discussions and arranged several meetings. They tried to establish a contact with the Rumanian underground movement, and spent two weeks in Rumania. The Rumanian government then sent out troops equipped with cannon and trench mortars to deal with the UPA unit, but thanks to the timely warning given by the population, the UPA unit managed to retreat into the mountains. The news of this raid by the UPA spread like wild-fire throughout Rumania and, together with the literature which the unit had distributed, helped to strengthen the fighting spirit of the Rumanian people to a considerable degree. Further raids were carried out in Poland, Byelorussia, Lithuania, Slovakia, and even in East Prussia. Together with the Polish A K (Armia Krajowa) units, Ukrainian insurgents stormed the prison and police headquarters in the town of Hrubeshiv and liberated the prisoners.

For propaganda purposes Chuprynka sent one of his famous units to the West. The members of this unit with great daring fought their way through Czechoslovakia and even reached Bavaria. The purpose of this action was to draw the attention of the Western world to the ceaseless and steadfast fight of the Ukrainian liberation movement. But the West did not react in the way that Chuprynka had hoped. It advocated co-existence. The Russians, however, have realised how dangerous the Ukrainian liberation movement in joint action with the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) is and have tried their utmost to master it.

On 12 May 1947, the Soviet Union, Red Poland and Czechoslovakia made an agreement to fight the UPA. Red Poland resorted to compulsory measures and resettled the entire Ukrainian population of the western border districts of Ukraine ("Curzon Line") which had been forcibly incorporated with Poland. But no power in the world was capable of paralysing the Ukrainian fight for freedom. On 29 March 1947, Poland's acting Minister of War, General Walter Swierczewski, the notorious commander of the international red brigade in Spain, was killed in action whilst fighting against the

Ukrainian Insurgent Army In 1944, the commander-in-chief of the so-called "First Ukrainian Front," Marshal Vatutin, was killed in action in North Volynia, fighting against the UPA, in 1946, the Russian Army commander, General Moskalenko, was killed, not to mention the death of the SA Chief of Staff, Lutze

On the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the UPA General Chuprynka proudly addressed the soldiers and commanders of the UPA and the members of the Ukrainian national underground movement, OUN, as follows

Those of you who are today fighting in armed units against the Bolsheviks and those of you who have joined the ranks of the revolutionary underground movement for liberation must realise that these five years of heroic fighting on the part of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the underground movement represent an illustrious epoch in the history of Ukraine Indeed, there is no more heroic epoch in the whole history of mankind The heroism of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and of the Ukrainian national underground movement will set later generations in Ukraine an example The soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Ukrainian revolutionaries will be remembered in the history of mankind like the Spartans For this reason I exhort you to bear in mind the greatness of the present epoch and not to sully the fame of the Ukrainian resistance movement as those before you who gave their lives in this fight have not done

On this day the anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, look back with pride on the past five years and reverently remember all those who by sacrificing their lives introduced a new epoch Look proudly to the future in which our new fight for freedom will be crowned with victory

In addition, General Chuprynka also wrote as follows "The successes achieved by the UPA have by far surpassed all the expectations of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council and the Ukrainian people And these successes have been achieved under conditions hitherto unheard of in the history of mankind"

Wherein lies the strength of the UPA?

Its strength lies in the fact that it is an army of the people created by the people, and fights for their vital interests, for national and social freedom, for an independent Ukrainian state Its strength lies in the fact that the Ukrainian people support it of their own free will and that the entire nation fights with the UPA for a common cause And, in addition, its strength lies in the courage, endurance, and heroism of its soldiers and commanders, in its excellent tactics in guerilla warfare, and in particular, in the indomitable will of its greatest commander, the greatest hero in the history of Ukraine during the past decades, General Chuprynka

What was General Chuprynka's conception of the future new order in East Europe and Soviet Asia? The Russian imperium is to be disintegrated into the following independent national states within their ethnographical boundaries Ukraine, Byelorussia, Georgia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, North Caucasia, Idel-Ural, Turkestan Karelia is to be returned to Finland the Baltic States and Siberia are to be severed from Russia and shall likewise become independent, the Cossacks shall have their own independent state, and the Russians shall be satisfied with their ethnographical territories

General Chuprynka rightly understood the significance of this epoch. He foresaw the downfall of the empires, which we, incidentally, are now witnessing in Asia and Africa. A new dawn shall shine — the dawn of the independent national states of all freedom-loving peoples. *Ex oriente lux!* But not, as the West believes, from the official East, from Russian imperialism and Communism, but the light from the underground movements of Ukraine and other subjugated nations. And the fight shall be fought for a moral and religious rebirth, for Christianity and the national idea, for the freedom of individuals and nations, for social justice, for the observance of national traditions, for the free development of the creative powers of all nations by abolishing compulsory and artificial state structures, against Marxism and materialism, against atheism, against imperialism, against Communist despotism and against dictatorship of every kind, against the exploitation of man by the state or by his fellow-men, and for the equality, justice, freedom, and independence of the nations.

HEROIC DEATH IN BATTLE

Such was the noble conception of a future order for which General Chuprynka fought, and for which he laid down his life, together with his faithful followers, when on 5 March 1950, MVD troops carried out a surprise attack on his headquarters in the vicinity of Lviv in Western Ukraine. Wearing the small cross which he had always worn since his youth, he died for Christianity, for the independence and freedom not only of Ukraine but of all the subjugated peoples and of the whole world. He died in the fight against the Communist and Russian world-criminals.

It is a humiliation for freedom-loving, Christian-minded Europeans that no monuments in honour of those who fought for humanity, God and freedom are erected in the capitals of Europe, but, on the other hand, Stalin Avenues made their appearance after World War II in Paris and elsewhere. We have heard of Stalingrad Station in one Western city and of an Alexander Bridge in honour of a tyrant, but nowhere in the West have we come across any monuments dedicated to the memory of those who have really defended Western freedom. That great Ukrainian hero and champion of freedom, Symon Petlura, the former President of Ukraine, was murdered in Paris in 1926 by a Russian Communist, and his murderer was acquitted in honour. In 1938, another famous Ukrainian champion of freedom, Colonel Konovalets, was murdered in Rotterdam by a Russian Communist. Nowhere is there any memorial to these heroic champions of mankind, and their names have long since been forgotten by the West.

But the West will have to pay dearly for its ignorance and indifference. Hitler was of the opinion that the events of 30 June 1941, when Ukraine regained her independence, could simply be disregarded as non-existent and invalid. He thought that by

disregarding this fact he could win the deadly game with Moscow. Three years later, however, when he was in mortal danger, he sought the help of Ukraine, whom he had previously just disregarded, that is to say the help of the power which could have dealt Moscow a fatal blow. But it was too late

In 1812, Napoleon, on leaving Russia, told General Coulincourt that he regretted not having staked all on Ukraine and not having heeded that appeal of the Ukrainian patriots to join forces with them and fight Moscow together

"Ukraine has always striven for freedom," said Voltaire, and, indeed, the Ukrainian fight for freedom lives on in the Ukrainian underground movement and in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. And the most concrete proof of this fact has been furnished by the reports given by German ex-PoWs, who have returned from the concentration camps in Vorkuta, Kazakhstan, and Siberia, where big revolts, strikes, and insurrections have broke out. And Moscow is powerless to subdue these thousands and millions of internees

The Ukrainians are fighting everywhere in their own country and in the countries of other subjugated peoples in which they have been forcibly resettled. They are fighting in the forests and taigas, in the factories, in the silver and ore mines in Siberia, in the steppes of Kazakhstan whither Ukrainian youth has been forcibly sent to cultivate new land. They are fighting in East Asia ("Zelenyy Klyn") and in all the countries of the free world where they are living as exiles. Rudyard Kipling rightly said "And what should they know of England who only England know?"

It was no mere coincidence that, shortly before the 20th Congress of the Communist Party was held in Moscow, the Volynian paper, "The Red Banner," reported that there were still thousands of insurgents in hiding in the district of Rivne (Volynia) and in other forest districts and that they were refusing to surrender. The article concluded by appealing to the partisans to leave their hiding-places and confess their guilt. They would then be forgiven by "their Soviet country." At the same time, "Pravda" reported that a clash had occurred between Soviet frontier guards and an armed insurgent group, but did not, however, mention the name of the place where this incident happened. This report was, incidentally, also broadcast by Moscow Radio for the whole world to hear, which surely is the best proof that the Ukrainian liberation movement can no longer be suppressed and exterminated and that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists continue to pursue their course unerringly, even though they may adopt other tactics and methods in keeping with any new situation which may arise.

Two different worlds at present stand in conflict with each other. And one of them must inevitably fall, if the other is to continue to exist. We believe in the victory of indivisible freedom and in the independence of Ukraine, for which cause our great commander lived and died

INTERVIEW WITH AN UNDERGROUND LEADER

"The pledge of the genuinely democratic character of the future Ukrainian state is primarily the truly national character of the Ukrainian liberation movement and its unparalleled patriotism"

General Shukhevych-Chuprynka

These words were spoken by the outstanding figure of recent Ukrainian history, Roman Shukhevych, or Taras Chuprynka as he came to be called, the anniversary of whose death in action in Ukraine in 1950 at the age of 43 is commemorated on March 5th by all patriotic Ukrainians. The passage is taken from an interview given by Chuprynka — then Head of the General Secretariat of Ukrayinska Holovna Vyzvolna Rada (UHVR), the Supreme Ukrainian Liberation Council), Head of the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) and Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) — to the representative of the Information Bureau of the UHVR who visited him at the Partisan Headquarters in 1948.

The General was asked to comment on some vital problems of the liberation movement of particular interest to the general Ukrainian public. Chuprynka agreed that his answers should be published in the underground publications of the Bureau, and his exhaustive replies to the questions asked him were printed in Vol I No 2 of "The Information Bulletin of the UHVR" in September 1948.

In order to remind all adherents of the Ukrainian liberation movement and to inform the wider public about the General's mode of political thinking, these answers are restated in brief below.

RAID OF THE UPA TO THE WEST IN 1947

The representative of the Information Bureau remarked that a part of the Ukrainian general public interprets incorrectly the fact that some units of the UPA and groups of insurgents crossed from the western borderland of the Ukrainian lands (from behind the so-called Curzon line) to the West-German occupation zones in the summer and autumn of 1947. In his reply the Head of the General Secretariat declared

The passage of some units of the UPA and groups of revolutionaries from the western borderland of the Ukrainian lands to the West-German occupation zones was in accordance with special directions of the UHVR and an order of the General Headquarters of the UPA. The majority of the Ukrainian people know that in the early spring of 1947 the Polish-Bolshevik occupants drove out of the West-Ukrainian borderland the remainder of the Ukrainian population which had remained there after the expulsions of 1946. This time the Ukrainian population of those regions was deported primarily to the Olsztyn region, to the West, and not to the USSR as had earlier been the case. From a considerable number of villages the Polish-Bolshevik enemies of the people also deported the Polish population which was assisting the UPA and the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation underground. Thereafter the Polish-Bolshevik criminals flung special divisions equipped with all kinds of arms against the UPA and the Ukrainian revolutionary underground who were operating in that small area which had been changed into a desert. It was impossible for the UPA and the revolutionary underground to continue the revolutionary fight under such conditions. Consequently, some units of the UPA and groups of revolutionaries were ordered to make a raid through Czechoslovakia and proceed to the West-German occupation zones with the purpose of getting into touch with the Foreign Representation of the UHVR. The main aim of this was to organise a protest before all the nations of the world against the Bolshevik and Polish crimes towards the Ukrainian population and to provide full information on the revolutionary liberation fight of the Ukrainian people against the Russian-Bolshevik and Polish-Bolshevik occupants and their oppressive policy in Ukrainian lands. Under conditions of Bolshevik rule it seemed to be the only sure way of informing the world about events in Ukraine in recent years.

Crossing Czechoslovakia in a raid which was often accompanied by courageous encounters with the Czechoslovak army and police detachments controlled by the Bolsheviks, the units of the UPA carried on political and propaganda work widely among the Czech and Slovak peoples. The population of Czechoslovakia welcomed our units everywhere. Numerous radio stations of the world broadcast news of that raid.

It should be pointed out that the main part of the units of the UPA and revolutionary cadres from behind the so-called Curzon line in the summer of 1947 crossed over to the so-called Ukrainian SSR in order to continue their revolutionary fight there for the liberation of Ukraine from the occupant's rule

In view of the above, the passage of some units of the UPA and groups of revolutionaries to the occupation zones of Western Germany should be regarded only as a regular fighting-political task of those units and groups, and by no means as their "surrender" to the enemy, or 'flight' abroad, as is alleged by uninformed elements in the Ukrainian population

SOVIET MISREPRESENTATION OF THE NATURE OF THE UPA

Asked why a part of the Soviet community should ascribe some revolutionary actions in the Ukrainian lands to "the Vlassovites," General Chuprynka said All news of the actions of "Vlassovites" in the Ukrainian lands are inspired by the MVD and MGB The aim of the Soviet Political Police is, on the one hand, to put side by side the Ukrainian revolutionary movement and such known Russian agents of Hitler as "the Vlassovites," and thus to disorientate the Soviet broad masses with regard to the independent national and social-liberation character of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement and, on the other hand, by ascribing many of the revolutionary actions of the Ukrainian underground and the UPA to "the Vlassovites" to diminish the force and extent of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation fight In the Ukrainian lands, only the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement is acting underground "The Vlassovites" have never carried on an organized underground fight in Ukraine There is no room for "the Vlassovites," the Russian agents of Hitler, in the Ukrainian lands All rumours regarding the anti-Bolshevik fight of "the Vlassovites" in Ukraine as well as, probably, in the whole Soviet Union, should be regarded as a deliberate, perfidious fabrication of the MVD

DEPORTATION FROM WEST-UKRAINE AND THE ATTITUDE OF THE WEST

The representative of the Information Bureau asked whether the numbers of Ukrainians deported from Western Ukraine to Siberia during the last mass deportation, that is, from 19-21 October, 1947, have already been assessed, and whether the peoples of the world are aware of the extent of the deportation, the Head of the General Secretariat replied

According to a rough estimate, about 150 thousand Ukrainians for the most part women, children, and old men, were deported from Western Ukraine, that is from the Lviv, Stanyslaviv, Ternopil, Drohobych, Chernivtsi, Rivne, and Volhynia regions, during the last deportation The members of the MVD treated the deportees cruelly On many trains the Bolshevik criminals placed the following cynical

inscriptions 'Those evacuated from the lands terrorised by the Banderaites' The deportees behaved like heroes One could hear shouts from the trains 'We shall return to our native country again! The insurgents will take vengeance for us! We shall build Ukraine in Siberia! Independent Ukraine for ever! Many deportees, chiefly children and old men died during their journey, they died of starvation, lack of room in the wired cars, of cold, of beating A lot of the deportees died of hard labour during the first months The conditions of life and work of the deported Ukrainian men and women are everywhere terrible There is no doubt that the Bolshevik criminals use deportation of the Ukrainian population to the remote regions of the Soviet Union as a means to the physical extermination of the broad masses of the Ukrainian people They have already employed this method for 30 years! The history of mankind cannot find a similar example of the physical extermination of enslaved peoples even among records of the most cruel enslavers The Russian Bolshevik enemies of the people have outdone all other people in perpetrating the most scandalous deeds history has ever known

In general people outside the USSR are aware of that fact We are sure said the Head of the General Secretariat that every honest and informed man abroad remonstrates against this criminal policy of the Bolshevik oppressors in Ukraine and condemns it But at the same time he went on to say the Ukrainian people must be indignant to see that hardly a single protest has been made in official political circles to the proper international institutions against that new mass crime toward the Ukrainian people and against the infinite number of other crimes committed in the Ukrainian lands under the Russian-Bolshevik occupation to see also that all the high principles which have been proclaimed in a series of international documents and which are assumed as a basis for a series of international institutions have no effect within the territory of the Bolshevik USSR on the position of the nations of the Soviet Union The Ukrainian people are utterly indignant that the representatives of the Soviet Union the representatives of the most oppressive and most criminal state system — a system where not only no human or civil rights exist but where even whole nations are exterminated — that the representatives of that state have been admitted to such international institutions as the United Nations Organisation and to such organs of that Organisation as for example the Commission on Human Rights where they having been stained from head to foot with the blood of millions of innocent victims they have tortured to death with unequalled cynicism deliver endless speeches on human rights where they having on their conscience hundreds of thousands of liquidated Ukrainian patriots millions of Ukrainians tortured to death in the Siberian forests in the steppes of Middle Asia and in Ukraine proper the extermination of the whole nation of the Crimean Tartars pretend to be the most rational and the most outspoken opponents of genocide

All this, however, the Head of General Secretariat added, will not weaken the resistance offered by the Ukrainian people to the Russian-Bolshevik occupants, it will not shake our firm belief in the victory of our revolutionary liberation fight. The Ukrainian people know that liberation depends upon themselves. The torture of the Soviet peoples and the deceiving of the world by the Bolshevik criminals will come to an end shortly. They cannot escape the just verdict of the nations and, first of all, that of the Ukrainian nation.

IS THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT DEMOCRATIC IN OUTLOOK?

In reply to the remark that some people, although they approve of the ideology of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement without reserve, at the same time take up a sceptical attitude towards the democratic principles declared by that movement, the Head of the General Secretariat spoke the words that introduce this article, saying that the fundamentally national character and patriotism of the Ukrainian liberation movement ensures a future Ukrainian democracy.

The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement has originated in the bosom of the Ukrainian people, it defends the interests of the Ukrainian people, its supreme object is the freedom and happiness of the Ukrainian people. Ukrainian revolutionaries, the sons of the Ukrainian people, the descendants of the broad masses of the Ukrainian people, who today are dying in large numbers for the freedom and happiness of the Ukrainian people, will never act against the interests of the Ukrainian people, against the interests of the vast masses of their fellow countrymen. The aim of the struggle of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement is a government by the Ukrainian people on Ukrainian soil. Guided by the purest ideological motives, the most devoted patriotism, a sincere love for the Ukrainian people, a grim determination to put an end to the oppression and exploitation the Ukrainian people have suffered for centuries, Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents have undertaken their bitter fight against the occupants. Those noble motives enable those who take part in our revolutionary liberation fight to surmount all the difficulties resulting from the long revolutionary fight under conditions imposed by the Bolshevik regime. The unmatched, noble patriotism of Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents makes them die rather than yield themselves as prisoners. One should have faith in such people as these. The Ukrainian revolutionary organisations have always stressed that they fight for a Ukraine for the Ukrainian people, and not for a Ukraine for themselves. The most convincing proof of this lies in the way Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents fight and die.

In addition, the very existence of the UHVR is a true sign of the democratic character of future forms of government in Ukraine.

The UHVR is based on purely democratic principles and defends democratic ideas. It is made up of the representatives of different Ukrainian parties and circles desiring the independence of their country. It has been recognised and is supported in every respect by the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists which is the strongest political organisation in the Ukrainian lands today.

The OUN also is based on democratic principles. The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is under the command of the UHVRada. One of the most important tasks of the UHVR is to secure the carrying out of the free and democratic elections to the first Ukrainian Constituent Assembly in freed Ukraine. Free Ukraine will be governed by a democratic government as long as the UHVR exists as long as the Ukrainian people support the UHVR in every aspect. At the first Constituent Assembly convoked by the UHVRada the Ukrainian people will have an opportunity to determine the future forms of their state system.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COLLECTIVE FARM SYSTEM

In connection with the intensification of Bolshevik action aiming at collectivisation in the West Ukrainian lands, and in connection with the fact that the Bolshevik government has passed a series of antisocial resolutions aimed at 'strengthening' the collective-farm system throughout the entire Soviet Union, the representative of the Information Bureau asked the Head of the General Secretariat for an exposition of the attitude of the UHVR towards collective farms. The Head of the General Secretariat said:

The UHVR stands for a complete destruction of the Bolshevik collective-farm system in Ukraine, for the complete liberation of the Ukrainian peasantry from the collective-farm yoke. The platform of the UHVR, approved by the First Congress of the UHVR, says that the UHVR aims to secure a free form of working land-tenure with determination of the upper and lower limit of individual land-tenure' (point 4 z). This is the position of the UHVR today, too. The UHVR calls upon the Ukrainian peasantry to fight against the collective farms in eastern Ukrainian regions which were collectivised long ago as well as in the western regions which have not yet been collectivised completely.

The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement fights against the Bolshevik collective-farm system first, because it is a tool of the barbarous economic and physical exploitation of the Ukrainian peasantry by the Bolshevik oppressors, the tool of a terrible social oppression and, secondly, because this system is also a means of the political subjugation of the Ukrainian peasantry by the Bolshevik imperialist clique.

Following the appeals of the revolutionary underground, being aware of the exploitative and antisocial character of the Bolshevik collective farms, the Ukrainian peasantry of Western Ukraine as is well known, is offering a firm resistance to the Bolshevik action.

aimed at collectivisation. The results of the mean, often merely brutal, methods by which the Bolsheviks try to compel the peasants to sign the declaration of accession to the collective farms, are very meagre.

The UPA and the revolutionary underground are widely supporting the West-Ukrainian peasantry in its fight against Bolshevik action aimed at collectivisation. Owing to that support, the West-Ukrainian peasantry has not yet been collectivised. The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement is carrying on its fight against the collective-farm system in Ukraine under the slogan: "Away with the collective farms! Soil for the peasants!"

OUR TRUST IN VICTORY

Dwelling on the question of the prospect of the revolutionary liberation fight of the Ukrainian people in the Ukrainian lands, the Head of the General Secretariat said:

"I am optimistic about the future. I believe, first of all, in the strength and perseverance of the vast masses of the Ukrainian people, in their high degree of patriotism. I also believe in the courage of Ukrainian insurgents and revolutionaries, in their underground, conspiratorial and fighting skill. Although the Russian-Bolshevik occupants have inflicted major casualties upon the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, they have been unable either to destroy our underground organisation or to undermine its force seriously; they have failed to achieve anything on the front of the ideological and political attack on the Ukrainian liberation movement in spite of the unscrupulous methods they have applied. The Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement continues to act in an organised manner. Large areas of the Ukrainian lands are covered with the underground network of the organisation. As far as the range of its action is concerned, the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement has not narrowed; on the contrary, it has considerably spread its influence on some territories. In many spheres of the fight it is taking a successful offensive. In their fight today the revolutionary cadres of the insurgents rely on the considerable fighting, conspiratorial, organisational, and political experience they have acquired during their four-year fight under conditions of Bolshevik rule and, particularly, on the experience acquired in their fight against the MVD and MGB.

"Having successfully repulsed much of the Bolshevik attack during the last four years, the Ukrainian people will be able to continue its fight. I am also hopeful that international developments will be favourable to the cause of our country's liberation."

"The task of the Ukrainian people at the present moment is to continue by every possible means the revolutionary fight it is carrying on today, and to develop it in all the Ukrainian lands and on a still larger scale. The Ukrainian people who have made such great

sacrifices in the liberation fight of recent years, who have shed so much blood for the realisation of their ideal, the independence of Ukraine, cannot relax the fight when the moment of its national liberation appears to approach. The Ukrainian people should unite more firmly than ever in the Ukrainian revolutionary movement headed by the UHVR, and face possible international complications with a yet more prompt readiness to make even the greatest sacrifices in the cause of gaining an Independent Ukrainian State, observing still stricter discipline, and with a still deeper consciousness of its responsibility for the future of Ukraine."

"Despite our immense sacrifices and great difficulties, we are striving firmly in the direction of freedom; we are hastening the day of our liberation by our continuous fight. Ukraine will be free!"

And with these words the Head of the General Secretariat of the UHVR, General Shukhevych-Chuprynka, ended his conversation with the representative of the Information Bureau of the UHVR

THE SHAME OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

BOLSHEVIST METHODS OF COMBATING THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENT IN THE PERIOD 1944-1946

A DOCUMENTARY REPORT*

INTRODUCTION

The Ukrainian people, whose fate it has been to live within the so-called USSR, has a more intimate knowledge of the reactionary and criminal character of Bolshevism than any other people in the world. For many years every day and every hour which the Ukrainian people has been forced to live within the borders of the Bolshevik imperium have made it realize the grim truth again and again namely that the Soviet Union is at present the most dreadful and biggest prison of peoples in the world in which the Russian Bolshevik imperialists ruthlessly subjugate scores of non-Russian peoples and that the USSR stands for the biggest system of exploitation in the world in which the newly created class of party magnates exploits millions of persons of the working classes millions of farmers workers and intellectuals, above all of the non-Russian peoples in an inhuman manner. Since 1920 every day and every hour which the Ukrainian people is obliged to languish under the conditions of the Bolshevik regime corroborate the bitter truth that in the USSR which is allegedly the most democratic state in the world in reality an absolute dictatorship of the Central Committee of the Communist Party alone prevails. The Ukrainian people is obliged to endure the satanic savage despotism of the Russian secret police a despotism which is even worse than the most ruthless dictatorship and cruellest terrorism ever heard of in the history of mankind. In the USSR democracy and the human dignity of the individual have been brutally trampled on. All those achievements which represent the progress of mankind and of which every citizen of the democratic states is nowadays so proud have been ridiculed and disparaged in the USSR.

The present fate which the Ukrainian people is obliged to endure obliges us to raise the question once more as to what Bolshevism is in reality and in practice. The policy pursued in post-war years by the Bolsheviks as regards the Ukrainian people and in particular their ruthless attacks against the Ukrainian national

* This report was first published in the clandestine press organ of the underground Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHSR) in Ukraine "Samos ymir" (Independence) Vol I No. 1 1946.

revolutionary liberation movement and against the entire Ukrainian people, who are striving to regain their independence, do not allow us to pass over this question in silence. The said policy has so far exceeded in violence and terrorism all that the Ukrainian people has hitherto suffered under Bolshevism.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION ORGANIZATIONS

After the downfall of the Russian imperium in 1917 and the collapse of the Dual Monarchy of Austria and Hungary in 1918, the Ukrainian people, who had already experienced its cultural and national political rebirth at the beginning of the 19th century (inasmuch as it asserted its desire for an independent state life), established its own state — the Ukrainian National Republic — at first in the territories of the Russian imperium and, subsequently, in all the Ukrainian ethnographical territories. But this independent state of the Ukrainian people was unable to hold its ground in an unequal armed fight on several fronts, above all against the Russian Bolshevik and against the Polish imperialists. Consequently, after the First World War, the Ukrainian people came under the oppressive rule of the Russians, Poles, Roumanians and Czechs. But even during the subsequent period of its occupation by these alien powers the Ukrainian people continued the fight for its national liberation in all its territories, and this struggle was carried on either in a parliamentary form, whenever this was possible, or as a fight for freedom waged by the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement. In the interval between the two world wars a number of national liberation organizations were formed in Ukraine. Under Russian Bolshevik occupation the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine" (SVU), the "Union of Ukrainian Youth" (SUM), the "Brotherhood of the Supporters of Ukrainian Independence" (BUD) and the "Ukrainian Military Organization" (UVO) developed considerable activity underground. Under Polish and Roumanian occupation the UVO, the "Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists" (OUN), as well as certain legal democratic parties, which had as their aim the independence of the Ukrainian people, were extremely active.

World War II was regarded by all Ukrainians as a new possibility which might lead to the realization of their national political ideals. But the events of this war developed in such a way that one occupant was immediately superseded by another occupant who was equally strong from the military point of view. And each one of them aimed to bring about the complete enslavement and physical extermination of the Ukrainian people. Thereupon the Ukrainian people took up arms in order to defend its rights of existence and assert its national

political aims Hence, during the period of German occupation in Ukraine the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), which comprised the best and most patriotic elements of the Ukrainian people — thousands of young Ukrainians, as well as thousands of Ukrainian men and women, was created

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which was directed by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), waged a partisan war against the German oppressors in Ukraine Since it had set itself the task of effecting the complete national and social liberation of the Ukrainian people, it was prepared to apply the same fighting methods not only against Hitler's armies but also against the imperialists of the Kremlin For the Russian Bolsheviks were once more preparing to assert their rule in Ukraine again and, in any case, they had been regarded by the Ukrainian people as its fiercest enemies since 1918 Together with other Ukrainian political organizations which advocated the independence of Ukraine, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army took up an armed and political fight against the Russian Bolsheviks, as soon as the latter invaded the Ukrainian territories from which Hitler's armies were retreating

It goes without saying that the Bolsheviks, since they are the greatest enemies of the liberation of peoples, immediately resolved to liquidate and ruthlessly crush by every possible means the revolutionary movement of the Ukrainian people which was striving to attain the independence of Ukraine Thus, since 1944, Ukraine has become the scene of excesses of tyranny and terrorism on the part of the Russian Bolshevik secret police The thought alone of the atrocities committed there is enough to make one's blood run cold And many of those who have been obliged to witness such atrocities have turned grey overnight From 1944 onwards up to the present day the hangmen of the secret police of the NKVD constantly carry out what can only be described as a dreadful vivisection on the living organism of the Ukrainian people, — namely an intentional, systematic and criminal physical extermination of this entire people

The fact alone that today, in the 20th century, that is to say in the century in which the principles of democracy, humanity and of the equality of rights of great and small peoples have gained the upper hand, thousands of the best sons of Ukraine have to die solely because like all other peoples they long to be free, is a disgrace and taint on the organism of mankind And the fact that they are forced to die in such a manner in a state which signed the statutes of the United Nations and that in this very same state in Europe a people numbering 40 million is being systematically exterminated, — all this must inevitably evoke the sentence of condemnation of world history

The methods to which the Russian Bolshevik occupants today resort in dealing with the Ukrainian national revolutionary liberation movement and with the entire Ukrainian people are likewise a

disgrace to our century These methods, which are equivalent to an abnegation of every form of progress, culture and humanity, are nothing but a large-scale depraved and cynical derision not only of the Ukrainian nation but also of all those achievements for which the noblest representatives of mankind fought and died throughout the centuries

This treatise is intended to give the reader a true insight into the methods adopted by the Russian Bolshevist intruders against the Ukrainian national liberation movement

IDEOLOGICAL FIGHT OF THE BOLSHEVIKS AGAINST THE UKRAINIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Since the Bolsheviks are well aware of the important part played by ideological, political and moral factors in the national liberation movement of the Ukrainian people, they seek to combat this movement in particular in the ideological sector

The following are some of the main methods to which the Russian Bolsheviks resort in this respect

a) the distortion and falsification of historical facts, a tendentious and unscientific representation of these historical facts,

b) the liquidation of all centres of Ukrainian free scientific study,

c) the destruction of all achievements of such centres which have been published in writing,

d) the application of moral terrorism against the representatives of such centres and, if they continue to put up a resistance, their physical extermination,

e) the dissemination of vile defamations directed against the present Ukrainian liberation movement,

f) the defamation of leaders of the Ukrainian national liberation movement by insidious lies

In the process of the national rebirth of the Ukrainian people it was precisely Ukrainian historical science which played an extremely important part Indeed it can rightly be affirmed that it was precisely Ukrainian historical science which was the decisive factor in arousing and moulding the national consciousness of the Ukrainian people and in shaping its aims for independence And it still plays this important part today This, incidentally, is a perfectly normal phenomenon Since historiography transmits the past and all that was noble heroic and patriotic in that past to the people, it serves to foster the feeling of national characteristic qualities, of national pride and patriotism in the nation, it points to examples of patriotic sacrifice which are worthy of emulation, and it teaches us how to avoid political errors These moral and political factors are of the utmost significance to the Ukrainian people since it is still obliged to fight for its national liberation Thus, it is hardly surprising that the imperialists of the

Kremlin, after having worked out a detailed plan by means of which to attack and overthrow the positions of the Ukrainian movement, decided in the first place to destroy Ukrainian historical science, that is to say all those values which Ukrainian historical science has developed and fostered

The favourite method applied by the Bolsheviks in combatting Ukrainian historical science is the false and tendentious interpretation of facts in the history of the Ukrainian people. Inasmuch as Bolshevik historiography allegedly uses the "Marxist" conception of the social classes in assessing political phenomena and facts, but in reality takes as its basis in this respect the principles of the old chauvinistic and imperialist "theories" of the tsarist historiography fostered under the tsars, it judges every historical figure and its activity according to one single criterion namely whether the historical personality or the historical event in question has contributed to the strengthening of the "union" or the "friendship" of the Ukrainian people with the "great Russian people," that is to say whether it suits imperialist Moscow to mention such personalities and events or not. Thus all truly patriotic events in the history of Ukraine (as for instance the fight of the Ukrainian people against Bolshevik aggression in the years 1918-1923) are completely passed over in silence, or else they are misrepresented in an infamous manner (as for example the entire policy of the Ukrainian "Central Rada" Government in 1917-1918) or they are branded as treachery and as a service in the interests of foreign powers

The greatest historical service rendered by the Ukrainian 17th century Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky from the point of view of Bolshevik historiography was the treaty of Pereyaslav concluded between him and the Tsar of Muscovy, Alexis, in 1654. Bolshevik historiography assesses this treaty as a "union" of Ukraine with Russia. In reality, however, the treaty of Pereyaslav was merely a political alliance such as is frequently made between two sovereign states — in this case between the independent Ukrainian Cossack republic and the Muscovite state. And this was how this treaty was interpreted by its originator, Bohdan Khmelnytsky, and as is clearly evident from historical documents, also by the entire Ukrainian people. The sole purpose of this treaty was the joint fight of Ukraine and Muscovy against Poland, but by no means a "union" of Ukraine with Russia. The theory of the alleged "union" of Ukraine with Russia on the strength of the treaty of Pereyaslav was invented by chauvinistic Russian historiography in order to prove that the Ukrainian people had always longed for a "union" with Russia. In this way proof was to be produced of the "exaggerated" Ukrainian aim for independence from Russia in order to establish a basis for the present role of enslaved Ukraine in the system of the USSR. Bolshevik historiography brands Hetman Mazepa (1687-1709), just as tsarist historiography also did, as a "traitor" to the Ukrainian people and as an alleged Swedish agent who served only the interests

of the Cossack upper class but not those of the entire Ukrainian people. History, however, shows us that Mazeppa only turned to the King of Sweden, Charles XII, for help in order to sever Ukraine from Russia and make it entirely independent of the Muscovite state. The Ukrainian "Central Rada" or Central Council, a revolutionary government which was set up by the Ukrainian people during the revolution in the Russian empire and which consisted of the noblest representatives of all social classes, is designated by the Bolsheviks as "merely an agency of German imperialism" and as "representative" of the interests of the Ukrainian "bourgeoisie."

In stressing such terms as "agent" or "treachery" or "representation of class interests," or in simply passing over historical facts in silence, the Bolsheviks try to bring discredit upon all that is truly patriotic and heroic in the history of the Ukrainian people in the eyes of the masses. They seek to bring discredit upon the idea of an independent Ukraine in order to put an end to the independence aims of the Ukrainian people and to destroy the feeling of national pride amongst the people of Ukraine. For the Russian Communists would like to transform the entire Ukrainian people into a silent herd of peasants without a will of their own, into a herd of "obscure Ivans without origin and without native country."

Incidentally, the Bolsheviks apply the same criteria in assessing Ukrainian literature and the history of Ukrainian culture in general.

THE DESTRUCTION OF CULTURAL VALUES

The new interpretation of the history of the Ukrainian people and of the history of Ukrainian literature which was already enforced by the Bolsheviks in general during the early years of their occupation of Ukraine, that is from 1920 onwards, was, however, by no means a guarantee that the educational national influence of these sciences on the Ukrainian people was completely eradicated. For the Ukrainian population possessed an extensive and manifold literature written in the spirit of the Ukrainian aim for independence. There were still numerous scholars in Ukraine and many of them were the founders of free Ukrainian scientific study who, with the voluntary support of the Ukrainian population, established centres of learning and developed their valuable research activity.

The Russian Bolshevik occupants, however, could not tolerate this state of affairs. In order to isolate the Ukrainian people completely from the educational national influence of free Ukrainian historical science, the Bolsheviks in the east territories of Ukraine put all textbooks and manuals dealing with the genuine history of Ukrainian literature, as well as all works which supported the independence aims of the Ukrainian people on the black list and destroyed them. They prohibited the teaching of Ukrainian history in the schools and in its place introduced instruction in the history of the peoples

of the USSR Ukrainian literature was in future only to be taught according to the official Bolshevik scheme Rigid control was now exerted over the so-called Academy of Science of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, and as far as social and political subjects were concerned it was transformed into one of the institutions of the administrative apparatus for propaganda and agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR By various methods (deportation, imprisonment or execution) scores of Ukrainian scholars (including the famous historian M Hrushevsky), who, in the name of scientific objectivity, ventured to express views which were not in keeping with the official Bolshevik course, were liquidated All those poets, writers and other representatives of Ukrainian culture who refused to betray their national traditions, convictions and ideals were exterminated The list of writers and poets alone who were liquidated on account of their views or their artistic activity in this connection is extremely long It includes over 60 of the most famous names And about 10 of the most outstanding historians were likewise liquidated Practically all the Ukrainian linguists, ethnographers and economists, etc, suffered the same tragic fate Since about 1930 a truly Ukrainian scientific study has ceased to exist in the eastern territories of Ukraine

Immediately after the Bolshevik occupation of West Ukraine in 1939 and in particular after the renewed occupation of the West Ukrainian territories in 1944, Ukrainian free scientific study here, too, was subjected to hitherto unheard-of persecution The "Scientific Shevchenko Society," which up to this time had been the most important centre of Ukrainian free scientific study in the Ukrainian territories, was transformed into a branch of the so-called Academy of Sciences of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, which is controlled by the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR By threatening them with deportation to Siberia and imprisonment the Bolsheviks forced the following professors of Ukrainian history at the University of Lviv (Lvov) — Krypyakevytch, Terletsky and Korduba — to abnegate their "erroneous," "bourgeois nationalist" views on the history of Ukraine They were forced to deny publicly all that they had held to be true in keeping with their conscience as genuine scholars and only to disseminate the views laid down by Bolshevik subversive propaganda The purpose of this Bolshevik campaign was twofold firstly, to disseminate false 'scientific theories,' which would have a harmful influence on the Ukrainian people, and to confuse and mislead the Ukrainians as to what was really the truth, and, secondly, to bring discredit upon those scholars who enjoyed a certain esteem and prestige amongst the people as scientific authorities It was the Bolsheviks' aim to demoralize the masses, to disintegrate them from the ideological, political point of view, and to break their resistance And this aim was to be achieved by the cunning method of drawing the attention of the public to the university professors, who, though they were learned men, were allegedly obliged to admit that they

had been in error as far as their ideas of an independent Ukraine were concerned. What then could the simple masses know of such ideas, so the Bolsheviks stressed! Since 1944 the Bolsheviks in West Ukraine have been systematically destroying all the historical, political and cultural literature which advocates the independence of Ukraine, as they previously did in East Ukraine. This literature has been confiscated not only in public but also in private libraries. And the punishment for concealing this type of literature is flogging, imprisonment, etc.

In this connection the fact must be borne in mind that such "methods" are applied by the Bolsheviks in the ideological sector of their fight against the Ukrainian liberation movement at a time when elsewhere in the world and in all the democratic states scientific study enjoys the greatest freedom; nowhere else in the world are scholars liquidated or persecuted on account of their scientific activity; nowhere else in the world are they compelled to disseminate "theories" which are enforced on them; nowhere else is scientific or any other kind of literature confiscated en masse, and nowhere else are people punished for reading the history of their nation.

THE DEFAMATORY CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT

A particularly fierce political propaganda campaign is conducted by the Bolsheviks for the purpose of political elimination of the organizations of the Ukrainian people which aim to establish an independent Ukraine, above all against the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera.*)

Since the Russian Bolshevik imperialists are not in a position to advance any serious argument against the national Ukrainian liberation movement which would really endanger the latter from the ideological and political point of view, they resort to the dissemination of insidious lies about the "agent activity" of this movement and about its alleged "henchman's service in the interests of Nazi Germany."

They persist in these lies particularly tenaciously in the case of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army. Only one fact in all their lies is true, — namely that the Ukrainian national liberation movement in general and these two organizations in particular, in defending the true interests of the Ukrainian people, are determined to fight for and attain the national political independence of the Ukrainian nation, regardless of whether this suits the plans of the antagonistic forces or not. The ranks of these organizations today comprise the best patriotic elements of the

*) Since murdered by Bohdan Stashynsky, an agent of the Soviet Russian security service (KGB), in Munich on October 15, 1959.

Ukrainian people and their highest commandment is "To win an independent Ukrainian state, or to lay down one's life in the struggle for it" And by countless deeds these patriotic elements give proof of their unswerving loyalty to this commandment These two organizations are subordinate to the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, that is to say to the supreme political leadership of the Ukrainian people This leadership, consisting of representatives of various Ukrainian political trends and groups, was set up by the Ukrainian people during the fight against the German forces

To talk about the "agent activity" of Ukrainian nationalism and its alleged collaboration with the Hitler regime, is to ignore in the most insolent manner four years of the heaviest and most heroic fight of the OUN on all Ukrainian territories against the Nazi occupants during the years 1941 to 1944, and is equivalent to attempting to eradicate from the annals of history four years of a fight in which the entire Ukrainian population participated They were four years of great heroism during which thousands and thousands of the noblest-minded Ukrainian patriots, together with the leaders of this movement, either laid down their lives or were imprisoned If one talks about the "agent activity" of the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement, one overlooks the fact that the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, which consisted of thousands of soldiers was organized, formed and hardened in the fight of this movement against the German occupation To the entire Ukrainian people and to the objective observer this is such an evident, undeniable reality that it surely needs no further explanation If one takes into consideration the fact that the entire Ukrainian people witnessed the fight of the UPA and the OUN against the Nazi invaders, took part in this fight itself and wholeheartedly supported it, one cannot help being amazed that the Bolsheviks, who themselves are well aware of this fact, have the insolence and audacity to talk about the collaboration of the UPA and OUN with the Hitler regime Only Russian Bolshevik occupants, who are incapable of finding any other serious and convincing political argument against those organizations could think of resorting to such an allegation

What has prompted the Bolsheviks to resort to such a lie, which after all only compromises them, and how do they apply this lie in practice in their fight against the Ukrainian revolutionary movement?

In the first place the Bolsheviks have resorted to the lie about the 'collaboration' of the UPA and OUN with the Nazis because for formal reasons and in view of the real longing of the Ukrainian masses, they cannot deny the fundamental idea of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, namely the idea of an independent Ukrainian state That would be contrary to their "principles" and from their point of view "unpolitical" In addition, they have also had to find at least some fictitious "political" argument for the continuation of their fight against the revolutionary movement

Hence, in resorting to an infamous lie, they have invented the 'argument' about collaboration" in order to ridicule the idea of an independent Ukrainian state as an exaggeration and obsession in the eyes of the masses

Whilst the Bolsheviks on the one hand cannot deny the formal right of the Ukrainian people to a state of its own, they endeavour on the other hand in contradiction to various facts and sound common sense, to convince the Ukrainian people that the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is an independent, united state of the Ukrainian people. For what kind of an independent Ukraine can the Ukrainian people fight? the occupant asks insolently, and his agents repeat this question. The idea of an independent Ukraine, as interpreted by the Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents, is nothing but a cloak worn by the leaders of the Ukrainian underground in order to conceal their henchman's service for payment in German marks in the interests of the Nazis' so the occupant adds. The purpose of this lie about the collaboration of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR) and of the UPA and OUN with 'foreign intelligence services' is manifold

a) to circulate a lie about the collaboration of the leaders of the Ukrainian national revolutionary liberation movement with foreign powers, some of whom are even hostile in their attitude towards Ukraine

b) in this way to arouse distrust in the ranks of those who advocate Ukrainian independence,

c) to misrepresent the revolutionary fight for an independent Ukraine as agent activity,

d) to separate the masses of the movement from their leaders

e) to convince these masses that the so-called Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is allegedly an independent state of the Ukrainian people and lastly,

f) to break down their resistance and thus put an end to the national revolutionary fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people which constitutes a grave danger to the Bolsheviks

In this way they hope to continue unhindered their criminal policy which aims to destroy the entire Ukrainian people until they attain ultimate success. This insidious trick is by no means new as far as the relations of the Ukrainian people to imperialist Russia in the course of the centuries are concerned. Indeed these tactics are old ones and must inevitably appear particularly hypocritical and infamous to everyone even to persons who are politically ignorant for they are typically Bolshevik tactics

The Bolsheviks also persist in circulating false rumours to the effect that the Ukrainian national revolutionary liberation movement aims to re-introduce a capitalist order of society with big landowners in an independent Ukrainian state

Contradictory to these allegations, however, the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement has always stressed most emphatically, and continues to do so, that it is opposed to the revival of the old feudal, capitalist social order in the future Ukrainian state. The Ukrainian national revolutionary liberation movement has always emphasized that it is fighting for the introduction of a new social order which will make the exploitation of the individual, either by some other person or by the state, impossible. This is perfectly obvious from the "platform" of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council which was adopted in July 1944, as well as from the "programme resolutions" which were drawn up by the 3rd Congress of the OUN in 1943. It is also proved by countless measures which the OUN has carried out in the course of the social and political campaign of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement. This, however, does not deter the Bolshevik liars from affirming that the Ukrainian national revolutionary movement is active "in the interests of the big landowners and capitalists" and that it manifests a hostile attitude towards the Ukrainian working classes. In order to bring discredit upon the Ukrainian revolutionary movement the Bolsheviks, as already mentioned above, spread infamous and false rumours about the individual leaders of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Their abominable attacks are directed against practically every prominent representative of the Ukrainian political emigrants in the revolutionary camp, as well as against all the esteemed representatives of the Ukrainian underground movement in the Ukrainian territories.

As an example of the infamous methods of which the Bolsheviks are capable we should like to quote the Bolshevik interpretation of an incident in the life of the leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera. On account of his revolutionary activity the Nazis already arrested Stepan Bandera in 1941, that is immediately after the outbreak of the German-Russian war. He was then interned in the German concentration camp Sachsenhausen-Oranienburg until October 1944. This fact alone is surely proof that the OUN never in any way collaborated with the Germans. But in order to deprive the Ukrainian underground movement of this argument and to bring disrepute upon a prominent representative of the Ukrainian liberation movement (and Stepan Bandera always enjoyed the greatest esteem amongst the Ukrainian masses), the Bolsheviks hit upon the following trick. *Manuisky, the so-called Foreign Minister of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, had the audacity to affirm in a speech which he held at a teachers' congress in Lviv on May 5, 1945, that "the Germans apparently arrested Bandera at his own wish". According to this statement, Bandera himself gave his consent to this arrest and imprisonment. This allegation is an unparalleled example of cynicism. And not only the entire Ukrainian people were of this opinion but the originator of this defamation was also well aware of this fact. When he tried to refute a statement made by the Greek delegate in*

the Security Council to the effect that the Greek trade unions had been dissolved at the wish of the Greek workers themselves, Manuilsky described this statement as "a piece of insolence on the part of the Greek monarchists, who are of the opinion that one must believe their ridiculous talk at any price" and said that "such sarcastic statements as this are an insult to the Security Council" (Radzanska Ukrayina' of September 10, 1946) But be that as it may The execrable and criminal nature of all the ideological and political methods used by the Bolsheviki in their fight against the Ukrainian national liberation movement is most glaringly reflected in the fact that they endeavour to circulate their lies, which are intended to poison the soul of the Ukrainian people, among the masses through the media provided by the contemporary modern state For well over thirty years the Bolsheviki, at the cost of the Ukrainian population, have in the Ukrainian territories maintained an army of thousands of propagandists and agitators, have been publishing hundreds of periodicals, building broadcasting stations and producing films, solely with one aim in mind, namely, to lull the suspicions of the Ukrainian people and to paralyse, depreciate and publicly ridicule all that is sacred to the people In this way the Bolsheviki intend to train the Ukrainian people to become obedient slaves of the Kremlin imperialists By comparison the Ukrainian national liberation movement, which is obliged to carry on its activity underground, only has relatively few technical means at its disposal in order to expose the Bolshevist lies to the masses

The large-scale political subversive activity of the Bolsheviki has become particularly obtrusive during recent years

As an example of the so-called mass-campaign amongst the Ukrainian population as practised and defined by the Bolsheviki we should like to quote the following extract from a secret resolution adopted at the plenary session of the Volhynia regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine on October 3 1944

4) The main task of this activity amongst the masses in the provinces shall in the near future consist in enlightening the masses everywhere on the fact that the sovereignty of our state was only achieved by the Ukrainian people under the leadership of the Bolshevist party and only with the active help of the great Russian people our brother In addition the people must be constantly enlightened on the fact that Ukraine is now truly free and independent and that it can only exist in the brotherhood of the family of the peoples of the mighty Soviet Union

The attention of the people must constantly be drawn to the fact that all such persons as Symon Petlura Konovalts and their like only invited the German imperialists to Ukraine in order to enslave the Ukrainian people and abandon it to the German overlords and capitalists It must also be emphasized that people like Bandera Melnyk and other OUN adherents supported and still support the

German fascists and that they helped and are still helping the Germans, the arch-enemies of the Ukrainians, to destroy and exterminate the Ukrainian people

"It is imperative that the political campaign amongst the masses should expose the provocative and mendacious nature of the watchword of the Ukrainian-German nationalists — 'For a free and independent Ukraine' On the strength of the constitution of Soviet Ukraine the population must be enlightened on the fact that the Ukrainian people has already attained its freedom and its sovereign rights under the leadership of the Bolshevik party and that the Ukrainian territories have been united in a great and sovereign state, whereas the Ukrainian-German nationalists of the Bandera and Melnyk clique, as well as other OUN members, are waging a fight against the Ukrainian people by no means for a 'free and independent Ukraine' but for a Ukraine ruled by the big landowners and the capitalists, for the enslavement of Ukraine by the German fascists, and for the transformation of the Ukrainian people into German slaves

"In explaining the history of Ukraine it is essential to emphasize the fact that attempts are made to misrepresent this history in a nationalist light The real heroes of the Ukrainian people, such as Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Bohun, Kryvonis, Semen Paliy, Ustym Karmaliuk, Parkhomenko, Shchors, Kovpak, Oleh Koshovy and others, must be popularized, and the treacherous and anti-national activity of Mazeppa and other traitors must be exposed and branded

"14) The plenary session of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine draws the attention of the Party organizations to the fact that the political campaign amongst the masses shall set itself the following tasks as its ultimate aim the dissolution of nationalist cliques, the training of the masses to hatred against the German-Ukrainian bandits, and inclusion of the entire population in the active and ruthless fight against these bandits "

As can be seen from the above resolution, the scope of the political deception of the masses includes not only "current" lies about the revolutionary fight of the Ukrainian people (which still continues) but also all academic questions, as it were, of the history of the Ukrainian people But these questions are not brought up in order to explain them in the light of historical truth, or to broaden the historical knowledge of the people, or to further the latter's national and political training, but solely for the purpose demanded by the said "resolution," namely to falsify the truth, to ridicule historical tradition, and in this way to undermine and demoralize national feeling

The main emphasis in this Bolshevik propaganda campaign amongst the Ukrainian masses is on the allegation that the "mighty Soviet Union is invincible" and that its "invincible Red Army possesses the most progressive war technique in the world," for which reason the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people is futile and hopeless

"Against whom do you want to wage war? Against the Soviet Union?" a Bolshevik agitator asks the Ukrainian farmers in broken Ukrainian "You must bear in mind that the Soviet Union today occupies half Europe and that the Red Army has defeated the mightiest army in the world, which was organized by Hitler. We have many thousands of tanks and planes, as well as armies numbering millions of soldiers at our disposal. At present we dictate to the whole world. What have you to offer against all this? A few machine-guns and rifles! We shall kill you all off like mice. Against whom are you venturing to wage a war? There will not be a trace of you left after one or two days!" The average dull-witted Bolshevik agitator is quite content to use such and similar arguments. In any case, it is much easier to threaten the Ukrainian people than to convince it of the wrongness of its aims and aspirations. Hence the threats about tanks and planes and the "invincible" Red Army. And the dull-witted and equally conceited Russian soldier, who is obsessed by ideological fanaticism and what is allegedly the most just idea in the whole world, threatens with his armed fist. This is indeed entirely in keeping with Russian tradition and Russian insolence. And that is how the Ukrainian farmer interprets the Russian Bolshevik propaganda campaign.

Incidentally, the fact must be stressed that the Bolsheviks always resort to force when spreading these poisonous lies, they force the population to attend the propaganda meetings and to view propaganda films, regardless of whether the population wishes to do so or not, and they overwhelm the people with propaganda literature, agitatory pamphlets, and false press rumours, etc.

In order to circulate the vilest lies which the world has ever heard and to terrorize the Ukrainian people, the Bolsheviks on the one hand mobilize every means of propaganda which the terrorist dictatorial regime has at its disposal. On the other hand, in order to withhold the truth from the Ukrainian people, the Bolsheviks liquidate Ukrainian scholars, destroy Ukrainian free scientific study and eliminate it from all educational institutions, and impose cruel penalties for every word that is spoken in defence of the truth. In short, all those who actively support and defend the truth are ruthlessly deprived of their freedom and even of their life.

Such are the fighting methods of the Bolshevik usurpers against the ideological and political principles of the Ukrainian liberation movement and against the moral values of the Ukrainian people. Hundreds of years ago the civilized world already branded such fighting methods as infamous, mendacious, anti-national and reactionary.

In their efforts to disparage and discredit the Ukrainian national liberation movement the Bolsheviks do not confine themselves solely to propaganda and to "theoretical" arguments. For the same purpose they also resort — above all with the aid of the secret police — to more concrete more forceful and "more effective" means, with which we shall however, deal later on.

THE ARMED CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE LIBERATION MOVEMENT AND THE PEOPLE

In addition to the Bolshevik political propaganda campaign against the ideological principles of the Ukrainian national liberation movement, the Soviet Russians have also organized a terrorist and armed campaign against all the organizations in the Ukrainian territories which advocate the independence of Ukraine. These organizations are, above all, the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council (UHVR), the UPA and the OUN, in short, this terrorism is directed against the entire Ukrainian people who sympathises with and supports this fight for freedom.

Since it was unable to gain the upper hand over the revolutionary fight waged by the Ukrainian people, the Soviet Russian secret police (which in the course of time has constantly changed its name, from NKVD to NKGB, MVD and MGB*), in addition to its own police troops, also resorted to the use of troops of the Soviet Army, with their entire equipment, such as, for instance, heavy machine-guns, trench mortars, artillery, tanks, aircraft of every type, searchlights, armoured cars and, very frequently, armoured trains. The fight of the Bolshevik secret police and of the troops of the Red Army against the UPA detachments and other armed units of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement on numerous occasions assumed the form of large-scale modern front operations, in which all troops and types of arms took part either directly or indirectly. The UPA detachments, on the other hand, only used the lightest types of infantry arms (mainly rifles and automatic and light machine-guns).

During the encirclement offensive which began on April 15, 1945 in the Eastern Carpathian Mountains and was directed against the Ukrainian underground army, operations were carried out not only by the special troops of the secret police, the regular defence reserves of the individual districts and bases in this territory, and the so called "annihilation battalions" but also by a division of front-line units of the Red Army with its complete equipment: heavy machine-guns, artillery and armoured cars. For days on end reconnaissance planes flew over the villages and mountains in this territory and dropped incendiary and explosive bombs and fired machine-guns on peaceful settlements. 112 harmless Ukrainian inhabitants were killed in this way.

During wartime operations between the Soviet Army and the German troops on the Kovel-Strypa front in Volhynia the Bolsheviks threw in several divisions against the Ukrainian underground movement in the months from March to July 1944. These armed clashes

*) At present KGB Editor's note

reached their height in a fierce battle at Hurby on April 24, 1944. In order to break through the lines of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, the Bolsheviks threw in a large number of tanks and planes.

Infantry and tank units of the Soviet Army, which were supported in their operations by artillery and aircraft, took part in the encirclement offensive launched against the villages and forest regions of the triangle Yaniv-Zhovkva-Yavoriv (Lviv region, West Ukraine) in June 1945.

On September 17th and 18th, 1945, an entire regiment of the Soviet Army from the town of Volodymyr Volynsky attacked the area known as the forest of Zavadiv (in Volhynia) and for two whole days this area was under heavy artillery fire *).

On the whole, the following numerical proportion is characteristic of the revolutionary fight of the Ukrainian people against the Russian Bolshevik occupants on the Bolshevik side, numerous detachments of the NKVD numbering many thousands of soldiers various special detachments that have been specially trained to fight against partisans, and entire divisions of Red Army troops trained for front-line service, with their complete war-material and their superior technique and, in addition, commanded by experienced generals more-over, these huge forces are protected by the hinterland, that is to say by the whole USSR. On the side of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement, on the other hand, only some thousand young Ukrainians, inspired by patriotism, who yesterday were still schoolboys, and a number of trained insurgents, whose sole arms are rifles, hand-grenades and revolvers. These arms are by no means uniform in type and they are always distributed in such a way that those who are given a hand-grenade or a revolver do not receive a rifle. These insurgents number but some thousands, and those in command of them are usually persons who until recently were schoolboys, farm labourers, or industrial workers and have acquired their qualifications not by any military training but in the fire of direct combat. The partisan detachments possess no military bases nor have they adequate equipment, food supplies and a hinterland. They are obliged to fight at a time when their enemy is no longer engaged in an external war and so is no longer hampered in his actions. Neither can they count on the least help from the outside world. The disproportion of numerical strength on both sides is enormous. The only factor which is an equivalent for the immense superiority of strength of the enemy is the unswerving and unshaken faith of the Ukrainian insurgents in the justice of the cause for which they are fighting.

Concentration of greatly superior forces in manpower and technical means is one of the fighting methods resorted to by the Bolsheviks against the Ukrainian underground movement. But even

*) In view of the task and aim which we have set ourselves we consider it appropriate here and henceforth to illustrate our statements solely by quoting certain typical cases — Editor's note, 1st edition

though the Bolsheviks have inflicted heavy losses as regards human life on the underground fighters and on the UPA by applying these tactics, they have not been able to achieve their ultimate aim — the complete annihilation of the Ukrainian underground movement. For in spite of all the large-scale Bolshevik campaigns, that is to say in the encirclement offensives, in which scores of divisions of the Soviet Army took part, it has been impossible to defeat the UPA and the OUN (in view of the specific attendant circumstances of the Bolshevik regime all the OUN members are armed), mainly thanks to their masterly application of partisan warfare tactics and to the support of the Ukrainian population.

SCORCHED EARTH POLICY AND RESETTLEMENT OF THE POPULATION

When the method applied hitherto proved to be less "effective," the NKVD executioners hit upon other, more barbarous and far more criminal "methods." In their fight against the UPA the Bolsheviks set fire to vast tracts of forest-land in those regions in which they expected to encounter a large concentration of UPA forces. They had already applied these tactics in previous years but more or less only sporadically and in individual cases. By means of this barbaric action the Bolsheviks wanted to force the UPA detachments and individual groups of the underground fighters to leave the forests and by attacking them on open terrain, thus make it easier for them to fight the insurgents.

The forest fires started by the Bolsheviks in numerous districts were planned in different ways according to circumstances. Frequently only tracts of forests were destroyed in which the presence of Ukrainian UPA men was suspected. At the same time, sentries were posted along all the adjoining clearings and paths. It was their task to shoot all insurgents who tried to escape out of that part of the forest that was on fire. As a rule the fire spread to the entire forest. The forests were either set on fire by the NKVD units operating there, or else were bombed by planes. Sometimes the NKVD entrusted this task to its secret collaborators.

In the spring of 1946 practically all the vast pine-forests in the region of Kovel (including the whole of the forest of Tsuman) and in the northeast part of the region of Lviv (in the immediate vicinity of Sokal, Rava, Radekhiv and Brody), stretching over dozens of miles in a fairly densely populated region, the forests surrounding the town of Stanyslaviv and numerous smaller tracts of forest land were completely destroyed by fire.

In addition, much woodland along the railways, highways and other important communication routes in the operational terrain of the UPA were either felled or burnt out by the Bolsheviks in 1944 in order to set up observation posts against the insurgents.

The material loss to the country as a result of these measures was enormous. Over 3,600 acres of the Lopatyn-Hrytsevolya forests (in the Lviv region) were burnt out. And between Toporiv and Triytsia (in the same region) 9,000 acres of forest land were destroyed by fire. This method of destruction was applied by the Bolsheviks at a time when the forests in Ukraine, which in any case is one of the poorest countries of Europe as regards forest land, had already been sadly depleted by the events of the war and as a result of Bolshevik predatory exploitation.

But the Bolsheviks did not confine themselves solely to the destruction of forests. In numerous cases they also set fire to villages and hamlets, as well as to individual houses situated in or on the edge of forests. Thus the following villages were, for instance, destroyed by fire: Volytsia Radvanetska, Kutu near Triytsia Lisovi near Toporiv, and Dobrolivka near Shehurovychi (in the region of Lviv).

In order to render contact between the UPA, the revolutionary underground movement and the Ukrainian population difficult, the Bolsheviks forced the latter to leave the villages and hamlets that were situated close to forests and in most cases destroyed them by fire.

In the region of Morochna in Volhynia, for example, the peasants were evicted from all the hamlets by the NKVD. Epidemics and infectious diseases then broke out in many cases amongst the expellees who were now forced to share a house elsewhere with several other families.

At the beginning of 1946 the inhabitants in the district of Zhuravno in the region of Drohobych were evicted from the following estates and hamlets: Luchky and Partselyatsiia near the village of Novoshyn Zabuhay and Kovbasa near the village of Kotoryny, Vilshanytsia near the village of Monastyrets, Filvarky and Zapodryny near the village of Buyaniv Lisnychivka near Chertizh and Partselyatsiia near Korchivka.

METHODS OF BACTERIOLOGICAL WARFARE

In addition to the destruction of forest land and the eviction of the peasants from estates and villages in the vicinity of forests, the Bolsheviks also resorted to the criminal method of bacteriological warfare in their fight against the UPA and the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement.

In July 1946, for instance, the NKVD in Volhynia distributed quantities of poison amongst its secret co-workers and instructed them to murder UPA fighters and members of the OUN by putting this poison into the water and food supplies. In the spring of 1946 the NKVD in the district of Stanyslaviv, on learning that the UPA was purchasing injections on the black market in order to prevent a

typhoid epidemic, supplied this market with specially prepared poisonous injections which were so strong that the victims died within a couple of hours after dreadful agony. Fortunately, the doctors of the UPA discovered this criminal Bolshevik plot, but only after a number of insurgents had died as a result of having been given the injections in question.

At the same time, that is to say in the spring of 1946, numerous prisoners who were suffering from typhoid fever were intentionally released from concentration camps in the region of Stanyslaviv by the NKVD so that they would infect the population and thus also the UPA and the underground fighters. In addition, the Bolsheviks also sent special agents, who posed as escaped prisoners from camps, as beggars or fortune-tellers, to individual villages, they had instructions to visit houses and villages on the edge of forests and leave microbes in the form of typhus lice there. Since the UPA fighters frequently sought refuge in such remote spots, the Bolsheviks hoped that they would in this way contract typhus. For the same reason the Bolsheviks also decided to stop all measures to combat the typhus epidemic which was raging at that time in certain parts of Ukraine, for they hoped that in this way the epidemic would also spread to the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement. According to the Bolsheviks' plans the insurgents would contract typhus from the population and the UPA would thus be decimated. In the districts of Kalush and Dolyna in the region of Stanyslaviv, for example, the UPA was obliged to combat the epidemic amongst the population by resorting to its own measures, above all by inoculation. In spite of the fact that bacteriological warfare is prohibited by international law and that no army, not even Hitler's army during World War II, ever dared to resort to such criminal methods, the Bolsheviks had no scruples about using bacteriological warfare in their fight against the UPA.

In this connection we should also like to mention that the Bolsheviks usually used explosive bullets in their fight against the UPA and the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement, in spite of the fact that this type of ammunition is prohibited by the international conventions on warfare.

Since the Russian Bolshevik occupants were well aware that the most favourable terrain for partisan activity in West Ukraine is the mountainous region of the Carpathians (that is, if food supplies there are ensured), they decided to prevent insurgent action there by artificially creating famines. The Red Russians carried out their plan in this respect in the following manner: in the first place, they forcibly deprived the population of the poor crops which this infertile region yields, since they assumed that if the inhabitants themselves had nothing to eat, they would not be able to give the insurgents anything. At the same time, they issued orders prohibiting the inhabitants from buying grain in other places. The people of the

Carpathian region, who have always had to eke out a meagre existence and at present are burdened with exorbitantly high quotas, compulsory "loans" and taxes, are more or less obliged to live solely on potatoes, and as regards this food, too, the amount which they may consume is calculated beforehand. In addition, the various district committees issue new orders every year prohibiting the purchase of grain and also the conveying of grain to the mountain districts.

The Russians thus organized a systematic hunger blockade, which lasted for years, in the Carpathians. The purpose of this artificially created famine was to force the UPA detachments to withdraw from the Carpathian regions.

The same type of hunger blockade was also organized by the Russians in the region of Polissia on the Prypyat (Pripiet) River, which is likewise a favourable terrain for UPA operations.

TORTURES INFLICTED ON INSURGENTS

At this point we should like to stress explicitly that the members of the UPA and the OUN on the whole do not allow themselves to be taken prisoner. If their situation is hopeless they either shoot themselves or kill themselves with hand-grenades to avoid being captured alive by the enemy.

This attitude on the part of the members of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement is based above all, on their ideological principles, their ideals and their unswerving patriotism but at the same time it is also inevitable in view of the dreadful tortures inflicted on revolutionaries who are captured by the Russian Bolsheviks. There are of course, exceptions namely cases where wounded insurgents are taken by surprise by the enemy, or where they have been deprived of their means of fighting and are thus physically unable to put an end to their life. If they are not shot on the spot by the Bolsheviks they are held in Bolshevik captivity. We only intend to refer to such cases briefly however, at this point.

All the insurgents and revolutionaries who are captured by the Russians are subjected to rigorous interrogations by the NKVD security police. And these interrogations are in reality nothing but a dreadful form of physical torture. We do not intend to go into details as regards the usual treatment in this respect, such as interrogations lasting for months, the various methods of depriving prisoners of sleep, intimidation, moral coercion and terrorism, less serious physical ill-treatment etc. In order to obtain information about the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement the Russian NKVD sadists resort to every inhuman measure imaginable they torture the prisoner with red-hot iron bars they skin him alive.

and tear out hair and his nails, they cut off the genitals of male prisoners and the breasts of female prisoners. They crucify prisoners and hang them in such a way that they do not die immediately, twist their fingers and toes, stab them in the back, and, in order to increase their agony still more, put brands in their wounds.

On May 9, 1945, the Bolsheviks killed an insurgent in the village of Nadorozhna near Otyniya, in the region of Stanyslaviv, and dragged another insurgent, whom they had captured in a field, into the village and tortured and maltreated him before the eyes of all the inhabitants until he dropped dead.

On August 11, 1945, NKVD men in the course of a surprise attack captured two insurgents in the village of Kobyn in the region of Chernivtsi. They dragged the two insurgents to the village of Drazhnytsia, where they then proceeded to torture them for hours on end. Since the insurgents remained loyal to their oath and refused to divulge any information, the NKVD men rounded up some of the oldest inhabitants of the village and in their presence then cut off the insurgents' genitals. They then tossed the two prisoners onto a dung-heap, where they died in dreadful agony.

On October 8, 1945, NKVD men in the village of Staryy Hvizdets near Horodenka, in the region of Stanyslaviv, took Vasyl Medvedyk and his son, who were collaborating with the UPA, by surprise. In the course of the interrogation which followed, they cut a cross in the flesh of the father's back.

On November 16, 1945, the Bolsheviks captured two insurgents in the village of Stetseva (in the district of Kolomyia). They cut the sign of the Ukrainian trident in the forehead of one of the insurgents.

During the large-scale encirclement operations in the Eastern Carpathians in May 1945 the NKVD men resorted to particularly sadistic treatment when dealing with prisoners, in the course of the interrogations they pulled the skin off the prisoners' hands, tore out their finger-nails and toe-nails, stabbed them in the face with bayonets, broke their bones, knocked their teeth out, and pushed cartridges up their noses. All these tortures were carried out before the eyes of the local inhabitants who were forced to be present and to look on. Many of the women who witnessed these dreadful scenes turned mad.

On March 15, 1946, the Bolsheviks captured two young insurgents in the village of Pidpechary in the district of Stanyslaviv, — Yaroslav Stefaniv, aged 20, and Vasyl Lohaza, aged 19. Orders were immediately given that they were to be interrogated. Since they remained loyal to their oath and refused to betray military and underground secrets, they were tortured in the most dreadful manner their genitals were cut off and their naked bodies were then branded with hot iron. They were subsequently dragged through the town and thrown into the river, where they drowned.

The Bolsheviks very often shot the UPA fighters whom they had captured on the spot, that is to say at the scene of the combat.

On November 6, 1946 for instance, they shot a UPA infantry-man who came from East Ukraine, in the village of Kolodiyivka in the district of Stanyslaviv

On December 27, 1946, they shot the UPA infantry-man Pavlo Slobodian at the scene of combat in the village of Pidpechary

On December 15, 1946, the Bolsheviks murdered a UPA infantry-man by the name of Dmytro Olynyk in the village of Dobrivlyany (in the district of Stanyslaviv), where a combat took place

During 1944 and 1945 the Bolsheviks were in the habit of publicly hanging UPA fighters and underground revolutionaries en masse

From March to July 1945 hanging was carried out on such a large scale in those regions of West Ukraine which were already a base of the Bolshevik front that there was hardly a village or a town in which one of these mass-executions had not taken place. In some districts the bodies of insurgents of the UPA could be seen hanging on every telegraph pole along the highway for about a mile (as for instance in the village of Myshkovychi near Mykulyntsi, in the region of Ternopil)

In order to intimidate the Ukrainian inhabitants and to make them afraid of cooperating with the Ukrainian underground movement, the Bolsheviks in the spring of 1945 began to resort to the method of public mass-hanging of UPA soldiers in the rayon (district) centres and other large towns. Executions of this kind took place in Berezhany, Chortkiv (Ternopil region) Strilyska Nova (Drohobych region), Bibrka (Lviv region), in the town of Korets (Rivne region), as well as in many other large and small towns of West Ukraine

All those insurgents and underground fighters captured by the Bolsheviks who survived the tortures inflicted on them by the NKVD and whose spirit the Bolsheviks failed to break were sentenced by the Bolshevik "people's courts to long terms of imprisonment of at least 20 years which usually meant deportation to Siberia and internment in a concentration camp. After a few years in one of these camps the prisoner was bound to die. Deportation of political prisoners under the tsarist regime was child's play compared to the Bolshevik methods in this respect. The Russian "socialists" have indeed surpassed their tsarist reactionary predecessors!

As already mentioned, the Bolsheviks inflict savage tortures on the captured UPA fighters in order to force them to betray military and underground secrets. They seek to break the morale of the UPA soldiers, to rob them of their human dignity and thus bring about their complete spiritual collapse. The Bolshevik hangmen endeavour to force the UPA fighters and revolutionaries whom they have taken prisoner to divulge information about the bases of the UPA detachments, about their commanders and fellow-fighters about the food supplies of other insurgents with whom they were in contact as well as about their families and about all persons whom they know to have been connected with the UPA and the underground movement in general. In addition, the Bolsheviks force the prisoners

to appear in public at mass meetings, especially at meetings of persons whom they know from their activity in the UPA. On such occasions the captive UPA soldiers are compelled, at the orders of the Bolsheviks, to make public statements to the effect that they condemn the fight they have formerly carried on for an independent Ukraine, that they admit their "mistakes" and are "grateful" to the Soviet government for having given them a chance to return "to peaceful work." When confronted by the NKVD with such alternatives, some of the prisoners break down and become the voluntary tool of the NKVD men. Very often, these prisoners, whose spirit and morale have been broken by NKVD terrorism, later come to their senses and, finding life unbearable, then usually commit suicide.

An insurgent, for instance, who had been taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks was brought to the village of Boratyn near Zabolotts, in the region of Lviv, on January 4, 1946. When the Bolsheviks tried to force him to show them the grain depot of the UPA, he felt that he could not betray the UPA and so he committed suicide by jumping into a well.

There have been numerous cases in which insurgents who had been taken prisoner have realized the tragedy of their position and, driven to the depths of despair, have snatched weapons from their NKVD guards in order to commit suicide, or, for instance, some sharp object for the purpose of cutting their throats or an artery, in order to redeem their honour in the eyes of their fellow-men and, above all, their honour as a UPA fighter.

By resorting to such methods, the purpose of which is to bring about the moral collapse of the fighters of the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement by means of a terrorism unparalleled in history, the Bolsheviks are pursuing a twofold aim namely, not only to combat the said movement, but also to undermine the morale of the Ukrainian people and, in fact, demoralize them by pointing out that these insurgents allegedly repeat all they know like parrots. "Such is the character of all these insurgents" that 'we shall soon be able to liquidate the entire underground movement.' On the one hand, the Bolsheviks publicly make these false assertions, but, on the other hand, they completely conceal the fact that the Ukrainian underground movement has thousands and thousands of heroic deeds to its credit they distort all these true facts and, resorting to all the propagandist means at their disposal, spread the story of occasional and usually very insignificant case in which a UPA fighter has broken down under the indescribable terrorism inflicted on him. Only the Bolsheviks are capable of such methods, which aim to mislead and confuse the Ukrainian people and fill them with a sense of hopelessness. After having obtained information about the Ukrainian underground movement from insurgents whom they have terrorised and morally broken, the Bolsheviks usually (in fact, in most cases) shoot the latter or else sentence them to long terms of imprisonment.

To quote one such case: on January 7, 1946, the Bolsheviks shot the former UPA fighter Vasyl Zubyak in Kolodiyivka, in the region of Stanyslaviv, after he had been terrorized and morally broken to such an extent that he gave them information about the insurgents in certain secret hiding-places that he knew.

In 1945 the Bolsheviks began to organize insurgents whose morale they had broken in special so-called provocation detachments. These special detachments were under the command of NKVD officers and were used to fight the Ukrainian resistance movement as a whole. But we shall deal with this question in more detail later.

TORTURES INFLICTED ON THE WOUNDED AND FALSIFICATION OF THEIR "REPENTANCE STATEMENTS"

Wounded UPA soldiers are treated in exactly the same way by the Bolshevik hangmen as the UPA fighters who are taken prisoner.

In the majority of cases wounded and captured insurgents are shot on the spot, namely at the scene of combat, by the Bolsheviks

During a surprise attack on the village of Yamnytsia in the district of Stanyslaviv, for instance, the Bolsheviks captured a UPA infantryman who had been wounded. They pretended they were going to release him but then killed him on the spot by shooting him in the back.

On May 27, 1945, in the same village these Bolshevik monsters stabbed a UPA soldier, who had been wounded and captured by them, to death with their bayonets

During a fierce combat between UPA detachments and Bolsheviks near Hurby (in the region of Rivne in Volhynia) on April 25, 1945, the Bolsheviks murdered 100 insurgents who had been wounded and 200 other persons who had joined the UPA as members but who were not armed

On March 5, 1946, the Bolsheviks seriously wounded Fedir Leoniak in the forest near Ispas, Kolomyia (in the region of Stanyslaviv) They then beat him to death with the butts of their rifles

On January 31, 1946, the Bolsheviks captured 3 female nurses of the UPA and 2 insurgents who were ill UPA infantryman Khmil and a nurse of the name of Varka promptly told the Bolsheviks that they would not divulge any information about the Ukrainian underground movement to them. They were thereupon both shot on the spot. The others were taken to the Bolsheviks' barracks and immediately interrogated. One of the nurses refused to say anything

during her interrogation and was therefore tortured by the Bolsheviks in a most bestial manner they broke her hands and her ribs with a heavy metal bar and then shot her. The execution of the other nurses was carried out by Lieutenant Leshchov, a co-worker of the Russian security police unit stationed in Kolomyia. He took them along to their parents' houses (they came from the same village), and when they were in front of the house and about to be shot he asked the girls if they knew what they were dying for. Their answer was "We are dying for an independent Ukraine." Thereupon they were shot before the eyes of their parents. Their corpses lay in the snow for two weeks, and sentries stood on guard to prevent anyone from trying to bury the bodies. After two weeks the bodies of the Ukrainian girls who had been murdered were torn to pieces by dogs.

A common method applied by the Bolsheviks at that time, too, was to inflict dreadful tortures on wounded and captive UPA fighters in order to force them to divulge information about the underground movement. The fact that someone has been wounded makes no difference to the nature of the interrogation methods applied by the NKVD.

For instance, on October 19, 1945, NKVD men raided a UPA field-hospital in Svydnyk near Turka (in the region of Drohobych). Two UPA nurses, who had been badly wounded, and 3 civilians in the hospital fell into the hands of the NKVD hangmen. During their interrogation the latter made them sit on a red-hot kitchen-stove.

In Polonynchna near Kamyanka Strumyl'ova (region of Lviv) the Bolsheviks on July 1, 1945, tortured a wounded UPA soldier, whom they had taken prisoner, to death.

On March 3, 1945, during the big Bolshevik encirclement operations directed against the bank of the River Dniester at Isakiv near Tovmach (in the region of Stanyslaviv), an insurgent by the name of Verbovyi, who had been wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy. When the NKVD men asked him what he was fighting for, and he told them that he was fighting for an independent Ukraine, one of them stabbed him with a bayonet.

On June 9, 1945, NKVD men brought an insurgent, whom they had wounded and then taken prisoner, to Narayiv near Berezhany (in the region of Ternopil). There they tortured him to such an extent during interrogation that he died.

On March 24, Bolshevik hangmen in the village of Pidzviryntsi near Komarno (in the region of Drohobych) threw a UPA soldier, who had been wounded in combat, into a fire which they had started in a building, and murdered him in this barbaric manner.

It is only in exceptional cases that the Bolsheviks take the trouble to see that wounded UPA fighters, whom they have taken prisoner, are restored to health, namely when they know that the person in question enjoys considerable authority and prestige in the under-

ground movement or amongst the population. In such cases the Bolsheviks aim to break his spirit completely by terrorism and then make use of his name for the purpose of demoralizing both the Ukrainian underground movement and also the public.

In most cases, however, members of the Ukrainian underground movement who are captured by the Bolsheviks refuse to divulge any information and do not break down. Nor do they sign the "repentance statements" put before them. These are signed in their name by the Bolsheviks in spite of fierce protests on the part of the prisoners (usually, however, without the latter's knowledge) and then circulated in the form of leaflets by the Bolsheviks.

This, for instance, was what they did in the case of the UPA commander Rudyy. He had been taken ill with typhus and whilst moving from one base to another fell into a Bolshevik ambush. His horses took fright as he had fainted and led him straight to the Bolsheviks, who took him prisoner. Not long after this incident leaflets were circulated which contained a statement, allegedly signed by Rudyy, to the effect that he had made a big "mistake" in fighting in the ranks of the UPA against the Bolsheviks. He added that he had now realized his mistake and had volunteered for service with the NKVD organs of his own free will. It was also pointed out on the leaflet that Rudyy had decided to make good for his "mistakes" by "helping" the Soviet government to destroy the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement. And it was likewise stressed in the said statement that Rudyy had allegedly helped the Bolsheviks to liquidate the commander of the UPA-North Command, Colonel Klym Savur. This entire "statement" by Rudyy was an invention on the part of the Bolsheviks. The Russian occupants made use of the fact that the UPA commander Rudyy, who was a sick man, was in their hands and falsified a statement in his name. The purpose of this falsification was to undermine the morale of the Ukrainian population and of the revolutionary cadres by circulating compromising news about such a well-known personality.

The names of Ukrainian insurgents and revolutionaries are frequently used by Bolshevik propaganda to create the deceptive impression that the Soviet government allegedly "forgives" all those who are taken prisoner alive and "repent," and even gives them a chance to engage in "peaceful work" if they belong to the leading strata of the revolutionary underground movement.

The Bolsheviks in this way also made use of the name of a leading member of the OUN, Dorosh. Together with his comrades, who were poisoned by a Bolshevik gas-grenade in their hideout, Dorosh was taken prisoner by the Red Russians.

A similar case was that of Lieutenant Vitovsky, who went by the name of Zmiyuka, an outstanding UPA commander and a son of

Colonel Dmytro Vitovsky, who was a well-known statesman and military leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement during the First World War. Bolsheviks used his name on leaflets and made out that he was still alive and also that the Soviet government was allegedly only too willing to "forgive" all members of the Ukrainian underground movement (soldiers in the ranks as well as leaders) who made a statement of repentance.

The fate of all these insurgents who have been wounded and captured is the same as that of all UPA fighters who are taken prisoner by the Bolsheviks. The latter sentence them and either deport them to remote regions, or else put them in prison or in camps for long years.

Cases such as the following, which occurred in the village of Komariv near Halych (in the region of Stanyslaviv), are also typical of the Bolsheviks' methods. In August 1945 the Bolsheviks, in the course of their large-scale purges, arrested an 18-year old girl. During the first interrogations the girl was beaten and tortured in the most brutal manner. When she eventually collapsed in a coma the Bolsheviks left her lying there. Relatives then took her to hospital, but a few days later she was thrown out of the hospital on the grounds that she was an ardent "Bandera supporter." Shortly afterwards she died at her parents' home.

DESECRATION OF THE GRAVES OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS KILLED IN ACTION

The Russian Bolshevik barbarians even desecrate the graves and dead bodies of Ukrainian insurgents and revolutionaries who have been killed in action. In this respect they resort to the most bestial methods imaginable. The corpses of the freedom-fighters are tied to the tails of horses and dragged along the roads, pierced with bayonets, crucified, hung up on public squares and burnt. Burial is prohibited for weeks on end, and guards lie in ambush near to the corpses to make sure that none of them are removed. The field of combat on which the UPA fighters have been killed in action is then mined in order to prevent anyone from removing the dead. Their bodies are later buried together with the carcasses of animals. The Bolsheviks engage in feverish investigations to find the graves of insurgents whose bodies have been buried secretly and usually at great risk to those concerned. Anyone who buries an insurgent is arrested by the NKVD. Whenever the Bolsheviks discover such a grave they immediately open it, destroy the cross on it and remove the body. They desecrate it and either bury it somewhere else together with the carcasses of animals, or leave it lying in a ditch or on a dung-heap on the outskirts of the nearest town, etc. The corpses are usually left lying about completely naked as the Bolsheviks remove all the garments in which they were attired.

On May 27, 1946, an insurgent by the name of Boyan was wounded by Bolsheviks in ambush in Yavche near Bukachivtsi (in the region of Stanyslaviv). Next day his body was thrown into a well in Korolivka near Kolokolyn by the Bolsheviks.

On July 18, 1945, the Bolsheviks removed the crosses on the graves of UPA soldiers in Polivtsi near Bilobozhnytsia (in the region of Ternopil). At night NKVD men used to lie in wait in the cemetery.

On December 2, 1945, an insurgent of the UPA-East Command was killed during a combat against the Bolsheviks in the village of Chornokintsi near Probizhna (in the region of Ternopil). For five whole days NKVD men lay in wait near the body in order to catch anyone who might attempt to remove it and bury it.

On August 20, 1945, the UPA company commander Zalizniak and his Cossack batman Kolya were killed during a combat against the Bolsheviks in Hrad near Kolky in Volhynia. The Bolsheviks took their bodies to Kolky and there hanged them publicly.

On January 15, 1946, the Bolsheviks hanged the body of an insurgent by the name of Yura whom they had killed in the park adjoining the village soviet in Pidpechary, in the district of Stanyslaviv. The body was only clad in underwear, and the Bolsheviks had nailed a board bearing the words: "Bandit Yura" on the dead man's chest. Bolshevik sentries stood on guard by the corpse for two days. It was then removed to a pit and mined but not buried. It remained there until March 25th.

On the same day two UPA soldiers were killed in action in the village of Pidluzhzhia near Stanyslaviv. The Bolsheviks tried to force a farmer, Mykhailo Dolishnyy, to drag the two bodies, which were tied together with barbed wire, to the village soviet. As he refused to do so, however, he was given a severe beating by the Bolsheviks. The latter then tied the bodies to the tails of horses, dragged them as far as the village soviet and there hanged them. The corpses were left hanging there for four days.

On February 20, 1946, NKVD men in the village of Tiaziv near Halych in the region of Stanyslaviv, murdered Maria Kovalchuk, the mother of the UPA commander Borodatyy, who was well-known in this area, during interrogation. The Bolsheviks then took the body to Halych and threw it on a dung-heap near to the premises of the NKVD.

On July 4, 1946, the Bolsheviks killed a UPA soldier by the name of Stepan Lidchyn in the village of Horokholyna near Bohorodchany (in the region of Stanyslaviv). They then gouged out the dead man's eyes.

On October 11, 1945, during a surprise attack carried out by the NKVD on the village of Richka near Kosiv (in the region of Stanyslaviv), the UPA company commander Sviatoslav shot himself so that he would not fall alive into the hands of the Red Russians. His body

was then secretly mined by the Bolsheviks Whilst it was being interred the mine exploded, killing a seventy-year old woman, Maria Stefuranchyn, who was kneeling in prayer at the grave, and two small boys

On October 29, 1945, the NKVD fiends opened the graves in Mechyshiv near Berezhany (in the region of Ternopil) since they hoped to discover the bodies of underground fighters in this way

Nowhere in the world have the bodies and graves of soldiers killed in action been desecrated in such a way It is only the Bolshevik criminals who are capable of such bestial methods

AGENT-PROVOCATEUR ACTIVITY AND SUBVERSION — THE MAIN METHODS OF WARFARE

The Russian Bolsheviks are not in a position either to crush the Ukrainian independence aspirations on the ideological front, or to vanquish the Ukrainian revolutionary organizations in a direct armed fight, that is to say in open and honest combat Hence they resort to their usual methods of combat against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, — the use of agents-provocateurs and treachery, and in this respect they do not shun the vilest methods The agents' activity can be classified as internal and external, according to where the agents engage in it

The most dangerous form of agent activity is, of course, the internal one This represents a deadly danger to the revolutionary underground movement since it is based mainly on conspiracy and can thus have disastrous effects as it attempts to destroy the said movement from within

As early as 1941, after the outbreak of the German-Russian war the Bolsheviks realized during their retreat from the Ukrainian territories that the real danger to their rule in Ukraine was not Hitler's army but the revolutionary movement of the Ukrainian people For this reason they left thousands of agents behind in Ukraine, who in many cases were secret members of the Communist Party or of the Komsomol (the Communist youth organization) It was the task of these agents to win the confidence of the Ukrainian underground movement, which aimed to establish the independence of Ukraine, and to engage in their treacherous subversive activity in this field As a result of the chaos caused by the war in some districts, these agents in some cases managed to infiltrate the ranks of the Ukrainian underground movement This was facilitated by the fact that the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom was constantly extending to new territories And it was here, in particular, that they set about their subversive work, which aimed to seriously

damage the Ukrainian revolutionary movement We should like to emphasize at this point that many of the Bolshevik secret agents who were in Ukrainian territory at the time of the German occupation only wormed their way into the Gestapo and other police departments of the Hitler regime because they hoped that the Germans would crush and liquidate the Ukrainian independence aims Some of the sources and documents on this subject have already been published in the Ukrainian underground press (see "Ideya i Chyn" — "Idea and Deed," No 8) In order to be able to combat the Ukrainian independence aims more successfully through the Germans, the Bolshevik secret agents in the Gestapo and in the Ukrainian underground movement cooperated very closely At the same time these agents were to prevent the carrying out of orders issued by the UPA Command Headquarters regarding the fight against the Bolshevik partisans, who received their orders from the Kremlin Once these Bolshevik partisans had penetrated Ukraine, they robbed the Ukrainian population mercilessly and were a great obstacle to the young UPA since they occupied some tracts of forest land

The main task of the internal Bolshevik agent activity during the German occupation of Ukraine was, by means of camouflage, to win the confidence of the Ukrainian underground movement, which aimed to establish the independence of Ukraine, as far as possible, and to occupy leading positions in this movement in order to deal it a fatal blow by betraying it when the Red Army re-occupied the Ukrainian territories again

This task — the extermination of the Ukrainian underground movement — was to be carried out by the agents sent to Ukraine by the following means

a) by treacherous attacks on UPA commanders and leaders of the underground movement (these attacks were usually carried out by the Bolshevik agents during combat),

b) to supply the NKGB, the security police, with all the secret orders and instructions, documents and information on the plans and activity of the Ukrainian underground movement The NKGB was interested above all in information as to when and where conferences and meetings of the leading men of the underground movement were to be held as to which of the leaders of the movement would be present on such occasions, and as to where these persons lived

c) to sabotage the activity of the underground movement, and in cases where Bolshevik secret agents held leading posts in the movement, to prevent the carrying out of orders,

d) to divert the activity of the underground movement in some sector or other into a false course in cases where agents held a responsible post in the movement,

e) combats were to be avoided or to be commanded badly in order to undermine the strength of the UPA in this way (where agents

acted as commanders) In addition, hostile reprisals were to be introduced against the Ukrainian population,

f) to initiate political meetings which would compromise the revolutionary movement,

g) to cause misunderstandings in the underground movement and to undermine the trust which the members had in each other,

h) to build up an extensive network of internal agents in the organizations of the Ukrainian underground movement,

i) to foster signs of corruption amongst the underground fighters and in the UPA units

The traitors sent into the ranks of the Ukrainian underground movement by the imperialists of the Kremlin were, however, by no means able to fulfil the tasks set them by the latter. Nowhere did they succeed in achieving the aim which they had set themselves — namely to destroy or seriously harm the Ukrainian underground movement. The security organs of this movement were so well organized that they were able to discover the Bolsheviks' treachery in time and counteract it successfully. Nevertheless the Bolshevik agents here and there succeeded in treacherously shooting a commander of the UPA or a leader of the underground movement in causing insignificant political and moral damage in some of the smaller operational sectors of the UPA by distorting political directives issued by the Ukrainian national liberation movement, and in weakening some UPA detachments by intentional provocation to combat. But all other attempts on the part of the Russian Bolshevik occupants to smuggle traitors into the ranks of the Ukrainian underground movement proved futile.

When sending internal agents to Ukraine during the early months of the operations of the UPA the Bolsheviks made considerable use of the so-called 'deserters' from the Soviet Army. When the Bolsheviks learnt that the UPA had exhorted the soldiers of the Soviet Army to desert, they sent their trained agents into the ranks of the UPA in the guise of deserters.

But this trick was soon discovered.

In this connection we quote an extract from the minutes of an interrogation held in the case of an NKVD agent and soldier of the Red Army who was captured by a UPA detachment on September 12 1945.

'I, Stephan Polikarpovych, a soldier of the Red Army, field post No 93355, last served in a sniper company in the town of Kovel. From here NKVD Lieutenant Mishchenko sent me to reconnoitre the terrain in order to ascertain where Bandera units were located. I was to carry out reconnaissance in the rayons (districts) of Kamin

Koshyrsky and Kovel I was allowed ten days in which to carry out this task I was given instructions to the effect that if the UPA should take me prisoner whilst I was engaged in this task, I was to pretend to be a deserter from the Red Army, to join the insurgents and win their confidence, and in this way find out where the UPA detachments were stationed and the assumed names of their commanders I was also instructed to steal the marching-pack belonging to the UPA commander, to make off with it and then report to the nearest NKVD unit From there I was to be taken back to Kovel

When he commissioned me with this task Lieutenant Mishchenko pointed out that if I fell into the hands of the insurgents and did not return to the NKVD, he would deport and wipe out my family and would also try to kill me On the other hand, if I fulfilled my task and returned, I should receive a reward "

Thus one of the main methods applied by the Bolsheviks in recruiting internal agents consists in moral and physical terrorism, intimidation, persecution of the families of the underground fighters, bribery, the promise of well-paid posts, etc, — "methods" which no honest person would adopt

The nature of this recruiting varies according to whether the NKVD is in direct contact with the prospective agent (for instance, if an insurgent is taken prisoner during an encirclement operation), or endeavours to recruit an agent through intermediation (as for example through his family) In the former case, the process of recruiting is roughly as follows the insurgent is captured alive by the NKVD To begin with, an attempt is made to convince him of the hopelessness of the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people in view of the international situation and the invincible armies of the Soviet Union Subsequently, the NKVD men start uttering threats to the effect that all the insurgents will be hounded down and that mercy will be shown to no one At the same time, they suggest to the insurgent in question that he should cooperate with the NKVD If he does not agree to do so, he is promptly threatened with tortures, death and the extermination of his entire family Incidentally, the Bolsheviks take good care to promise him a tempting future if he is prepared to engage in agent activity for them If the insurgent continues to refuse their offer, the NKVD men now begin to apply physical tortures and threaten to deport his family to Siberia If he then finally agrees to cooperate, a detailed plan is carefully worked out as to how to conceal his absence from the UPA or the real reason for his release by the NKVD He subsequently is entrusted with his first task and the NKVD establishes secret contact with him Indirect recruiting is carried out as follows either through the family or through the girl-friend of the insurgent in question In this case the main method consists in moral coercion in the event of resistance on the part of the insurgent concerned, he is threatened with the destruction of his family, the confiscation of his property, and, lastly, with his own liquidation

ORGANIZATION OF THE NETWORK OF SECRET COLLABORATORS OF THE NKVD

When it became apparent that the NKVD methods of international recruitment of agents were not proving much of a success owing to the moral steadfastness of the Ukrainian underground fighters, the NKVD set about organizing the network of external agents, the so-called *seksots* or secret collaborators, with particular intensity

These agents and their activity certainly represent a plague under which the Ukrainian people in the USSR are obliged to suffer part of the Ukrainian population has been terrorized by this class of secret co-workers for over 25 years, whilst the rest of the population has only been forced to endure this evil since World War II. The secret co-workers of the NKVD carry on their activity everywhere in the rural areas, in the towns, in the schools, and in the factories and *kolkhoz* brigades. One can encounter them amongst good friends and even in one's own home. They are feared and hated everywhere. But at the same time, everyone knows that they themselves might be forced any day, by terrorism and blackmail, to engage in this vile "work," which the whole world regards as reprehensible.

It is the task of the secret co-workers to be the "eyes and ears" of the Bolshevik secret police. They have to collect news about the Ukrainian underground activity, about its bases, contacts, movements, intended actions, hideouts and depots, and about persons of the civilian population who are in touch with the underground movement. All this information must then be handed over to the Russian Bolshevik secret police. It is also the duty of these co-workers to obtain information about all the persons with whom they are acquainted, about all their movements, what they talk about, what plans they make, and why they are happy or sad. They are instructed to pass on all this information secretly to the secret police. It is also their task to circulate falsified news which compromises the underground movement, to stir up ill-feeling against the UPA amongst the people, to shake the latter's faith in the success and expediency of the revolutionary fight for freedom, to exaggerate the defeats of the UPA and to deny news of its victories, to poison persons who are taking an active part in the revolutionary liberation movement, and by various ways and means to spread information and literature that is compromising and thus enables the NKVD to arrest the persons concerned. In order to be able to carry out all these tasks they have to pose as honest persons, as kindly neighbours, and, in fact, very often as good patriots and enemies of the Soviet government. They must frequent places where they are likely to meet persons who belong to the underground movement, for the purpose of reconnaissance they have to go into the woods and forests and pretend to be gathering mushrooms or firewood, at night they have to sneak up to the windows of their neighbours and eavesdrop whenever they hear three or four persons conversing, they very often have to disguise themselves as beggars and go to other villages, where they

then beg at the houses of persons whose names they have been given beforehand, and sometimes they have to disguise themselves as fortune-tellers, in other words, they have to move about unobserved, to stand in the shadows, as it were, and keep their eyes and ears open all the time

The chief methods applied by the Bolsheviks as far as the activity of the secret co-workers' network is concerned are mass-terrorism, blackmail of every type, and bribery. The sphere of activity to which these agents are assigned by the Bolsheviks includes every class of the Ukrainian people, regardless of the latter's position, age or profession.

The Ukrainian people, however, — in particular in those districts in which the Ukrainian national liberation movement is most active — are in the moral respect the soundest element to be found in Europe since the war. For this reason, the Bolsheviks' method of bribery when recruiting secret co-workers is crowned with little or no success. Hence the NKVD usually prefers to resort to physical and moral terrorism combined with extortion.

The main category of mass-terrorism, used for the purpose of recruitment and also to camouflage this recruitment, are mass-arrests. There is not a single village or a town in Ukrainian territory today which did not experience mass-arrests during the years 1944-1946. In fact, in the course of this comparatively short period mass-arrests were carried out several times. And the victims were from the entire Ukrainian population, including boys and girls who were mere children, as well as aged persons. All these persons were subjected to the notorious NKVD interrogations. They were given statements to sign, to the effect that they would secretly collaborate with the NKVD for the purpose of combatting the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, and the following methods of coercion were used by the Red Russian secret police in order to force them to sign: they were threatened with the most dreadful forms of torture, with the confiscation of their property, and with dismissal from their jobs, etc. They were coerced by means of lies and accusations, or else they were tortured in a barbarous way. After these arrests the innocent victims usually returned home with the whole body a mass of bruises and weals that had been inflicted by the Bolshevik secret police. The reason why they were ill-treated to this extent was solely that they had refused to sign statements to the effect that they would collaborate with the NKVD.

In the village of Nemyach in the district of Pidkamin (region of Lviv) there were only 5 persons in January 1946 who had not been interrogated and tortured by the NKVD.

Very often persons were driven to despair by the terrorist methods of the NKVD and committed suicide. On October 15, 1945, Ivan Kovalyk of Koziv near Dobromyl (in the region of Drohobych) hanged himself for this reason.

To illustrate the methods practised by the Bolsheviks when recruiting secret co-workers we should like to quote the following testimony given by a farmer of the village of Polonka near Lutsk, Volhynia, who was discharged from the Red Army as an invalid and was later arrested by the NKVD

"I was arrested together with five other persons from our village. At first I had no idea what was the matter and why the NKVD should have chosen to arrest me. When we arrived at the NKVD building, however, I saw that there were already a number of other persons from the village there, waiting to be interrogated. Eventually it was my turn, too. The interrogation began with some questions about my personal particulars, that is to say about my life. Various questions were then asked about my family, my domestic circumstances and my social status, etc. After a while, the NKVD chief put the suggestion of my collaborating with the NKVD to me and assured me that I should, of course, receive material support and reward from the Soviet government for my collaboration. I was so taken by surprise on hearing this impudent suggestion that I was quite dumbfounded. The NKVD man added 'You will inform us whenever Bandera people visit your village and whom they visit on such occasions, you will also find out who gives them shelter and who supplies them with food and helps them in other respects, and which of the villagers cooperate with the Bandera people or are constantly in touch with them. If you are afraid, however, that someone might discover that you are collaborating with the NKVD, we shall arrange matters so that there is no danger in this respect. You need not come to us personally. You can pass on any information that you obtain to us through your family or relatives in another village. In due course we shall summon various persons who are not working in collaboration with the NKVD, including yourself, to appear at the rayon headquarters of the NKVD, and no one will therefore have any suspicions as regards you. Whenever we want to visit the village and you, we shall previously summon several more farmers to appear at our headquarters, and no suspicion will therefore be attached to you.' I began to point out that I was an invalid and indicated my crutches without which I am unable to walk. I said that in view of this fact I should not be able to walk about in the village, gathering information. But the NKVD man refused to listen to me. He affirmed that I was just the sort of person that the NKVD needed, since no one would suspect me, as I was an invalid. He then put a piece of paper with some writing on it in front of me and told me to sign it. I refused to do so. Thereupon the NKVD man jumped up from his chair as if he been struck by lightning, he went quite red in the face and started to shout at me. He began to curse God and his mother and father in the true Russian fashion. 'I shall have you chained up like a dog because you're a bandit like all Ukrainians!' 'You can do what you like with me!' I replied. 'You can even shoot me. I can't give you any information because I don't get about at all.' The NKVD

man became more and more furious. He then marched me out of the room and locked me in a woodshed and went away. I sat there shivering until late in the evening, for it was bitterly cold. I had already given up all hope of being released, but late at night the NKVD man called me into his office again and once more tried to persuade me to become an informer. He threatened me with confiscation of my property and liquidation of myself and my entire family. He said that I would be sent to the same place where my parents already were (they were exiled to Siberia in 1940). I was no longer capable of answering back, so I kept silent. The NKVD man once more demanded that I should sign the document that he had written. And once more I refused. He then wrote out another statement. It said that I did not recognize the Soviet government and refused to submit to it and to co-operate with it. The NKVD man now told me to sign this statement. But I refused to do so, and added that I recognized the Soviet government and that I had even fought at the front for it, with the result that I was now such a crippled invalid that I could no longer walk, let alone do any work. The NKVD man started shouting at me and cursing me again and went for me. When he eventually realized that I could not be persuaded to sign the statement, he told me that I must not say a word about this conversation with the NKVD to anyone and that if I did, I should be put into prison for ten years. He added that if any of the Bandera people should visit me I was to report this fact to the NKVD. 'You just be careful, — we shall keep an eye on you' he threatened. I raised no objections this time. He then handed me back my identity card, grabbed me by the collar and, cursing me volubly, kicked me out of the room. By the time I had made my way back to Lutsk painfully and slowly and reached home it was long past midnight. "

As we have already pointed out the NKVD endeavours to recruit secret collaborators from all social classes of the Ukrainian population. Not even the clergy are spared but are forced by the NKVD to collaborate with the latter. And numerous cases have been ascertained in which Ukrainian teachers who have been transferred from the eastern territories of Ukraine to West Ukraine have been forced to take part in special courses for agents and have had to sign a statement that they will collaborate with the NKVD in fighting the Ukrainian liberation movement.

During the years 1944-46 the NKVD carried out numerous mass-arrests of young girls. The latter were beaten during interrogation and were forced to sign a statement that they would collaborate with the NKVD. In the prisons (for this purpose schools buildings that had been damaged during the war, cellars and garages etc., were usually used) drunken NKVD men held wild orgies during which they raped the girls and infected them with venereal diseases.

One girl, for instance, admitted that she had been released from the prison in the town of Lopatyn in May 1945 after she had been raped by 50 NKVD men.

Coercion is usually used by the NKVD in the following cases

a) if someone has "trespassed" against the Soviet government (for example, if someone in his family is a member of the underground movement or is living abroad, if there is incriminating testimony in his files, if documents are secretly given to someone with provocative intent, or if information has been received about a person from a secret co-worker, etc),

b) if someone is dependent on the state in an economic respect (for example, someone employed in the administration, or in some state concern, or as a teacher, etc),

c) if someone is exposed to persecution on the part of the Soviet government on account of his social standing (for example, a "kurkul," wealthy farmer, or a merchant, etc)

All these categories of persons are treated by the NKVD in various ways. If a person has "trespassed" against the Soviet government, he is threatened with imprisonment and with deportation to Siberia. Collaboration with the NKVD is then suggested to him as the only way of saving himself. If a person is employed in a state concern or in a factory, then the following suggestion is put to him: either collaboration with the NKVD, or else dismissal from his job and deportation to the far north of the USSR. If a person is a "kurkul" or wealthy farmer, the NKVD men try to impress the following facts on him: "You are well aware that the Soviet government liquidates all kurkuls, therefore if you want to save your life and your property, agree to collaborate with the NKVD." The victim selected by the secret police has the following possibilities to choose from: either collaboration with the NKVD, or imprisonment, or deportation to Siberia. Persons who are approached in this way have indeed to be steadfast of character if they are not to accept the suggestions put to them with regard to how they can save themselves. Since practically every citizen has, however, "trespassed" against the Soviet government, it is easy to visualize the extent to which the NKVD has organized the secret collaborator system. It is by no means an exaggeration to say that one out of nine or ten citizens in the USSR is forced to collaborate with the NKVD, at least to outward appearance. We should however like to point out that very often the efforts of the NKVD end in the person selected to become a secret co-worker signing the statement forced on him purely as a matter of form and merely promising to pass on information to the NKVD, but not actually doing so later on. In this respect the Ukrainian people show amazing powers of resistance.

The Bolsheviks also endeavour to recruit secret co-workers amongst schoolchildren outside school. The children are tempted with sweets and money to engage in agent activity. They are frequently threatened with arrest, too, or are given a beating, etc. They are instructed to report all they see or hear to the brigade or Komsomol overseers.

Above all, they are forced to inform against their relatives and against neighbours. This has happened on various occasions, for instance, in the West Ukrainian town of Ternopil.

There have also been numerous cases in which Bolshevik doctors (as for instance in Chortkiv and other towns) have been instructed not to give Ukrainians medical treatment unless they are secret co-workers of the NKVD. In some hospitals the doctors, who themselves are co-workers of the NKVD, suggest to their patients prior to an operation that they should agree to collect information for the NKVD secretly, otherwise they will be refused medical aid and treatment which would mean death or lingering illness for the patient.

In organizing treachery with the aid of terrorism the Bolsheviks are not, however, merely pursuing their aim of dealing the revolutionary underground movement a deadly blow. They have set themselves far greater aims. Inasmuch as they make treachery the duty and a matter of honour of the individual citizen, the Bolsheviks are seeking to disintegrate the Ukrainian population completely. Inasmuch as they endeavour to destroy all standards of civic and religious morals and ethics, the Bolsheviks are seeking to bring fratricide and mutual destruction upon the Ukrainian people. And the methods they practise in order to achieve this aim are terrorism, coercion and lies. They aim to demoralize the Ukrainian people to such an extent that they will kill each other in the general confusion which the Bolsheviks are trying to arouse amongst the Ukrainians. Only the Russian Bolsheviks would think of resorting to such vile methods.

Another method used by the Russian Bolshevik occupants in their fight against the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement is that of provocation.

On the strength of the facts ascertained so far it can be assumed that the Bolsheviks are pursuing three main aims in resorting to the method of provocation:

a) by some camouflage or other to infiltrate the underground movement and then openly and in short combats to annihilate all the members and supporters of the underground movement.

b) in the guise of the UPA to further brigandism and in this or in some other way to compromise the revolutionary fight and stir up hatred amongst the Ukrainian people against the revolutionary movement.

c) to circulate false information about individual revolutionaries in order to undermine the faith of the underground fighters in their leaders and encourage self-destruction in this way.

In the years 1945-46 it was an almost everyday occurrence in the regions of the revolutionary underground movement for NKVD men to disguise themselves as insurgents in order to find out the

communication bases, get through to the individual underground leaders and then kill them there. Disguised thus, they carried various weapons on their persons, wore the Ukrainian trident on their caps, and only spoke Ukrainian to each other. They would enter some village late in the afternoon and would greet anyone they encountered with "Hail Ukraine!" Once in the village, they would go along to some house which, according to information received by the NKVD, was frequently visited by insurgents. They would then try to establish contact with a liaison man there. If the NKVD men succeeded in doing so, they would either arrest the liaison man on the spot, or else would tell him to take them to one of the underground leaders. If the liaison man did not realize what their game was in time, the NKVD men succeeded in getting through to an underground leader. But such cases were comparatively rare. For the experience of the men of the underground movement as regards such plots and also their intuition usually resulted in the NKVD men being exposed in time.

Even when the Bolsheviks had no information about the contacts of the underground movement they would enter some house during the night, in disguise, and behave just like the insurgents and set about winning the confidence of the farmer whose house it was. Taking into account the fact that the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement is a mass movement and therefore not everything can be kept a secret, and that most of the villagers knew quite well which persons in the village were in touch with the insurgents most frequently, *the NKVD men would then ask the farmer in question for a "contact"*. If the latter did not realize in time that he was the victim of a cunning plot, the Bolshevik trick succeeded. But fortunately this has seldom been the case.

In cases where the Bolsheviks' trick succeeded, they dealt with the UPA fighter or co-worker of the UPA in question in an unbelievably sadistic way. And they applied the same sadistic methods against all persons who exposed Bolshevik agents to the population.

On April 29, 1945, in the village of Solukiv near Dolyna (region of Stanyslaviv), NKVD men who were disguised as insurgents gave a farmer's wife, Anna Marchuk, a dreadful beating because she warned the people in the first house that she found out that the men whom she was showing the way were not insurgents but NKVD men.

On March 16, 1946 some NKVD men disguised as insurgents provoked a farmer and two girls in the village of Pidlyptsia near Zolochiv (in the region of Lviv). These three persons fell into the trap and collected food for the "insurgents". Shortly afterwards, they were arrested by the NKVD men and ill-treated in a terrible way.

The cunning to which the Bolsheviks resort in order to win the confidence of the population and to find out the underground contacts, can be seen from the following typical cases. In the spring of 1946 NKVD men disguised as insurgents on two occasions set up

an ambush by the wayside on a road in the rayon of Bolshivtsi in the region of Stanyslaviv They fired at some cars that were passing and then apparently took the NKVD officers of the rayon headquarters prisoner They subsequently appeared in the nearest village and insisted that they wanted to be taken along to the UPA units in order to hand over their "prisoners" to the competent higher authorities of the underground movement Although this trick appeared to be very smart, it did not succeed

When disguised as Ukrainian insurgents, the Bolsheviks behave in a particularly brutal manner towards the Ukrainian population, especially when they do not succeed in establishing contact with the underground movement

On March 21, 1946, a group of Bolsheviks disguised as a combat group of the Ukrainian defence service tried to enter the house of a farmer in the village of Oplitsko near Lopatyn (in the region of Lviv) When the farmer refused to allow them to enter, they forced their way in They then gave the farmer and his wife a dreadful beating and dragged them into the forest on the pretext that both of them were secret co-workers of the NKVD There they proceeded to ill-treat and torture their two victims all night

On November 19, 1945, Bolsheviks disguised as insurgents looted the houses of many of the villagers in Kydaniv near Buchach (in the region of Ternopil) and ill-treated the inhabitants One of the persons who was robbed was a former soldier who had been demobilized from the Red Army He recognized some of the marauders as NKVD men from the district headquarters and next day went along to the NKVD and demanded the return of his property which had been stolen The NKVD men thereupon threatened to shoot him if he told any of the inhabitants of the village who it was that had organized the raid

On January 27, 1946, Bolsheviks disguised as Ukrainian insurgents arrested a young girl, Anna Rohata, in the village of Berezovytsia Velyka near Mykulyntsi (in the region of Ternopil) They blindfolded her and took her to a cellar which was supposed to be a hide-out Here they 'interrogated' her and tortured her in a most brutal way, for she realized that she had fallen into the hands of NKVD men and therefore refused to give them any information After they had interrogated her, they threw her into a quarry nearby Next night they repeated the torture After the 'interrogation' the Bolsheviks left the girl blindfolded on the ice-bound river nearby

All through the month of December 1945 a group of Bolshevik bandits, disguised as UPA fighters terrorized the districts of Rokitno Mezhyrich, Hoshcha and Korets, which are part of the region of Rivne, and robbed the inhabitants

On February 1, 1946, NKVD men disguised as insurgents arrested a Ukrainian woman, Ksenia Verbylo, in the village of Myshkovychi near Mykulyntsi (in the region of Ternopil) Since she refused to give them any information, they threw her into the river

The following is an extract from a statement made by Ivan Varbir, whose assumed name as an agent was "Olaks," and recorded in the files of the Ukrainian defence service Varbir was a secret agent of the NKVD

" In addition to the said tasks [he is referring to espionage — Editor's note], I was also instructed to rob the inhabitants of food, clothes and money and then to spread the rumour that Ukrainian insurgents had carried out this looting I was to share the loot with Lieutenant Trachenko and Sub-Lieutenant Lenuk, the representative of the NKVD in the village of Zhadova Stara (in the region of Chernivtsi) "

In order to undermine the morale of the Ukrainian population and to compromise the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, which is striving for the independence of Ukraine, the Bolsheviks, by means of oral propaganda and leaflets, spread lies about combats with UPA detachments, in which the latter have allegedly suffered heavy losses, and also about the alleged death of various well-known UPA commanders, as well as about murders allegedly committed by UPA soldiers against innocent civilians (There can be no doubt about the fact that the Bolsheviks use the murders they themselves have committed for such propagandist purposes in order to combat the insurgents) In addition, they report on incidents which have never happened, or else they intentionally falsify incidents to their own advantage In order to demoralize the population by alleged defeats of the UPA, the Bolsheviks organize large-scale combats involving entire companies, on the one side are NKVD men in uniform, and on the other, likewise NKVD men dressed as UPA soldiers After a few shots have been fired by the Bolsheviks in these "combats," the "UPA commander" orders his men to surrender unconditionally to the Bolsheviks The NKVD men disguised as insurgents lay down their arms, raise their hands above their heads, and "surrender to the Bolsheviks" The latter usually film such mock-battles and then show the film in all the cinemas in Ukraine Fortunately, the Ukrainian people are only too well aware of the Bolsheviks' tricks to fall into the trap

In order to mislead the people still more as to what is Bolshevik deception and what is the truth, and to make it more difficult for them to determine between friends and foes, and thus in this way shake their faith and determination and, at the same time, throw the underground movement into confusion and hamper its activity, the Bolsheviks organize special combatant groups with provocative intent

In addition to specially trained NKVD men (who constitute the majority), these combatant groups usually consist of prisoners and insurgents, who are held as captives by means of NKVD terrorism NKVD officers are in command of these groups They adhere strictly to partisan tactics On the whole they keep in hiding in the terrain seldom appear in villages, avoid the population, go into ambush, and imitate the tactics of the UPA down to the smallest detail They are

all disguised as insurgents and only speak Ukrainian. It is their task to hide in the vicinity of clearings and paths in the forest, to keep a watch on various parts of the forest, to establish contact with small UPA units, the UPA commanders or the leaders of the underground movement, and then kill them in a hand-to-hand combat. In the rural districts these Bolshevik units pretend to be part of some UPA detachment which is well-known in the district, they make out that they have been cut off from the main group during a combat and are now trying to establish contact with it again. Disguised as UPA soldiers, they rob the inhabitants of food, clothes and money. They grumble about their commanders and the leaders of the underground movement, ill-treat the population, and promote brigandism in the truest sense of the word. The purpose of all this is to stir up the population against the UPA and the underground movement by this behaviour and thus dissuade the people from co-operating in any way at all with the underground movement and the fight for freedom.

The NKVD officers in command of such provocative combatant groups, together with the NKVD rank and file, force the former insurgents, whose spirit has been completely broken by terrorism, to take part in the vilest bestiality before the eyes of the people. They then impute all these atrocities to their victims, the former insurgents, in order to stir up the hatred of the population against the latter and thus against the UPA and the revolutionary liberation movement in general. Surely nothing could be more vile and abominable than these Bolshevik methods.

In the spring of 1946 a provocative combatant group, the so-called OZONA, which was organized by the NKVD district headquarters in Demydiv, terrorized the district of Kozyn (in the region of Rivne). In spite of the fact that the inhabitants knew that this group consisted of NKVD men and exposed the latter on more than one occasion, the group continued its criminal activity disguised as a UPA unit. It continued to maintain this disguise even after relatives of insurgents and persons suspected of co-operating with the UPA had already been arrested. The methods practised in this respect were as follows: persons were arrested during the night and taken to the forest nearby. Here dreadful tortures were inflicted on them, their hands were tied together and pressed between blocks of wood, an iron bar was forced between their knees and their hands and they were then hung up on a tree and beaten. These methods of torture were applied in order to make them disclose the names of insurgents or of persons who were trying to evade service with the Red army to the NKVD men. The latter, for instance, arrested and ill-treated a woman by the name of Vasylyna Boychuk. As a result of the tortures inflicted on her, she fell into a coma. She was then dragged to the outskirts of the village and left lying in a ditch unconscious. The same ill-treatment and torture was inflicted on her daughter, Olya, by the NKVD bandits.

The Bolsheviks are very fond of inventing and circulating all kinds of lies about the individual leaders of the underground movement in order to compromise them and bring discredit upon them amongst the members of this movement and the Ukrainian population. A favourite method of the Bolsheviks is to spread rumours about the alleged collaboration of individual outstanding members of the underground movement with the NKVD. The purpose of this method is the self-destruction of the underground movement.

During a raid carried out in the spring of 1946 in the districts of Busk and Olesko, in the region of Lviv, a number of letters and notes addressed to various UPA commanders and underground fighters were circulated. According to the contents of these letters and notes, the persons to whom they were addressed were allegedly secretly in touch with the NKVD, had already carried out a number of tasks, and had received new ones, etc. One must admit that this certainly was a cleverly thought out trick on the part of the NKVD. And it needed keen discernment on the part of the members of the underground movement and a certain length of time to see through this trick.

In order to bring discredit upon insurgents and revolutionaries who remained morally steadfast in spite of all the tortures inflicted on them, the Bolsheviks intentionally took them to densely populated villages and towns so that the inhabitants would see the insurgents and think they were traitors (a similar case, for example, occurred in February 1946 in the village of Pidpechary, near Stanyslaviv).

On numerous occasions the secret police — as a rule with the aid of some secret co-worker or other — smuggled incriminating material into the possession of some person who was regarded with suspicion, in order to have a formal reason for arresting the person in question, confiscating his property, torturing him, and also coercing him to make him agree to become a secret co-worker.

On February 18, 1946, the NKVD in the village of Trostianets near Zolochiv (region of Lviv) arrested the parish-priest, the chairman of the village soviet, a teacher and all the personnel of the village administration because they had allegedly buried weapons. It was later ascertained that these weapons had been smuggled into their possession by the Bolsheviks themselves.

In the village of Klyuchiv Velyky near Pechenizhyn (in the region of Stanyslaviv) the Bolsheviks accused a farmer, Vasyl Vasylchuk, of having mutilated a corpse in a dreadful way by burning its arms. This was an excuse for the Stalinist gangsters to confiscate the property of said farmer and, in accordance with the principle of collective responsibility, also the property of 30 other farmers.

The following is a typical example of the lengths to which the Bolsheviks will go as regards provocation in their fight against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement.

In the districts of Horokhiv, Dubno and Demydiv in the region of Rivne the NKVD, disguised as the OUN, organized an entire network

of underground organizations which were set up according to the system of the OUN, as far as positions, communication bases and activity were concerned. The aim of these organizations was firstly, to rope in the entire revolutionary element in their ranks in order to liquidate it completely at the first opportunity, and secondly, to develop an activity, under the guise of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, which would bring disrepute upon this movement in the eyes of the population.

Similar attempts to set up provocative organizations disguised as the underground movement were carried out in many other villages and towns. In particular, the NKVD endeavoured to set up such organizations in the schools in order to lure the patriotic but inexperienced youth of Ukraine to join them and then subsequently liquidate these young people.

TERRORISM, ATROCITIES AND SADISM AS DETERRENT MEASURES

One of the main factors to which the Ukrainian revolutionary underground movement owes its strength in the Ukrainian territories is the wholehearted support accorded to it by the broad masses of the Ukrainian population. The Russian Bolsheviks are well aware of this fact and for this reason they do their utmost to bring about a breach between the underground movement and the general Ukrainian public and to turn the population against the Ukrainian revolutionary movement.

In order to achieve this aim the Bolsheviks resort to what is probably the most effective means — terrorism. And they apply it on a large scale and with unparalleled ruthlessness, brutality and sadism.

Mass punitive expeditions to Ukrainian villages and towns, in which special NKVD troops consisting of several thousand men, equipped with the latest achievements of the science of war, took part, mass arrests, beatings, ill treatment, tortures, the murder of persons who were usually innocent, deportations to Siberia, confiscation of property, the burning down of entire villages and individual farms and houses, the execution of hundreds of harmless inhabitants, — all this was a daily occurrence during the years 1944-46. No country has ever experienced such atrocities in its history, and not even Ukraine, which has suffered much in the course of its long history, had ever experienced such terrorism up to that time. Compared to what is now happening in Ukraine and to the dreadful crimes committed by the Russian Bolshevik usurpers there, even the atrocities committed by the Tatar invaders, which represent the grimmest era in the history of East Europe, seem mild. Up to a few years ago not even the most criminal mind (except, of course, the minds of the Russian Bolshevik criminals) could have conceived such terrorism and ill-treatment as is now being inflicted on an entire

people in Ukraine For what is now happening in Ukraine and of which we feel bound to give an account, is not a sinister story invented by imagination but actual reality, a daily reality in the Ukrainian territories, a reality in which 40 million Ukrainians are forced to live

The following account will give a rough picture of the dismal conditions in Ukraine during recent years

It is dusk The village is surrounded by numerous companies of special NKVD troops Camp-fires are burning in the vicinity of the village The Cheka hangmen are warming themselves in front of the fires, or else are having a sleep there All the entrances to the village are blocked by sentries On all the elevated points which dominate the terrain, machine-guns are being set up The village is surrounded by a cordon of NKVD men A little further in the rear, on the edge of the forest, there is another cordon Somewhere in the bushes one can hear the hum of 2 or 3 tanks and armoured cars as they are being set up in a camouflaged spot Patrols close together, are walking slowly up and down on all the footpaths and roads leading to the village They have specially trained dogs with them It will only be a few minutes now before this horde, urged on by the politruks (political commissars) and completely ruthless as a result of constantly murdering, feeling hungry and cold, and being very often drunk starts to overrun the peaceful village Only a little while before disaster descends upon its inhabitants, for the village is surrounded by Red Russian encirclement troops

The raid has already begun Hundreds of inhuman brutes leave the camp-fires, holding loaded weapons in their hands, as well as long wires with which they poke into hiding-places The Russians enter the village The dogs begin to bark The sound of rifle-butts beating against closed doors is audible And the sound of window-panes being smashed now follows The Russians begin cursing in their usual fashion Scared-looking people, half-dazed with sleep and clad only in undergarments, come out of their houses and hurriedly vanish inside again Here and there one can hear the cries of children startled out of their sleep and the screams of frightened women

A few minutes later chaos reigns in the village the shouts and curses of drunken NKVD men the screams of women and children the sound of shots fired from automatic pistols and machine-guns, the smashing of glass and crockery

In every farmyard there is a group of 20 to 30 Bolshevik gangsters In addition to automatic weapons and hand-grenades they are also armed with long, thick wires They proceed to knock down the haystacks and to throw sheaves of corn and straw out of the barns Inside the houses they set about smashing stoves and pulling up the floor-boards Very often before the terrified womenfolk have even had time to get dressed the entire household has been smashed to bits The NKVD men then start looking for secret hiding-places and subterranean passages, etc.

They have not found anyone hiding. But they enter the house once more and order the farmer's wife to make breakfast for them — consisting of eggs, roast duck, samohon (home-distilled schnaps) and varenyky (pastry filled with all kinds of delicacies) If the farmer's wife assures them that she does not have all these things, they beat her with the butts of their rifles and kick her, etc

They then start raiding the pantry, and steal anything they find there or anything they discover in chests and cupboards Some of the NKVD men start casting lascivious glances at a young girl, the daughter of the house. Her mother begins to tremble with fear for she knows what these looks mean She motions to the girl to disappear But this time there is no danger of the girl being raped, — she is merely arrested, whereupon her mother protests tearfully and the NKVD men let off a tirade of curses

In a house nearby the NKVD men have discovered a hiding-place The sound of hand-grenades exploding can be heard A man who has shot himself in the hiding-place is dragged out Two other men, armed with a rifle and a revolver, now jump out of the hiding-place They fire at the NKVD men But the situation is hopeless, for it is a case of two against thirty Uttering the words "Long live independent Ukraine!" one of the men collapses, shot by a bullet fired by the NKVD men, whilst the other shoots himself with his revolver A little while later, flames and clouds of smoke can be seen spurting up out of the house in question

On the plot of ground outside the house the NKVD hangmen are interrogating the woman who owns the house They question her as to who lived in the house with her and what the persons' names and work were But she refuses to tell them anything Thereupon they torture and murder her Her body is then thrown into the fire The bodies of the two insurgents are likewise consigned to the flames, but beforehand their heads are chopped off, for the NKVD men intend taking them to the rayon (district) headquarters later on The body of the third UPA fighter, whom the NKVD men assume to have been a commander, is taken along to the rayon headquarters without being maimed beforehand The chaos continues The village is enveloped in flames and clouds of smoke, and there is a smell of burning corpses

In another house the NKVD men have secured a roast duck and some samohon And they now proceed to "breakfast" by the light of the fires Not in the least put out by the dreadful smell of burning corpses, they drink a toast to the "Soviet government" and then start trying on the blood-stained boots which they pulled off the insurgents whom they have just shot dead Meanwhile the investigating judges of the NKVD have taken up their headquarters in the schoolhouse No classes are held during the raid The judges have piles of papers in front of them All the persons arrested in the village are brought before the judges and are heavily guarded Women, men, children and old people are taken along to the schoolhouse by force By the evening there are already hundreds of persons who have been arrested The NKVD men beat their victims until the blood spurts out of their wounds Statements regarding collaboration with the NKVD

are put before them for them to sign. The NKVD men are determined to get information from them as regards the underground movement. Some of the persons arrested are interrogated on the spot; others are taken to the district headquarters on lorries.

The razzia lasts four days. After every nook and cranny has been searched, and the entire village resembles a heap of rubble and ashes, and at least 80 per cent of the villagers have been arrested, interrogated and beaten, the razzia eventually comes to an end. Singing the well-known Russian song "I know no other land where people breathe so free...", and shouting curses at the Ukrainian underground movement, the "local population" and "independent Ukraine," the special troops of the NKVD leave the village. The inhabitants kneel down in prayer and beg God to spare them from the possibility of another raid of this type within the next few days.

The picture given here is by no means an exhaustive one but merely a rough and brief sketch of the type of raids carried out in the years 1944-46. This kind of razzia is merely one of the chief means of realizing Bolshevik rule in Ukraine and of crushing the freedom-loving Ukrainian people, who, in order to defend the rights to which they are entitled, have been obliged to resort to arms. With the aid of such razzias, taxes are imposed and collected, the population is forced to obey orders, and people are sent to slave-labour camps in the Urals and in the Donets Basin, etc. It is only by means of these razzias that the Ukrainians are roped in for the "organization" of the so-called "annihilation battalions" and the militia. And, lastly, these razzias are used as a means of combatting the Ukrainian underground movement.

They are frequently organized simultaneously in a large number of villages and sometimes in the entire district (25 to 30 villages), or in several districts at the same time. In such cases the region in question resembles a sector of the fighting front in the truest sense. For the Bolsheviks dig trenches, set up machine-gun barrages everywhere, as well as patrols; the network of communication lines is extended, and crowds of soldiers are to be seen everywhere, — in the villages, outside the villages, on the edge of the forests and in the bushes. For days on end, the firing of machine-guns and automatic weapons and the explosion of grenades can be heard, and buildings are on fire, etc. Thousands of persons are arrested and interrogated. Thousands are tortured, hundreds of families are deported to Siberia, and scores of persons are shot on the spot without being tried before a court.

At this point we should like to quote the following excerpt from the orders for one of these mass razzias which were issued by the NKVD Colonel Shcherbyna, who was in charge of a big razzia in the Hutsul region of the East Carpathian Mountains in the spring of 1945:

1. "In all inhabited areas of the rayon military garrisons are to be set up; 3) as from April 15th this year onwards until this order is revoked, all persons without exception shall be prohibited from moving from one inhabited area in the rayon to another without permission of the military commanders stationed in the inhabited

areas in question; 4) all persons who move from one area to another in the rayon without said permission shall be arrested at once and put in prison; 6) all persons in whose houses insurgents or persons who are trying to evade service in the Red Army lie in hiding, must report this to the military commander immediately. Persons who fail to fulfil their duty in this respect shall be arrested at once and their families deported; 7) all military commanders must conduct a thorough search of all buildings, towns and villages in all rayons in order to track down and arrest all insurgents in hiding, as well as all persons shielding them and also all persons seeking to evade military service in the Red Army. All persons who put up any resistance shall be liquidated; 8) all families whose members are in hiding from the Soviet government must be brought to the collecting point at the rayon headquarters without delay for the purpose of deportation to Siberia."

In addition to these razzias, the Bolsheviks also carry out special terrorist raids, with smaller troop units, on villages. Since these raids are the same as the razzias, only on a smaller scale, we do not intend to give a detailed account of them.

From autumn 1945 onwards the Bolsheviks, for the purpose of crushing the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people even more drastically, began to set up the so-called garrisons, i.e. military occupation units numbering from 20 to 200 men (according to the strategical importance of the place in question), in those areas of Ukraine where the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement was developing its activity. From April 1946 onwards, these garrisons were set up in practically 60 per cent of all the villages. The territory occupied by these garrisons assumed the appearance of a military camp. The absolute despotism of the NKVD prevailed throughout the entire territory, and terrorism assumed even more drastic forms and greater proportions than had hitherto been the case.

PERSECUTION OF THE RELATIVES OF FREEDOM FIGHTERS

The Russian Bolsheviks are very consistent in the manner in which they apply the principle of the responsibility of the family. Not only do they arrest, torture and deport to Siberia the nearest relatives of the insurgents and underground fighters, but very often also their distant relatives. The NKVD persecutes not only the families of the active members of the Ukrainian underground movement, but also the families of all emigrants, and not necessarily political emigrants.

But parents, wives, husbands and children, that is to say the nearest relatives of persons and UPA fighters who are members of the revolutionary underground movement, are persecuted with the greatest cruelty and ruthlessness. Such persons never feel safe either by day or by night. They can always expect an NKVD raid on their houses at any moment. And the procedure in such cases is always the same. The same curses and the same questions as to where

brothers, husbands, sons or daughters are hiding. And the usual threats: "You are a lot of gangsters," "We shall shoot all of you like dogs," "There is plenty of room for all of you in Siberia," etc. On such occasions the Bolsheviks very often destroy the house of the persons in question, or smash the furniture, and steal anything they can lay hands on. For hours on end they interrogate their victims and beat them until they collapse in a dead faint; they arrest them, put them in prison, torture them anew and question them about the members of their family who are active in the underground movement. The NKVD hangmen threaten them with deportation or execution, sometimes they release them, only to start interrogating them again a few days later. They are told that they will only be released from prison if they disclose the whereabouts of their relative who is a member of the underground movement to the NKVD. Sometimes one member of the family, but very often the entire family is arrested. As a rule, those who are arrested might as well bid life farewell. Arrests are usually carried out during the night, the victim is roused from sleep and is dragged out of the house half-attired, regardless of what the weather is like. Women with small children, and husbands and wives are frequently arrested. They are then separated — mothers from their children, and husbands from their wives — and deported to Siberia. Whilst they are in prison prior to deportation, they are not allowed to receive any parcels or gifts from their relatives. Many of the women, children and old persons die in prison before they are deported. And as a rule they do not survive more than one or two years in Siberia.

In spring 1945, 420 persons who were relatives of Ukrainian underground fighters were brought to the transit camp in the town of Truskavets (in the region of Drohobych). Of this number 70 per cent were persons of the female sex and 30 per cent persons of the male sex, 60 per cent were children and minors, and 30 per cent were aged persons.

On April 5, 1946, 6 families from the village of Kolodrubby near Komarno (region of Drohobych) and 6 families from the village of Poverhiv in the same district were deported to Siberia by the NKVD. The families concerned had lost some of their relatives in active service as underground fighters.

In the village of Ridkiv near Kozyn (region of Rivne) all persons who had sons, brothers, fathers or husbands in the UPA were sent to slave-labour camps in the Donets Basin by the NKVD.

In April 1946 the NKVD arrested all the families of insurgents in the district of Liubeshiv in Volhynia. Their entire possessions and property were looted by the NKVD and the former Red partisans who were living in Liubeshiv.

On February 14, 1946, the NKVD murdered a man of the name of Dmytro Lenuk in a most dreadful way in the village of Uhryniv Horishny near Stanyslaviv, after previously showing him the body of his son who had been an insurgent.

On September 7, 1945, NKVD men in the village of Olesha near Tovmach (in the region of Stanyslaviv) set fire to the house of an underground fighter known as "Lutyy," and then threw his wife and children into the flames twice. The woman managed to save herself, but she was thereupon arrested.

In the winter of 1946, 14 families who had relatives amongst the insurgents were deported from the district of Stepan, near Rivne. On May 8, 1946, 8 more families from the same district were deported to Siberia.

We quote below an account given by a 16-year old boy whose sister was an active member of the Ukrainian underground movement.

'The NKVD men took me by surprise during the night at my home. I was alone, since my mother used to spend the night in other people's houses because she was afraid of the NKVD. There were about 30 NKVD men. I began to cry and the NKVD men shouted and cursed at me and called me a bandit. They pulled me out of bed and told me to put my clothes on and be ready to start in three minutes' time. When I went to put my shoes on, I found they had gone, — one of the NKVD men had already stolen them. So I was obliged to go barefoot. (It was the beginning of March, there was a lot of snow outside and it was freezing hard.) They put me on a lorry and I was taken to the next village, where there was a garrison. There I was put into an empty room which was not heated. There were no boards on the floor and no panes in the windows, only bars in front of the openings. Early next morning an NKVD lieutenant appeared and started questioning me about my sister, about her whereabouts, where she was living and when she had last been at home. I refused to give him any information. Thereupon the local leader of the NKVD appeared and ordered me to take all my clothes off and lie down on the floor face downwards. He then began beating me on the back, head and shoulders with a wooden lath. When it broke in two, he took hold of another one. Eventually I fainted. When I came to again, he asked me whether I was now going to tell him all I knew about my sister. I told him 'no.' Thereupon he seized hold of my hair and pressed my face against the ground. Blood started spirting out of my nose, the ground was soon soaked with it and my whole face, eyes and mouth were smeared and daubed with mud and slime. This torture lasted for about 15 minutes. Then I fainted again.

They kept me in this room for three days. I had no shoes or socks on my feet, and during the whole of this time I only received about a pint of warm soup. Every day I was interrogated for hours on end and I was either threatened with execution, or else they promised me all sorts of things. But I refused to give them any information.

On the fourth day they took me to a garrison town. Here the interrogation began again. I was forced to do the heaviest kind of work. And they let me sleep on some bricks which I had obtained for this purpose.

Several weeks elapsed before I was taken to the prison in the district headquarters. Here the NKVD chief began to interrogate me once more. It was not until three weeks later that I was eventually released.

The day after I had arrived home half-dead, an NKVD man appeared at the house, dragged me into an empty room, knocked me down, gagged me and started hitting me with his revolver as hard as he could in order to make me give him information about my sister. As a result of this torture I fell into a dead faint."

By the end of 1946 the NKVD had arrested or deported to Siberia at least 80 per cent of those families whose members had any contact whatever with the underground movement. All the families of the underground fighters who were persecuted by the Russian secret police were likewise forced to lead a life in hiding.

COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY AND REPRISALS AGAINST THE POPULATION

In addition, to persecute the families of the underground fighters, the Bolsheviks also apply the principle of collective guilt and responsibility on a large scale with regard to the Ukrainian population.

For every anti-Bolshevist action on the part of the Ukrainian underground movement, the Bolsheviks, since as a rule they cannot discover the actual perpetrators, take their revenge on the Ukrainian population. As reprisals for actions carried out by the UPA they frequently burn down whole villages and individual farms and houses, shoot innocent persons and ill-treat the peaceful Ukrainian population.

On April 23, 1946, a group of insurgents were engaged in a combat with NKVD police in the village of Dychky near Rohatyn (in the region of Stanyslaviv). In order to avenge their casualties the NKVD men burned down 28 farms in the village which belonged to persons who were completely innocent and had no connection with the UPA. They also set the rest of the village on fire by means of rockets.

In the village of Stratyn in the same district the Bolsheviks set fire to 8 farms as revenge for the death of their sergeant.

During the period from January 10th to April 30th, 1946, the Bolsheviks set fire to 50 farms, or razed them to the ground by some other means, in Burshtyn district of the region of Stanyslaviv.

On April 25, 1946, the Bolsheviks murdered two girls, who were gathering strawberries, in the village of Rozhniv, Zabolottsı district, Lviv region, as revenge for the casualties they had suffered during a combat with the UPA. The girls' names were Emilia Yaremko and Halya Lesiuk.

In the village of Pohoriltsı near Hlyniany, in the region of Lviv, the Bolsheviks shot a whole family—husband, wife and seven-year old child, for having sheltered insurgents in their house.

On February 13, 1945, the Bolsheviks burned a woman alive in the village of Ivanie Zolote near Zalishchyky (in the region of Ternopil) solely because insurgents had engaged in a combat with them in the vicinity of her house

On December 21, 1945, the Bolsheviks set fire to the farm belonging to a woman by the name of Paraska Voloshchuk in the village of Matyivka near Kolomyia (region of Stanyslaviv) solely because an insurgent had sought shelter there They also threw a young girl, Maria Rybak, who was in the house at the time, into the fire and she was burnt alive

For the same reason, Bolsheviks set fire to a farm and shot Mykhaylo Sahan, his wife and his daughter, in the village of Kozivka near Birky Velyki, in the region of Ternopil, without even bothering to interrogate them

Following Hitler's example, the Bolshevik occupants held innocent civilians as hostages If, during a certain period of time fixed by the Bolsheviks, the underground fighters appeared or engaged in any activity at all in the place in question, the hostages were killed and their property confiscated This method was practised by the Bolsheviks mainly in 1945 in all the areas of Ukraine in which there was a lively activity on the part of the underground movement

We have already mentioned the mass-arrests carried out by the NKVD for the purpose of recruiting secret co-workers In addition to these arrests, other large-scale and also individual arrests, sometimes for a short period, were carried out every day The purpose of such arrests was the general and constant terrorization of the population, by means of which it was hoped to gain information about the underground movement

People are frequently arrested for no reason at all, and in the towns these arrests are usually carried out secretly and generally at night The NKVD men on these occasions behave in an indescribably brutal manner During the post-war years of the Russian occupation all the prisons throughout Ukraine, built by various occupants of the country, have been filled to overflowing Many newly erected buildings have been converted into prisons During the waves of mass-arrests schools, offices of various state concerns premises of various cultural institutions, private buildings, and cellars, etc., are often used as prisons It is indeed significant that the first building to be newly erected in the town of Ternopil which was completely destroyed during the German-Russian front-line fighting in the spring of 1944 was a prison And it was promptly filled with prisoners who had meanwhile been housed in other buildings, but the schools and hospitals that had been destroyed during the fighting were not replaced so quickly! Thousands of Ukrainians are constantly being arrested, quite apart from all those that the NKVD deports to far

distant regions of the USSR. By the end of 1946 the NKVD had put about 1 million Ukrainians in prison (the NKVD never discloses how many persons it arrests and imprisons)

Conditions in all the Soviet Russian prisons are dreadful, to say the least. The cells are so overcrowded that there is not even room to sleep on the floor. The prisoners are frequently put into rooms that are damp and filthy, or in cellars. None of them receive any bedding, not even a pallet of straw to sleep on. As a result of overcrowding in the cells and lack of fresh air, prisoners frequently faint. All the prisons are unbelievably dirty. Infectious diseases, such as typhus and venereal diseases, are a very common occurrence amongst the prisoners. Incidentally, NKVD men suffering from syphilis spread venereal diseases by raping women-prisoners. The food in the prisons is very poor, very often the prisoners only receive 200 grams of bread and a pint of soup per day. Parcels which their relatives send them generally never reach them. A very large percentage of the prisoners consists of women and young persons.

At the end of January 1946, in the town of Kovel in Volhynia the NKVD arrested 80 persons, of whom 70 per cent were schoolchildren. Similar arrests were carried out at the same time in the following rayon (district) centres: Turiysk, Holoby, Kamin Koshyrsky, Manevychi, Matsiyiv, Kolky, Kyvertsi, Stepan' and Derazhne. And in every case, the persons arrested included numerous young people.

In May 1945, mass-arrests were carried out amongst the secondary school youth in the town of Ternopil.

In November 1945 mass-arrests were carried out in the towns of Berezhany and Buchach in the region of Ternopil.

In order to obtain information about the underground movement from the persons who have been arrested, the Bolsheviks apply the most dreadful forms of torture.

In the village of Hayi near Vynnyky (in the region of Lviv) the Bolsheviks tortured a girl in a most brutal way in order to force her to give them information about the underground movement. They cut off her feet and her breasts, smashed her hands and legs, and tore out her hair.

On June 15, 1945, in the village of Pnivye near Nadvirna (in the region of Stanyslaviv), Bolsheviks hung up a woman whilst interrogating her, in order to force her to divulge information.

On June 14, 1945, the NKVD arrested 80 women in Debeslavka in the vicinity of Kolomyia. The purpose of this arrest was to force them to disclose information about the underground movement. During the interrogations the women were beaten in a most brutal way. Two of them, Paraska Solovych and Anna Kovaletska, had their hands broken by the NKVD men.

On February 22, 1946, in the village of Trostianets near Zolochiv (region of Lviv), NKVD men burnt a girl's hands with red-hot wires in order to force her to give them information about insurgents

On May 29, 1946, in the village of Hayi Ditkovetski near Brody (in the region of Lviv), the Bolsheviks arrested two sisters. One of them was then murdered during interrogation

On May 7, 1946, NKVD men arrested a youth, Oleksa Shablyi, on an estate in Oseredok near Hoshcha (in the region of Rivne). During interrogation he was tortured to such an extent that his nervous system was injured, a bayonet thrust pierced one side of his body. When he failed to get any better after a week had elapsed, he committed suicide by hanging himself

TORTURING OF CHILDREN

Since the Bolsheviks are determined to obtain information about the underground movement at any price, they do not even hesitate to torture children

In January 1946, for instance, the Bolsheviks arrested a number of young boys in the village of Nemyach near Pidkamin (in the region of Lviv). One of them, Hryts Dubyna, born in 1931, was questioned about his brother, a UPA fighter. The NKVD men rammed a stick down his throat and beat him whilst they were questioning him, then they tied a rope round his neck and hung him up until he fainted, whereupon they poured water over him. Two other boys, Luka Tsiupan, (born in 1933), and Volodymyr Boyarsky, (born in 1931), were tortured in the same manner

On November 22, 1945, NKVD men arrested a youth, Ivan Hubchak in the village of Luka Mala near Birky Velyki (in the region of Ternopil). As he refused to give them any information about the underground movement, they dragged him into a wood and murdered him

In a wood near the village of Dobryvody, near Kozyn (in the region of Rivne), NKVD men arrested a boy who was minding some horses. They accused him of collaborating with the insurgents, beat him in a most cruel way, tied him to a tree and left him there

In the village of Polytsia near Rafaylivka in Volhynia, the Bolsheviks in the winter of 1946 arrested a number of 14-year old girls, they tore off their clothes, beat them and poured water over them in order to make them disclose information about insurgents

On August 1, 1945, NKVD men in the village of Stebnyk near Lysets (in the region of Stanyslaviv) got hold of a 12-year old boy, Vasyi Drahanchuk, and beat him most cruelly in order to force him

to give them information about the UPA fighters and the underground movement. But in spite of the dreadful treatment to which he was subjected, the boy refused to tell them anything.

The NKVD men, who are so ruthless and bestial because they can do anything they like and can commit any crime unpunished, also organize mass-murders of persons who are completely innocent, including old people and small children. They often murder entire families who have committed no offence whatever.

On March 27, 1946, in the village of Poduvilna near Peremyshlyany (in the region of Lviv), for instance, Bolsheviks murdered two children who were playing by the wayside. Both of the children were little girls, — one of them was one and a half, the other twelve years old.

In the village of Belzets near Olesko (in the region of Lviv) Bolsheviks arrested a schoolboy called Lozovy in a field. Whilst interrogating him, they broke his hands and his ribs and eventually murdered him. That same evening they threw his body into a corn-field outside the village. It was found there by his mother next day. She thereupon made preparations for his burial. His schoolmates made a wreath and had just assembled for the funeral when the Bolsheviks suddenly appeared again. They seized the coffin containing the body and dispersed the schoolchildren. They then drove off with the coffin and the body in the direction of the district centre. Before they arrived there, however, they removed all the clothes off the body and then threw it into a ditch.

ARBITRARY MURDERS AND ARRESTS

During a raid on a forest in the vicinity of the village of Snovychi near Zolochiv (in the region of Lviv), on May 1, 1946, the Bolsheviks killed an old man of seventy who was gathering wood.

On July 29, 1946, in the village of Pidzvirynets near Komarno (in the region of Drohobych), Bolsheviks shot a farmer whilst they were allegedly taking aim at a stork.

On June 26, 1945, Bolsheviks fired on some people who were working in a field not far from the town of Bohorodchany in the region of Stanyslaviv. Two of them — 40-year old Yustyna Yaremko and 24-year old Mykhaylo Romanuk — were killed.

On June 6, 1945, three drunken NKVD men staggered into the schoolhouse in the village of Hutsulivka near Kolomyya (in the region of Stanyslaviv), they entered one of the classrooms, where a lesson was in progress, and proceeded to fire their revolvers over the heads of the terrified children.

On October 6, 1945, NKVD units carried out a raid on the mountain pasture of Stanymur (near Nadvirna in the region of Stanyslaviv). There they came across a girl who was herding cattle. After raping her, the NKVD men murdered the girl in a most cruel manner.

On March 26, 1946, the local NKVD commandant shot a 17-year old girl, Maria Komashko, in the village of Ispas near Kolomyya, in the region of Stanyslaviv, for resisting when he tried to rape her.

We could quote thousands of other cases which are proof of the brutal way in which the Bolsheviks treat the peace-loving Ukrainian population.

On December 2, 1945, a farmer, Petro Tarhonsky, who had been wounded four times during the war, and his son Ivan were gathering firewood, when a combat developed nearby between UPA and NKVD units. So as not to have any eyewitnesses of the Bolsheviks' casualties, the latter shot the farmer and his son. Their bodies were found next day. There were some empty cartridges lying next to them, and it was obvious that the two men had been shot in the back of the neck.

The following incident occurred in the vicinity of Tsuman (in the district of Rivne) on May 15, 1946: the NKVD rounded up a large number of men and women for the purpose of making them take part in a raid against the UPA. They were to advance in an extended line in front of the NKVD men. They were then either to divert the firing of the insurgents onto themselves, or to force the latter to cease firing, so as to enable the NKVD men to advance.

On February 19, 1946, two inhabitants, Vasyl Vovk (born in 1905) and Oleksa Vovk (born in 1902), of the village of Uzin near Stanyslaviv, were released from the prison in Stanyslaviv. That same evening the so-called "strybky" (members of the annihilation units) appeared at their home and informed them that they had received instructions from the NKVD to arrest them again and take them to Stanyslaviv. Four days later, their wives, who were on their way to the prison with some food for them, found the bodies of their husbands, with their eyes gouged out, on the edge of a forest.

On December 5, 1945, NKVD men murdered an entire family by the name of Slavych in the hamlet of Berezyvka near the village of Kolodiyivka, in the district of Stanyslaviv, for no reason whatever. At night when the whole family was asleep, the NKVD men crept up to one of the windows of the house and threw four hand-grenades through the window. The groans of the mother of the family and two of her daughters, who had been fatally injured by the grenades, could be heard, but this did not prevent the NKVD monsters from forcing their way into the house. The eldest, married daughter, Maria, managed to escape out of the house with her little boy, but the NKVD men fired at her and she dropped dead outside the house. The father of the family, farmer Vasyl Slavych, who had already been injured by a grenade, was then shot on the spot. Another daughter of the family was killed in the same way. Thus the NKVD men murdered seven members of the family: Vasyl Slavych, his wife, their three unmarried daughters, and their married daughter, Maria Stelmakh, and her four-year old son, Ivan. The only person who managed to

save himself was Maria Stelmakh's father-in-law, Dmytro Stelmakh. In spite of the fact that he, too, was injured, he managed to hide behind the stove and was concealed by the body of Mrs Slavych. After this dreadful atrocity the NKVD men stole all the clothing and food supplies in the house.

In addition to unfounded mass-arrests, the Bolsheviks also carry out equally unfounded house-searches which have the same aim, namely to track down members of the underground movement. Their methods are the same as those to which they resort during their razzias, and for this reason we shall not deal with them here. We should, however, merely like to add that in all the regions in which the UPA operates there is probably not a single house in any of the rural areas which has not been thoroughly searched at least once.

The NKVD also seeks to track down members of the underground movement by the method of casual interrogation at random. This method is as follows: the Bolsheviks start a casual and apparently harmless conversation with strangers in trains, station waiting-rooms, in the foyers of cinemas, in libraries, on lorries, or simply in the street. The NKVD man in question then tries to find out as much as he possibly can about the person whom he has accosted, — who he is, where he comes from and where he is going, etc. Since the NKVD men very often wear ordinary civilian clothes, it is very difficult for anyone accosted in this way to know that the man who is talking to him is a member of the notorious NKVD. If anything strikes the NKVD man as suspicious during the conversation, he promptly arrests the person whom he has accosted.

'ANNIHILATION BATTALIONS" AS A MEANS OF FOSTERING A FRATRICIDAL WAR

The Soviet Russian occupants by no means content themselves with trying to drive a wedge between the Ukrainian population and the liberation movement by applying various methods of provocation. With the aid of unparalleled terrorism and propaganda lies, a network of secret agents of the NKVD is built up amongst the population. In addition, the Russians do their utmost to involve the Ukrainian people in a fratricidal war and to bring about the destruction of the revolutionary liberation movement by the Ukrainians themselves. The ultimate aim of the Bolsheviks in this respect is, as we have already indicated, to effect the complete moral collapse of the Ukrainian people and to discredit the Ukrainian independence aspirations. In order to achieve this and other Bolshevik disintegration aims, the Red Russians decided to organize the so-called "annihilation battalions" ('istreibitelnyye bataliony" in Russian,

nicknamed "strybky" in Ukrainian), or "self-defence units" or "village militia" as they are also called, in the Ukrainian villages. By setting up these organizations, the Russians intend to rope in the masses of the Ukrainian population for the purpose of actively combatting the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement. The idea is to foster and stir up an open fratricidal war, in which one brother terrorized by the NKVD kills the other brother merely because the latter is fighting for the national cause of the Ukrainian people, namely the liberation of Ukraine from the Bolshevik yoke.

At first, the NKVD tried to set up the so-called "strybky" (members of the "annihilation battalions," derived from the Russian word "istrebit" = to annihilate, or extirpate) with volunteers. But when no one volunteered and when all persuasion, promises, privileges and threats, etc., on the part of the NKVD proved of no avail, the NKVD resorted to another of its usual methods. Regardless of the fact that the entire Ukrainian population, young and old alike, is on the side of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, the Russians began to organize these destruction battalions by force. The main element on which they counted in this respect were soldiers who had been discharged from the Red Army and young boys who had not yet reached military age. These persons were summoned to the district headquarters or else to the village soviet or club. They were there given a lecture on their duties, of which the foremost, so it was stressed, was to combat the underground movement, a commander (as a rule an officer or an older non-commissioned officer of the NKVD) was appointed, rifles and ammunition were distributed, and, finally, the persons present were threatened with arrest, deportation to Siberia and execution in the event of the "battalion" surrendering its arms to the insurgents. The "annihilation battalion" was thus forcibly organized in this way.

There can, however, be no doubt about the fact that the Ukrainian population put up a vigorous resistance against this action on the part of the enemy. The NKVD rarely succeeded in organizing a meeting in the local clubs, once the inhabitants realized that the purpose of such a meeting was to organize an "annihilation battalion." And it frequently happened that the day after rifles had been forcibly distributed amongst the demobilized soldiers or youths of the village, the latter threw them away in the vicinity of the village soviet or the NKVD district headquarters.

In such cases the NKVD resorted to terrorist measures. People were arrested, beaten, coerced and threatened with deportation to Siberia, etc., in order to force them to accept the weapons and to do compulsory service in the "annihilation battalions."

On February 19, 1946, the Bolsheviks in the village of Poltva near Hlyniany (in the region of Lviv) arrested 9 youths because they had refused to accept the weapons forced on them and to join the "annihilation battalion."

In the village of Ridkiv near Kozyn (in the region of Rivne) 20 men were summoned to appear at the NKVD headquarters. The NKVD "put the suggestion to them" that they should accept the weapons. When the men, however, refused to do so, they were arrested and taken to the district headquarters. After they had been tortured by the NKVD, they were forced to sign a statement to the effect that they accepted the weapons "voluntarily". When Fedir Vıvsyk, a demobilized soldier of the Red Army, however, refused to accept a weapon, the NKVD men flogged him to such an extent that he was in hospital for a month afterwards. After he had recovered to a certain extent and was able to walk about again, the NKVD tried again and again to force him to accept weapons.

In September and October 1945, the Bolsheviks arrested all the young men in the villages of Slovye, Netsı and Pıdsynovka, in the district of Sedlyshchany in Volhynia, because they refused to serve in the militia.

During the same month 22 demobilized soldiers were summoned to appear at the military headquarters in the village of Putsen in the district of the same name. There they were then mobilized inasmuch as they were forced to accept the weapons handed out to them. At the same time, they were given the choice of either joining the militia or an annihilation battalion.

In the village of Dovzhnytsia in the district of Kolky in Volhynia, NKVD men fastened a board on the back of a youth who refused to serve in the local annihilation battalion, they then proceeded to beat him until he said that he was willing to accept a weapon and serve in the battalion.

In the district of Ratne in Volhynia those who refused to serve in the local annihilation battalion were made to stand out in the open under guard and were left to starve and shiver with cold. This form of persecution only came to an end when a person said he was prepared to join the annihilation battalion. The brutish NKVD men frequently tortured such persons to death and then cut their throats or hanged them and circulated the rumours that they had committed suicide.

In the village of Sityane, near to the village of Kurtylis in the district of Ratne, NKVD men put burning straw under the bare feet of the youths of the village in order to force them to join the annihilation battalions.

As a result of the beatings inflicted on them by the NKVD men, Ukrainians who had been arrested by the NKVD for refusing to join the annihilation battalions, frequently returned home after two or three weeks with their whole body a mass of bruises and wounds.

As a rule the NKVD forced the "strybky" soldiers to sign a statement worded as follows:

"I (surname and Christian name) born in the year , herewith pledge before the NKVD that I will take up arms and fight against the UPA gangs and their

accomplices until they are completely annihilated. In doing so, I will not spare my strength, nor will I hesitate to lay down my life for our Soviet fatherland if it should be necessary. I shall take the greatest care of the weapon that I have received and shall not hand it over to anyone else .."

The NKVD seeks to demoralize the young Ukrainians who have been forced by the Russians to join an annihilation battalion or the militia by fostering licentiousness and drunkenness amongst them, organizing wild carousals and orgies, and cultivating barbarous customs. On the strength of numerous facts it can easily be ascertained that the Russians are, above all, intent upon destroying all national and human morals and ethics among the young generation of Ukrainians, and degrading them to the level of animals so as to be able to do with them what they like.

The Bolshevik campaign regarding the organization of annihilation battalions for the most part proved a failure. The weapons intended to be used against the Ukrainian underground movement and forced on the young Ukrainians were very often voluntarily placed at the disposal of the insurgents, since the young Ukrainians in question usually went over to the UPA in groups and were constantly in touch with the Ukrainian underground movement. And the Russians, alarmed at this collaboration on the part of members of the annihilation battalions with the insurgents, were often forced to disband the battalions which they had organized with so much difficulty. But be that as it may, nothing could be more base and vile than the method adopted by the Bolsheviks in order to combat the Ukrainian underground movement, — namely that of trying to stir up hostility between brothers.

DEPORTATION AND DEMORALIZATION OF THE UKRAINIAN YOUTH

Another measure to which the Russian Bolsheviks resort in their fight against the Ukrainian independence aspirations is the deportation of practically the entire Ukrainian youth. On various pretexts these young people are abducted. Most of the young Ukrainians between the ages of 17 and 23 are called up for service in the Red Army. The Ukrainian units of the Red Army are as a rule sent to the Far East. Large numbers of Ukrainian boys and girls are sent to far distant regions of the USSR in order to work there, — either in the coal and iron ore mines, in the factories and other concerns, or as lumberers in the extensive Russian forests. Many of the boys are forced to attend the schools for so-called factory vocational instruction (FZN schools). Thus the Red Russians have to a large extent "purged" the territory of Ukraine of the strongest fighting element, namely the young people.

The Bolsheviks also seek to bring about a demoralization of the Ukrainian population by organizing so-called clubs in the rural areas

and forcing the young people to join the Komsomol (Communist youth organization).

Officially, the clubs are intended to be centres of "culture and enlightenment," that is to say hotbeds of Bolshevist propaganda, in the villages. In practice, however, they are often the scene of carousals and orgies in which the "strybky," NKVD men and representatives of the Komsomol take part, and which the young people of the village are forced to attend. But in most Ukrainian villages these clubs fail to thrive. And where they do exist, they are usually opened only two or three times a year. This is the case when representatives of the administration visit the villages on official Bolshevist holidays or festivals. On such occasions the Ukrainian inhabitants remain indoors so as not to be forced to take part in the "festivities" organized by the clubs.

It is the duty of the Komsomol to train the youth in the Bolshevist spirit, that is to stir up the young people against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement.

Below we quote the definition of the task of the Komsomol in the regions in which the UPA is active, a definition laid down in a secret resolution of the regional committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine. (We have already quoted this resolution elsewhere.)

"...It is the duty of the town and rayon committees of the Communist Party of Ukraine to accord systematic support to the Komsomol organizations in their political mass-work amongst the youth. In this respect attention must be devoted in particular to increasing the ideological influence of the Komsomol organizations on the youth, to enlightening the youth as to the harmful character of Ukrainian-German nationalist brigandism, and to including the youth in the direct fight against the latter."

Since the young people of Ukraine, who are inspired by the revolutionary fight and in this connection have the support of their parents, are well aware of this task of the Communist youth organization, they do everything in their power to resist their inclusion in the Komsomol. Young persons who join the Komsomol of their own free will, or who do not put up enough resistance when asked to sign a statement to the effect that they will join the Komsomol, are boycotted not only by other young Ukrainians but by the public in general. But in this respect, too, the Bolsheviks do not give in easily. In the district of Burshtyn in the region of Stanyslaviv, for example, they started organizing the Komsomol by resorting to force. They summoned all the young people to the village soviet and forced them to sign statements to the effect that they would join the Komsomol. Those who refused to sign these statements were beaten by the NKVD men, and the latter then signed the statement in the name of the young person in question.

In many places the existence of secret Komsomol organizations has been ascertained. They have been founded by the NKVD for the following purpose:

a) to conceal them from the Ukrainian underground movement and the nationally conscious Ukrainian public, who are definitely hostile to the Komsomol organizations,

b) to encourage those elements whose resistance is feeble — fortunately there are very few of such elements amongst the young people of Ukraine — and who are afraid of joining the Komsomol because of the opposition of their families or acquaintances,

c) to make the activity of such Komsomol members, as co-workers of the Bolshevik secret police, more effective. It goes without saying that these secret Komsomol organizations to an even larger extent than the legal ones become organizations of Bolshevik secret co-workers. It was ascertained that secret Komsomol organizations have been formed in many rayons (districts), as for instance in the district of Kalush, Halych and Tovmach, all of which belong to the region of Stanyslaviv. On the whole, however, they have proved a miserable failure as regards Bolshevik propaganda for recruiting young Ukrainians for the Komsomol.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH

In a truly barbarous manner the Bolsheviks insult the religious feelings of the Ukrainian population. We do not intend to discuss in detail the official persecution of the Ukrainian Greek Catholic Church and the campaign directed towards its conversion to Russian Orthodoxy. As a result of this campaign countless priests, including the entire Greek Catholic episcopate, were put into prison and numerous churches were closed down. Comprehensive accounts of these facts have been published in the Ukrainian underground press. The aim of the campaign was

a) to destroy the Greek Catholic Church as a national and religious institution, since it sought to protect the Ukrainian people against Moscow's Russification plans, and

b) by means of terrorism to persuade part of the clergy to collaborate with the NKVD and in this way to undermine the authority of the Church amongst the Ukrainian people. In addition to the official persecution of the Greek Catholic Church, the Bolsheviks frequently loot churches, turn worshippers out of the building during divine service, destroy the pictures and statues of saints, and openly insult the religious feelings of the Ukrainian people.

In the village of Mokra near Pinsk (in the Byelorussian SSR), for instance, NKVD men on various occasions entered the church during divine service without baring their heads. In January 1946 the local NKVD chief in the same village rushed into the church, threatened the worshippers with a revolver and drove them out of the building.

On May 13, 1946, a religious procession from East Ukraine visited the famous monastery in Pochayiv (in the region of Ternopil). In front of the monastery the procession was attacked by NKVD men.

who seized hold of the banners and tore them to shreds, they then started beating the worshippers and the priests. All the pilgrims were arrested by the NKVD.

On June 19, 1946, Bolsheviks raided the church in the village of Verbizh near Shchyrets (in the region of Lviv) and stole the vestments, banners and sacred vessels.

At Easter 1946 the local NKVD chief in the village of Korchyn near Skole (in the region of Drohobych) rode into the church on horseback during divine service.

In September 1945 NKVD men looted the church in the village of Zdyshiv, in Kamyanka-Buzka district (in the region of Lviv). They then made all the girls in the village assemble in the church, in a completely drunken condition the NKVD men dressed themselves in vestments and proceeded to give a parody of the divine service, using blasphemous and obscene language. They drank all the wine and ate the consecrated bread. They told the girls whom they had forced to assemble in the church that they had been arrested and wanted to set fire to the church and burn them alive, but the highly indignant villagers prevented them from doing so.

THE PUBLIC HEALTH AND FOOD SITUATION

We have already referred to the fact that the Russians intentionally did not take any measures to combat diseases, as for instance spotted fever, which raged in some places, in the Ukrainian territories, but, on the contrary, sought to spread them systematically. The same also applies to venereal diseases. These were spread by the Bolsheviks by the mass-infection of girls and women in the prisons, as well as by the mass-raping of women by soldiers of the Red Army, who are still stationed in the Ukrainian villages. No measures whatever were introduced to combat these diseases. Indeed, medical care for the civilian population, especially in the rural areas, is most inadequate.

This is what one of our correspondents writes about conditions in this respect in some of the districts in Volhynia:

'In the district of Kozyn which is inhabited by more than 30,000 persons there are only five first aid men who were given a superficial training during the war. One of them is in charge of the health department in the district centre (where there is not a single doctor). The clinics in the rayon are not heated and most of the windows are broken or cracked. There are no medical supplies and no equipment. Apart from aspirin and iodine no medical supplies or drugs whatever are available.

There is a makeshift clinic for infectious diseases in the rayon. Persons suffering from typhus, for instance are housed in the dirtiest spot in the village of Zhabokrukya Velyka namely in the old school-building. Fifteen yards away from it there is a new building in which small children are taught. About 25 paces further on is the village church. Persons suffering

from typhus are treated by a first-aid man, whose knowledge of diseases dates back to the tsarist era and who is only acquainted with three diseases, scabies, typhus and "espanka" or Spanish influenza (any disease which he does not recognize he classifies as one of these three).

For 6 rayons there is only one hospital in Dubno, but the rural population has not a very high opinion of it. It is practically impossible for the average person to get treatment there. Admission or treatment involve producing a recommendation and also a certificate to the effect that the patient is not in any way suspected of collaboration with the underground movement. And in addition to the official cost of treatment, large sums of money have to be paid to the staff as bribes."

One of the most important means adopted by the Russian occupants in their fight against the Ukrainian national liberation movement and against the Ukrainian people in general is economic exploitation, or in other words, the looting of food supplies.

We have elsewhere referred to this type of looting in the Carpathians and in the region of Polissia. This method is, in fact, applied everywhere in Ukraine. The Bolsheviks fix huge quotas for the delivery of supplies of grain, milk, meat, vegetables and fruit, to the state, as well as huge taxes, loans, insurances, etc., but they make no attempt to put a stop to the looting and marauding which is carried on by the Red Army and by other military units.

During the years 1945 and 1946 this marauding and looting on the part of these various units, together with the terrorist activity of the NKVD, assumed particularly alarming proportions. At all hours of the day and night farmers in the rural areas and especially those whose farms were close to main highways were obliged to put up with raids on the part of these gangsters in uniform. They looted anything they could lay hands on, — flour, fat, shoes, clothes, money, and even bee-hives. They smashed the furniture and stole watches and clocks and any other articles of value that they could take away with them. During the spring and summer months, groups of soldiers used to raid the gardens and fields and steal vegetables and potatoes. The Bolshevik authorities took no steps to prevent this looting and marauding, for it was entirely in keeping with their aim, namely that the Ukrainian farmers who had been robbed should thus be unable to help the Ukrainian underground movement in any material way. Although the Russian occupants had not succeeded in seriously harming the Ukrainian underground movement, they did nevertheless in this way inflict serious economic losses on the Ukrainian farmers and workers. For the latter were now forced to endure starvation and to wear rags instead of clothes. The Russian Bolsheviks had reduced the Ukrainian people to such a state that the acquisition of a piece of bread and of even the poorest of clothes was the main problem which occupied them, and for this reason the Red soldiers concentrated their activity in this field.

THE FAMINE OF 1946

In 1946 a big drought destroyed the harvest in most of the regions of East Ukraine. But in spite of this natural catastrophe the Red Russians did not reduce the compulsory quotas for the delivery of grain and other agricultural products to the state. Those farmers who had harvested no grain whatever were obliged to buy it whenever they could so that they could deliver the fixed quota of grain to the state. Failure to fulfil the delivery quotas was punished in exactly the same way as during normal times. A farmer's wife in Southern Bessarabia (district of Izmail) was, for example, forced to travel to Stryy (in the region of Drohobych) in order to buy grain there, which she then had to deliver to the state on the spot as the compulsory quota. The Bolshevik administration had developed its system to such "perfection" that it was able to receive the contingents from the people of the Izmail district in the region of Drohobych, which was a long way from the former district (the distance between the two amounts to several hundred miles).

As a result of this policy it was inevitable that a famine broke out in most of the regions of East Ukraine in 1946. In order to save themselves from starving to death, millions of Ukrainians went to the regions of West Ukraine in search of bread.

From June 1946 onwards, the following tragic scenes could be witnessed every day in the regions of West Ukraine.

A train packed with persons who are starving draws in at some station or other. They are all completely emaciated and exhausted; they look like skeletons dressed in rags, and they carry big rucksacks and bags on their shoulders. They swarm out of the train and proceed to pitch a camp for the night. During the night they light a fire to keep warm. A meagre meal is eaten out of tins and enamel basins. Then they put their rucksacks under their heads, move closer to each other to keep warm, and go to sleep on the damp ground.

Next morning they flock in hundreds to the nearest villages, towns and markets. On the markets they buy corn, potatoes or flour or else exchange their last shirt or their last dress for these wares. In the villages they beg a little bread, a few grammes of beans and some potatoes from the inhabitants. They have been reduced to such a state of starvation that they will exchange anything they are wearing for food. Some of them take on jobs as labourers on a farm in order to get food.

Two or three days later they return to the station with a few pounds of corn, flour or beans. In the meantime hundreds of other starving people have arrived there. Suddenly the NKVD men surround the station and give orders that all rucksacks are to be emptied. They then rob these starving persons of the meagre supplies which they have managed to collect in order to save themselves from starving to death, supplies which they have bought with their last garment or last money, or which have been given to

them by kind-hearted and compassionate people. Clashes frequently occur on such occasions between the starving population and the NKVD. Stones are thrown at the NKVD men, and they in turn fire on the crowd. And many a mother never sees her starving children again.

It is an established fact that murder was sometimes committed by these starving creatures, who, incidentally, were also suspected of cannibalism. But the population of the so-called USSR was reduced to such a barbarous state by the Bolshevik Russian clique!

The famine caused by the Bolsheviks in 1946 bears a certain resemblance to the famine which was artificially created in Ukraine by the Russians during the years 1932-33 and which claimed about 7 million victims amongst the Ukrainian population.

In order to seize all the grain supplies in the western regions of the USSR for the state, the Bolsheviks introduced a decree issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, to the effect that the population of the eastern regions was prohibited from buying food and conveying the latter to the eastern regions. The reason given for this prohibition was that all the agricultural products in the Ukrainian western regions were allegedly affected with a blight. The purchase of grain was prohibited in view of the campaign regarding reserve supplies for the state.

This policy which has constantly been pursued by the Bolsheviks — the physical extermination of the Ukrainian underground fighters, unheard of terrorism against the Ukrainian civilian population, the attempts to involve the Ukrainian people in a fratricidal war, the intentional spreading of venereal diseases and typhus epidemics, the dreadful conditions in the prisons and concentration camps, the economic exploitation of the Ukrainian population, starvation and famine, and the refusal of medical treatment to the Ukrainian population, — all this has one aim, namely the complete physical extermination of the Ukrainian people. For as long as the Ukrainian people live on, their independence aspirations, too, will live on and will continue to endanger the plans of the Kremlin imperialists as regards conquering and ruling the world. The Red Russian imperialists dealt with the Tatars, Chechens and Ingushes by deporting these peoples from the territory in which they had lived for centuries and resettling them in other parts of the USSR. In the case of the Ukrainian people, who number 40 million, the Red Russian imperialists will find it impossible to realize such a plan. But one could to a certain extent eliminate the 'Ukrainian threat' to the Russian imperium by physically exterminating not the entire Ukrainian people but, at least, the factor which is most valuable biologically and politically, namely the youth of Ukraine and the entire element which is actively striving to set up an independent Ukraine. Indeed, for years the Russian Bolsheviks have been liquidating this 'Ukrainian threat' with a ruthlessness and cruelty of which only the degenerated Red Russians are capable.

THE ELECTIONS AND THE CLIMAX OF TERRORISM

The procedure of the so-called elections to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR on February 10, 1946, was characteristic of the situation in the Ukrainian territories under Bolshevist occupation during the years 1944-46. In order to ensure the "appearance" of the population at the election booths and to prevent a complete boycott of the elections by the Ukrainian population, the Russian occupants began to set up military units (the so-called "garrisons"), consisting on an average of about 20 to 60 men, in every village in Ukraine from about the middle of January 1946 onwards. In many cases these garrisons consisted of as many as 100 to 200 men. From the first day that they were stationed in the various villages, grim terrorism prevailed. It was only by means of razzias that these Russian intruders managed to force the Ukrainian population to attend the propaganda meetings held prior to the elections. These meetings were held in buildings that were surrounded by machine-guns drawn up in readiness to fire on anyone who refused to attend the meeting. M. Hrechukha, the Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukrainian SSR, who had been put up as a candidate for the constituency of Berezhany, appeared at one of these meetings protected by a special NKVD detachment numbering 8,000 men. And it was this NKVD detachment which carried out extensive razzias in the entire region.

On the day of the elections the terrorism reached its climax. The population refused to vote. People hid, or fled into the forests nearby and held anti-Bolshevist demonstrations. By noon only 5 per cent of the inhabitants in the entire Ukrainian territories, which were swept by the revolutionary movement, had voted. Bayonets, rifles and other weapons were then used to deal with the obstinate Ukrainians. In numerous cases the soldiers used tanks and armoured cars to force people to go to the election booths. People were dragged along by their hair, they were bound with rope and barbed wire, or they were tied together and driven on lorries to the polling stations. The history of "world democracy" has surely never experienced anything like the incidents which occurred in Ukraine on this election day. Hundreds of persons were shot and maimed because they refused to vote, thousands were arrested, thousands were flogged and tortured, and thousands of dwellings were destroyed. In the case of countless persons who could not even be induced to vote by the tortures inflicted on them, the soldiers of the garrisons voted for them! As a result of this deception, the ballot-boxes often contained hundreds of ballots more than the number of voters listed. Actually, there were not more than 3 per cent of the Ukrainians entitled to vote who voted of their own free

will, 30 to 40 per cent only voted because they were terrorized into doing so, whilst the remaining percentage did not vote at all. According to official Bolshevik data, however, "98.8 per cent of the registered voters took part in the elections."

On January 17, 1946, NKVD men in the village of Volya Zhovtynetska near Kulykiv (in the region of Lviv) shot a Ukrainian by the name of Mykhaylo Derkach for refusing to vote.

On February 2, 1946, 40-year old Hryhoriy Burko, 42-year old Mykhaylo Senkiv, 32-year old Vasyl Stronnytsky and 42-year old Petro Huzvira, all of them inhabitants of the village of Zheldets, in the Kamyanka-Buzka (also known as Kamyanka Strumyl'ova) district (in the region of Lviv), were shot by the NKVD for refusing to vote.

In the village of Kosmach near Yabluniv (in the region of Stanyslaviv) the Bolsheviks discovered three farmers hiding in a wooden hut because they did not want to vote. The Bolsheviks promptly murdered them, slit their bodies with their bayonets, cut off their heads and threw them on a fire.

During the 'preparations' for the elections, NKVD men in the district of Halych set fire to 51 farms, in the district of Stanyslaviv to 41 farms, and in the district of Bohorodchany to 6 farms. At the same time, they also arrested 590 persons in the district of Halych, 214 persons in the district of Stanyslaviv, and 160 persons in the district of Bohorodchany. In the district of Halych 6 families including 6 children, were deported to Siberia, in the district of Stanyslaviv 3 families, and in the district of Bohorodchany 12 families, including 7 children. 33 persons were killed in the district of Halych, 58 in the district of Stanyslaviv, and 14 in the district of Lysets (in the region of Stanyslaviv).

In the village of Blyudnyky near Halych (in the region of Stanyslaviv) the Bolsheviks seized a member of the election committee, Ivan Shaturna, who had refused to vote. They beat him with the butts of their rifles, tied a rope round his neck and dragged him along to the polling station. On the way there they hit him with their rifles and pricked him with their bayonets every few yards to make him hurry. Shaturna, however, still refused to vote. Thereupon the Bolsheviks tied his hands together with a rope and threw him into a well. Shaturna was a demobilized soldier of the Red Army and had taken part in the German-Russian war from 1941 to 1945.

In the same village the soldiers of the garrison there locked all the persons who refused to vote in the cellar of a dairy and filled the cellar with water. For five hours these persons were obliged to stand in the water which reached up to their necks. When the Bolsheviks returned and asked them whether they were now willing to vote, they once more refused to do so.

In the village of Kolodyivka in the district of Stanyslaviv the Bolsheviks dragged a woman, Maria Yakubiv, to the polling station by her hair.

In the village of Pidpechary in the district of Stanyslaviv NKVD men shot Anna Ovrach because she refused to go along to the polling station.

Volodymyr Borysovych, an inhabitant of the village of Komariv in the district of Halych, committed suicide since he could no longer endure the blows inflicted on him by the Bolsheviks

In the village of Selyshcha in the district of Halych NKVD men locked up all those who refused to vote in the house belonging to the chairman of the village soviet and then set fire to the building. They fired on all those who tried to escape out of the burning house

UNSUCCESSFUL APPEAL TO CAPITULATE

In addition to our account of the fighting methods adopted by the Russian Bolsheviks against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, we should also like to mention the so-called "appeals" addressed to the Ukrainian people by the puppet government of the Ukrainian SSR. In these "appeals" the so-called government of the Ukrainian SSR exhorted the members of the Ukrainian underground movement to leave the forests, to cease the armed underground fight against the Soviet state power and, together with their leaders, to surrender. The Soviet Ukrainian government appointed by the Russians promised that all the underground fighters and insurgents who surrendered of their own free will and showed that they repented would be "forgiven." They were likewise promised a suitable, peaceful occupation. Persons who are misinformed or naïve might easily interpret such "appeals" as a kind of amnesty on the part of the government of the Ukrainian SSR for all those persons who have taken part in the Ukrainian revolutionary fight for freedom. Actually, the situation is quite different, however. In the so-called Soviet Union there is no such thing as an amnesty for political prisoners. Political opponents of the Communist Party are simply liquidated and by no means amnestied. And this fact is corroborated by Communist practices so far. For one must bear in mind that "these appeals addressed to the 'members of partisan groups' promise 'forgiveness' to all those 'misled and deceived persons' who, within a certain fixed period of time, report to the NKVD, inform against all their political co-workers, betray all the military and underground secrets that they know, and collaborate with the NKVD." (This passage is quoted from a Ukrainian underground publication entitled "The Year 1945 in the Ukrainian Territories.") A further passage from the same book states "As can be seen, the conditions of 'forgiveness' were so insolent and

cynical that no honest-thinking member of a political organization or of a revolutionary liberation army could possibly accept them "

Recent experience has likewise shown that all those who surrendered did not enjoy their freedom for long For soon after a few weak-willed individuals had reported to the NKVD, the Bolshevik press began to publish articles containing admonitions to be "vigilant," since there were allegedly "disguised supporters of the Ukrainian independence aspirations" amongst these persons And the NKVD actively supported the "public opinion" expressed in the press Most of the persons who had reported to the NKVD were arrested by the latter and deported to the interior of Russia

On May 27, 1946, all the persons who had "repented in the district of Stepan' in the region of Rivne were seized by the NKVD on the pretext of mobilization

On December 10, 1945, the NKVD arrested the former UPA fighter Koloda in the village of Ozeriany in Volhynia A few months previously he had reported to the NKVD in order to 'repent "

The other persons who reported to the NKVD were either forced to collaborate with the Bolsheviks, or else to fight against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement in various ways " These persons were forced to drive round with the NKVD men and point out hiding-places and houses in the rural areas, as well as friends and acquaintances to them They were also forced to terrorize the Ukrainian population As a result of this 'amnesty' many of the 'persons amnestied' went mad or committed suicide, whilst the rest sank to the lowest level of human vileness " (from 'The Year 1945 in the Ukrainian Territories')

But the Bolshevik press and broadcasting stations make no mention whatever of all that has been happening in Ukraine during the past few years, that is to say the fierce fight put up by the Ukrainian people, a fight which has assumed huge proportions, and the terrorism applied by the NKVD against the Ukrainian population During the above mentioned years (and also later) there was hardly a single article published in the Bolshevik press which gave an objective account of the true situation in those Ukrainian territories in which the revolutionary fight was being conducted Not a single report which gave an account of actual events in Ukraine was published in the Bolshevik press The same press which mentions the smallest strike in the USA and the smallest demonstration in Egypt or elsewhere in detail or which feigns indignation at the suppression of the liberation movement in Indonesia by the Dutch never once reported the big clashes between Bolshevik troop units and the UPA which occurred practically every day in Ukraine and this same press by no means expresses its indignation at the suppression of the revolutionary liberation fight of the Ukrainian people by the NKVD All previous and present events in Ukraine are simply hushed up, with the exception of the foul defamations against the Ukrainian liberation movement, which are gone into at

This is a very typical case of Bolshevist "jurisdiction." Its task is the same as that of the NKVD: to accelerate achievement of the aim which the Kremlin criminals have set themselves, — namely "to destroy the independence aspirations in Ukraine at any price."

CONCLUSION

Such are the methods which the Russians apply in their fight against the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement and against the entire Ukrainian people, — methods which are criminal and atrocious, to say the least.

But even with the aid of such gangster tricks and criminal machinations the Russian Bolshevist occupants by no means succeed either in destroying the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, or forcing the Ukrainian people into complete submissiveness. Almost fanatical idealism which inspires the Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents helps them to endure the most dreadful tortures. And the Ukrainian people have actually emerged as the victors out of the long and unequal fight against the Russian Bolshevist occupants and their agents. The liberation movement, which has as its aim the liberation of Ukraine from the Russian yoke, is today stronger than ever. As in former years, the Ukrainian people continue to put up a fierce resistance against the terrorist policy of the Bolsheviks and to support the Ukrainian revolutionary freedom fighters. The apparently invincible NKVD can find no completely effective way of dealing with the independence aspirations of the Ukrainian people, which today meet with far more sympathy and understanding than was formerly the case not only amongst the other peoples subjugated in the USSR but also amongst neighbouring peoples living on the borders of the USSR.

The day of the final liberation of the Ukrainian people is rapidly approaching. And this legitimate political development, which is in keeping with the greatest wish of the entire Ukrainian people, can not be impeded by any terrorism. Nor can any plans, however criminal they may be, nor any of the treacherous methods applied by the Russian Bolshevist occupants prevent this development.

The inevitable and logical result of this process is bound to be an independent Ukrainian state.

Volodymyr Kosyk

CONCENTRATION CAMPS IN THE USSR

CHAPTER I

SLAVE LABOUR IN THE TSARIST RUSSIA AND IN THE USSR

The existence of slave labour and of concentration camps in the Soviet Union, though it is a question on which there can be no doubt, continues to be an obscure matter and one which is far removed from the majority of people who have the good fortune to be free. It is difficult to imagine that about 10 per cent of the population of the prison of nations which goes by the name of Soviet Union are interned in slave labour camps. And it is even more difficult to realize that the overwhelming majority of these prisoners were and are persons who belong to the peoples subjugated by Russia.

Few people know exactly who these prisoners are, or why they are in the camps, or what their nationality is. Russian emigrants, relying on the ignorance of the free world, spread fairytales about "the millions of Russians living in the concentration camps." They do so for two reasons: in the first place, in order to make the world believe that there is neither discrimination nor national oppression in the Soviet Union, and that the Russian Communist regime does not treat the Russians with favouritism and does not persecute the peoples it rules (the non-Russian peoples) to the death; secondly, in order to make the world believe that, apart from the peoples of the Baltic countries, the other peoples are "peoples of Russia," or quite simply Russians. These two reasons, though they seem to be contradictory, prompt the Russian emigrants to make exaggerated statements and protestations whenever the truth is made known. Proud of the conquests and of the strength of Soviet Russia ("never before has Russia been so powerful, never before has she made the whole world tremble"), they have one objective in mind in acting thus: namely, to prove that Russia is not responsible for the advance of Communism, to prove that it is not Russia but "international Communism" which is a menace to the free world, to prove that Communism has not become the instrument of modern Russian imperialism, and to endeavour to preserve the conquests of Soviet Russia after the possible downfall of Communism.

Slave labour came into being in Russia with the expansion of the Russian (that is to say Muscovite) state and with the conquest of neighbouring peoples: Siberia, Turkestan, the Caucasus, Ukraine, Byelorussia, the Baltic countries, Finland, etc. As a rule such conquests were accompanied by the ruthless massacre of the innocent local population and the deportation to Russia and later to Siberia of prisoners condemned to slave labour, which consisted in the building of towns, roads and canals. In the 17th century the system of slave labour had practically already reached its peak under Tsar Peter I.

To quote but one example, — after the defeat of Ukraine, the ally of King Charles XII of Sweden, in the war against Russia, Peter I gave orders that the remnants of the Ukrainian resistance were to be destroyed by the deportation of Ukrainians to Russia. According to the Russian archives cited by Russian and Ukrainian historians, during the years 1721 and 1725 at least 20,000 Ukrainian prisoners perished during the construction of the Ladoga Canal and the town of St. Petersburg (now Leningrad).¹⁾ About the same period, more than 10,000 Ukrainians perished during the construction of the fortress of Derbent on the Caspian Sea, and about 60,000 during the construction of the fortifications along the shores of the Sea of Azov.²⁾ As can be seen from the report submitted to the Russian Senate by Colonel Cherniak in 1722, the prisoners died as a result of the inhuman conditions which they had to endure in the camps and on the sites where they worked.³⁾ "The Tsar — so W. H. Chamberlain writes — employed the methods which have been frequently practised since those days by the Soviet government with the aim of breaking down the resistance of the Ukrainians and of the other recalcitrant peoples."⁴⁾

Since the days of Peter I, slave labour — "katorga" — has never ceased to exist in Russia. There is no difference between the slaves of former times and those of today: they are persons who belong to the conquered and recalcitrant peoples and have been sentenced for political crimes, and about 20 per cent of the total number are Russians who have been sentenced under common law, or, likewise, for disloyalty to the regime

"THE NEW ERA"

The old tsarist system of slave labour fell into decay in 1917 as a result of the Communist coup d'état. For some years, or, to be more precise, during the "militant Communism," it was not replaced, although internment camps were set up a few months after the coup d'état. The Russian Bolshevik army and the Cheka undertook to liquidate the enemies of Russia and of the new regime by shooting them.

Nevertheless, slave labour could be foreseen from the beginning of the "new era" in Russia. But in conformity with Communist ideas and phraseology, the Russians this time changed its name and also its definition. The old system of slave labour was abolished, but in 1919 the term "corrective labour" was introduced. In March that same year the Congress of the Bolsheviks approved the programme of the Party, in which it was stated that "labour is the principal method of correction." Subsequently, in April 1919, the President of the Executive Committee of Soviet Russia, M. Kalinin, signed the decree "On the camps for corrective labour in R S F S R" (that is to say, the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic ⁵⁾

It is interesting to note that at that time the Soviet Union did not yet exist. Ukraine, Georgia and other states were constantly at war with Russia. These states, even after their occupation by the Russian Communist army, were not incorporated in the Russian Federation. They remained independent, as it were, under the Soviet regime enforced by Russian bayonets, until 1924, the year of the compulsory adoption of the constitution of the U S S R ⁶⁾ Actually, their status was that of Russian satellites. But the laws adopted by the government of Russia were automatically applied in the occupied states.

It is a generally accepted fact that the first real Russian concentration camp was set up in 1923 on the islands of Solovetskiye in the White Sea ⁷⁾ This is not, however, quite correct. This camp was probably the first one to which, from 1922 onwards, the new Russian regime sent prisoners whom it regarded as dangerous. In fact, one cannot say for certain whether the first camp was established in 1922 or in 1923. Certain authorities on the subject and former internees affirm that prior to 1922 there were already about a hundred small concentration camps in Soviet Russia ⁸⁾

THE SOLOVETSKIYE ISLANDS

The Solovetskiye islands or Solovki — the name given to several islands which include Greater Solovetskiy, Anser, Muksolma, Greater Hare, Lesser Hare, Konde and Voroniy — first appear in history from the end of the 16th century onwards, when the Monastery of St Zosim and St Savatiy was founded. Under Tsar Ivan the Terrible the Solovetskiy Monastery became a strategic point in the expansion of Russia towards the north. The kremlin (kremlin=citadel) of the Solovetskiy island was encircled during the years 1584 to 1596 by a huge bulwark which was insurmountable. Thus this island became the main base of the Russian fortifications in the north.

These islands and their monastery soon became the place to which the tsars had the enemies of Russia deported. And this place of prayer became a place of penitence for the "infidels," not of God but of 'Holy' Russia. In the cells and dark, damp dungeons of the Kremlin, prisoners had to atone for their 'crimes' towards 'Holy' Russia, or else die under the dreadful conditions that prevailed there.

One of the first prisoners in this early concentration camp was the last commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Cossacks of the Zaporozhian Sich, Petro Kalnyshevsky. Since she was unwilling to tolerate any remnants of independence in Ukraine, Russia decided to suppress them and to transform Ukraine into a Russian province. Catherine II issued an order to the effect that the Ukrainian Cossacks were to be disarmed and that their encampments were to be destroyed. After having captured their leader by a trick, she had their main camp encircled by surprise by 65,000 of her soldiers and by 50 cannon. Those who did not want to perish in the volley of the Russian cannon and guns were thus obliged to surrender. Kalnyshevsky was sent to the islands of Solovetskiye.⁹⁾ He remained a captive in the dungeon of the citadel from 1775 to 1801. Released at the age of 110, he had neither the courage nor the strength to return to Ukraine and died on the islands in 1803. Ukrainian prisoners who were interned there during the years 1922 to 1941 could read on the wall of the church the inscription in Russian above his tomb: "Here lie the remains of the servant of God, Petro Kalnyshevsky, commander-in-chief of the army of the Zaporozhians, once dangerous, deported to this monastery by order of Her Imperial Majesty, the Empress Catherine II, for expiation. He expiated and died on July 26, 1803."¹⁰⁾

The case of the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Cossacks, who at that time represented the only rampart of Ukrainian independence, which had already been limited, is indeed symbolical: crime, punishment and expiation. "Holy" Russia was indeed very severe towards this old Ukrainian.

The number of persons imprisoned in the citadel of Solovetskiye up to the time of the Communist coup d'état in Russia ranged from 10 to 30. Until 1919 the monastery remained under the administration of the Russian monks. In that year they left the islands and fled to London.¹¹⁾ From 1922 onwards the monastery was once more reopened to receive new prisoners, this time far greater in number.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

- 1) M. Hrushevsky, *A History of Ukraine*, New Haven, 1941, pp 298-301.
- 2) D Doroshenko, *Istoriya Ukrayiny* (History of Ukraine), pp 393-394
- 3) M. Hrushevsky, *op cit*, pp 376-377
- 4) William H. Chamberlain, *The Ukraine — a Submerged Nation*, New York, 1944, p 24
- 5) A. Mykulyn, *Kontsentratsiyni tabory v sovyets'komu soyuzi* (The Concentration Camps in the Soviet Union), Published by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Units Abroad, 1958, p 27
- 6) Vasyl Hryshko, *Experience with Russia*, New York, 1956, p 78 Cf R. Yaremchuk, *L'Ukraine en droit international*, Louvain, 1954
- 7) *Le proces des camps de concentration soviétique, Paux et Liberté*, Paris, p 23
- 8) A. Mykulyn, *op cit*, p 27.
- 9) *Velyka Istoriya Ukrayiny* (Great History of Ukraine), Lviv-Winnipeg, 1948, p 550 Cf Roger Tisserand, *L'Ukraine*, Paris, 1933, p 171.
- 10) S Pidhalnyi, *Ukrains'ka intelihentsiya na Solovkakh* (The Ukrainian Intelligentsia in Solovka), 1947, p 6
- 11) *Ibid.*, pp 6-7.

CHAPTER II

THE ARBITRARY NATURE OF RUSSIAN LAW

CHEKA — GPU — NKVD — MVD — KGB

At the outset, that is to say until 1923-1924 when the Soviet Union was founded, the question of setting up a vast system of concentration camps did not arise. Since the Russians hoped that the introduction of the Soviet regime in the occupied countries¹⁾ would be affected as easily as in Russia thanks to the passive attitude of the masses, they did not consider it necessary to exploit the internees in the camps economically. On the whole, undesirable Russian or foreign elements and, above all, the nationalists of the occupied countries were ruthlessly shot.

The law and its administration of the prisons and camps, from December 20, 1917, to February 6, 1922, remained in the hands of the VeCheka (Extraordinary Pan-Russian Commission), the military and police organ, acting in the service of the Council of Russian Commissars (that is to say Ministers) in order to combat counter-revolution, espionage, speculation and brigandage in Russia proper. The authority of the Cheka was extended to the non-Russian territories with the conquests carried out by the Russian Communist Army.

It is obvious that during this period Soviet repression was directed above all against the former big landowners, the capitalists and the tsarist functionaries in Russia, and subsequently, with the occupation of the neighbouring states, against the same persons, further against the members of the armed forces and of the national administration of these states.

On February 6, 1922, the Cheka was replaced by the OGPU (United State Political Administration), and the concentration camp system began to assume a clear and definite form.

On November 15, 1923 the Russians established a Juridical Body in the service of the OGPU with authority to arrest, deport, confine in a camp, or shoot any person arbitrarily, solely on the strength of an administrative decision²⁾. Thus began the first stage in the development of the Russian Communist concentration camp system.

The second stage commenced about the middle of 1934 with the foundation of the NKVD (People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs)

On July 10, 1934, the GUGB (Chief Directorate of State Security) was formed to take the place of OGPU. This new organ was incorporated in the NKVD and, consequently, the NKVD assumed the administration of the concentration camp system. As confirmed by official Russian documents, on November 5, 1934, the Special Conference (Osoboye Sovyeshchaniye or OSSO), consisting of the People's Commissar (Minister) of the NKVD, his deputies and the public prosecutor of the USSR, was founded and placed in the service of the NKVD. This "Conference" was in reality a committee, entrusted with the administration of the arbitrary Russian laws, which was vested with the authority "to enforce the law, by administrative means, interdiction of residence, deportation, incarceration in a corrective labour camp for a period of up to 5 years" ³)

It was the OSSO which, without trial and in the absence of the accused, passed sentences based on the reports of NKVD agents and in this way filled the concentration camps with prisoners. The sentence was as a rule 5 years internment, but the OSSO always extended it for another 5 years. Actually, from 1936 onwards, the OSSO passed sentences ranging from 5 to 25 years ⁴) The ordinary, special and military courts only concerned themselves with legally defined cases in which the guilt of the accused was evident and was proved in the formal way. If an examining magistrate had any doubts about a case, he passed it on to the OSSO.

The NKVD was renamed in March 1946 and since then has been designated as the MVD (Ministry for Internal Affairs). But this change of name did not bring about any change in the Russian police system. An official Russian document states that "the OSSO, subordinate to the Ministry for Internal Affairs (MVD) is authorized to impose on persons who are a social danger imprisonment in a corrective labour camp" ⁵) Thus the OSSO continued its existence and its work. In May 1956, certain Western newspapers published the statement made by the President of the Supreme Court of the USSR to the effect that the OSSO had been suppressed on the strength of the decree issued on December 1, 1953 ⁶) But this decree had not been made public, and it is questionable whether credence can be given to the statement made by the President of the Supreme Court.

Another organ of the secret police was created at the same time as the MVD in 1946 namely the MGB (Ministry for State Security). Some of the prerogatives of the MVD were transferred to the MGB, and in this way the entire concentration camp system was divided into two main categories: the camps where discipline was more or less slack and which were supervised by the MVD, and the camps where discipline was severe and which were supervised by the MGB.

After the death of Stalin, MVD chief Beria, hoping to win the struggle for power, unified the two ministries. His liquidation brought with it the reorganization of the two organs by the so-called "collective leadership," and the administration of the secret police passed into the hands of the KGB (Committee of State Security), where the key positions were given to the friends of Khrushchov. Subsequently, the

functions of the all-powerful MVI began to diminish, the supervision of the concentration camps passed to the public prosecutor of the state, and the special troops of the MVD came under military authority and then under the authority of the KGB. Finally the MVD was deprived of its function of ensuring the protection of important economic and strategic objectives (this function was assigned to the KGB) and all that it retained was control of the militia, the fire-brigades, the issuing of passports, registration of births and deaths and various other minor functions.

In January 1960, on the strength of a decree of the Supreme Soviet, the MVD of the Soviet Union was liquidated and its functions were transferred to the Ministries of the Interior of the national republics. Moscow was quick to announce the "liquidation" of the MVD, without, however, stating that the most important prerogatives of the MVD had long since been transferred to the KGB. But the decree of the Supreme Soviet, contrary to all expectations, did not mean an extension of the rights of the national republics or the democratization of the political regime of the Russian imperium.

The KGB, a terrible police instrument, has by degrees assumed the importance and the role of the former organs of terrorism.

ARBITRARINESS UNDER THE TSARS

The arbitrary nature of Russian laws did not come into being with the advent of Bolshevik power. The Russian Communists merely developed the arbitrariness practised in Russia by the tsarist government.

"An authoritarian state at all times" — so a book on the conditions of freedom in the USSR states — "Russia has always been characterised by a large measure of administrative interference in the life of its inhabitants, and in particular by the practice of administrative deportation or administrative internment. Without going back to the days of serfdom, when every landowner had the right to deport his peasants to Siberia, it is interesting to note that during the last decades of tsarist rule the system of administrative deportation was based on the 'provisions relative to the measures for state and public security' of 1881, which accorded to the Ministry of the Interior the right to deport to 'distant regions' of Russia or of Siberia, for a period of 5 years, persons suspected of seditious activities. This practice constituted the basis of the repressive measures of the regime with regard to political opposition."⁷)

Obviously it was the political opposition of the nations oppressed by Russia which was hit hardest by these measures.

Lenin, who himself had been deported to Siberia, designated the law of 1881 as "one of the most stable, basic laws of the Russian Empire." The Russian opponents of the tsarist regime — and Lenin,

too, was one of them — demanded “that the police should not be able to imprison people without a trial and that the functionaries should be severely punished for every arbitrary arrest ”⁸⁾

And now to quote two examples which will serve as a comparison to illustrate the arbitrary nature of the tsarist regime in Russia when dealing with a Ukrainian and with a Russian offender By order of Tsar Nicholas I, the Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko (1814-1861) was arrested and imprisoned in a fortress, he was subsequently deported to Central Asia where he spent 10 years for having written “seditious poetry in the Ukrainian language”⁹⁾ ‘Seditious’ because the Ukrainian poet had openly attacked the despotism of the tsars and Russian imperialism, because he had related in his poems the sufferings and hardship that Ukraine was obliged to endure, and because he had expressed the conviction in these poems that Ukraine should be free To the sentence passed on him, the tsar added in his own hand “Prohibited from writing and drawing’ Taras Shevchenko was sentenced to banishment for life, but Tsar Nicholas I died and the poet’s friends succeeded in obtaining his release from Alexander II Shevchenko’s health had been undermined to such an extent during his deportation that he died soon after his release¹⁰⁾

The founder of the new regime in Russia V I Lenin, had himself been sentenced to deportation, not for “seditious” poetry, but for a matter which was more serious, — namely, for revolutionary activity But, strange to say, he did not suffer the fate of the Ukrainian poet

Amongst the documents preserved in the Lenin Museum in Moscow there are some personal letters which he wrote to his wife Krupskaya during his deportation In one of them he wrote as follows ‘You ask me how I spend my time? I work a lot Sometimes I go hunting and in the evenings we play chess’ And Krupskaya, who went to see Lenin and spent some time with him, said in her memoirs ‘Life in Shushenskoye¹¹⁾ was very cheap For the money that Lenin received from the state — eight roubles a month — he was able to have a clean room three meals a day and also get his clothes laundered The peasant with whom Lenin stayed during his deportation used to kill a sheep every week, and Lenin had meat for his meals every day Milk, eggs bread and vegetables were provided by the peasant free of charge Lenin had a servant In his room there was a large library and he used to receive a lot of letters every day for he was in charge of the edition of newspapers in St Petersburg and abroad

RUSSIAN LAWS ARE APPLIED TO THE WHOLE WORLD

We have already mentioned the fact that the extension of the power of the Cheka to the neighbouring territories (non-Russian) went hand in hand with the conquests effected by the Russian Communist army This holds good not only for the Cheka but also for all the other subsequent Russian police and juridical organs Proof of

this fact can be seen from a secret Russian document In an account of the system of the Soviet concentration camps we are told that in Kaunas (Lithuania) "after the arrival of the Red Army and the installing of a Communist government, the Commission for Internal Affairs on November 28, 1940, issued an order, No 0054, about which there could not possibly be any doubt

'The Soviet Code is applied to the whole world and, above all, wherever the Red Army arrives, the citizens are immediately judged by their past and by the actions committed by previous generations'"')

The arrogant and abusive violation of international rights and of the rights of mankind practised by Russia since 1917 can be traced to the fact that the Russian government in its criminal imperialism found for its action a basis, a tool, an explanation and a justification — with which the Communist ideology provided it Under the cloak of Communism, of international Communist solidarity and of the 'world revolution' of the proletariat, Russia succeeded in developing her policy of expansion in such a way that most people were unable to comprehend whether it was a question of international Communism, or of Russian imperialism

It is futile to look for a distinction regarding the nationalities or a national and racial discrimination in the Russian laws These laws are called 'Soviet' laws, a term which is misleading They are the same for all the Soviet Republics, and all the nationalities come under the provisions of these laws, both in theory and in practice

According to the certificates received by released prisoners and according to the testimony given by former internees, the commonest reasons for sentences are the following K R — membership of a counter-revolutionary organization (15 to 25 years), K R D — counter-revolutionary activity (5 to 10 years and 25 years), P Sh — persons suspected of espionage (10 to 25 years), S V E — hostile social elements, S O E — dangerous social elements, and S N E — *untrustworthy social elements (sentences for these three categories vary, in general from 5 to 25 years)* ¹³⁾

About 90 per cent of the internees in the Soviet camps are political prisoners sent there for the reasons mentioned above, or, sometimes for no given reason Sentences for counter-revolutionary activity, espionage, treason, diversionism, sabotage, anti-Russian and anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda, membership of a secret nationalist revolutionary or military organization, are passed in accordance with Article 58 of the Russian Penal Code which comprises 14 paragraphs All political, social cultural or national activity directed against the interests of Russia and of her regime is regarded as a counter-revolutionary crime Article 58 contains a precise definition of a counter-revolutionary crime, namely as follows

58—1 — Every act tending to overthrow, to shake or to undermine the power of the Soviet workers and peasants and of the governments of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics, of the republics of the

Union and of the autonomous regions — established by these soviets in conformity with the Constitution of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and with the constitutions of the republics of the Union, or tending to shake or undermine the external security of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and of the economic, political and national conquests of the proletarian revolution, is regarded as a counter-revolutionary crime

By virtue of the international solidarity of the interests of all the workers, the same acts are likewise regarded as counter-revolutionary when they are directed against any workers' state which is not part of the Soviet Union (June 6, 1927/R D No 49, art 330)"¹⁴)

In view of this law it is easy to comprehend why the Russians have the audacity to deport or sentence the Ukrainians, the Hungarians or other peoples on their own territory. In this respect it must above all be borne in mind that the text of Article 58 quoted above is taken from the Penal Code of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, that is to say of Russia proper and not from that of the Soviet Union, for the latter has no penal code of its own. The basic laws applied to the whole of the Soviet Union and to the entire world are the laws of Russia. For propaganda purposes these laws are sometimes translated into the language of one of the Soviet Republics. As can be seen from the text of Article 58, the Russian Penal Code provides for penalties not only for Russia but also for the whole of the Soviet Union and for every person arrested, irrespective of nationalities. The order issued by the NKVD, No 0054, mentioned above, was issued in conformity with the Russian laws

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

- 1) By the terms *occupied countries* or *occupied peoples* we mean Ukraine, the Baltic countries, the Caucasus, Byelorussia etc., that is to say all the countries of the USSR with the exception of Russia proper
- 2) Big Soviet Encyclopedia (in Russian), Moscow, 1939, Vol 41, p 209
- 3) Decision of the Central Executive Committee (Ts.I.K.) No 283, Compendium of Laws of the USSR, No 35, Moscow, July 19 1934
- 4) A Mykulyn, op cit pp 35-36
- 5) Yevtikhiyev and Vlasov Administrative Law of the USSR, Moscow, 1946 pp 244 245, cited in *Le procès* ', op cit, p 16
- 6) Saturne Bulletin de la Commission Internationale Contre le Régime Concentrationnaire, No 7, March-May 1956 p 3
- 7) Les conditions de la liberté en URSS, Editions du Pavois, Paris, 1951, pp 17-18
- 8) V I Lenin, Complete Works (in Russian) Vol 7 Moscow, p 153
- 9) Vasyl Hryshko, op cit, p 35
- 10) Cf Roger Tisserand op cit, p 229
- 11) Quoted from A Mykulyn, op cit p 41
- 12) *Le procès* ", op cit p 29
- 13) Cf Elinor Lipper, *Onze ans dans les bagnes soviétiques (Eleven Years in the Soviet Convict-Prison)*, Paris, 1950, pp 34-35
- 14) Penal Code of the R S F S R., translated by Jean Fonteyne, Editions E.C.A., Brussels, 1951, p 36

CHAPTER III

THE NUMBER OF PRISONERS

A SECRET PLAN

The existence of slave labour as a means of social reconstruction and reform in the Soviet Union was not concealed as a secret until about 1929. But even up to 1933 it was mentioned in official Russian texts. For instance, the Small Soviet Encyclopedia in 1929 gave the following definition of a concentration camp: 'Concentration camp: place of isolation for prisoners-of-war, hostages and persons who are a social danger, who have not committed criminal acts but whose isolation is necessary in order to safeguard order and as a measure of social defense' ¹⁾

Volume VIII of the same Encyclopedia, published in 1931, states that the Solovetskiy Monastery is "actually a concentration camp" ²⁾

From 1935 onwards the Russian authorities deny the existence of slave labour camps. In that year Molotov angrily wrote 'it is time to put an end to the fairytales about slave labour in the USSR' ³⁾ And the Big Soviet Encyclopedia, published in 1935, suddenly gives another definition of concentration camps: "A concentration camp is a special place of detention, created by the fascist states, regimes of barbarism and of oppression of the peoples, which constantly increase the number of prisoners: the ordinary prisons no longer suffice for them" ⁴⁾

Why this change? What had happened in the meantime?

It can be assumed for certain that during the period from 1928 to 1931 the Russian Communist authorities elaborated a secret plan the aim of which was, firstly, to liquidate all the elements hostile to the Communist regime and to Russia, to put into concentration camps and to deport all persons suspected of nationalism (with the exception of Russian nationalism, the only nationalism which is permitted in the Soviet Union), undesirable, dangerous persons suspected of counter-revolutionary activity, etc., and, secondly, to employ the prisoners and deportees in the framework of the economic development of the USSR.

This leads us to assume that three factors must have played a principal part in the realization of the Russian plan a) the slave labour of the prisoners in the concentration camps, b) the slave labour of the deportees in the undeveloped regions, and c) compulsory collectivization

In 1928 Moscow began to carry out the first Five-Year Plan "It was at that time that millions of 'kulaks' (small land-owners) were liquidated as a class' and transformed into slave workers In March 1931, at the 6th Congress of the Soviets, Molotov stated that over a million deportees from the rural areas were employed in felling wood in the forests of the north On June 1, 1934, at the 7th Congress of the Soviets, Molotov affirmed that of the 5½ million peasants declared 'kulaks' in 1929, there were only 140,000 left That is to say, more than 5 million, according to official statistics (and probably more), had been liquidated by death or by deportation It was on March 26, 1928, that — in the framework of the Five-Year Plan — the first decree was issued prescribing 'the use on a large scale of the work of the prisoners' On May 21, 1928, an official circular of the Central Executive Committee of the USSR recommended 'the general employment of the work of individuals under the provisions of measures of social protection' in order to 'realize a series of economic projects by reducing expenditure considerably' "5)

THE NUMBER OF PRISONERS

Our assumption is irrefutably confirmed by the enormous increase in the number of victims from 1928-1929 onwards

According to the statistics drawn up by a Russian, Alexander Ouralov, the number of prisoners during the years 1922-1941 was as follows⁶⁾

1922	6,000 (officers, functionaries of the former regime, priests),
1927	140,000 (white guardists, priests, former members of anti-Bolshevist parties),
1930	1,500,000 (kulaks, businessmen established after the NEP, technicians of bourgeois origin and white guardists, priests, bourgeois, aristocracy, etc),
1932	2 500,000 (peasants),
1936	6,500,000 (peasants, workers, intellectuals of working-class and peasant origin),
1938	11,500,000 (the same categories as in 1936),
1941	13,500,000 (workers, peasants, intellectuals of the former regime)

These figures must be regarded as approximate and as lower than the actual figures Other experts estimate that in 1941 the number of prisoners was about 18 million (Ukrainian sources) and in 1957 about 23 million ⁷⁾

In addition O C Pfeiffer states in his book on Siberia⁸⁾ that the Soviet Russian authorities admitted in 1935 that at that time there

were between 5 and 6 million prisoners in the camps B Souvarine is of the opinion that as early as 1937 there were at least 15 million prisoners, and according to V Kravchenko⁹⁾, the figure mentioned by high-ranking functionaries of the Kremlin in 1938 was 15 million. According to the calculations of S Schwarz¹⁰⁾, there were 10 million prisoners in 1939.

For the period 1944-1945 Kravchenko estimates 20 million. Mme E Lipper quotes an admission made by the functionaries of the NKVD, according to which the total number of prisoners in 1948 was 12 million, the decrease in the total number being due to the famine during the previous years. The British Member of Parliament Stokes stated in December 1948 that the Soviet Union at that time had more than 17 million prisoners destined for slave labour¹¹⁾. The Spanish Communist El Campesino expressed the opinion "that by the end of 1948 one could affirm that in Russia about 19 million Russians (that is to say, citizens of the USSR — Editor's note) and about 4 million persons of various other nationalities — Germans, Japanese, members of people's republics, etc — had been deported or exiled"¹²⁾. In December 1949 a member of the US government gave the total number of prisoners in the Russian camps as 13 million¹³⁾. A source of information closely connected with the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) estimates that in 1950 the number of prisoners was 15 million¹⁴⁾.

The Israeli journalist J Margolin who was interned in Soviet camps from 1940 to 1945, estimated in 1951 that the number of prisoners was 10 million¹⁵⁾. But whereas Joseph Scholmer states that during the years 1950-1951 the total number must have been 15 million, V Andreyev, former inspector of Russian concentration camps from 1934 to 1941, affirmed in 1951 that "there must be between 12 and 14 million, possibly 15 million persons in the camps,"¹⁶⁾ and G Yershov, former colonel of the Red Army and commandant of the repatriation camps for Soviet subjects after the war expressed the opinion that the figure of 15 to 17 million was more exact for the year 1951¹⁷⁾.

O C Pfeiffer in his book published in 1952 accepts the figure of 20 million as the most likely figure for 1951-1952¹⁸⁾. During the years 1953-1955 the number of political prisoners alone was 10 million according to the estimate of a former German prisoner, B Roeder¹⁹⁾. US News and World Report stated in 1956 that D Dallin estimated the number of prisoners at that time between 12 and 15 million, but that other estimates put the figure for 1956 at 25 million²⁰⁾.

The main fault of the statistics drawn up by Ouralov and other writers is that they endeavour to give this multi-national mass of prisoners in the Russian camps a nationally Russian aspect, and Ouralov classifies this mass according to social origin in conformity with the Russian Communist method.

NATIONALITY OF PRISONERS

We affirm — and we shall prove by testimony — that 80 to 90 per cent of all the prisoners in the Russian concentration camps were and always are persons of foreign nationality Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Byelorussians, Georgians, Armenians, inhabitants of Turkestan and members of other nationalities of the Soviet Union, further, Poles, Hungarians, Bulgarians, Chinese, Koreans, and Germans, etc

15 to 20 per cent (from World War II onwards only about 10 per cent) are Russians Of the 80 to 90 per cent non-Russians in the camps, 55 to 60 per cent are Ukrainians, thus the Ukrainians continue 45 to 50 per cent of the total number of prisoners in the Russian camps The majority of Russians in the camps are criminals and persons sentenced under common law ²¹⁾ The prisoners of other nationalities are all political prisoners, with the exception of about 5 per cent who have been sentenced as criminals

These facts are frequently denied by Russian emigrants and by certain circles in the West who prefer to regard the population of the Soviet Union as Russian, or else as "Soviet population," in order to eliminate from discussion any national question which might serve to demonstrate the existence of Russian imperialism and the domination of the Russians over the other nations in the Soviet Union Even the work of the International Commission Against the Concentration Camp Regime (C I C R C), which has its headquarters in Brussels, is all too often affected by this tendency

We shall begin the series of testimonies with the statements made by witnesses at the lawsuit brought by David Rousset against the Communist paper "Les Lettres Françaises" (in Paris, November to December 1950) and in proceedings instituted against the Soviet concentration camps by the C I C R C in Brussels from May 21st to May 26th, 1951

The first witness in the lawsuit in Paris, cited in a book edited by "Paix et Liberte," was Mme Elinor Lipper, a German, "an out-and-out socialist," who in 1937 "was more and more convinced that the only country of the true liberation of man was the USSR" That year she went to Moscow and some months later was arrested and imprisoned She left the Soviet Union in 1948 after having spent eleven years in prison and concentration camps there In keeping with her socialist faith, she stated before the judges in Paris " I was in the Soviet camps with Soviet citizens, and no one was released during the war except criminals sentenced under common law "²²⁾

"Soviet citizens" — an amorphous mass, without an individual countenance! Nevertheless in her book which appeared in Paris in 1950, Mme Lipper also mentioned other nationalities "What I resented more than anything else was a powerless comparison which oppressed one's heart whenever one saw these Russians (evidently she also

meant the Ukrainians and the Byelorussians by this — Editor's note), these Caucasians, these Tatars, these Mongols, these Siberians, these tribes from Central Asia "23) That was in 1943 In the course of her captivity Mme Lipper learnt that there were also Germans, Austrians, Rumanians, Hungarians, Finns, Latvians, and Jews in the camps She obviously encountered Ukrainians, but she did not learn to distinguish them from the Russians

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

- 1) Small Soviet Encyclopedia (in Russian), Vol 4, Moscow, 1929, p 190
- 2) Ibid, Vol 8, 1931
- 3) V Molotov, The Struggle for Socialism, Moscow, 1935
- 4) Big Soviet Encyclopedia, op cit., quoted in "Le proces ", op cit., p 20
- 5) "Le procès ", op cit., pp 21 and 30
- 6) A. Ouralov, Stalin in Power, p 185
- 7) Cf. La Nation Georgienne, Paris, 1958, No 18, p 4
- 8) O C. Pfeiffer, Siberien (Siberia), Safari-Verlag, Berlin, 1952, p 92
- 9) V Kravchenko, J'ai choisi la liberté (I Chose Freedom), Paris, p 411
- 10) S Schwarz, Les ouvriers en Union Soviétique (The Workers in the Soviet Union), Paris, p 54
- 11) Cf O C. Pfeiffer, op cit., p 91
- 12) "Le procès ", op cit., p 89
- 13) Quoted by O C. Pfeiffer, op cit., p 92.
- 14) The Ukrainian Review, London, No 4, 1958, p 22.
- 15) "Le procès ", op cit., p 107
- 16) Livre Blanc sur les camps de concentration soviétiques, Commission Internationale Contre le Regime Concentrationnaire (White Book on Soviet Concentration Camps, International Commission Against the Concentration Camp Regime), Paris, p 102.
- 17) Ibid, p 107
- 18) O C Pfeiffer, op cit, p 102
- 19) Bernard Roeder, Der Katorgan (Slave Worker) Cologne-Berlin 1956, p 35
- 20) U.S News and World Report, Washington, June 1, 1956
- 21) Cf Communist takeover and occupation of Ukraine Special Report N 4 U.S House of Representatives, H Res 348 and H Res. 348, U.S Government Printing Office, Washington, 1935 p 24
- 22) "Le procès ", op cit., pp 43 and 45
- 23) Elinor Lipper op cit., p 79

CHAPTER IV

TESTIMONY BY FORMER PRISONERS

MASS ARRIVAL OF UKRAINIANS

Mme Lipper gives an account of the mass arrival of the Ukrainians in Kolyma in 1944 1945 and 1946 We constantly saw hundreds of young girls who were between the ages of seventeen and twenty one and had been sentenced to ten years detention in a camp according to Article 58 paragraph 1 on account of high treason arriving in Kolyma They came from Western Ukraine and had been accused of having belonged to the organization of the Bandiorovtsi ¹⁾ The Soviet officers who interrogated these girls broke their collar bones and kicked them with boots until they collapsed spitting blood and were taken to the prisoners hospitals in Kolyma There they died with a medallion of the Virgin Mary on their poor battered chest and hatred in their eyes Later in 1946 we saw women and girls arriving in Kolyma whom the Germans had deported from Ukraine to Germany where they had been obliged to work in the munition factories They had later got on trains taking them back to the USSR and had been happy to return to their country No accusation was formally brought against them and they were not tried before a judge It was not until they reached Magadan that they were told that they had been sentenced to 10 years imprisonment in a camp for high treason ")

We should like to point out that during the years 1944 1946 not only Ukrainian women were arrested but also men the latter in even greater number than the former

But even the mass arrival of new Ukrainian prisoners failed to make Mme Lipper realize that the Ukrainians and the Russians do not constitute one nation but are two entirely different nations

The other witnesses in the lawsuit in Paris do not give any precise or valid information on the nationality of the prisoners Each of them talks about his compatriots in spite of the fact that their number might have been comparatively insignificant (Spaniards Czechs Jews

Poles), and about the amorphous mass of the other prisoners. There are only two witnesses who tried to give some picture of the entire composition of the prisoners. George Ostroverkhov, who was interned in concentration camps from 1936 to 1941, stated that in his opinion, and as far as an estimate is possible, "of the total number of prisoners in the camps, 10 per cent were not Soviet subjects, 20 per cent were Jews, 50 per cent were Russians, and the remaining 20 per cent belonged to other nationalities of the Soviet Union."³) His statement is entirely wrong as regards the percentage of Russians, as we shall see later on. The other witness, formerly a fanatical Spanish Communist who fought against General Franco, called Valentin Gonzales and known as El Campesino, even dared to commit the following grave error before the French judges: he regards everybody who lives in the Soviet Union as Russians, which led him to say that at the end of 1948 "one could affirm that there were about 19 million Russian deportees and exiles from Russia and about 4 million persons of other nationalities" from countries outside the USSR.⁴)

G. Homiakov, a Russian, stated during the proceedings instituted in Brussels: "I was in Solovki from 1927 to 1929, but then I was sent to the camp in Komi. There were literally millions of kulaks who had been deported to concentration camps. At Solovki, in 1927-1928, there were about 20,000 prisoners. At Komi, from 1929 onwards, 200,000. I knew this for certain..."⁵) G. Homiakov was arrested in Leningrad and all the time he was a prisoner, he worked in the camp administration.

L. Golubovitch, whose nationality is not indicated but whom the International Commission against the Concentration Camp Regime (C.I.C.R.C.) makes out to be a Russian, was arrested in Minsk (Byelorussia), where he was a secretary of the Special Board, to be more exact the OSSO, and was interned in a camp from 1935 to 1940. He was arrested after a nationalist organization, to which one of his comrades belonged, was discovered in Byelorussia. G. Golubovitch stated: "When this organization was discovered, several important functionaries were arrested and I, too, among other persons, because I had been connected with him" (that is to say, the comrade in question). Having been a functionary of the NKVD prior to his arrest, Golubovitch was in a position to give the following precise details: "Everything happened in waves. For instance, they started persecuting the kulaks. The camps were then filled with kulaks. In 1932, they started arresting the so-called cutters, that is to say the peasants who cut the corn in the fields. For example, a woman who was starving and took two or three ears of corn when passing a corn-field, was arrested and sent to a camp. In such cases the persons concerned were regarded as coming under the penal law. The kulaks, however, were political prisoners. In 1937-1938 it was the turn of the 'Trotzkysts'." ⁶) But this former functionary of the Russian state is slightly mistaken. The "cutters" were sentenced on the strength of the "Decree for the protection of socialist property" of August 7, 1932, by administrative decision and seldom by courts of justice. The theft

of ears of corn, like the secret grinding of grain, was regarded as sabotage of the harvesting plan and liable to punishment on the strength of Article 58, paragraph 7 This paragraph provided for two penalties death or deportation to a concentration camp

B Podolak, whose nationality was not mentioned, is said to be a Russian in the report of the C I C R C ; he was arrested in 1935 for counter-revolutionary activity He was a professor of history of literature at the University of Kharkiv (Ukraine), and from the contents of his deposition one can assume that he is a Ukrainian professor, but C I C R C refrains from stating this point precisely This lack of precision appears to us to be premeditated, just as does the fact that one carefully avoided producing testimony coming from the circles of the numerous Ukrainian emigrants B Podolak stated "I was arrested in November 1935 in Kyiv In July 1936 I was sentenced to five years detention in a concentration camp, without a trial and on the strength of the decision of the Special Board of the NKVD in Moscow After that, together with a group of considerable size consisting of Ukrainians, most of whom were professors, young people working at universities and intellectuals in general, though there were also labourers amongst them, I was sent to Vorkuta ")

Mme J Kovalska, a German, remained in Kolyma from 1938 to 1948 Her general survey of the prisoners is as follows "The first wave of those who peopled the camps of the region (of Kolyma) consisted of political prisoners Trotskyists, kulaks, and persons who had violated the law on collective property From 1937 to 1938 the new wave of prisoners consisted of the so-called counter-revolutionaries who were in actual fact liquidated in the course of the two years which they spent in the camps the same cannot be said of the Poles, for an amnesty was introduced in their favour the moment a Polish army was formed on Russian territory During the second and third year of the war, the contingents of prisoners who arrived at the camps consisted mainly of persons accused of offences against discipline During the second year most of the prisoners were persons sentenced as collaborators After the war the first new arrivals were members of the Vlasov army The Bandera men, who already arrived at the camp looking like galley-slaves, were subjected to even worse treatment than the Vlasov men And they were liquidated within a short time ")

I Ratmurov, a Russian arrested in 1931, worked in the camp at Gornoshorsk in Siberia as a doctor "The situation, from the medical point of view, was worst at the beginning of 1938 I can quote the following figures to you of 28 to 29,000 prisoners, 5,000 died during the month of April in 1938, the reason for this was that numerous prisoners were sent to our camp who had previously been confined in prisons in south Russia and also in Turkestan and in the Caucasus These persons were used to other climatic conditions I remember one man aged 108, who had been sentenced to 10 years detention and who was sent to our camp from the Caucasus ' 9) If one bears in mind

the fact that to every imperialist Russian south Russia means Ukraine, then one will realize what nationality the prisoners, to whom I Ratmirov is referring, were

G Petrov, a Russian mill-director who employed numerous prisoners for the benefit of the state, remained in the USSR until 1950 "From 1936 to 1940 these prisoners were for the most part intellectuals and peasants from Ukraine and from Central Russia"¹⁰) The term Central Russia probably means the Central Soviet Union, which is, however, by no means the same thing from the point of view of nationality

V Andreyev, a Russian, was an inspector of concentration camps from 1934 to 1941 When a member of the tribunal of the C I C R C asked him whether there were a large number of non-Russians in the Soviet camps, Andreyev replied "There is a considerable percentage, above all since the occupation of Poland, the Baltic countries, North Bukovina and Bessarabia There are also a number of Chinese prisoners who crossed the frontier in order to escape persecution" He, too, was afraid to say something which might bring up the subject of the national question in the USSR, and for this reason he preferred to consider all the population of the Soviet Union as Russian¹¹)

J Sad, a Czech, was arrested in Carpatho-Ukraine in 1945, along with 2,500 other men and women They were taken to the camp of Yunkom, at Donbas, Ukraine J Sad stated "There were numerous foreigners amongst us, namely Dutchmen, Spaniards, Greeks, and Hungarians, but, above all, Poles, and the Czechs, Slovaks and Ukrainians constituted the majority in the camp" In the same region, according to his statement, there were four other camps In one of these camps the prisoners during the years 1945 to 1948 were mainly nuns and Jewish women The nuns were of Hungarian and Ukrainian nationality¹²)

This brings the first of our series of testimonies to an end We should like to add that the C I C R C has in the meantime endeavoured to be a little more objective by emphasizing beneath the text of the report by the Investigation Committee that, as regards the repressive measure applied in the case of the 'kulaks' and "under the other (permanent) counts of indictment, the Ukrainian population in particular was badly hit"¹³)

SOLOVKI FROM 1922 TO 1938

'The camp in Solovki, known as the Soviet Union in miniature, was the barometer of the home and foreign policy of Moscow when the wave of terrorism increased, the number of prisoners also increased, and when terrorism decreased, the number of prisoners also decreased"¹⁴) — thus writes a former Ukrainian prisoner, S Pidhainyi, who was confined in this dreadful camp from 1932 to 1938 He divides the history of Solovki into four periods

1922-1927. The camp comprised all the Solovetskiye Islands and was organized on the lines of the military prison camps during the era of the civil war in Russia. This administrative structure was maintained until 1933. The prisoners there during the years 1922 to 1927 included above all functionaries of the former regime, priests, leaders and members of groups of anti-Communist and anti-Russian partisans, and criminals. Whereas the first two and the last categories consisted almost entirely of Russians, the other two categories were represented by various nationalities. As a rule, the Russians constituted at least half the total number of prisoners, which at that time was not yet very large. The Ukrainians were not very numerous; they included for the most part officers of the national Ukrainian army, leaders of partisan groups and of anti-Russian partisans, as well as priests.¹⁵⁾

1927-1932. This was a very grim period. The prisoners endured "terrible punishment and tortures." The composition of the prisoners in this camp of death and terrorism suddenly changed. The Russians at that time were commencing the realization of the first Five-Year Plan and of their secret plan. But Ukraine and the Caucasus still continued their struggle against Russia and her new regime. "Prior to my evacuation from the camp (September 25, 1929) — writes one of the survivors — the criminals were not very numerous, most of the prisoners were Ukrainians — peasants (such as counter-revolutionaries), as well as priests and teachers."¹⁶⁾

"Numerous students from Kyiv and Katerynoslav (Ukraine) arrived at the camp — writes another former prisoner — They told us that after the secret organization — the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine — was discovered, a large number of young Ukrainians were shot. They were executed not in hundreds but in thousands. The others, that is to say those who were sent to Solovki, were sentenced to 10 years each."¹⁷⁾

S Pidhainyi, for his part, gives the following testimony: "When I arrived at the camp there were already a large number of Ukrainians there, members of the secret revolutionary organizations. Tens and probably hundreds of thousands of Ukrainians who were shot or deported attest to the fact that at that time there was a formidable national resistance in Ukraine. It was, for instance, an established fact that one-third of the workers of a big factory in Kremenchuk were arrested because they were members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. And this was not by any means an isolated case. The prisons and the concentration camps were full of Ukrainians, members of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine, of the National Ukrainian Centre and of the Ukrainian Military Organization."¹⁸⁾

A Ukrainian peasant testifies as follows: "In 1928 I was employed on the construction of a road (to one of the islands of Solovki), together with 12,000 other prisoners. In the course of the winter about 10,000 Ukrainians and Cossacks from the Don region died. They were replaced by prisoners who had just arrived from Ukraine."

"In 1931, when there were no longer thousands but millions of Ukrainians, Cossacks from the Don and Kuban regions, Caucasians and other nationalities from the occupied countries, in north Russia, and when it became essential to accomplish the first Five-Year Plan at any price, the project of constructing a canal between the White Sea and the Baltic Sea was conceived. Several thousand prisoners were thereupon transferred from Solovki to the mainland, where the majority of them perished during the construction of this canal"¹⁹⁾

1932-1937 Up to 1933 the camp in Solovki did not undergo any change. The main bulk of the prisoners worked on the mainland until May 1933. After the completion of the White Sea-Baltic Sea canal, the survivors of the "dangerous" category, which included former prisoners from Solovki and also new prisoners, arrived in Solovki. In 1933 and at the beginning of 1934 a new group of prisoners also arrived there: members of the Communist Party, Communist writers and intellectuals. From 1929 to 1932 they had still been in power.

During the years 1933 to 1937, the camp in Solovki resumed its former aspect of the years 1926-1927. In this period, as in the preceding one, the overwhelming majority of prisoners were Ukrainians: peasants, intellectuals, doctors, writers, poets, men of science and students. The second largest group consisted of nationalities from the other occupied countries: Tatars from the Crimea and from Kazan, Turkmens, Tadjiks, Uzbeks, Armenians, Georgians, Finns, Germans, Byelorussians, Poles, and Azerbaijanians. There were also some Russians, as well as French, Japanese and American prisoners.²⁰⁾

1937-1938 In June 1937 the camp in Solovki was turned into Solovki Special Prison, administered by the Chief State Security Department'. The internees were no longer designated as ZK (zaklyutchonnyye = prisoners) but as LS (lishonnyye svobody = persons deprived of liberty). In 1938, however, the prisoners were transferred to the mainland: the prison ceased to exist and construction of a military naval base in its stead was commenced.²¹⁾ The Russians were now preparing for war.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1) The bandorovtsi in Russian or 'banderivtsi in Ukrainian is the name given to the members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists under the leadership of Stepan Bandera. The term is also often applied to Ukrainians who are not members of this nationalist organization but who take part in the anti-Communist and anti-Russian fight. In October 1959 Stepan Bandera was killed by means of a cyanide poison pistol in Munich, West Germany, by the Russian secret police agent B. Stashynsky.

2) Elinor Lipper op cit pp 239 and 242

3) Le procès op cit p 74

4) Ibid. p 89

5) Livre Blanc (White Book) op cit p 32

6) Ibid pp 43 and 48

7) Livre Blanc op cit p 67

8) Ibid pp 120 and 121

9) Ibid p 53

10) Ibid p 83

CHAPTER V

THE SOVIET SYSTEM IS DIRECTED AGAINST THE PEOPLES OF THE OCCUPIED COUNTRIES

PERSECUTION OF THE UKRAINIANS

There seems to be no doubt at all about the fact that up to 1927 the Russians constituted half and, in some cases, the majority of the prisoners in the camps. But up to that year the total number of prisoners was only about 200,000. And we also know that the persecution of the occupied nations (non-Russian) commenced with the advent of the Red Russian troops in these countries in 1918-1921¹⁾. Up to about 1927 the fate of the enemies of Russia and her regime in the occupied countries was as a rule decided in the prison cellars by shooting them in the back of the neck, or else by shooting them outside the prison-building, as is stated in the testimony given by a former French Communist, Maurice Laporte. From 1920 to 1923 he visited Moscow on several occasions, and on August 9, 1921, he had a conversation there with the Communist ex-dictator of Hungary, Bela Kun, who crushed a peasants' revolt in Ukraine in 1921. Bela Kun told him:

"I never parleyed with the rebels. Whenever I arrived in a district which had taken up arms rather than accept requisitions, I had the villages in question surrounded by machine-guns. Having taken this precaution, we then set fire to the houses. Thus, all those who did not wish to be burnt alive proved a ready target for our bullets. In this way I achieved some interesting results"²⁾.

The passive resistance of the Ukrainians never ceased. Their armed resistance ceased temporarily in 1925, but in 1927 they were already preparing new insurrections. But then the persecution and liquidation

1) Ibid, pp 136 and 138

12) Ibid, pp 136 and 138

13) Ibid, p 185

14) S. Pidhainyi, op cit, p 8

15) Ibid, pp 9-10

16) Ibid, p 13

17) E. Chykalenko, Solovets'ka katorha (Katorga in Solovki), Warsaw, 1931, p 30

18) S. Pidhainyi, op cit, p 13

19) Ibid, p 15

20) Ibid., pp 21-26

21) Ibid, pp 30-31

of the kulaks began, and a new wave of terrorism descended on the population of Ukraine and of the other occupied countries. The Russian government formed special units consisting of 25,000 Communists, who proceeded to liquidate the kulaks by either shooting the peasants and their families, or else deporting them to the regions of north Russia or Siberia. Thus, in 1928, the Ukrainians already constituted the majority of the prisoners in the camps.

But Russia's desire for revenge was not yet satiated. After the discovery of secret anti-Russian organizations in Ukraine and because of the permanent opposition of the Ukrainian peasantry, Moscow, in 1932, proceeded to confiscate all the supplies of grain and, on August 7, 1932, promulgated the notorious decree "on the protection of socialist property," in order to prevent the peasants, who were already starving, from gathering any grain still in the fields, which as a result of compulsory collectivization had become the property of the state. The results of this measure were immediate.

"True, a correspondent of the 'Socialist Courier' — so "Saturn" states in its edition No. 6 of 1956 — had already pointed out that the victims of the famine of 1932-1933 numbered 5 million ("Sotsialisticheskiy Vestnik," No. 9 of May 10, 1934), but an American socialist and pro-Bolshevist, Harry Lang, who returned horrified from a stay in the USSR, was informed by a high Soviet functionary and published the fact in the New York paper "Forward" that at least 6 million people had died of starvation in Ukraine, he reported that 40 per cent of the population had disappeared in certain regions of Ukraine and Byelorussia, the relief organizations counted as many as 140,000 deaths in the German peasant settlements alone ("Forward" of February 19, 1936, and following numbers). A disillusioned American Communist, Adam J. Tawdul, learnt from Skrypnyk that at least 8 million persons died of famine in Ukraine and in the North Caucasus, Balitski, the head of the GPU in Ukraine, estimated that there were 8 to 9 million victims in Ukraine alone, and Lovin, the director of a tractor works in Chelyabinsk, told Tawdul that over a million persons had died of starvation in the Ural, beyond the Volga³⁾, and in West Siberia ("New York American", August 18/19, 1935)⁴⁾.

In a White Book on the famine of 1932-1933, experts on this question affirm categorically that "the famine was confined to the regions which were opposed to collectivization" that is to say Ukraine, the North Caucasus (the region of the Kuban, where the population was predominantly Ukrainian), and the regions of the Volga and of Kazakhstan (where the Russians were definitely in the minority). The Russian ethnographical territories did not experience the famine⁵⁾. On the contrary, there were foodstuffs in abundance in Russia⁶⁾.

Moreover, a secret document, signed by Stalin and Molotov, provides us with proof as to whom Moscow's repressive measures were directed against. This document contains a secret directive dated May 8, 1933, intended to normalize the deportation of the

population of the Soviet Union. The directive demands "approval of the deportation of the population of the following regions: Ukraine — 24,000 families, the North Caucasus — 6,000 families, the region of the Lower Volga — 4,000 families, central black earth region — 2,000 families, the Ural — 1,000 families, Byelorussia — 5,000 families, Bashkiria — 1,500 families, the Trans-Caucasus — 1,500 families, Central Asia — 1,200 families. A total of 46,200 families."⁷) As can be seen, Ukraine tops the list, of the 46,200 families to be deported, it was to furnish more than half. At the same time, it is also significant that Russia proper was spared, not a single family was to be deported.

THE RUSSIANS IN THE CONCENTRATION CAMPS BEFORE THE WAR

Countless testimonies could be produced to prove that just before World War II the number of Russians in the concentration camps did not amount to more than 15 to 20 per cent of the total number of internees. The former prisoner A. Mykulyn states that "the purges in the days of Yezhov considerably augmented the total number of prisoners in the camps and also the percentage of Ukrainian prisoners. For instance, towards the end of February 1937, in two days alone, five cattle-trains containing 7,000 prisoners, of whom 75 per cent were Ukrainians, Georgians, Armenians and Turks, etc., arrived at the transit camp in Kotlas (north Russia). During the same period in two weeks alone, 18,000 prisoners, of whom 13,000 were Ukrainians, passed through this transit camp on their way to the camps in Ukhto-Petchorsk, Vorkuta and elsewhere."⁸)

Another former prisoner, who spent five years from 1933 to 1938, in concentration camps, affirms categorically that in the camps in which he was detained "the national composition of the prisoners was as follows: 39 per cent Ukrainians, 15 per cent Russians, and 46 per cent other nationalities (Byelorussians, Poles, peoples of the Caucasus and of the Orient, etc.). Of the 15 per cent Russian prisoners only 15 per cent were political prisoners, the rest were criminals. 99 per cent of the Ukrainian prisoners had been sentenced for political offences or on the strength of the decree of August 7, 1932 (for having cut off ears of corn). There were also a large number of intellectuals, men of science, functionaries and students from Ukraine, but the majority of the Ukrainian prisoners were peasants and workers. It is an established fact that of the 300,000 prisoners employed on the construction of the White Sea-Baltic Sea canal two-thirds were Ukrainians."⁹)

THE CAMPS AFTER THE WAR

A new wave of terrorism descended on Ukraine and the other occupied countries after the war. We have already cited some

testimony on the period up to about 1946 In order to complete the picture, we should now like to quote some other testimonies which confirm the preceding ones We should also like to add that the composition of the camps during the war did not undergo any significant changes with the exception of the arrival of the Poles, most of whom were, however, later released and called up to serve in the Anders army Moscow continued to release certain categories of prisoners sentenced under common law But the political prisoners remained in captivity

Referring to the period after the war a former German prisoner who was released recently, states that in one of the camps in Kolyma, where he was interned from 1945 onwards, the Ukrainians constituted 40 per cent of the total number of prisoners¹⁰) A German prisoner-of-war, interned in a camp in Norilsk, testifies that in this camp there were 4,000 prisoners, of whom 80 per cent were Ukrainians They included officers and soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) "The Ukrainians in the concentration camps led secret activity and always helped foreigners, — so this former prisoner-of-war states — The MVD, convinced that it was only the Ukrainians who were capable of putting up a resistance, constantly regarded them as suspects If it were not for the Ukrainians, there would be no insurrections in the camps, for the Russians are not capable of such initiative and, in any case, immediately report the matter to the MVD The secret agents of the camp administration are for the most part Russians or criminals of other nationalities"¹¹)

According to another former prisoner, in 1947, 8,000 to 10,000 Ukrainians arrived at a camp in Karaganda, they included numerous young people of 15 years of age, who were later released but prohibited from leaving the district of Karaganda This same prisoner learnt that the town of Karaganda and the neighbouring towns were built in 1930 by deportees from Ukraine and from the Volga regions (Volga-Germans) In 1939 the Russians deported to this region Poles from Western and Bulgarians from Southern Ukraine In 1941 Koreans were brought here, and later the peoples of the Caucasus In 1945 the Poles and Bulgarians were released¹²)

The Russian policy towards the occupied nations during the post-war period has been excellently characterized by Joseph Scholmer, a former prisoner and the author of the famous book on Vorkuta

"The struggle waged by the Kremlin for over thirty years against the efforts of the non-Russian peoples to obtain their national independence has not been able to crush their desire to be free The Soviet leaders have long since abandoned their attempts to win the support of the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, and of the peoples of the Caucasus and of Central Asia for their regime In the case of the small nations, genocide provides a "solution" to the national problem But as regards the Ukrainians, the peoples of the Baltic countries and the other nations, the main aim is to exterminate the intellectuals, most of whom are in the camps and whose families have been deported to Siberia and to Central Asia"¹³)

We should now like to quote some testimonies on the composition of the concentration camps during the most recent period, that is from 1950 to 1956 and 1957

It must, however, be pointed out beforehand that names such as Vorkuta or Norilsk, known to the public of the free countries, are not the names of a single camp, but of an administrative centre. In Vorkuta, for instance, there are more than 60 concentration camps, in Taishet 54, in Krasnoyarsk more than 100 (with 2 to 3,000 prisoners in each camp), in Norilsk 40, in Karaganda and Kingir 60, in Kemerovo 50, in Irkutsk 60, in Pot'ma 17, in Prokopievsk 37, and in Inta 7 camps. We have only mentioned ten of the most important administrative centres, but about two hundred altogether are known to exist in the west.

Vorkuta (Autonomous Republic of Komi) In 1955-1956 there were about 150,000 prisoners here. Camp No 6 contained 3,000 persons of whom 1,600 were Ukrainians, most of them sentenced to 20 to 25 years. They included 150 former members of the 1st Ukrainian Division, which fought side by side with the Germans against the Russians; the remainder were for the most part persons sentenced on account of revolutionary anti-Communist activity, for participation in the Ukrainian nationalist movement, or for having been members of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). Of the 4,000 Ukrainians transferred to Vorkuta from Karaganda in 1953, 80 per cent were 'Banderivtsi'. They organized the insurrection in camp No 3 in June 1955.

In camp No 2 there were in 1950, 2,500 prisoners, most of them Ukrainians, but also some persons from the Baltic countries and some Germans. The Russians were only few in number.

In camp No 9/10 there were at that time 1,200 prisoners, of whom 700 were Ukrainians. There were also Byelorussians, Estonians, Lithuanians, but no Russians in this camp¹⁴⁾

In a women's camp in Vorkuta, where there were 1,800 prisoners, half of them were Ukrainians, 150 Germans, whilst the remainder included persons from the Baltic countries, in particular from Latvia and Lithuania¹⁵⁾

In 1956, 1,100 women-prisoners from the camp in Gritchakhtin, of whom 800 were Ukrainians, were employed on the railway from Vorkuta to Tala.

Ust-Ukhta (Autonomous Republic of Komi) In this region there are 30 camps with approximately 3,000 prisoners in each camp.

Ust-Vym This region is dotted with camps. In the period under review there were altogether 22 camps here. The majority of the political prisoners consisted of persons from the Baltic countries and Ukrainians. Between 1945 and 1949, about 30,000 prisoners perished in these camps¹⁶⁾

Vozhayel (Autonomous Republic of Komu) There are 12 camps in this region and the prisoners include persons from the Baltic countries, Ukrainians, Germans and Russians

Ural. In the central region of the Ural there are several camps which actually have up to 50,000 prisoners, most of them are Ukrainians, persons from the Baltic countries, Tatars, peoples from the Caucasus, Chinese, Hungarians and Poles, but there are also a small number of Rumanians, Germans and Yugoslavs In 1953 the camp in Fabrichnoye contained 5 to 8,000 prisoners

Perm (with the region of Solikamsk) In the whole region there are 50 camps, each with 1,000 to 1,500 prisoners, the majority of whom are Ukrainians, persons from the Baltic countries and Caucasians From 1955 to 1957, for example, there were in one group of camps about 2,200 Latvians, 850 Lithuanians, 500 Estonians, 1,400 Germans and 2,100 Ukrainians Russians are not mentioned in any of the testimonies The death-rate in these camps was extremely high as a result of gas-poisoning (many of the prisoners worked in the chemical industry), tuberculosis, malnutrition and various diseases The witnesses affirm that in these camps there were numerous prisoners whose arms and legs had been broken by NKVD men

Taishet (between Krasnoyarsk and Irkutsk, East Siberia) Up to 1955 there were 54 camps in the vicinity of the town, but 8 of them were then abolished The other 46, and 10 of them were camps for women, for the most part contained Ukrainians, but recently persons from the Baltic countries and other nationalities have also been sent there The Russians are not very numerous A former prisoner of camp No 5110/37 states that there were a large number of Ukrainians there who had been sentenced "for having struggled for a free Ukraine independent of Russia" According to this witness the Ukrainians constitute an organized group and do not enter into contact with the Russians In camp No 215/1 practically all the prisoners were Ukrainians and there was not a single Russian After their release, the prisoners are forced to settle in this region permanently

Krasnoyarsk (East Siberia) A former woman-prisoner states that from 1954 to 1956 she was in the women's camp No 235, close to the railway-station of Reshota The Ukrainian women-prisoners constituted 70 per cent of the total number of political prisoners in the camp After the big strike in December 1954, the prisoners who had been sentenced under common law were transferred to another camp The same witness was previously in several other camps We consider it appropriate to reproduce her statement on the subject of the political discussions which she had with other prisoners

'I discussed the Russian Bolshevik system not only with political prisoners but also with "free prisoners" and with criminal elements All the Ukrainians without exception held the opinion that this system should be abolished They regard it as a coercive and transitory system, and for this reason it must be combatted The Russians confine themselves solely to criticizing certain aspects of

the system, but in the end recognize it as their system. The Ukrainians whom I got to know in the camps not only reject the Bolshevik system, but also do not wish to have anything in common with Russia and, as they emphatically stress in every discussion, are fighting for the liberty of the Ukrainian nation and for the independence of their state. The long years spent in the concentration camps in no way change their attitude. On leaving the camp they are still as fierce enemies of Bolshevism as they previously were."

The majority of prisoners in Krasnoyarsk, who are very numerous (the single complex No 235 contains about 55,000 prisoners), are Ukrainians, followed by Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Georgians and other peoples of the Caucasus. There are also some Germans, Japanese, Koreans, Spaniards, Dutch and Mongols.

Norilsk (north Siberia) In 1954 there were in one camp alone, situated on the banks of the River Yenisei, as many as 3,000 Ukrainians, who came from every province in Ukraine (Chernyiv, Kyiv, Lviv, Dnipropetrovsk¹⁷). In the other camps the Ukrainians were equally numerous. According to the witnesses, it was they who, in June 1953, organized the strike and the insurrection in Norilsk. And according to the same witnesses, the "Banderivtsi" of Norilsk were secretly in league with the camps in Karaganda.

One of the witnesses, who took part in the riot in Norilsk, stated that 'within a radius of 38 miles there were numerous camps like that of Norilsk. General Semenov, absolute ruler of more than 120,000 prisoners, administered all these camps. They were filled mainly with foreigners: Germans, Japanese, Chinese, Hungarians, Rumanians, Poles, Czechs, Ukrainians, French, Italians, Yugoslavs, Caucasians and persons from the Baltic countries. There were hardly any Russians amongst the prisoners.'

Karaganda (in Kazakhstan) In each of the large camps in Karaganda there are between 8,000 and 10,000 prisoners. The Ukrainian prisoners are most numerous in all the camps. There are also a number of smaller camps. In camp No 9 there were 1,200 prisoners, of whom 50 per cent were Asian people. In camp No 16 there were also 1,200 prisoners. The majority of them were Ukrainians and Germans.

Pot'ma (Autonomous Republic of Mordovia) Prior to 1955 there were 36 separate camps, but since then their number has dropped to 17 (these are above all camps for women). The total number of prisoners of both sexes is estimated at 200,000 of whom 95 per cent are political prisoners. In 1954 camp No 6 in Yavas contained 2,000 female prisoners, of whom 1,600 were Ukrainians and included a large number of former members of the women's units of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The others had been sentenced for actual or alleged contact with Ukrainian partisans. Women who had unfortunately given a little water to a partisan were as a rule sentenced to 25 years. In camp No 5110/33, in 1954, there were over 2,000 women-prisoners, and 70 per cent of them were Ukrainians.

The remainder included Latvians, Lithuanians, Estonians, Hungarians, Rumanians, Russians, French, Poles, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Czechs, and 20 Germans. In camp No 11 in Yavas there were only Ukrainian women.

Prokopievsk (Kemerovo region in West Siberia) Most of the camps here are special camps. In camp No 525/1 there were, during the period under review, 300 high-ranking Hungarian officers and a group of German officers, in camp 525/2, Cossack officers who had fought on the side of the Germans against the Russians, in camp 525/5, former Soviet prisoners-of-war in Finland, numbering about 3,500 (some Russians amongst them, too), all of them destined to be exterminated, as the prisoners of camp 525/6 had been. Camp 525/7 contained 3,000 female prisoners, most of them Ukrainians. The officers of the Kalmuck corps which also fought on the side of the Germans against the Russians were confined in camp No 525/8. In camp 525/9 there were 2,000 Ukrainians and Cossacks, in camps 525/10 and 525/11 there were 11,000 Ukrainians and Caucasians. In addition to these 11 camps, there were also 26 camps with the number 247 in this region.

Abez-Inta (Autonomous Republic of Komi) This is a complex of camps with the numbers 388/1 — 388/20, there are thus 20 camps in this region. In the vicinity of Inta there are 7 special camps with 30,000 prisoners, of whom 6,000 are women. According to formal testimony, the national composition of one of these camps during the period under review was as follows: 800 Ukrainians, 500 Latvians, and 400 prisoners of other nationalities. But not a single Russian prisoner who is released are, however, prohibited from leaving the region.

63 miles from Vorkuta there is an isolated camp known as "Khalmer-yu" (the valley of a thousand winds), which is reserved exclusively for Ukrainians and Germans.

It is also an established fact that in the camps in Polombe (in Asia) the Ukrainians likewise constitute 50 per cent of the total number of prisoners.

Lastly, we should like to mention the camps in Kolyma, in the Far East. In 1951 there were 1,100,000 prisoners confined in the camps here and 80,000 so-called "free" prisoners. In 1956 the number of prisoners confined in the camps increased to 2,300,000. Other sources however, affirm that during the same period and also later there were 3,500,000 prisoners in the camps in Kolyma, not counting the so-called "free" prisoners. But the different testimonies agree on the fact that the Ukrainians constitute 54 per cent of the total number of prisoners. There are few Russians in these camps, the remainder of the total number consists of persons from the occupied countries in the USSR. The morale of the Ukrainians is very high, they are well organized and true believers — so one witness states — The "Banderivtsi" predominate amongst them. All the Ukrainians openly manifest their anti-Russian attitude and oppose the occupation of Ukraine by the Russians. Prisoners of all nationalities, with the

exception of the Russians, have a profound respect for the Ukrainians and hold their opinion in esteem " In 1954 the prisoners of these camps wrote two letters to the United Nations, one was sent by the official post, the other by secret means, but both letters fell into the hands of the MVD, who, after an investigation, sentenced a Ukrainian to death

Another important testimony is the statement made by a German prisoner-of-war "In all the camps in which I was interned more than 50 per cent of the prisoners were Ukrainians They may have been more numerous in some camps than in others, but they always constituted at least 50 per cent of the total number of prisoners The number of Russians is incomparably less A large percentage of the prisoners consists of persons from the Baltic countries The majority of Ukrainians are between the ages of 24 and 70 It is an established fact that the same percentage of Ukrainian women is to be found in the camps reserved for the female prisoners All the Ukrainian political prisoners are persons accused of "political brigandism," that is to say they have been sentenced for having actively supported or sympathized with the national Ukrainian movement and the struggle for the liberation of Ukraine They come from every region in Ukraine and from every social class But whatever their birth and origin, they form a true family in the spiritual sense Naturally, the Russians are aware of this fact and their reaction is apparent in an aggravated form of Russian chauvinism with regard to all that is Ukrainian and this applies not only to the Russians in the camp administration but also to the Russian prisoners "18)

THE TESTIMONY OF JOSEPH SCHOLMER

One of the most important testimonies on the national composition of the camps is undoubtedly that of a former prisoner of Vorkuta the German doctor Joseph Scholmer In his famous book on the camps of Vorkuta (1950-1953) he says that camp 9/10 contained 3,500 prisoners, of whom 1,700 were Ukrainians The other large groups were Lithuanians approximately 800 Latvians 300, Russians 300, Germans 190, Estonians 200, and Jews 70 The smaller groups consisted of 25 Armenians 30 Georgians 20 Poles 20 Rumanians 15 Soviet Greeks, 10 Hungarians, 10 Austrians 8 Chinese (members of Chiang Kai-shek's army), 6 Japanese, 7 Finns 3 Yugoslavs 2 South Koreans, 2 Dutch and 1 American There were also small groups of Kazakhs Uzbeks Kirgiz Turkmens and Mongols etc 19)

On the subject of the Russians in the camp Joseph Scholmer writes as follows "At the beginning of my stay in camp 9/10 I had little contact with the Russians The Germans the Ukrainians and the prisoners from the Baltic countries warned me that there were numerous spies for the administration amongst the Russian prisoners Even in the concentration camps the Russians are the representatives of Russian oppression "20)

A labour brigade to which Joseph Scholmer was assigned consisted "almost exclusively of Ukrainians and of persons from the Baltic countries, some of them former partisans captured whilst fighting"²¹⁾

One day, this brigade, on returning from work to the camp in Vorkuta, encountered a column of Ukrainian women who were guarded by soldiers armed with Lewis guns "The majority of them were young girls, whose faces bore all the traces of complete exhaustion after the day's hard work In their eyes, which sought their husbands, brothers and friends amongst our number, there was an expression of curiosity, sadness and longing for a life which they would never experience They were girls and young women in their best years, — those years in which they have the right to love, to give birth to children and to be happy But they knew that by the time the door to freedom was opened to them, they would be old

— Why are they in the camp? — I asked the man next to me, — a former Ukrainian partisan

— Because they brought us bread when we were in the woods "²²⁾

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

1) Cf Investigation of Communist Takeover and Occupation of the non-Russian Nations of the U.S.S.R., U.S Government Printing Office Washington, 1954

2) Maurice Laporte *Les mystères du Kremlin* (The Secrets of the Kremlin) Paris, 1928, pp 183-4

3) That is to say in the German settlements

4) 'Saturne,' op cit., No 6, January-February 1956, p 30

5) and 6)

The Black Deeds of the Kremlin, A White Book, vol 2, Detroit, 1955 pp 68 627, 629, 630

7) Secret directive of May 8, 1933 No P 6028

8) A. Mykulyn, op cit, p 45

9) O Kalynyk, Concentration Camps in the USSR, *Ukrayinskyi Samostyinyk* ('Independent Ukrainian') No 110, Munich, 1952

10) A Mykulyn, op cit., p 163 (testimony No 5)

11) *Ibid*, p 165 (testimony No 16)

12) *Ibid*, p 165 (testimony No 2)

13) Joseph Scholmer, *Opposition and International Resistance in the Soviet Union*, Report to the International Conference on the Future of Freedom Milan September 1955, quoted by 'Saturne' (English edition), No 6, 1957

14) A Mykulyn, op cit, pp 117-159 184 and 189-190

15) Adolf Silde, *The Profits of Slavery*, Stockholm, 1958, p 33

16) *Ibid*

17) All the testimonies quoted here and later are taken from two books A Mykulyn, *The Concentration Camps in the Soviet Union* (in Ukrainian) published in 1958, pp 171-193 and Adolf Silde, *The Profits of Slavery* Stockholm 1958, pp 25-171, as well as from free Ukrainian periodicals, in particular 'Shlyakh Peremohy' ('The Way to Victory'), Munich No 5 and No 38 1956

18) 'Shlyakh Peremohy,' op cit., No 5, 1956

19) Joseph Scholmer, *Die Toten kehren zurück* (The Dead Return) Cologne-Berlin, 1954, pp 122-124

20) *Ibid*., p 142-143

21) *Ibid*., p 119

22) *Ibid*., p 90

CHAPTER VI

THE RUSSIANS AND COMMUNISM

THE RUSSIANS IN THE CAMPS

"The national resistance groups — so Joseph Scholmer writes — are characterized on the one hand by hostility towards the regime and, on the other hand, by hostility towards the Russians. The Ukrainians have always hated the Russians on account of the oppression to which they have been subjected by the latter for three hundred years. Amongst the Poles the memory of the revolts of the 19th century is still alive. The peoples of the Baltic countries never forget the Russian tsarist oppression to which they were subjected. They are all confronted by a regime in which the main body of the functionaries is again composed of Russians. The Russian resistance groups naturally cannot be anti-Russian, their opposition to the regime is the result of their striving for individual freedom" ¹⁾

Elsewhere Joseph Scholmer rightly affirms that "there is no secret Russian movement which might be large, organized and co-ordinated in the Soviet Union today" ²⁾

"The Russian resistance groups — he adds — without being 'national,' are naturally classified under the category 'national' as a result of camp-life. The Russians as Russians are compromised by those of their compatriots who, identifying themselves with the regime, are employed in numerous advantageous jobs in the camp administrations. Thus, the camp is 'a Soviet Union in miniature,' in which the 'government' seeks to rule the peoples with the aid of the Russians" ³⁾

In this connection Joseph Scholmer quotes an example which is indeed both significant and striking

"A Russian teacher was summoned to appear before the camp commandant

— You are Russian, aren't you. Don't you want to help to introduce the Russian system in the camp and take the Ukrainians, the people from the Baltic countries and the Germans in hand?

The teacher said no, he did not. To which the commandant replied

— I do not understand you. You are well aware of the role which the Russians have to play in the Soviet Union. This Communism is ours, — it is a Russian Communism

"All those who accept such proposition are identifying themselves, even in the camp, with the Stalinist system. And when these Russians act thus not for personal reason but because of their "Greater Russian and Stalinist" convictions, then they knowingly or unknowingly provide a fertile soil for the realization of the old ideas propagated by Dostoyevsky with regard to Russia's mission

— The Russian people — so a representative of this social category told me — will have to suffer still more. But in the end they will lead the world to a great, new epoch. The Communist society of the future will be the merit of the Russians" 4)

Hence it is natural that the majority of the Russian prisoners collaborate with the MVD and the camp administration

"Among the 3,500 prisoners in the camp — so J. Scholmer writes on this subject — there were about 120 spies of the administration who were known to the resistance organizations. The majority of them were Russians. Naturally, it would be wrong to regard them as inferior beings because of their activity, their character is neither better nor worse than that of members of the other nations. The MVD has a good reason for generally working with the Russians: among them there are numerous Communists who are loyal to the Party line and who, in spite of having been sentenced, see no reason to be disloyal to the regime. Even in the camps they remain politically the same as they previously were. For example, a captain of the frontier guards is sentenced to 15 years in a camp for some omission or other in his duties. But that is no reason why he should become an enemy of the regime" 5)

The political prisoners react strongly to all international events. During discussions they always form two opposing groups: one composed of Russians, the other of members of the other nationalities. "Even from 1950 onwards — ex-prisoner A. Kniazhytsky states — the Russian prisoners assessed events in the light of the egoistic advantages of the Russians. They were hostile towards the other prisoners, very often denounced them, and on every possible occasion maltreated them regardless of the laws of solidarity in force amongst the political prisoners" 6)

THE RUSSIAN EMIGRANTS AND THE SOVIET UNION

It would be erroneous to believe that the Russian emigrants are not aware of the real state of affairs in the Soviet Union, which is clearly obvious from the national composition and proportion of the prisoners in the camps. They are only too well aware of it, and that is why they constantly try to mislead the free world and, above all, political circles by every possible means.

The chief means to which they resort is to present the entire question from the international and humanitarian aspect: "International Communism is oppressing Russia" (by the word "Russia" they mean all the Soviet Union), "The Russian people are suffering under

Communism," etc The Russians who, like their fellow-countryman, the philosopher N. Berdyayev, acknowledge that "Bolshevism is a realization of the Russian idea and that is the reason why it has triumphed" in Russia are indeed few in number⁷⁾ N Berdyayev says that to the Russian intellectuals "Bolshevism replaces and fulfils the functions of tsarism"⁸⁾ The same Russian philosopher affirms not without reason that "the Russian emigrants are not sufficiently aware of the fact that in the case of the Russian problem it is by no means a question of a small group of Bolsheviks who happen to be in power and who can be overthrown, but of a new and infinitely large class of persons who have now become the rulers of the country and cannot be easily overthrown The Communist revolution has, above all, materialized out of Russian life."⁹⁾

The second means to which the Russian emigrants resort in order to mislead the free world is to present the entire question of the Soviet Union from the Pan-Russian aspect "The Soviet Union — is Russia (territorially so to speak), the peoples of the USSR — are Russian peoples, there exists one unity and one Russian patriotism amongst these peoples, a separatism amongst them is non-existent and unthinkable, only the Western Ukrainians are not content, but a Ukrainian separatism only exists amongst the emigrants"

It was probably reflections such as these regarding the peoples of the occupied countries (the non-Russian peoples) of the Soviet Union which prompted the Russians living in the United States, on August 2, 1958, to send a resolution to President Eisenhower which was adopted at a meeting "of the representatives of 23 Russian organizations" and in which they requested the American President to direct the policy of the United States against the independence aims of the peoples oppressed by Russia in the USSR

'The Russian people — so this resolution stated — are a nationalist and patriotic people, as was proved by their conduct during World War II

"As long as the policy of the United States is characterized by the trend to disintegration (of the Russian empire, — the Editor), the Russian people, in spite of their hatred of the Communists, will never be able to have confidence in the United States, and, in the event of a war against the West will nevertheless be forced to support the Soviet government

"Certain attitudes on the part of the United States, namely those which support the separatist emigrant groups in their territory and the separatist propaganda disseminated by the broadcasting station subsidized by the government of the United States, are serving the interests of the Communists in the USSR

'As loyal citizens of the United States and as persons who know Russia and her people, we consider it our duty to draw your attention to the fact that it is imperative that the United States should change their policy regarding the Russian question and should once and for all refrain from supporting the said separatist propaganda"¹⁰⁾

How much truth is contained in the affirmations of the Russians and

their western friends can be seen from the testimonies cited in this book. The most striking point about these affirmations is that the Russian Communist imperialists propagate the same ideas, although they use a different terminology "the Soviet Union is a monolithic country, the Soviet peoples are united by an unswerving friendship, guided by the great Russian people, the other peoples of the Union have dealt bourgeois nationalism a deadly blow"

The Russian emigrants are determined to safeguard the empire at any price, even at that of an unhealthy imperialism. Not only are they prepared to reject the idea of the national individuality of the peoples and their right to independence, but they also manifest an insufferable claim to speak in the name of all the nations of the Soviet Union, with the exception, maybe, of the Baltic peoples, whose independence is too recent to be artfully denied.

In their desperation and in order to facilitate their task of distorting the truth and political reality and to give a semblance of truth to their affirmations, the Russian emigrants resort to a third means in their campaign: they employ persons who claim to be members of foreign nations (non-Russians) but who in reality are Russians born in the occupied countries of the empire, and also renegades. To this same end the Russians found fictitious organizations overnight, as it were, and give them names that are misleading, as for example "The Ukrainian Liberation Movement," "The Ukrainian Federalists," "The Anti-Communist Block of National Minorities," etc.

These "organizations" without members have been used and continue to be used by the Russian emigrants for the purpose of duping political circles in the West and obtaining — incidentally, with great success — every kind of aid, including financial aid.

The true nature of these organizations is, incidentally, disclosed to us by a former "Ukrainian federalist," Ivan Chaplynsky-Sas:

"As a former member of the Executive Committee of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement (UVR) I declare that this movement is non-existent as a Ukrainian organization for there is not a single Ukrainian who belongs to it. This so-called movement to this very day does not number any members at all. It only consists of Ivan Cheremys, who poses as the Executive Committee of the UVR, Piotr Sencha-Zalesky, and a new comer, Feodor Karpov-Romanovsky. The first of these three persons can neither read nor write Ukrainian, the second affirms openly that he was not, is not and never will be a Ukrainian, and the third is a man of no strong character, either politically or morally. I had already learnt certain things about these persons but I did not want to reach a decision until I had met them and got to know them. An opportunity to do so presented itself in 1957."¹¹)

After this encounter, Ivan Chaplynsky-Sas simply left the notorious "movement," a fact which did not however help him to be accepted in other Ukrainian political emigrant circles.

In January 1958, when the Ukrainian emigrants (over 2 million in the free world) celebrated the 40th anniversary of the proclamation of the National Ukrainian Republic, a certain "Anti-Communist Bloc

of National Minorities," hitherto unknown, published an "appeal" in Paris which was directed against what the Russians call "the emigrant separatists" In this "appeal," the Russians, hiding behind a fictitious organization, had the audacity to affirm that "neither in former Russia nor in the Soviet Union was or is there any national oppression"¹²)

That oppression of the peoples, to the extent of forbidding the use of their national languages, existed in the tsarist empire is proved beyond all doubt by historical facts and documents And it likewise exists in the Soviet Union One of many proofs is the constant repression, the victims of which are either sent to concentration camps or deported

FACTS REVEALED BY FIGURES

And it is for this reason that we stress the question of the national composition of the prisoners in the Russian camps to such an extent

The Russians constitute about 40 to 45 per cent of the total population of the USSR, and according to the statistics for 1959, this percentage is probably even higher, namely more than 55 per cent Let us set aside the question of doubt as to the accuracy of the official figures for 1959 and confine ourselves to saying that if one accepts the idea that there is no national oppression in the Soviet Union and that all the nations of the USSR put up an equal resistance to the Communist regime, then at least 40 per cent of the prisoners in the concentration camps must be Russians (or even 55 per cent if the Russians really are so numerous) But actually the Russians only constitute 10 to 15 per cent of the total number of prisoners in the camps

The Ukrainians constitute about 21 per cent of the total population of the Soviet Union Thus, logically, if they were treated in the same way as the Russians and if they put up a resistance to the Communist regime which equals that put up by the Russians, the Ukrainians should constitute about 21 per cent of the total number of prisoners in the concentration camps The testimonies cited, however, prove that actually they constitute at least 45 to 50 per cent of the total number of prisoners

According to official Soviet statistics, there were 31,200,000 Ukrainians in the entire territory of the USSR in December 1926 If we take 2 per cent as the natural rate of increase in population per year, then in 1939 (before the war) there should have been 39,500,000 Ukrainians in the USSR But statistics reveal that there were only 28,000,000 Hence, the loss in Ukrainian population from 1926 to 1939 amounted to 11,500,000 persons During the same period the population of the Soviet Union increased from 147 million to 170 million, thus, whilst the Ukrainian population decreased by 10 per cent, the Russian population increased by 27.2 per cent¹³)

The other nationalities (apart from the Ukrainians and the Russians) constitute about 34 per cent of the total population of the USSR, and the percentage of prisoners of these nationalities in the camps is about the same

A DECREASE IN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF PRISONERS?

Whereas in 1955 the total number of prisoners in the camps, according to our estimate, was at least 19 million, in 1958, if one can believe the information which reached the West, they numbered about 11 million. But in May 1957 the deputy public prosecutor of the USSR, Kudriavtsev told an American professor that from March 1953 onwards the Soviet government had released 70 per cent of the prisoners and that the concentration camps would soon be abolished completely ¹⁴⁾

In this respect the Russians are certainly over-anxious to pose as 'democrats' and as "humane". According to prisoners who worked as personnel of the MVD and the GULAG, a distinction was made between two categories of prisoners on the administrative cards 'prisoners of the first category' and 'prisoners of the second category'. But the head departments of the GULAG and the MVD never designated the second category as "prisoners" except in the provisional dossiers, which were liable to be destroyed at any time. That is to say, if the temporary documents were destroyed, the official card-index would never give the exact total number of prisoners in the camps, since the second category was not included in the list. The prisoners explained that in resorting to this double card-index system, the Russian Communists, since they fear the possibility of a war which they might lose, are doing their utmost not to leave any unnecessary traces of their inordinate and illegal employment of the huge manpower in the concentration camps and in this way seek to diminish their responsibility in this respect ¹⁵⁾

They are likewise over-anxious to cover up and to deny the crimes perpetrated against prisoners and also against the peoples of the occupied countries. For instance, many of the persons deported in Stalin's day, once they were in Siberia, were forced to write requests to the authorities in Moscow asking the latter 'to be good enough' to permit them to stay in some region or other for 10, 15, or 25 years, or for the rest of their life, according to the sentence pronounced by the OSSO.

Khrushchov, since he is more artful and cunning than Stalin, does not need the OSSO: he simply makes things more difficult for the people in Ukraine and the other occupied countries, he introduces special regulations regarding studies and employment, in schools, universities and factories, and accordingly hundreds of thousands of young people register as 'volunteers' for work and endure cold and

hunger in the vast "virgin regions" in Siberia and elsewhere, since they simply have no other alternative Khrushchov's methods are more subtle than Stalin's

At the beginning of 1960 the Russian authorities affirmed that there were no longer any political prisoners in the USSR Could that be possible? Certainly not, for the simple reason that the dictatorship in Russia could not permit itself such a luxury either from the political or economic point of view Without its regime of terrorism and of repression, the empire would cease to exist Without forced labour, its economy would be ruined, and the realization of certain technical and military plans would be impossible All the declarations made by Moscow on the subject of forced labour are intended to create the illusion of the democratization and humanization of the regime and to conceal the true system more effectively

Furthermore, the fact must be borne in mind that forced labour is not merely the labour performed by the persons confined behind the barbed wire of the concentration camps In the Russian empire the deportees, too, have always constituted another category of persons obliged to execute forced labour And for some time now, there has also been a third category, that of the persons "released" from the camps

True, a certain number of camps have been dissolved since 1953, in particular in Vorkuta, Inta, Ust-Vym, Ust-Ukhta, Pechora and in Central Asia, but none of the large complexes of camps have been abolished completely It is not a question of doing away with the system of forced labour, but merely of reorganizing it And this reorganization, which commenced in 1953-1954, is characterized by the transfer of part of the labour-power in the camps beyond the barbed wire fences, or simply by removing the barbed wire, the convicts remain in the same place, they are supervised by the civilian authorities and thus become so-called free workers, or, to be more precise, free prisoners" The system of forced labour of the Russian empire has in reality merely undergone a change of form but not of principle And this explains the decrease in the total number of prisoners in the concentration camps

Mention must also be made of the notorious Soviet amnesty, demanded most emphatically by the prisoners in the course of strikes and insurrections The Russian government has indeed promulgated three amnesties in March 1953, in April 1954, and in September 1955 But their application has always been very restricted, and for this reason the prisoners continued to express their discontent

It was probably prior to promulgating the second amnesty that the Russian government fearing lest disturbances might endanger the economy of the empire, worked out a plan to reorganize the concentration camp system and forced labour in general A Knazhynsky, a former prisoner, states in his book 'In the Heart of the USSR' that in the spring of 1954 the MVD officers in one of the camps in Taishet informed the prisoners as follows You are all

amnestied All of you But this amnesty will not be as simple as the preceding one, in which case one was satisfied with handing out certificates and giving those concerned permission to leave No, this one will have to be drawn up like amnesties are in every state, even in the capitalist states It will be necessary to pass through the first stage and then through others During the first stage the authorities will proceed to divide the punitive places into three categories "Constantly consulting a small book edited especially for them by Moscow and classified as strictly confidential, the officers then proceeded to specify that "in order to improve the punitive means and methods" the camps would be divided into three groups of different systems light, normal and severe The prisoners would be assigned to these groups in the camps according to the nature of the crime that they had committed In the first group there would be neither guard nor convoys, and the prisoners themselves would be responsible for order and for discipline when working The second group would remain guarded, but the transfer of the prisoners to the camps of the first group would be facilitated The camps with a severe regime would continue to be "camps for forced labour" ¹⁶)

Since 1953 a certain number of prisoners, sentenced to terms of imprisonment up to 5 years and, in some cases, up to 10 years, in particular invalids, old persons, minors, and women with small children, have been released with permission to return to their respective countries From 1954 onwards, the number of releases increased Some prisoners were released after completing their sentence (a fairly large group of persons sentenced to 10 years in 1944-1945), whilst others, far less numerous, were amnestied Of all those "released," however, only a very small proportion were given permission to return home, the majority were sent to places of detention, or were transferred to the regions of deportation (Siberia, Kazakhstan)

Upon arriving in their respective countries, the released prisoners of the first group generally find it extremely hard to cope with the insurmountable difficulties which are deliberately increased by the local administration and Party, composed as a rule of Russian settlers They are obliged to report their arrival to the local militia, whose task it is to check their movements Very often, however, the militia refuses to register them and to issue a passport to them, without which domicile and employment are prohibited In that case the unfortunate person is obliged to leave the place in question at the end of three days He has no other alternative but to return to the place from which he has come And such cases happen very frequently in Ukraine, Latvia, Lithuania and in the other occupied countries

Those who receive permission to stay are, however, not much better off They are regarded by the local authorities as 'untrustworthy' and as suspects, and they are refused most types of employment Information received from Ukraine confirms the fact that former prisoners live in great poverty and misery and only manage to survive because the people share the little they possess with them

Like those who are refused permission to take up their domicile there, they soon leave Ukraine again and rejoin those of their comrades who have been released but prohibited from leaving the region to which they have been assigned.¹⁷⁾

In addition, former prisoners residing in their own country again are very often re-arrested, and these persons, deprived of all rights and constantly suspected, are then sent back to the concentration camps once more on the strength of a new sentence.

The second and largest group of "released" and "amnestied" persons consists of the prisoners who are obliged to remain in the same place or else are transferred to the regions of deportation. They sign contracts with the same concerns for which they worked as prisoners under guard, or else with the state concerns and farms in the region to which they are deported. In both cases these contracts force them to remain in the place in question for a certain number of years or for the rest of their lives.

These facts show only too plainly that the Russian government, by resorting to innumerable means of coercion, has hit upon a new form of serfdom with the aim of ensuring the recruiting of a labour force needed for the economic exploitation of the uncultivated and undeveloped regions and also for the war-industry, and that it is determined to achieve this aim by reducing the number of prisoners confined behind barbed wire and forcing the peoples of the occupied countries, in particular of Ukraine, Byelorussia and the Baltic countries, to go "voluntarily" to those regions where the execution of economic plans demands the employment of huge labour-force.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI.

- 1) Joseph Scholmer, *Die Toten kehren zurück* (The Dead Return), op cit, p 193
- 2) *Ibid*, p 195
- 3) *Ibid*, p 196
- 4) *Ibid*, p 197-198
- 5) *Ibid*, p 198
- 6) A. Kniazhynsky, *In the heart of the USSR* (in Ukrainian), New York, 1959, p 156
- 7) Nicholas Berdyayev, *The New Middle Ages*, Otto Reichl Verlag, Tübingen, 1950, p 69
- 8) *Ibid*, p 99
- 9) *Ibid*, p 97
- 10) *Novoye Russkoye Slovo* (New Russian Word), of August 14, 1958, New York.
- 11) *Eusalka* (The Nymph), No 3, 1958, quoted in 'Shlyakh Peremohy,' op cit, No 44, 1958, p 6
- 12) *Russkoye Voskresenye* (Russian Sunday News), Paris, No 98, Feb 1, 1958
- 13) *Vasyl Hryshko*, op cit, p 151, and *The Black Deeds*, op cit, pp 128-129
- 14) Cf 'Saturne,' op cit, No 4 1957
- 15) A. Kniazhynsky, op cit, p 104
- 16) A. Kniazhynsky, op cit p 204-205
- 17) Cf *Homin Ukrainy* (Echo of Ukraine), Toronto Canada, No 7, 1957, and 'Shlyakh Peremohy,' op cit, Nos 22 and 44, 1957

CHAPTER VII

PREPARATION OF INSURRECTIONS

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE INSURRECTIONS

It is erroneous to assume that the strikes and revolts in the concentration camps began after the death of Stalin in consequence of the confusion which that event produced. A long time before the death of this despot insurrections were already making themselves felt to a marked degree in the Russian concentration camps. Thanks to the testimony given by former prisoners, in particular by former Japanese, German and French prisoners of war, it is now possible to give a general and exact survey of the strikes and insurrections which have occurred in the camps.

- 1946 insurrection in Kolyma,
1947 new insurrection in the camps in Kolyma,
strikes and insurrection in the camp at Ust-Vym,
insurrection in Dzhezkazgan (region of Karaganda),
insurrection in Karaganda,
1948 insurrection in the camps in the west Arctic Circle,
1950 insurrection in Salekhard, near Vorkuta,
in the winter, strike in the women's camp No 015 in Taishet.
1951 strike in the camps in Kolyma,
insurrection in Dzhezkazgan (region of Karaganda),
insurrection in Karaganda
1952 in the spring, insurrection in the camps in Krasnoyarsk,
in June, insurrection in Molotov and Sosvetskaya (Ural region),
in the summer, insurrection lasting seven days in Vozhayel,
in the autumn, insurrection in Karaganda,
1953 in May, three-day strike in Kingir,
strike and insurrection in Kolyma,
May-August, strikes and insurrections in Norilsk and in the
other camps on the Yenisei-Stroy,
in June, strike and insurrection in Karaganda
strike in Fabrichnoye (Ural region),
insurrection in Dzhezkazgan,
in July, four-day strike in Kingir,
in the summer, strike and riot in Vorkuta,

- 1954 in January, strike lasting several days in Kingir,
 in May, riots in Taishet,
 May-June, strike and insurrection in Kingir,
 strike in Revda, near Sverdlovsk (Ural),
 strike in Muyka (Sakhalin),
 in July, strikes and insurrections in several camps in Kara-
 gānda,
 strike in the camp on Lake Balkhash and in the camp at
 Sherutay Kura,
 in the summer, strikes in the camps in Kazakhstan (40,000
 strikers in Karagash),
 strike at Inta,
 strike and revolt in Kolyma,
 October-December, strikes and insurrections in the camps in
 the region of Krasnoyarsk,
 in August, insurrection in Vozhayel,
 strike in Taishet,
 strikes and insurrections in the camps on the Yenisei-Stroy,
- 1955 in January, strike in Taishet,
 in June, strike and insurrection in Vorkuta (camp No 3),
 strike in Solikamsk (Perm region),
 in the summer, wave of strikes and insurrections in the Far
 East Magadan, Muyka, Kharbin and Tsitsikar (Manchuria),
 insurrection at Pot'ma,
 in September, new strike in Vorkuta,
- 1956 March-April, strikes and riots in the Japanese and Chinese
 camps near Taishet,
 in April, insurrection in Krasnoyarsk and Tomsk,
 in the summer, insurrections in the camps in Sverdlovsk,
 Irkutsk and Maritime Kray,
- 1957 in September, strikes in the camps in the region of Vladi-
 vostok, Chelyabinsk and Sverdlovsk

We have only been able to give an exact list of the strikes and insurrections up to the end of 1957, but there is no indication whatever that the active struggle of the prisoners has abated since then. The reorganization of the camps resulted in a strict division of the prisoners and prisoners from free countries were now isolated in the special camps and no longer had any contact with the other camps. Since 1958 the number of prisoners released has become less and less in the West, and hence little information is available.

There is no denying the fact, as is indeed stressed by the CICRC, that 'the strikes which have undermined the Soviet concentration camp system in the course of the past years represent an entirely new phenomenon. One can truthfully say that never before have such events occurred. It is therefore important to know how they came to arise, who organized them and how they proceeded.

Prior to the insurrections, the political prisoners lived under dreadful moral conditions due to the terrorism inflicted on them by the administration and by the criminal prisoners. The latter, encouraged by the administration, practically dominated the camps and terrorized the political prisoners. The CICRC, after a close study of the statements made by former prisoners, comes to the conclusion that "every element of resistance was nipped in the bud as a result of the terrorism exercised by the administration on the one hand and, on the other, by the "common law" prisoners. Moreover, before these events, the Russian concentration camps "strongly resembled extermination camps both as regards the inhuman treatment inflicted on the prisoners and the high death-rate" (1)

'Misery and despair — so the bulletin in the CICRC states — even exceeded the limit of that suffering in which coma becomes agony and torpor sometimes yields to violent convulsions" It was during this period, that is about 1947-1948, that, according to the CICRC "a new element made itself felt in the general situation. More or less organized groups began to be formed amongst the political prisoners, and these groups now commenced acting according to a certain method. Their main objective was to break down the dictatorship of the criminals in order to gain a strong and definite influence on all the political prisoners"

"Likewise from 1948 onwards, the treatment to which the prisoners were subjected began to change. Medical care became more adequate, conditions as regards hygiene in the camps improved, and the food rations increased and were of better quality. Of course, hunger did not disappear completely. The most fitting description of this change is perhaps contained in the words of a German prisoner released from a camp in Vorkuta. 'From 1948 onwards, hunger ceased, that is to say the big hunger, as it was called there, the little hunger continued until 1953'. At the same time, the regime in the camps became more severe (the barracks were locked at night, bars were put across the windows, and numbers were stitched on the garments worn by the prisoners, etc.)"

In 1948-1949 the camps were reorganized according to different categories (isolation camps, special camps, reformatory, labour camps, etc.) and in some of them the prisoners sentenced by common law were separated from the political prisoners. But in the majority of the camps their domination over the political prisoners continued for some time.

The first changes which were introduced in the camps after the war were not due to the goodwill of the Russian authorities. These changes were preceded by several big revolts in Kolyma, Karaganda, Komi and in the Far North. It was in about 1946, not in 1948, that the political prisoners became aware of their importance although their political organization at that time was only in its earliest beginnings.

Nevertheless, in the course of the various insurrections which took place during this period, the prisoners, determined to burst asunder their fetters, already acted according to a definite plan.

The first big revolt of which we have any record, took place in a camp in Kolyma. "I witnessed the insurrection in Kolyma in 1946 — a former prisoner has stated. — It lasted three days. The fire brigades were called in to put it down. Since they failed to do so, the guards fired on the insurgents with machine-guns. Seventy men were killed. I do not know how many wounded there were, for they were immediately taken away. The Bolsheviks were extremely indignant at the resistance of the prisoners. Since they were not able to find out who the leaders of the insurrection were, they shot every sixth prisoner."³⁾

A year later another insurrection broke out in the complex of camps in Kolyma. But in this case we only have an indirect testimony, that of a German prisoner who was in Kolyma from 1948 to 1955. He has incidentally confirmed the fact that the Ukrainians constituted the most important national group in the camps. Here is his statement on the insurrection of 1947:

"The insurrection of 1947 broke out in the mines in Gorki. It very rapidly assumed huge proportions. After having killed all the guards, the prisoners armed themselves, left the camp and marched in the direction of the town of Magadan, attacking all the camps en route and liberating the prisoners. In this way the number of insurgents, equipped with weapons which they had taken from the guards, increased progressively. The tribunals, formed by the insurgents, sentenced all the agents and informers of the administration to death. The advance on Magadan increased in force and the insurgents got as far as the gates of Palatka. But the Bolsheviks had hastily summoned reinforcements of troops, and not far from Palatka the insurgents were finally defeated."⁴⁾

Similar insurrections broke out in 1948 in the camps in the Western Arctic Region. The prisoners of one of the camps north of Vorkuta armed themselves, left the camp and marched towards Vorkuta, but they were defeated en route.⁵⁾

THE REVOLUTIONARIES IN THE CAMPS

It was no mere coincidence that the revolts in the camps began in 1946. In his book "The Profits of Slavery," A. Silde very rightly affirms that "from 1945 onwards the deportees and internees did not consist solely of persons who had previously been designated as 'peaceable inhabitants' but, in equal measure, of a number of active anti-Soviet elements. Thousands of persons were engaged in a desperate and open struggle against the invader and the enemy of the nation, thousands were involved in this unequal and relentless struggle, but, since the numbers of the enemy were superior, they were captured."⁶⁾

The revolutionaries of various nationalities, once they arrived in the camps, constituted the nucleus of political resistance and organization. With the advent of new groups of partisans, captured in 1946 and during the following years, the political activity of the prisoners expanded and increased in significance

In order to give readers some idea at least of the situation in the USSR during this period, we should, by way of example, like to give a brief account of the struggle of the Ukrainians against the Russians and the Communists, a factor which sheds light on the part played by this national group in the strikes and insurrections in the camps

Numerous documents and testimonies published in the Soviet and Polish press behind the Iron Curtain as well as by the Ukrainians in exile prove that after the Russians reoccupied Ukraine again in 1943-1944 a partisan war was waged there on a large scale for many years. Up to 1947 the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) had at its disposal heavy armament captured from the German troops. Supported by the entire population and allied in its campaign with other national partisans, the U.P.A. was able to ward off the special troops of the MVD and the Polish army successfully. In May 1946 the Russians launched a big offensive against the Ukrainians, in the course of which hundreds of soldiers of the U.P.A. were taken prisoners. But this offensive was virtually broken by the attack of a single detachment of the U.P.A. against the tank column of the commander-in-chief of the offensive, General Moskalenko of the MVD army. The General and several high-ranking officers were killed. A year later another detachment of the U.P.A. killed the Polish Deputy Minister of War, General Walter Swierczewski, in a combat.⁷⁾ The military losses suffered by Poland in the war against the U.P.A. on the Ukrainian territory ceded to Poland are estimated for the period up to 1949 at 30,000 dead.⁸⁾ The losses of the Russians in Central and Western Ukraine during the same period were at least three times as high. In 1947, Russia, desirous of liquidating the U.P.A. for good, signed a military pact with the Communist governments of Poland and Czecho-Slovakia, according to which the troops of these three states were to undertake joint action against the bulk of the forces of the U.P.A. who were operating in the region of the Carpathians.⁹⁾ At the same time a big offensive was launched throughout Ukraine. In the course of all these operations the Russians succeeded in taking several thousands of U.P.A. soldiers prisoner, without however being able to break the armed resistance of the Ukrainians completely. The Ukrainian partisans who had been captured were sentenced to 10 to 25 years' detention in a concentration camp.

In 1945, 1946 and 1947 the Russians also proceeded to undertake large-scale deportations of Ukrainians, some of whom were sent to the regions of deportation, whilst others were put in camps. The latter included soldiers and officers of the U.P.A. who had been demobilized since 1945, as well as members of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN). The OUN was the main organizer of the U.P.A.,

created in 1942, and played an important part in the armed struggle of the Ukrainians against the Nazis

Naturally, the fighters for the independence of Ukraine, whether they were soldiers of the U P A or members of the OUN, were determined not to give up the fight which they had taken up years ago. For now, as previously, this fight was a grim and desperate one. Every freedom-fighter was prepared to die for the independence and future freedom of Ukraine. Exemplary idealists and fierce enemies of the Russian imperialists and of their Communist system, they had no intention of abnegating their principles and of becoming, at the orders of the enemy, docile prisoners without souls. Far away from their country, in the camps, they still continued their fight.

After the mass-deportations of the Ukrainian population the general staff of the U P A issued an appeal to the deportees

"Wherever you are, in the mines, the forests or the camps, always remain what you have formerly been, remain true Ukrainian, and continue our fight, which is already amazing the whole world. Keep your Ukrainian soul even under the hardest conditions and believe in our victory. By your ardent love of liberty and your hatred of the occupant kindle the flame in the hearts of your Ukrainian comrades and of the other oppressed peoples" ¹⁰⁾

With the mass-arrival of former soldiers of the U P A and members of the OUN in the camps, the resistance of the political prisoners began to be organized. It was by no means easy to organize this resistance, not only because of the terrorization to which the prisoners were subjected, but also because of their profound apathy. At the cost of their lives, the Ukrainians endeavoured to break down the terrorism of the administration and of the criminals and to shake the political prisoners out of their apathy, by arousing their confidence in their own strength, and subsequently organizing them and making them capable of fighting for the amelioration of their lot.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE CRIMINALS

The first stage of the large-scale fight of the Ukrainians against the MVD was the action intended to eliminate the spies of the administration and break the tyranny of the criminals. The bulletin of the CICRC supplies us with some very accurate information on this subject.

'Of the conditions which prevailed prior to the outbreak of the strikes and revolts, the unexpected changes introduced in the concentration camp system after 1948 and the development of secret activities proved to be as significant as the death of Stalin and the undermining of the administrative authority which this event caused. The most striking proof of this is the fact that the first big eruption occurred some considerable time before the death of the dictator,

namely in 1952 in Karaganda "11) This violent action, recorded by the investigators of the CICRC, was certainly not the first of its kind, but it was undoubtedly one of the most important. But the CICRC ascertains that the Ukrainians, "the majority of whom were former partisans who had fought against both the German troops and the Red Army at one and the same time," engaged in a fierce struggle in the camp in Karaganda, in 1952, against the gang, composed mainly of criminals, which ruled the camp and, by arrangement with the administration, not only imposed discipline on the other prisoners but also maltreated them and systematically robbed them "This struggle developed into a veritable insurrection," which eventually put an end to the dictatorship of this gang of criminals "After this incident the authorities sought to break down the influence of the Ukrainians which henceforth was clearly in evidence, by sending them to camps in different regions "12)

"The observations of repatriated Japanese prisoners, which have been gathered and recorded by Herbert Passin, are particularly interesting in this respect. According to these witnesses, the crucial moment in camp No 13 in Taishet arrived on May 5, 1954, when fifteen Ukrainians who had taken part in the organization of the strikes in Norilsk were transferred to this camp. So far the prisoners at camp No 13 had been terrorized by a prisoner who had been sentenced under common law as a criminal. The newcomers immediately set about changing this situation "This tyrant tried to put up a resistance — so the report states — but one evening he was given such a castigation that he was taken to hospital and never appeared in camp No 13 again." In another camp a French prisoner assisted in incidents of a similar nature.

"A similar struggle was waged by the political prisoners against the confidential agents of the administration amongst the convicts. In this respect, too, the testimony given by Japanese prisoners is extremely informative. At camp No 5 in Norilsk, where, on May 7, 1953, a big strike broke out, about twenty Ukrainians, who had been transferred to Norilsk after the riots in Karaganda, took over the leadership of the political prisoners and killed four men who had been known to be spies of the administration. This deed served to undermine the control exercised by the administration on the prisoners and made them realize the fact that the Ukrainian nucleus represented a powerful force.

"The testimony of the prisoners who were released and returned to Japan is entirely corroborated by other prisoners who were also released from Norilsk and crossed the Iron Curtain at the other end of the Soviet empire. An officer of the German army, who was interned in special camp No 383/4 from December 1950 until the

middle of June 1953, states that former Ukrainian partisans who were transferred from Karaganda to Norilsk at the end of 1952 organized a systematic offensive in order to destroy the network of informers by means of terrorism. In the camp in which this officer was interned, two spies of the administration were killed but the administration was unable to discover who had killed them. On another occasion former Ukrainian partisans, at the spot where they were working, attacked a group of six men, they killed four and badly wounded the other two, the two men who had been wounded refused to disclose the identity of the attackers to the authorities since they were terrified of the audacity of these partisans "13)

POLITICAL GUIDANCE AND LEADERSHIP OF THE PRISONERS

The strikes and revolts and even the actual armed insurrections which followed on the first phase of the struggle of the Ukrainians were all spontaneous, but they were nevertheless carefully planned and organized. A political guidance and leadership was formed in the midst of the political prisoners, or, rather, to be more correct, it was set up by the heads of the secret Ukrainian movement in collaboration with the other revolutionaries. On this subject Paul Barton of the CICRC writes that the strikes "were led in an extremely firm manner by secret committees which were unknown to the strikers themselves. The specifications of claims submitted by these committees to the representatives of the administrative authorities were only made known to the strikers by degrees. It appears that in certain camps, at least, the strike committees were obliged to act in such a manner not only in order to give the strike a better chance to succeed, but also in order to train the bulk of the prisoners to overcome their fears "14)

Paul Barton then refers to the problem of the former Ukrainian partisans, soldiers and officers of the U P A, who — as he stresses — in many of the camps were the main organizers of the strikes "15)

"As is known a powerful secret army, the U P A, was formed in Ukraine during the war and fought in turn against the German and the Soviet troops. It continued its operations for years and years but in the end the armed forces of the government succeeded in destroying the bulk of its troops. At the present time the majority of the former combatants of the U P A are prisoners in the concentration camps scattered throughout the Soviet Union. Of all the political prisoners they represent one of the best organized elements and also the most resolute when it comes to action "16)

It is correct that large numbers of former combatants of the U P A were deported to the Russian camps but one must not deduce from this fact that the activity of the U P A ceased from then onwards. In 1947 the Supreme Command of the U P A was obliged to demobilize

some of its troops and to change the tactics of its operations completely. A second change in this respect occurred in 1950, and since then the partisan war is conducted solely by small but very mobile units. 'The fact that the partisans in Ukraine and in the Baltic countries have been obliged to reduce the intensity of their fight during the past years does not, however, mean that the national resistance and opposition has in any way weakened, the reason for this is that, without material aid from the West, a partisan war cannot continue indefinitely' — so Joseph Scholmer states when stressing that the determination to rise up in revolt and to liberate themselves is clearly evident among the peoples of the occupied countries of the Soviet Union ¹⁷⁾

Nevertheless, from time to time, the operations of the UPA exceed the scope of a small partisan war. In the summer of 1958, for instance, strong detachments of the UPA by way of reprisals attacked the garrisons in three big Ukrainian towns, — Zhytomyr, Vinnytsia and Ternopil ¹⁸⁾ An American journalist, Paul Maskill, who himself had a chance to talk to the leaders of a group of Ukrainian partisans in Ukraine, states that "in spite of more than ten years of bloody purges and deportations of hundreds and thousands of Ukrainians, the striving for independence in Ukraine is still very active and is growing in force. Students and other young nationalists are being trained to take the place of the partisan leaders who have either been killed or deported to Siberia during the past years" ¹⁸⁾

THE NATIONAL IDEA AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY

Interesting testimony on the ideology of the Ukrainian nationalists is supplied by an Austrian, Karl Fischer. 'One of the witnesses heard by the investigators of the CICRC, an Austrian socialist, Karl Fischer, had an opportunity to have long talks with former Ukrainian partisans during his detention in the prison at Aleksandrovsk. He describes this experience in a work at present in preparation. To indicate their political tendency, these men, who incidentally were all very young, contented themselves with showing that they were Ukrainian nationalists. They gave proof of a systematic hostility as regards the Greater Russians. But this hostility was less strong than their guiding idea which consisted in extolling the solidarity amongst all the prisoners, whoever they might be. They themselves set the example in this respect. Their own conduct, according to Karl Fischer, was such that it could have served as a model. According to Karl Fischer's testimony, the main activities carried on by these men in the camps and prisons consisted in liquidating the dictatorship of the criminals amongst the prisoners, in eliminating the spies of the administration and in rendering the incorrigible Stalinists harmless' ¹⁹⁾

"In this respect it is interesting to recall the ideas of certain theoreticians of the UPA" — writes Paul Barton. 'They affirmed that after a certain time the totalitarian system would inevitably lead

to the complete degeneration of all the living forces of society. In organizing partisan groups not only in East Ukraine but also in the territories which had previously belonged to Poland, they proposed to mobilize political intelligence and the Western sense of organization in order to carry the resistance movement into the very heart of the Soviet Union. The young persons trained by this movement who are today conducting the fight in the Soviet camps and prisons are probably not aware of these early plans "20)

This last assumption on the part of Paul Barton is not correct. For the combatants of the U P A and the members of the OUN know very well what they are fighting for. Moreover, the idea of collaboration between all the nations is not new to them. It was likewise the Supreme Command of the U P A and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) which in 1943 organized the first big conference of the representatives of the oppressed peoples of East Europe and Soviet Asia. The collaboration and the solidarity of the peoples of the occupied countries in their fight against the Nazis and the Russians was part of the plan elaborated at this conference.

In addition, the pamphlets written and published in secret in Ukraine were circulated not only amongst the combatants of the U P A but also among the civilian population. With regard to the ideas of the theoreticians of the U P A we should like to quote the head of the political department of the general staff of the U P A, P Poltava. In a pamphlet published in Ukraine in 1950 and intended to counter the propaganda disseminated by the Soviet government against the Ukrainian nationalists, P Poltava wrote:

"We Ukrainian nationalists are not chauvinists. In fighting for an independent Ukrainian state we are only fighting for the realization by the Ukrainian people of the same rights which the majority of nations in the world long since possess. We want to live in friendship and collaboration with all the peoples of the world, including the Russian people, if they set up their national state on their ethnographical territory. We are not fighting against our neighbours as such but only against all the imperialist forces which are oppressing or intend to oppress us.

"We Ukrainian revolutionaries and insurgents are fighting firstly, for the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state on Ukrainian ethnographical territory, with a just political and social regime; secondly, for the reformation of the Soviet Union according to the principle of national independence for all peoples of the Soviet Union; thirdly, for the complete realization of the idea of national states for all peoples in the world and for the elimination of all imperialism from international life; fourthly, for a true democracy — as opposed to dictatorship and totalitarianism of every kind, and for the freedom of expression, of the press, of meetings, and of ideologies.

"We believe that we can achieve our aim by effecting a national revolution and social liberation both in Ukraine and also in the countries of the other peoples of the USSR. We exhort all the peoples of the USSR and all the working-class masses to join with us in the fight which will bring about the destruction of the Bolshevik regime. It is also our aim to form a common revolutionary front of the peoples of Ukraine, Byelorussia, of the Baltic countries, of the Caucasus, of Central Asia, of Siberia, and of the peoples of Central and Southeast Europe. The revolutionary forces of Ukraine, Byelorussia, of the Baltic countries, of the Caucasus and of certain peoples of Southeast Europe are already joined together in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations for a common fight on the basis of the political platform which we propagate."

The pamphlet concludes with an appeal to the oppressed peoples of the Soviet Union asking them to unite and to rise up in revolt "for national and social liberation and for the disintegration of the USSR into national independent states"²¹)

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VII

- 1) Paul Barton, *Le mécanisme des grèves dans les camps de concentration soviétique* (The mechanism of the strikes in the Soviet concentration camps), CICRC, Bulletin No 4, 1955, p 19
- 2) Paul Barton, *Les transformations du système concentrationnaire soviétique* (The changes in the Soviet concentration camp system), "Saturne," op cit No 6 1956, pp 35-36
- 3) A Silde, op cit, p 214
- 4) *Za samostyynu Ukrainu* (For Independent Ukraine) Publications by the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, 1957, p 113
- 5) Paul Barton, *Les transformations*, op cit, p 35
- 6) A Silde, op cit, p 175
- 7) See *Communist Takeover*, op cit, p 31
- 8) A report on the Ukrainian territories under Communist Poland, published in the German paper "Die Welt" on October 7, 1958, quoted by "Shlyakh Peremohy," No 44 1958, p 6
- 9) *Communist Takeover*, op cit, p 31
- 10) "Surma", official organ of the Units Abroad of the OUN, No 3, 1949
- 11) Paul Barton *Les transformations*, op cit., pp 41-42
- 12) Ibid.
- 13) Paul Barton, *Le mecanisme*, op cit., pp 21-22
- 14) Ibid., p 22
- 15) Ibid., p 23
- 16) Ibid., p 22-23
- 17) Joseph Scholmer, *Opposition and International Resistance*, op cit.
- 18) Cf an article from Vienna published by the Tarantel-Press agency, Berlin, August 1958
- 19) Long Island Sunday Press, October 5, 1958, quoted by the Ukrainian daily "Svoboda" ("Liberty"), No 195, October 10, 1958
- 20) Paul Barton, *Le mécanisme*, op cit., p 23
- 21) P Poltava, *Khto taki banderivtsi ta za shcho vony borut sia* (Who are the Banderivtsi and for what are they fighting) publications by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Kyiv-Lviv, 1950, pp 7, 15-18, 19-20 and 29-30

CHAPTER VIII

AN ACCOUNT OF THE STRIKES AND INSURRECTIONS

THE BLOODY STRIKE OF NORILSK

An excellent account of the events in Norilsk which commenced on May 7, 1953, with a strike and ended on August 11, 1953, with a ruthless massacre of the prisoners, is given by Herbert Passin, an investigator of the CICRC.¹⁾ His account of the strike of Norilsk, which preceded the insurrections in Vorkuta and East Berlin, is based on statements made by Japanese internees at the time of the strike, who were either in camp No 5, where the strike began, or else in camps No 3 and No 4 in Norilsk itself, or in camp No 5 in Kayerkan.

"When events commenced, the prisoners numbered several thousand and among them were a few hundred foreigners, Japanese, Hungarians, Koreans, Chinese, Germans, Czechs and Italians. As in the majority of political camps in this region, here, too, the largest national group was that of the Ukrainians. Of the latter, some twenty had previously been implicated in the disturbances in Karaganda in 1952 and had only recently been transferred to Norilsk. They seem to have formed the nucleus of the strike, its guiding and driving force.

"One night soon after their arrival, four prisoners who were known to be informers in the pay of the administration were killed. It was never discovered who killed them. The most significant fact, however, was that they had been killed by blows dealt with a pickaxe, and this appeared to indicate a certain complicity on the part of the guards, for every prisoner on returning to the camp was submitted to a rigorous search and all tools, according to the camp regulations, had to be handed over to the overseers. It thus needed some very skilful organizing or else some very extensive complicity to smuggle a pickaxe into the camp. This method of disposing of informers had various aims and far-reaching consequences. It undermined the control of the administration as regards the affairs of the camp, it caused alarm amongst the helpers and agents of the administration and put them on their guard, and, lastly, it made the other prisoners realize the daring and efficiency of the Ukrainian nucleus.

"On the eve of the strike the main job on which camp No 5 was engaged was the erection of a six-storey tenement-house in the immediate vicinity of the camp. This task was carried out together with prisoners from camps No 4 and No 6 (the latter a women's camp). Since they were working on the same building-site as the women and since, like most of the latter, they were also Ukrainians, the prisoners of camp No 5 established regular contact with the prisoners of camp No 6. They constantly communicated with each other by means of bits of paper wrapped round stones and tied up with string, which enabled one to throw them quite far. In order to avoid the risk of any one individual being caught in the act, entire groups of prisoners would all throw their stones simultaneously. Thus, even if the overseers got hold of one of these notes, they did not know exactly who had written it.

"On May 7th, at about noon, several of the prisoners threw messages to some of the women who were working in the brick yard. One of the messages accidentally fell into the area which prisoners were not allowed to enter. Stretching out their arms through the barbed wire or else using sticks, some of the men hastened to retrieve the note. One of the sentries ordered them to move back. But instead of obeying him, several of them went on trying to retrieve the note. Thereupon the sentry raised his rifle and fired, wounding one of the prisoners in the arm. Another prisoner was slightly wounded in a finger.

"A group of prisoners accompanied the two victims of the shots to the overseer's office and demanded that the sentry in question should be punished. In answer to the overseer's refusal to punish the sentry they retorted that even if they were prisoners, they had, however certain rights. Eventually, they dispersed again fairly peacefully, but their anger persisted, as was soon to become evident. Next day, May 8th, the day-gang went off to work, but they loafed about and did not do much work. The same thing happened again on May 9th. Then, that same evening, the night-shift decided that they would all go on strike. The prisoners began to feel that a firm will had now taken charge of the whole affair. When its turn came round, the day-shift did not go to work. Thus opposition rapidly spread to special camp No 4 and to camp No 10, as well as to the women's camp No 6."

The strike continued. The threats of the administration proved ineffectual. A group of prisoners "went to the camp commandant and requested that someone should be sent to Moscow to discuss their demands." Thus, 'on May 13th a high-ranking officer of the camp combine of Norilsk arrived in order to investigate the situation but he was unable to restore order, that same evening a general arrived by plane from Krasnoyarsk in order to make another attempt to settle the situation according to some of the prisoners, the person in question was Major-General Panikov, head of the Yenisei-Stroy camps who had his headquarters in Krasnoyarsk." But he was equally unsuccessful.

"On the following day, a high functionary of the MVD, who also had the rank of major-general and whom the prisoners assumed to be "Beria's assistant," finally arrived from Moscow in order to undertake negotiations. He requested the prisoners to name their "representatives" who were to draw up a petition. The strikers thus saw themselves placed in an embarrassing position. They did not know exactly who were the leaders and did not want to expose anyone to possible reprisals. Thrusting his way through the prisoners, a young Ukrainian stepped forward out of the crowd and offered to act as their spokesman. But Beria's assistant refused to negotiate with him and demanded that all the "representatives" should step forward. A rapid discussion now took place amongst the prisoners, who chose seven or eight persons whom they "entrusted with the task of explaining" the common demands without presenting them as "representatives" or as persons "responsible" for the movement. The envoy from Moscow was nevertheless willing to negotiate with them.

"A list of demands prepared by the secret committee was submitted. The text had been drawn up in a secret meeting in which the rest of the prisoners had not been allowed to participate, and they had therefore not been able to express their approval or disapproval. Nevertheless, when they learnt which demands had been formulated, they were extremely proud of and satisfied with the task that had been accomplished. At first, the MVD man appeared to be extremely conciliatory. The watchword was passed round to end the strike and to await results. In camp No. 4 the same type of conciliation also put an end to the strike.

"After an interval of some days, however, the prisoners began to realize that the authorities were playing a double game with them. On May 20th about half the prisoners were moved out of camp No. 5 — some of them to camp No. 4 and others to a new camp situated about a mile further south. The general impression gained by the prisoners was that this was a manoeuvre to isolate the leaders. Our witnesses could hear the sound of machine-guns quite plainly in the direction in which the group of prisoners who were being transferred had been taken. This shooting was also heard by the prisoners in camp No. 4. The rumour spread in camps No. 5 and No. 4 that the victims numbered several score. The general conviction was that the Ukrainian agitators, who constituted the most uncompromising element, had been isolated in order to be subjected to special repressive measures, or else to be shot en masse. To judge from the noise of the machine-guns, they were massacred immediately. A similar "purge" was also carried out in the other camps which had been involved in the strike.

'On the following day, the prisoners who had remained at camp No. 5 gave vent to their indignation by starting another strike. A little after midnight — that is to say in the early hours of the morning of May 22nd — the guards started bolting shed B-2. Some of

the prisoners who were not yet asleep heard them, however, and warned the rest of their companions. Since they realized that this was no doubt a measure to isolate the huts from each other and to re-establish the complete domination of the authorities, they at once took action and, having smashed the windows of the hut, began to disperse throughout the camp, they then proceeded to break all the bolts on the other huts and called to the inmates to come to the rescue. The prisoners, by this time in full revolt, were now the masters in the camp. The guards were kept in awe outside the camp, and all intervention on the part of the authorities was completely disregarded. The watchword was passed round to organize internal activity in the camp, but no one knew exactly from whom these orders came."

"In the evening of May 22nd a strong military unit entered the camp by the main gateway. A group of prisoners who happened to be near the office of the camp commandant advanced to meet the soldiers and began to parley with them. Another group of prisoners took up their position behind the first group in order to cover their retreat, thus revealing both military experience and an organized solidarity.

"Next day, May 23rd, at nightfall, the authorities began deploying the troops that were to re-establish their control over the camp. Soldiers surrounded the camp, all the exits were blocked, and troops spread out the whole length of the camp enclosure.

"Negotiations were resumed between the authorities and the prisoners. When the latter refused to yield, a company of soldiers entered simultaneously by the gateways at the front and the back of the camp and formed a semi-circle as they advanced into the camp. The strikers were thus huddled together on the road between the bake-house and the store-house. The company of soldiers who, beyond the barbed wire, were deploying in the direction of the hospital now began firing above the heads of the crowd. But this did not seem to produce the expected result. Thereupon, the unit that had entered by the gateway at the back of the camp took cover in the angle formed by the camp buildings, whilst the unit that had entered by the front gateway opened fire on the mass of the prisoners. Scores of them were killed on the spot. A number of mental patients, who were probably seized with panic on hearing the shooting, got caught in the firing and seem to have shared the fate of the others. The prisoners seemed to be completely stupefied by this point-blank firing, without offering the least resistance they allowed themselves to be driven in a body towards the camp prison.

"Whilst these events were taking place in camp No 5 the strikes which had been started in the other political camps in the region of Norilsk pursued their course. Most of them were in the nature of

sympathy strikes From camp No 4, where the movement had taken a course similar to that of camp No 5, the resistance spread to camps 2, 3, 6, 10 and 25 in Norilsk itself and also to two mining camps, one in Kayerkan (No 5) and the other near to Dudinka The conflict assumed the proportions of a general strike amongst the political prisoners

"At Kayerkan, in camp No 5, the Ukrainians seemed to have taken the situation in hand It is reported that before the strike itself began, they proceeded to kill a number of informers who were in the pay of the authorities and had been instructed by the latter to mingle with the prisoners

"It is likewise reported that at camp No 10 the prisoners, after having seized possession of automatic firearms, rifles and pistols, locked up the commandant of the camp in the prison and kept him there as a hostage According to the truck-drivers from whom the Japanese internees obtained this information, a veritable battle took place between the armed prisoners and the troops The insurgents, encircled on all sides, were finally overcome and ruthlessly massacred close to the main entrance to camp No 10

"Several Japanese who had been transferred from camp No 5 to the new camp, which as yet had no number, heard the sound of shooting and cries in camp No 6 (the women's camp) as they were passing close by

"The main centre of resistance proved to be camp No 3 where the strike lasted until August 11th but was confined to this camp solely The prisoners here daringly took control of the camp and made themselves the masters and blocked all the entrances by setting up barricades The inhabitants of the town nearby as well as the prisoners of the other camps in the vicinity gave proof of their solidarity with this action by throwing supplies of food and cigarettes over the fences surrounding camp No 3 whenever they passed by The besieged on their part drew up tracts stating their side of the question in the conflict and they used kites in order to disseminate them Hence, very mysteriously, tracts in which the demands of the strikers were enumerated made their appearance in the town of Norilsk itself

"It was not until August 11th that the authorities, after having exhausted all other means of action, decided to resort openly to force At about 11 o'clock that evening troops surrounded the camp and opened fire on all the camp buildings The shooting then continued sporadically until 6 a m on August 12th

"The Japanese reports estimate the casualties in camp No 3 at about 1,500 dead and wounded of a total number of about 2,500 prisoners The removal and hospitalization of the victims took three days "

THE STRIKE AT VORKUTA

The facts of the strike in the camps at Vorkuta are probably best known to the free world thanks to numerous testimonies published by the press and, above all, thanks to Joseph Scholmer's book *We shall therefore confine ourselves here to giving an account published by the Units Abroad of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists*

'The insurrection in the camps at Vorkuta was most carefully prepared and organized. In order to be able to carry out this insurrection simultaneously, the secret leadership of the Ukrainian nationalists formed leading groups in each camp. The insurrection started with strikes during the night of July 19th to 20th, 1953, which spread to 50 mines in Vorkuta. The secret committee of the Ukrainian nationalists anticipated that the cessation of work in the pits would prove a serious loss as regards supplies of coal and might even bring industrial production in the region of Leningrad and Shcherbakov to a standstill. The prisoners in mines No 1 (about 8,000 persons) and No 7 were the first to go on strike. About 100,000 prisoners took part in the insurrection which commenced three days after the arrival in the camps at Vorkuta of numerous Ukrainian groups from the camps in Karaganda. The secret committee of the OUN issued political watchwords demanding the immediate cessation of Russian occupation of the countries in the USSR, the cessation of mass-arrests and of the extermination of the Ukrainian population and of the other peoples oppressed by Russia, the liberation of all innocent prisoners, a revision of all sentences, and the improvement of conditions in the camps''²⁾

"The insurrection was ruthlessly crushed with much bloodshed. In addition, the Russian authorities arrested a large number of Ukrainian prisoners and either sentenced them to death or else to imprisonment for life. Countless other Ukrainians were transferred to the camps in Kolyma and Kingir''³⁾

We have reprinted this information because it comes from OUN circles. The investigations of the CICRC have ascertained that the average prisoner, and we are referring in particular to the prisoners from the West and to the Russian prisoners, "was unable either to participate in the decisions or to comprehend the mechanism of the movement." The majority of the prisoners evidently did not know the identity of the organizers, a fact which has given rise to certain errors in the testimonies which have been published in the West.

"Indeed — so Paul Barton writes — the American John H. Noble, who was released in January 1955 from Vorkuta, where he had taken part in the strike at camp No 3, was convinced that the strike in his camp was led by the former attaché to the Soviet embassy in Paris, Gourévitch⁴⁾. In reality, however, Gourévitch had long been known to the members of the secret network as a dangerous informer in the pay of the police. The moment the strike broke out, he was driven into a corner and was informed that either he consented to present the

strikers' demands to the authorities and in doing so, took upon himself all the risks which this involved, or else he would be killed on the spot (it goes without saying that this ultimatum was, of course, presented to him by an intermediary and not by one of the secret leaders themselves), he chose to live, and after having accomplished his mission with a heavy heart, he disappeared without a trace Hence to regard him as the leader of the movement is certainly an illusion for there is a vast difference between the conspirators and those who carry out their orders "5)

THE INSURRECTION AT KINGIR

On May 16, 1954, the big strike and insurrection began at Kingir in Kazakhstan A former German prisoner-of-war commented as follows on the strike in the special camps No 392 and No 3 at Kingir

"Events in Vorkuta in 1953 were only a first beginning By 1954 the secret leaders had drawn a lesson as to how to conduct the other strikes and insurrections more effectively and with more daring and resoluteness '6)

According to the testimony of former German prisoners, the camp at Kingir was divided into three sections by high walls One of these sections was occupied by women-prisoners The male prisoners included numerous former anti-Russian partisans from the countries occupied by Russia in the Soviet Union The Ukrainians constituted 60 per cent of the total number of prisoners 7) The terrorism of the administration was exercised by means of numerous spies and informers The Ukrainians, however, organized a defense system against these spies and killed more than a hundred of them in one year This action enraged the camp administration, who thereupon increased its provocations 8) Thus, on May 16, 1953, exactly a year before the big insurrection the guards opened fire with machine-guns on a column of prisoners The prisoners retaliated by a strike lasting three days In July 1953, a sentry killed a woman-prisoner The result of this new provocation was a strike which lasted several days The same thing also occurred in January 1954, when a sentry killed one of the male prisoners

Determined to subdue the political prisoners, the administration had 600 new prisoners, all of them sentenced under common law, brought to the camp in April 1954 But the leader of these criminals, a man known as 'Gleb,' no doubt knew what they might expect if they fell in with the unreasonable demands of the administration, hence, one evening he went to the leader of the resistance committee, a Ukrainian by the name of Anatol Zadorozhny, and told him that some of his men had received orders from the "operative section" (MVD) to provoke a quarrel between the political and the criminal prisoners, but that he had decided to ally himself with the political prisoners and to join forces with them It was the intention of the

administration in the first place to provoke disturbances and then request the troops of the MVD to intervene in order to massacre the political prisoners "legally" Such was the vengeance of the camp administration After a long discussion the Ukrainian leader eventually consented to accept the help of the criminal prisoners in the planned insurrection 9)

On May 16th the criminals were the first to take action, followed immediately afterwards by the political prisoners More than 2,500 prisoners hurled themselves against the walls which divided the camp into sections and against the barricades The walls were destroyed in several places and 4,500 male and 3,500 female prisoners were reunited The insurgents drove all the guards out of the camp and liberated the 400 prisoners locked up in the camp prison, which was known as the "isolation ward"

During the night of May 17th to 18th, however, detachments of the MVD army entered the camp and attacked the section occupied by the women-prisoners The men-prisoners put up a fierce resistance But towards morning the troops managed to drive them out of the section and immediately afterwards they began to remove the corpses of 76 prisoners who had been killed during the night The haste with which the authorities got rid of the corpses was regarded by the prisoners as proof that the administration had called in the troops without the permission of the higher authorities In reply to this illegal action the secret committee, under the leadership of Zadorozhny, gave orders for the strike to begin At the suggestion of the secret Ukrainian committee, a committee consisting of representatives of all the nationalities in the camp, was formed at the same time This international committee was headed by a Russian, Colonel Kuznetsov, who had been liberated from the camp prison The prisoners demanded that a representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party should be sent from Moscow, that those who had taken part in the massacre of May 17th should be punished, and that a medical commission should be formed for the purpose of examining the dead and the wounded, since some of them had the marks of bullets on their bodies

Two days later, General Bychkov, deputy commandant of the GULAG (head administration of camps) in Moscow, and General Dolgikh, deputy chief prosecutor, arrived at the camp Anatol Zadorozhny, however, demanded that a representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and not of the MVD should be sent from Moscow To which the generals in question replied that the Central Committee had sent them and would not be sending anyone else The prisoners then submitted a petition containing 16 points The generals accepted it, gave various assurances and requested the prisoners to resume work Next day the prisoners went back to work on the building-sites again The administration took advantage of their absence to bring in an MVD detachment into the camp and to

repair the walls that had been destroyed. When the prisoners returned to the camp they were informed by the officers that the soldiers on the look-outs had orders to shoot without warning at anybody who approached the walls.

The prisoners were dumbfounded at the attitude of the authorities. Suddenly, the women began singing one of the songs of the Ukrainian partisans: "Rank after rank march the partisans."

On all sides the prisoners hurled themselves against the walls in a fierce assault, whilst the machine-guns fired on them. In a few seconds the walls were once more broken down.

"It was a dreadful sight" — so a Hungarian, who was released from Kingir, stated. "Flares lit up the camp and the machine-guns were firing from every look-out. Special troops arrived on the scene and the terrible massacre of the night of May 16th to 17th was repeated. More than 100 persons, men and women, were killed, but the other prisoners did not abandon the fight. On the morning of May 20th we again demanded that the MVD troops should be withdrawn from the camp. And that same day, at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, they actually left the camp. And now began the period of negotiations which lasted until the night of June 25th to 26th, 1954."¹⁰)

From the moment that the MVD troops left, the camp was entirely in the hands of the prisoners and was administered by them. Red Cross flags were hoisted on the roofs of the canteens. The leader of the secret Ukrainian committee, A. Zadorozhny, gave orders for weapons to be made.

"During the whole of the time — so Dr. Varkony relates — the demands of the prisoners were constantly given out by loudspeakers. The Ukrainian women, on their part, disseminated tracts, made 'grenades' of bottles and explosives, put up barricades to ward off any possible attacks, and looked after the wounded. The men were busy making weapons."¹¹)

Meanwhile, the MVD broadcast the news by radio from Kingir that the prisoners in revolt were committing atrocities and murders and that they were a danger to the town. The prisoners replied with a message relayed by their own broadcasting station, which had been in operation since June 18th, asking the civilian authorities of the town to send a delegation to the camp in order to verify the allegations made by the MVD. The prisoners were naturally astonished when a delegation composed of engineers, overseers and factory-workers actually arrived at the camp. They were allowed to inspect the entire camp and satisfy themselves that order and discipline prevailed there. Nevertheless, the MVD insisted that it was necessary to evacuate part of the town on the pretext that mines had been laid there by the insurgents.

The news and messages broadcast by the insurgents' wireless station were picked up in Alma Ata and in Karaganda (300 miles away from

Kingir) The prisoners in Kingir also sent a message to the International Red Cross asking for help ¹²⁾ But this message was probably never picked up in any free country

When news of the strike at Kingir reached the camp in Dzhezkagan, 15 miles away from Kingir, the 14,000 prisoners there likewise went on strike and formulated demands which were identical with those of their comrades in Kingir. The authorities of the camp tried to convince them that "the prisoners in Kingir had been betrayed to the Americans and that one should mistrust them" ¹³⁾

During the whole of this time the MVD was reassembling troops round the camp. The town had been partly evacuated. Planes constantly flew over the camp and watched the preparations that were being made by the besieged. On June 24, 1954, General Bychkov ordered the prisoners, by means of loudspeakers, to surrender and leave the camp. The insurgents refused to do so, however, before a representative of the Central Committee of the Communist Party had been sent from Moscow to accept and satisfy their demands.

During the night of June 25th to 26th, 1954, General Bychkov gave order to attack. Seven tanks and 2,000 soldiers raided the camp. By the light of flares, the soldiers, covered by the tanks, fired incessantly on the prisoners and, advancing on foot, wounded countless prisoners with their bayonets. The wireless transmitter belonging to the insurgents was located in a room in the women's barracks. The operator, on learning that the tanks had arrived, cut the arteries in his hands but continued to transmit a message on the short wavelengths — "S O S ! S O S ! Save us, we are being massacred" — until he died.

At about 7 o'clock in the morning — according to a former German prisoner — 500 Ukrainian women and girls, linking arms, marched in the direction of the advancing tanks. Since they were unarmed they hoped to stop the advance of the tanks. But the MVD men — most of whom were drunk — merely accelerated and drove their tanks into the ranks of the women. ¹⁴⁾

Dr Varkony, the Hungarian prisoner who witnessed this scene, states

"No cries were heard, — the only sound was that of bodies being crushed and bones being broken" ¹⁵⁾

The soldiers partly occupied the huts and continued their massacre until half-past eight in the morning. At 9 o'clock Anatol Zadorozhny gave orders to the prisoners to cease their resistance. He was led away at once, together with the other members of the international committee, by the MVD men. They were all sentenced to death by a tribunal in Alma Ata. That same day 1,600 prisoners were taken away in cattle-trains and transferred to Kolyma.

Thus ended the insurrection in Kingir. But the bloodstains, which were still visible in the camp for months afterwards, were evidence of the fight which the prisoners had put up for their human rights.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF THE STRIKES AND INSURRECTIONS

The demands on the part of the prisoners in the various complexes of camps, which were drawn up by the secret committees, only varied very slightly. On the whole, they comprised two kinds of demands: specific demands, pertaining to the prisoners, and general demands, concerning the peoples of the occupied, subjugated countries.

Of the demands of the first category, mention must be made of the following: revision of sentences, amnesty for prisoners who were still minors and for the aged, extension of the amnesty to political prisoners, improvement of the food rations, a working-day of 8 hours, removal of bars from the windows of the huts, improvement of working conditions, increased pay, removal of the numbers sewn onto the garments worn by the prisoners, and the right to correspond with one's family more frequently and in one's national language, etc.

The second category of demands included those which were purely political: cessation of mass-deportations of individuals and peoples, permission for the deportees to return to their respective countries, abolition of the principle of collective responsibility, cessation of the occupation of the countries of the peoples of the USSR by the Russians, and a guarantee that reprisals would not be applied in the case of persons who had participated in the strikes and insurrections in the camps.

In some camps the prisoners attached especial importance to the political aspect of the strike or insurrection. In one of the camps in Vorkuta, for instance, the secret committee, in order to stress the political importance of the strike, hoisted the flag of each nation subjugated in the USSR and also of the nations of Europe, America and Asia on the main building in the camp, thus emphasizing the solidarity of the peoples of the whole world in the fight for liberty and for national rights¹⁶⁾

In spite of their ruthless measures of repression the Russian authorities were nevertheless obliged to make some concessions to the prisoners. They proceeded to introduce a few slight improvements which alleviated the lot of the prisoners somewhat. In most of the camps the political prisoners were now no longer obliged to wear a number on their backs. The bars were removed from the windows. In some camps the working-day was cut down to eight hours. The food rations improved slightly. But these small concessions in no way changed the general situation in the camps.

On the contrary, even if instructions were issued by Moscow which were apparently intended to alleviate the lot of the prisoners, they were in most cases merely illusory and served propagandist purposes. Actually, it all depended on the camp authorities. An example of the attitude of the administration can be seen from the following account by the investigators of the CICRC:

"(At Taishet) on May 5, 1954, a new phase commenced. Fifteen Ukrainians, who had taken part in the organization of the strikes at Norilsk, were transferred to camp No. 13. This measure was part of the official policy of dispersion in the case of the leaders of the strikes. For the first time the prisoners in Taishet received news of what had been happening in other camps, and for the first time they encountered prisoners who did not hesitate to defy the administration. The latter, moreover, dreaded the arrival of these new prisoners and during the first few months took good care to spare them all troublesome work. In the months that followed, plenty of changes took place in camp No. 13 at Taishet. These changes were of various kinds. In the first place there were positive modifications in the regulations concerning camp-life, working conditions and the application of penalties. Then there was a change in the actual manner of applying the regulations; for example, there existed in theory certain written principles pertaining to the protection of the prisoners, but in practice these principles were usually disregarded by the camp officials (for instance, a day of rest for the prisoners once a week, but if the overseers wanted certain quotas fulfilled, they simply disregarded this regulation and forced the prisoners to go on working without a break). After the arrival of the Ukrainians in camp No. 13 and their assumption of the leading role (amongst the political prisoners), these regulations were observed to the letter."¹⁷)

But, for all that, a strike broke out in the camp at Taishet in January 1955, a fact which leads one to assume that the administration of the camps always reverted to the traditional Russian methods again.

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VIII

- 1) Quatre-vingt-seize jours de grève dans les camps de Norilsk, Bulletin d'information de la CICRC (Ninety-six days strike in the camps at Norilsk, Information Bulletin of the CICRC), No 4, 1955, pp 29-37.
- 2) A. Mykulyn, op cit, p 200
- 3) Ibid, p 202.
- 4) "New York Times," April 6, 1955.
- 5) Paul Barton, Les transformations. , op cit., pp. 42-43.
- 6) A Mykulyn, op cit., pp 205-206
- 7) Ibid, pp 206-212.
- 8) 500 Ukrainian Martyred Women, Statement of Dr Varkony, New York, 1956, p 22.
- 9) A. Mykulyn, op cit., p 207
- 10) 500 Ukrainian Martyred Women, op cit., p 27
- 11) Ibid, p 27
- 12) A Mykulyn, op cit, p 210
- 13) Ibid., p 210
- 14) Ibid, pp 211-212
- 15) 500 Ukrainian Martyred Women, p 28.
- 16) Adolf Sulde, op cit., p 184
- 17) Les modifications du régime à l'intérieur des camps de Taishet du printemps 1953 à novembre 1954 (The modifications in the internal regime of the camps at Taishet), Information Bulletin, CICRC, No. 5, 1955, pp. 26-27.

CHAPTER IX

SLAVE LABOUR AS AN ECONOMIC AND DEMOGRAPHIC FACTOR

THE ECONOMIC IMPORTANCE OF THE CAMPS

In addition to their determination to exterminate the hostile and undesirable elements in the camps, the attitude of the Russian Communist authorities towards the prisoners was also to a very large extent influenced by another factor, — namely the economic importance of the camps. The fact must be borne in mind that the camps in the USSR constitute an integral part of the Russian Communist colonial economy. A former English prisoner in Vorkuta, W E R Piddington, the author of the book 'Russian Frenzy,' has in a few words very aptly defined the importance of the concentration camp system to Moscow: "If one were to liberate all the political prisoners in the concentration camps, the Soviet economic system would collapse"¹

This is only too correct. With the aid of gratuitous labour, or practically gratuitous, as represented by the bulk of the prisoners, Moscow has built towns, railways, roads, aerodromes, canals, and factories. Industrial production is based entirely on the raw materials raised or extracted by the prisoners. The war-industry, partly secret, only employs the labour-power in the camps. Consequently numerous camps are secret ones, and probably no one ever leaves them. Secret camps are located in the following regions: Kolyma (Balygychan), Urals (Vonzevat), Franz Joseph Land (islands in the Arctic Ocean and a base for Arctic aviation), Irkutsk, Kazakhstan (special secret camps), Kazalinsk (region of the Syr-Darya), Krasnoyarsk (Mirnoye), Mingeçhaur (Azerbaijan), Salekhard, Taldy and Tannu-Tuva. These isolated camps are strongly guarded and some of them are situated in prohibited zones. Access to these entire regions is forbidden to all Soviet citizens, whether civilians or military personnel, unless they have a special permit issued by the head authorities in Moscow.

Hundreds of thousands of prisoners are employed on the erection of military bases (the island of Vaygach, the Kuriles, Sakhalin, Salekhard and other places). At Kuybyshev and Tbilisi prisoners have built subterranean aerodromes and are employed in tunneling

an entire complex of labyrinths underground, which are to serve as depots for arms, ammunition and strategic products. In these two regions several subterranean factories have been erected and others are at present being built. In Kuybyshev the prisoners are employed in building an entire subterranean town, complete with dwelling-houses. Large subterranean factories and huge sites for depots have also been erected at Kungur, where an anti-atomic shelter has probably also been completed.

The prisoners also work in the mines, extracting uranium (Andizhan, Kolyma), raising coal (Aktyubinsk, Vorkuta, Sverdlovsk, Irkutsk, Karaganda, Kuznetsk, Chelyabinsk, Krasnoyarsk, Tula, Tashkent), and iron (Birobidzhan, Kolyma). The camps supply the labour for the heavy industry (Irkutsk, Kuznetsk, Sverdlovsk, Magnitogorsk, Perm, Chelyabinsk), for the oil industry (Aktyubinsk, Astrakhan, Baku), and for the light industry (Abez, Vorkuta, Irkutsk, Sverdlovsk, Perm, Magnitogorsk, etc.)²⁾

One can thus draw the conclusion that the economy of the USSR is based to a considerable extent on slave labour: on the one hand, on the work of the prisoners in the concentration camps, and, on the other hand, on the work of the so-called "free" prisoners and the deportees. It is on the basis of this labour potential that Moscow draws up its economic plans and realizes them in an authoritarian manner by dividing them in the first place between the camp complexes and the combines, and, secondly, between the various republics. Any delay in the plan automatically implicates the responsibility of the camp administration. Hence, in order to fulfil the quotas of the plan imposed, the camp commandants entirely disregard the internal regulations of the concentration camps.

THE TOWNS OF PRISONERS

Geographers state — and, in fact it is Moscow's boast — that during the past twenty years numerous new towns have sprung up in the Asian region of the Soviet Union and that in others the population has increased considerably. This impetus of urbanism does not puzzle most people, for they simply put it down to "the progress effected by the Soviet government."

Prior to 1926 there was only a single town beyond the Urals — namely Tashkent — which had a population of over 250,000. Today the population of Tashkent numbers 912,000, and there are several other towns with a population of over 250,000: Sverdlovsk 779,000, Omsk 581,000, Novosibirsk 886,000, Chelyabinsk 689,000, Karaganda 397,000, Kemerovo, Prokopyevsk, Stalinsk, Khabarovsk — all upwards of 250,000, and Vladivostok about 300,000³⁾

Norilsk, Karaganda, Vorkuta, Magadan, Dudinka, Prokopyevsk, Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur, and many other more or less important towns have sprung up as if by magic. They were formerly only small

villages The secret of their growth lies in the concentration camp system for they are the towns of prisoners Almost all the towns beyond the Urals, from the smallest to the largest, have developed and have increased in population thanks to this system

The example of the town of Norilsk gives us an idea of the birth and development of the towns in Siberia, Kazakhstan and the Far East and also helps us to understand the connection between a complex of camps and the demographic changes in this part of the Russian colonial empire The data given on the following pages is taken from a report by Herbert Passin, professor at the University of Ohio, and from an article by a German observer and former prisoner, Karl Heinrich, which was published in the journal "Das Parlament" (4)

Norilsk is situated near the mouth of the River Yenisey, in North Siberia It was already known to be inhabited in the days of the tsars but the region had not as yet been explored During the years 1917 to 1923 Norilsk was only a small village With the development of the concentration camp system, the number of inhabitants in Norilsk also increased, and by 1946 the population already numbered 50,000, although the place itself still retained the character of a village Today it is a large town with over 300,000 inhabitants and an economic centre of the so-called Yenisey Construction Directorate or Yenisey-Stroy, although official statistics put its population at 109,000

The region of Norilsk possesses a vast wealth of rare and precious metals nickel, copper, cobalt, platinum, gold and iron In addition, there are also large reserves of high-grade coal, clay and gypsum The nickel deposits are probably the largest in the whole of the Soviet Union There are more than 30 nickel works and factories in Norilsk, of which the most important is the nickel foundry, composed of a smelting works, or, to be more correct, of two foundries, and a refinery, producing 400 to 500 tons of nickel daily

In addition, the combine at Norilsk produces copper, cobalt, coal explosives and dynamite, etc The wealth of iron reserves constitutes a basis for the development of the heavy industry in the future In this region there are several secret factories, known by the numbers 25, 26 and 476, to which access is prohibited for all prisoners or former prisoners The personnel there consists entirely of free Russian workers

Moscow decided to develop this region about thirty years ago, after a scientific expedition had investigated conditions there But the economic exploitation of this region, uninhabited and uninhabitable under the existing conditions, presented considerable difficulties Man-power was needed for labour, and there were not even routes affording access to this region and a means of transporting workers apparatus, tools and provisions there In addition, since climatic conditions in this region are extremely severe, all attempts on the part of Soviet Russian propaganda to attract settlers by promising them advantages and benefits were of no avail Nobody had any desire to go and live in the Arctic region where the winter is long and almost unbearable for human beings

But the Russian government solved the problem in one blow, and the NKVD was instructed to carry out the plan. Thousands of prisoners from the concentration camps were now sent to Norilsk. There they lived like animals and were treated like animals. Many of them died, but each year, in summer, new contingents arrived. From 1945 onwards, thousands of prisoners arrived in Norilsk every year. Up to 1949 the death-rate was extremely high. And needless to say, it went hand in hand with a sudden boom in the economy of the region.

From 1940 to 1953 the town of Norilsk expanded continuously. New contingents of prisoners were constantly arriving in the camps there, and thousands of prisoners who had served their sentence were released on the interdictory condition that they did not leave the region but remained in Norilsk.

By 1953 the population of Norilsk already numbered more than 300,000 inhabitants, not counting the sentry units, the troops of the MVD and the prisoners confined in the camps. The following figures show the composition of the population of the town itself:

former prisoners	225,000
voluntary and compulsory settlers	60,000
members of the administration	15,000

The Ukrainians constitute the majority of the former prisoners and also of the prisoners interned in the camps.⁵⁾

The immigrants or settlers arrived in Norilsk during recent years when the town was already sufficiently equipped to receive them. The majority of them appear to have been peasant-women who were attracted by the promises of financial advantages and by the possibility of finding a husband there. Before coming to Norilsk, the immigrants sign a contract for a fixed period, in which the conditions of their stay there are specified. In 1947 there were only 6,000 women as compared to 140,000 male prisoners in the camp complex of Norilsk, and in the town itself there was probably about one woman to every 15 men at that time. Later the proportion was 1 to 8, and it is an established fact that in 1953 it was 1 to 4 in Norilsk. A very large number of the women went there to settle for good. The exodus of women to such regions is explained by the fact that in some parts of the USSR women constitute the majority of the population and thus have difficulty in finding a husband.

Not far from Norilsk (75 miles to the west) is the port of this region, Dudinka, likewise a town of prisoners, with 40,000 inhabitants, the remainder of the population is composed of prisoners interned in the camps, who frequently work on the same building-sites and in the same factories as the "free" workers. In 1953 camp No 1 of this complex (12 miles from Norilsk) had 2,000 prisoners, camp No 2 (20 miles from the town) 3,500 prisoners, camp No 3 (close to the town) 3,000 prisoners, camp 4 and 5 (on the outskirts of Norilsk) 3,000 and 5,000 prisoners respectively, the women's camp No 6 (close to the town) 3,000 prisoners, and the penal camp at Kayerkan (12 miles from

Norilsk) 1,000 prisoners In addition, there are numerous other camps in the vicinity of these two towns

The total number of prisoners in the camps at Norilsk was estimated in 1947 at 140,000 to 150,000 In 1953 this number was reduced to 100,000, and in 1954-1956 to 50,000 as a result of the release of those prisoners who had served 10-year sentences

The main change in the status of the town of Norilsk was undoubtedly effected in 1953 In that year, Norilsk, having developed into a modern town with wide streets and multi-storeyed houses and buildings, was officially conceded the status of a town and the right to a seat in the Supreme Soviet of the USSR The administration of the town passed from the MVD to the Ministry of Non-Ferrous Metals There was a slight increase in the number of settlers who arrived there For reasons unknown, the non-Soviet prisoners were transferred from Norilsk to other camps

The inhabitants of the town of Norilsk lead a miserable life Owing to the steady increase of criminality, the housing problem has reached the stage of a crisis Numerous families are unable to live together on account of lack of accommodation The average inhabitant lives in tumbledown and shabby dwellings, since the fine, modern houses are reserved for the elite of the town, the functionaries and members of the MVD or KGB, who, as elsewhere in the Soviet Russian empire, constitute the new aristocracy And it is this aristocracy which rules the town

Moreover, the region of Norilsk was and continues to be a prohibited zone, inaccessible to everyone who is not armed with a special permit

Similar conditions exist in all the other towns built by prisoners Inta, a town in the Komi ASSR with a population of 45,000 in 1955, was a remote village prior to World War II It is now an industrial town in a mining region, where climatic conditions are very severe Without slave labour, its development would have been laborious and limited There would have been very few persons willing to settle voluntarily in either Inta or Norilsk

The town of Inta is very well run, there is a good bus service, and there are many eight-storeyed houses in the residential area, a swimming bath, a theatre and a club for the new aristocracy, the functionaries of the MVD and KGB, the members of the administration and their families

A fairly large number of prisoners were released in the region of Inta and Abaz in February 1955, it is estimated that they constituted 80 per cent of the total number of prisoners But they were immediately obliged to sign a contract of work which forced them to remain in the same place, to work in the same coal-mine or on the same building-site Thus, their release actually brought no alleviation of their lot, they were regarded as free, but they had not even sufficient means to go and live in the town And hence they have remained tied to the mine, to the building-site or to the camp

In order to permit certain "released persons" to obtain a dwelling in the town, the government grants loans up to 15,000 roubles (old currency) per person. But it costs between 60,000 and 120,000 roubles to build a small house. And not being in a position to build a house, former prisoners are obliged to content themselves with a wretched hut, and the money they earn is spent on buying the bare necessities of life, — food and clothes.

The above-mentioned system of loans is the second means by which the authorities tied down the former prisoners to the place of their internment, for it takes them many years to pay off this debt if they accept a loan. On the other hand, many of them have been accused of wasting money lent by the state and have accordingly been sentenced to imprisonment in a camp once more, this time for life. Towards the end of 1955, many of the prisoners who had been released at the beginning of the year were imprisoned in the camps once more on various pretexts ⁶⁾

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IX

- 1) 500 Ukrainian Martyred Women, op cit, p 101
- 2) See Livre Blanc (White Book), Documents sur l'importance économique des camps de concentration soviétiques (Documents on the economic importance of the Soviet concentration camps), pp 207-210
- 3) Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1959 godu (The National Economy of the USSR in 1959), Moscow, 1960, pp 35-39
- 4) "Das Parlament" ("The Parliament"), Vol XXIII/56, January 6, 1958, pp 346-356
- 5) Ibid, p 348
- 6) Cf A Silde, op cit., pp 50-53

CHAPTER X

CONCLUSION

THE OPPOSITION OF THE SUBJUGATED PEOPLES

In relying on facts pertaining mainly to the Ukrainian nation when writing this pamphlet, we had no intention of disparaging the importance of the other non-Russian peoples of the Soviet Union, or of giving readers the impression that it is only the Ukrainians who put up a resistance or who are obliged to suffer the persecutions inflicted by the Russians and the local Communists. We merely wished to give priority to the Ukrainian question here because it is probably least known and least understood in the free world and also because the Ukrainian people is the second largest people in the Soviet Union after the Russians. The solution of the Ukrainian question in the sense of national independence would, in our opinion, constitute a solid basis for the independence of the other peoples in and outside the USSR and would contribute towards peace in this part of the world.

The solidarity of the oppressed peoples is more concrete and real than one imagines and it is manifested most strongly in the camps. A common fate unites these peoples to such an extent that their joint efforts have made big insurrections, organized in the interests of all the prisoners, possible.

The common feature which characterizes the prisoners of the occupied and oppressed countries is their rejection and their hatred of Communism, the realization of which is inevitably accompanied by Russification and the destruction of man's soul and of the national character.

"The word 'hatred' — so A. Silde writes in his book — does not suffice to express all the hatred felt by the Latvians towards the Russians — this is what those who have returned from Vorkuta and Tashet say. This hatred has been provoked by the Russians who are regarded as foreign oppressors", it goes without saying that exactly the same feelings are harboured by all the other peoples of the occupied countries of the USSR ¹⁾

The Russification and the colonization by the Russians of the occupied countries, in particular of the Baltic countries, have been

carried out by force to such a degree that they have provoked a strange yet comprehensible reaction on the part of former prisoners or deportees who return to their native country. A Latvian, for instance, once he returns to his own country does not want to stay there. "I do not like being here. I only encounter Russians here. One might as well go back to Siberia. There we did, at least, have a kind of international town, built by us — Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Poles, Germans and others. And there were no Russians there."²)

The Baltic countries cannot forget the year 1940. In that year the Russians deported about 15 per cent of the population and subsequently continued their policy of subjugation and colonization. Almost half the population of the Baltic countries is now in Siberia, in the concentration camps or as "free" workers under the interdiction to return to their own country. In his book on Vorkuta, Joseph Scholmer mentions the fact that the Estonian prisoners do not speak any Russian at all even though they have been in the camps so long. They refuse to learn a single word of this language, and the guards are thus obliged to learn some Estonian so as to be able to give orders when supervising the work of the prisoners. But such incidents do not occur solely in the camps. The official organ of the Red Army, "The Red Star," stated that the Georgian and Armenian soldiers and non-commissioned officers, as well as those of other nationalities refuse to learn the Russian language since they maintain that it is sufficient if they know their own national language.³) Similar incidents have also been reported in Ukraine.

The national composition of the camps obviously differs according to regions and camp complexes, and though the Ukrainians are most numerous in practically all the camps of the Soviet Union, the percentage of prisoners of other nationalities varies considerably. For instance, in the majority of camps belonging to the Norilsk complex, the most important national groups after the Ukrainians were the Georgians, Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians.⁴) Next in order of size came the Germans, Chinese, Poles, Crimean Tatars, Chechen-Ingush, Jews, and, lastly, the Russians. But whereas in camps 1, 2, 3 and 6, the Ukrainians constituted the majority, in camps 4 and 5 the prisoners from the Baltic countries were most numerous. In the women's camp, No. 6, the national composition was as follows: 2,600 Ukrainians, 200 Russians, 150 prisoners from the Baltic countries, 30 Poles, 6 Germans, 2 Japanese, and a few women of other nationalities.⁵) In the camps at Pechora second in numerical importance after the Ukrainians were the peoples of the Caucasus, third the Russians, followed by the Baltic peoples, the Japanese and the Chinese.⁶) Camp 525/9 of the Prokopyevsk complex was reserved for the Caucasians, and in camp No. 19 in Karaganda the majority of prisoners were members of the Asiatic peoples.⁷) In the camp at Kirov the Russians came third in numerical importance.⁸)

In addition to the secret leadership of the resistance movement which in its activity includes both the prisoners in the camps as well as the "free" population (former prisoners, deportees, voluntary

settlers), there are also political groups formed voluntarily by the prisoners for the purpose of discussing problems concerning political opposition. Each nationality usually appoints a confidential person at the meeting of the group and in this way contacts are strengthened and mutual understanding can be developed. It is obvious that the initiative as regards this political activity (which must not be confused with the secret revolutionary leadership, whose members are not known to the prisoners) is usually taken by the national group which is the largest in the camp and depends on the intellectual capacity of the leaders.

The first insurrection in the Vorkuta camp complex (in 1948) was led from the military point of view by a Moslem from the Caucasus, Mecheyev, a former colonel of the Red Army who had taken part in the battle of Stalingrad and received the decoration of a "hero of the Soviet Union" 9)

The 25 million Moslems of the Soviet Union, as well as the other peoples of the Caucasus, of the Baltic countries, of Byelorussia and of Ukraine have, as a result of the policy of Russification and oppression, become fierce nationalists. B. Roeder, a clear-sighted observer who spent several years in the concentration camps, stresses that the nationalism of the peoples oppressed by Russia must not be confused with other nationalism, for their nationalism "is a progressive and not a retrogressive element" 10) In reality the nationalism of these peoples is nothing but a patriotism aroused to the extreme by foreign domination and Communism, accompanied by compulsory Russification and Russian colonization. The objectives of this nationalism are liberty, national independence and social justice.

The remarkable thing is that all the insurrections and all the major revolts on the part of the peoples in the Soviet Union have taken place outside the Russian ethnographical territory, with the exception of the sailors' revolt in Kronstadt (1921) and even these sailors, incidentally, were 'recruited from the shores of the Black Sea, that is to say from Ukraine' 11)

It is an established fact that the Soviet Union has experienced a partisan war and insurrections in Ukraine, which we have already mentioned above, insurrections in Georgia (1921, 1922, 1924 and 1927), and revolts in the other Soviet Republics in Europe and Asia prior to the war (except in Russia), it is also an established fact that there have been revolts and demonstrations on the part of the population of the occupied countries since the war (Georgia, Armenia, Ukraine, the Baltic countries, and Turkestan), and it is furthermore an established fact that the partisan war has not ceased in Ukraine, the Caucasus and the Baltic countries since World War II.

Anyone who has studied political reality in the Soviet Union without accepting a priori the ideas preconceived in Moscow ("Soviet man") or in the West ("Russian man"), will, like B. Roeder, inevitably arrive at one conclusion as regards the real state of affairs: "The oppression of the national minorities and the kolkhozes represent the most vulnerable spot in the Soviet system" 12) The camps are striking

proof of this fact the overwhelming majority of prisoners are persons who have fought against either national oppression or the kolkhoz system. The only point on which the conclusion drawn by B. Roeder must be corrected is that the peoples oppressed by Russia are not "national minorities," but, rather, complete national entities which probably constitute the majority of the population of the USSR. We use the word "probably," for the official Soviet statistics state that the Russians constitute the majority (about 55 per cent), but there is every reason to suppose that the statistics of the Kremlin are falsified in favour of the Russians.

Terrorism in the Soviet Union is engendered not only by the imperatives of the Communist ideology but also — and above all — by the fact that the minority cannot dominate the majority without applying violence and injustice.

OVER 30 MILLION PERSONS HAVE DIED IN THE CAMPS

The object of this survey is to show that the prisoners in the Russian camps cannot be regarded or represented as an amorphous mass without national characteristics. The overwhelming majority of them are silent fighters for definite and real ideas. They are in the camps not as a result of social persecution on the part of the Communist regime, but as a result of national persecutions on the part of the Russian regime.

Russian laws are formulated according to the Communist terminology, that is to say according to the social criterion, but these laws are applied according to the national appurtenance of the alleged or real delinquents.

During the years 1932 and 1933, for example, about 70 per cent of the private property of the farmers in Ukraine was forcibly collectivized, whereas in Russia during the same period collectivization did not exceed 50 per cent by any means. Indeed, according to some estimates, almost 90 per cent of the private property in Ukraine was collectivized during this period, as compared to only 30 per cent at the most in Russia.¹³⁾

Why then is it necessary to resort to mass-deportations of the Ukrainian population, to exterminate the Ukrainian people and to sentence them to slave labour? Why did Moscow consider it necessary to let 6 to 7 million Ukrainians starve to death in 1932-1933?

When we talk about the total number of prisoners in the camps at certain periods, we must not forget that we are referring to living prisoners. There are also others, namely those who have died in the camps. As regards the death-rate in certain camp complexes we have several testimonies, but there are few estimates pertaining to the camps as a whole.

Thus, for example, L. Golubovich, a former functionary of the OSSO and an inspector of the administration of the BAMLAG (complex of the camps in the Baikal-Amur area), who was arrested and

sent to one of the camps that he had previously administered, stated that in 1935-1936 about 25 per cent of the officially registered prisoners in the fourth section of the BAMLAG died¹⁴⁾ Mme Lipper, who spent the years from 1937 to 1948 in various concentration camps, has testified that "the death-rate of 30 per cent amongst the prisoners who worked in the gold-mines (in Kolyma) remained constant and no one was concerned about it"¹⁵⁾

For the year 1938 we should like to quote the testimony given by I Ratmirov, a former prisoner in the camp at Kuznetsk, where he worked as a doctor he affirms that during the month of April 1938 there were 5,000 deaths amongst the 28,000 or 29,000 prisoners, which leads us to assume that the average death-rate was about 16 per cent In the camp at Karaganda, according to the testimony of Erich Muller, the death-rate during the period 1941 to 1947 was 30 per cent¹⁶⁾ For the years 1946 to 1949 we have the testimony of M Reek, who during this period was interned in the camps in Karelia "According to my estimate, about 60 per cent of the prisoners died in the course of internment" in this complex of camps¹⁷⁾

We should also like to quote the testimony of N Antonov, a former prisoner and high functionary in the camps at the same time He was employed on the construction of the canal linking the White Sea and the Baltic Sea and was in charge of 5,300 prisoners "When I arrived at the canal site — he stated before the CICRC — there were 260,000 prisoners I know that the death-rate was 700 every day Each day about 1,500 new prisoners arrived at the camp Thus there was no shortage of labour The prisoners who died were replaced immediately Towards the end there were nearly 1 million persons in my camp"¹⁸⁾

It was on the subject of this same canal that Vyshinsky wrote as follows "The canal between the White Sea and the Baltic Sea is a living example of the principles of the Soviet system of corrective labour which surpass beyond compare all the most 'perfect,' most 'humanitarian' and most 'cultural' inventions and innovations of any bourgeois state"¹⁹⁾

Reliable estimates on the death-rate in the camps as a whole vary very considerably V Andreyev states that the head of the guard section of the GULAG (Head Administration of the Camps) in Moscow said to him in 1934 'Strange things appear to be happening I have the impression that all the camps in the Soviet Union have reached an agreement to shoot 8 to 10 per cent of the population of the camps during these last two months'²⁰⁾ This percentage is not complete, for one must add to it the percentage of prisoners who died in the course of work, in the hospitals and huts as a result of illness, malnutrition etc

According to J Margoline, the death-rate for the camps as a whole varied between 5 and 10 per cent,²¹⁾ but in our opinion his estimate is too low On the contrary, information received from Ukrainian political circles states that in 1953 the Russian authorities imposed a death-rate of 20 per cent of the total number of prisoners for the camps If this death-rate of 20 per cent was not reached in a camp, the

commandant of the camp in question received orders to fire on the prisoners.²²⁾

An important testimony regarding the camps in Kolyma is the statement made by an Austrian survivor who worked in the card-index department of the Kolyma camp complex during the years 1947 to 1955.²³⁾ He disclosed that during this period 9 million prisoners arrived in the camps. Assuming that the MVD kept the number of prisoners in this complex down to about 2 million, this would mean that about 6 to 7 million persons died in 8 years in Kolyma, taking into account the possible releases.

It is interesting to note that the official Russian statistics give the number of inhabitants of the entire administrative region of Magadan as 240,000 for the beginning of 1956.²⁴⁾ This fact proves that the Russian statistics pertaining to the population of the Asian part of the USSR are completely false.

After studying the various testimonies and comparing the statistics on this subject, without claiming that our figures are exact we think we are justified, however, in giving the following approximate estimates on the total number of prisoners and deaths in the camps:

Year	Total Number approximately	Period	Deaths Approx. Number
1927	200,000	1922-27	300,000
1930	2,500,000	1927-30	900,000
1933	4,500,000	1930-33	1,300,000
1936	7,500,000	1933-36	1,900,000
1939	12,500,000	1936-39	2,800,000
1941	14,000,000	1939-41	1,800,000
1945	18,000,000	1941-45	6,500,000
1948	19,000,000	1945-48	8,500,000
1951	16,000,000	1948-51	4,500,000
1955	12,000,000	1951-55	2,200,000
1956	14,000,000	1955-56	600,000
1958	11,000,000	1956-58	1,300,000
			32,600,000

Whilst on the one hand the number of deaths in the camps may possibly appear incredible, other experts, basing their arguments on sound calculations, are of the opinion that during the same period, that is from 1922 to 1958, between 50 and 60 million, or, possibly, even more than 60 million prisoners died in the Russian concentration camps²⁵⁾

Although the figures given by us may, of course, include some errors, they nevertheless give a general picture of the tragic fate of the peoples oppressed by Russia and Communism during the past forty years. The average percentage applied in our calculations to the

camps as a whole varies between 5 and 15, and we do not think this by any means an exaggeration. The figure of 32 million must be considered as an approximation and in all probability less than the actual figure, which is not known.

If one takes into account the national composition of the population of the camps and the fact that the internees of Russian nationality enjoy preferential treatment, one is obliged to draw the conclusion that of the 32 million deaths since 1922, the deaths amongst the Russian prisoners have not exceeded 5 million. The remaining 27 million represent the deaths of Ukrainian prisoners (about 14 million), peoples of the Caucasus, of the Baltic countries, of Asia and of the satellites.

The political prisoners in the Soviet Russian camps are well aware of the reasons why Moscow has deprived them of their liberty and has deported them to the camps. They also realize only too well why they are more numerous than the Russians. Moreover, we can ascertain the reasons if we read the letter which the Ukrainian political prisoners in the camps in Mordovia sent to the United Nations towards the end of 1955²⁶). In this letter, which was also intended for the whole world, the prisoners not only explain their unhappy lot but also define their attitude to the political problems.

'The Ukrainian people, like so many other peoples, has been crushed under the heel of Red Russia, which has deprived it of its fundamental human rights. We have been put into camps and mercilessly sentenced to 10 or 25 years' imprisonment, not for brigandism, as they (the Bolsheviks) inform the public opinion of the world, nor for arson, murder or treason, but for having demanded as does every freedom-loving people, the application of our lawful rights in our territory. For this reason we raise the following questions: does the civilized world know under what conditions we are living, and not only we prisoners but also our entire people? Does the civilized world know that after we have served our sentence we shall be forcibly deported to the 'virgin regions' of Kazakhstan, of the district of Krasnoyarsk, to the far north, whilst at the same time it is affirmed that the persons who go to these regions are volunteers and members of the komsomol?'

The prisoners of the special camps in Mordovia have formulated a number of demands: social assistance for the families of the victims of the ruthless regime, human rights for former prisoners who return to their native country, permission, so far withheld, for former prisoners to return to their own country, suspension of mass-sentences of 25 years, etc., etc. They likewise demand external help and an investigation of conditions in the concentration camps of the Soviet Union by an international commission.

The long years of internment have not broken their spirit, and their fight attests to an unshaken faith and hope.

"We shall not despair for we know that our aspirations for liberty are justified by the laws of Nature and we are convinced that the entire civilized world will give us its cooperation "

Will their hopes be in vain?

Karl Heinrich, a former prisoner in Norilsk and, from 1954 onwards interned in various camps in the region of Taishet, affirms that after the first strikes, the will to resist was even greater amongst the prisoners than it had previously been, but that they constantly raised the following questions "Does the outside world know that we are organizing strikes? Does it know our will? Does it at least support our fight by propaganda? Will it help us to gain liberty?"²⁷⁾

A Knyazhynsky states that the hopes of the prisoners were based on the eventuality of a war between the West and Russia 'The prisoners believed that the democratic countries, after the destruction of brutal German imperialism, would wage war on the enemy that was even more dangerous than national socialism. The prisoners were unwilling to believe that the West would allow itself to be duped by the Fifth Columns. The events of the war and post-war years, as for example the enthusiastic reception given to the Soviet officers in London, were regarded by them as a political necessity. They assumed that these tactics would soon be abandoned and would be superseded by a policy of open hostility and, subsequently, the liquidation of the greatest danger to peace in the world. The prisoners refused to believe that the West would miss its big chance of a victory over Bolshevism ' 28)

The incomprehensible policy of the Western powers, a policy full of unpardonable mistakes, drove them to despair to such an extent that, in the words of a former prisoner, they felt this despair like a physical pain

THEY DEMAND FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

Actually, it does not suffice merely to comprehend the real situation in the Soviet Union, as represented by the national composition of the prisoners and events in the camps

For obvious reasons one must above all have a clear and definite policy towards the subjugated peoples in the USSR. A policy that is not directed against the lost freedom and the interests of these peoples. A policy of liberation which alone can prevent the outbreak of a third world war. And this policy of liberation must be based on support for the national revolutionary movements in the countries of the Soviet Union. This seems all the more imperative to us since the rulers of Moscow intend to subject the free countries to the fate of the countries which they now occupy

It is not merely a question of understanding, of sympathy and of justice towards the nations enslaved by Russia and Communism but also of gaining the friendship of these nations in order to succeed in frustrating Moscow's plans

Joseph Scholmers statements on this subject are extremely explicit and since they are based on the direct contact which he had with reality in the USSR, we should in conclusion like to repeat them

'The situation (in the Soviet Union) today is comparable to that of 1941, when the war against the USSR broke out. By exploiting the social and national tension which existed at that time, Hitler would easily have been able, with the combination of military intervention, to overthrow the Soviet system. His 'programme of liberation' should have been approximately as follows

- a) national independence for all peoples of the Soviet Union,
- b) land for the peasants
- c) factories for the workers
- d) free elections for a new government ²¹⁾

The Ukrainians in 1941 clearly manifested their will to fight their oppressors. But it transpired that Hitler had no intention of liberating Ukraine, he merely wanted to replace the Soviet system with another system of oppression

— Our country — so a Ukrainian officer told me — was ready to mobilize 5 million soldiers for the fight against Bolshevism, to supply first-class fighters, who were well trained and were resolved to destroy Bolshevism at all costs. With these 5 million men there would have been no retreat at Moscow and defeat at Stalingrad. Bolshevism would have been a thing of the past. But, of course, these 5 million men would have had to know for certain that they were fighting for the freedom of their country and not for a new form of enslavement.

They decided to become partisans, partisans on two fronts — against the Soviets and against the Germans. And nothing could be more characteristic of the tragedy of their position. They fought as long as they could — heroically, for years, and in a situation without issue from the political and military point of view ²²⁾

It is understandable that the sympathies of the Ukrainians are today with the Americans, namely for two reasons

In the first place, the Americans are the only ones who succeed in dealing with the Soviet Union. In the second place, they are not interested in refusing us our independence. They have given sufficient proof of their respect for the right of the peoples to govern themselves. And there is no reason to suppose that they would apply other principles in our case.

Ukraine is waiting for a war, for it knows that without a war the attainment of its independence will be impossible. On the day of revolution countless partisans will take up once more the arms that they have hidden away, and Ukraine will be transformed into one vast revolutionary conflagration.

— Arms! We need arms and nothing else — is what they constantly affirm. — We shall do the rest!

And those who know them are well aware that their words are to be taken seriously.”³¹)

FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER X

1) Ibid , p 195

2) Ibid , p 196

3) Krasnaya Zvezda ("The Red Star"), of August 22, 1958

4) Herbert Passin, Der Streik von Norilsk (The strike of Norilsk), 'Das Parlament,' p 348

5) Karl Heinrich, Wir streikten in Norilsk (We went on strike in Norilsk) 'Das Parlament,' p 360

6) A Mykulyn, op cit , p 146

7) Ibid , p 170

8) Ibid , p 134

9) Bernhard Roeder, op cit , p 31

10) Ibid , p 163

11) Maurice Laporte, Les Mystères du Kremlin, Paris, 1928, p 186

12) Ibid , p 194

13) The Ukrainian Review, vol 5, No 2, 1958, p 24

14) Livre Blanc (White Book), op cit , p 41

15) Elnor Lipper, op cit , p 98

16) Livre Blanc (White Book), op cit , p 63

17) Ibid , p 116

18) Ibid , p 144

19) From prisons to educational institutions, Moscow, 1936, p 10

20) Livre Blanc (White Book), op cit , p 101

21) Le procès , op cit., p 107

22) Pour l'Ukraine Independante (For an Independent Ukraine), op cit pp 105-106

23) V Monteil, Les Musulmans soviétiques (The Soviet Moslems), Paris, p 129

24) V. H. Udovenko, Dalniy Vostok (Far East), Moscow, 1957, p 222

25) 'La Nation Géorgienne' ("The Georgian Nation"), No 18, Paris, 1957

26) Cf. They Speak for the Silent, National Review, New York, August 1, 1956

27) Karl Heinrich, op cit , p 361

28) A. Knyazhynsky, op cit , pp 147-148

29) Joseph Scholmer, Die Toten , op cit , p 249

30) Ibid , p 125

31) Ibid , pp 127-128

APPENDIX 1

UKRAINIAN PRISONERS APPEAL TO U.N.O.

Far more moving than the many accounts of conditions in prison camps of the USSR is this appeal to the civilised world, printed below, received from Ukrainian internees in the small "autonomous" Republic of Mordovia, situated south of the middle course of the Volga.

The appeal to the United Nations in the attached letter to Ukrainians in the free world was written on cloth, then worn as part of the clothing of a released internee, and was so smuggled out to the West. The authenticity of the documents translated here is not in question.

The reader will see that the spirit of the Ukrainian prisoners, former members of the Ukrainian Resistance, remains unbroken, their hope for the future of their country undiminished. Perhaps the knowledge, or at least the belief, that their compatriots in the West are gradually convincing the free world of the dangers of the inhuman Soviet system and of the urgent necessity of persuading Russian Communists, by compulsion if necessary, to stop the policy of annihilating the other nations held by a cruel fate within the USSR — perhaps it is this that helps to keep the morale of these unfortunate prisoners so high.

AN OPEN LETTER

TO THE UNITED NATIONS, HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION, AND TO THE
ENTIRE CIVILISED WORLD FROM THE PRISONERS IN CAMPS
IN THE USSR

We, the prisoners in the Mordovian special camps, wish to bring the following statement to the attention of the entire civilised world.

We, Ukrainians, are in favour of any movement whose aims are freedom and justice, we advocate cultural progress in all walks of life, and we favour self-determination for all nations, including the United Ukrainian State

We have no desire to exaggerate the facts of the situation that has long existed in Ukraine. We do not ask for mercy or pardon. We demand our right to live under laws that should be recognised by the entire civilised world — the world of twentieth-century civilisation. This civilisation has been spearheaded by a number of humanitarian elements, from small groups to national leaders. They include the great world-wide organisation, the United Nations.

Our Ukrainian nation, like a number of other nations, has come under the conquering heel of Red Russia. We have been deprived of the basic rights of existence. We have been driven into camps, with severe sentences of from ten to twenty-five years — not for criminal acts, as the Bolsheviks maintain before the rest of the world, not for arson, treason, or murder, but because we, like every freedom-loving people, demand our lawful rights in our own land.

The question therefore arises: Does the civilised world know about the conditions prevailing not only among us prisoners, but throughout our country? Does the civilised world know that, when we have served our sentences, we are exiled to the so-called virgin lands of Kazakhstan, Krasnoyarsk, and the Far North — while they proclaim that it is volunteers and members of the Komsomol who go out to those areas?

Can the civilised world conceive of Ukrainian sovereignty without a Ukrainian army, and without the Ukrainian people? If Ukraine is sovereign — and she should be — why is there no army composed exclusively of Ukrainians? Why do Ukrainians serve their terms in the army beyond the borders of their country? Why are military units composed of Russians and other nationalities to whom the interests of the Ukrainian people are alien, if not directly hostile, stationed in our country? If we are traitors and if our punishment is just, why were we tried by "people's" or "military" courts, whose composition is certainly not Ukrainian? Why do we not serve our terms on Ukrainian territory, which was ravaged by the last war and is in need of reconstruction? Why do we have to work at the cultivation of wild, remote lands and forests, when there is such a need for our forces at home?

Does the civilised world know that, over the mass burial sites of the prison camps, new camps and cities are built, canals are dug, and stadiums are erected, in order to obliterate the traces of these crimes? In Abaz' (Komi ASSR), Camps 1, 4, and 5 stand on former cemeteries. At Zavod 5 in Leplya (Mordovian ASSR), the first and second polishing shops, the technical laboratory, and the forge were erected on human bones. Does the world know about the mass executions of prisoners who only demanded their rights as political internees? (At Mine 29 in Vorkuta, Attorney-General Rudenko was in charge of the firing squads.) Is it known that, in Kingir (P. O. Box 392, Colonies 1 and 3 Kazakhstan), men and women demanding their lawful rights were charged by four tanks and crushed by them?

Does the civilised world know that Ukraine has suffered starvation for thirty-eight years, in addition to the artificial famine of 1933, that Western Ukraine has been inundated by floods, and that the people have been condemned to death by starvation, with no hope of aid from 'humanitarian, peace-loving' Communist Russia? Thus at a time when millions of tons of grain are exported abroad for propaganda purposes, when all sorts of foreign delegations visit model collective farms (special display models) and factories in the USSR

In the postwar period (1945-55), Russia has raised the level of light and heavy industry beyond the prewar level. This was accomplished by a toll of millions of prisoners. Those prisoners raised the issue of improved living conditions — an improvement essential for any creature that breathes air (after between nine and eleven hours of work in the mines, the prisoners were shut up like cattle in close, stinking barracks furnished with the well-known "slop buckets"). Some of the prisoners were shot, others were crushed by tanks. Many of them received additional sentences of from ten to twenty-five years and were put in jail, where they are to this day.

This is addressed to the civilized world of the twentieth century — a century of education and progress. We feel certain that anyone who reads these lines will experience revulsion and contempt for the "just and humanitarian" Communist Party of Russia and the crimes committed against the nations it has enslaved.

We are not discouraged, because we know that our will for freedom is founded on natural law, and we believe that the entire civilized world will uphold us in our cause.

RESOLUTIONS

Bearing in mind the foregoing points, we, the prisoners in the Mordovian special camps, have adopted the following resolutions:

I

a. A commission should be appointed for precise verification of the facts as we have stated them: that Attorney-General Rudenko and Deputy Minister of the MVD Maslennikov were distinguished by the cruelty of their conduct in Vorkuta and Noril'sk in 1953, and in Karaganda in 1954.

b. The fact that Camps 1, 4, and 5 in Abez' (Komi ASSR) and Zavod 5 (Mordovskaya ASSR) were built on cemetery grounds should be verified. Similar cases are not hard to find — there are forty-four such camps in this area.

c. We demand that the cemeteries be put in order, that the buildings and plants on them be razed, and that memorials be erected to the dead, as a symbol of perpetual shame to the Red slavedrivers. Since members of all nationalities of the world are numbered among the dead, a special international organization should be established for the purpose of erecting these memorials.

d. We demand comprehensive social security for the orphans, widows, and parents (if they are not fit for work) of these victims of cruel injustice, also for those persons and their families who have suffered complete physical disability in camps and are unable to provide for themselves and their families.

e Since an entire family is held responsible for an offence committed by one member (they are all subject to exile, deportation, confiscation of property) and a man's grandson as well as his son may suffer because of an act he himself committed, there have appeared castes of 'reliables' and 'unreliables' The 'unreliables' live under constant oppression, persecution and misery We therefore demand that these people be given back their rights as human beings, that they receive social security, and that they be permitted to return to their countries

f We demand that all persons who have served out their sentences be permitted to return to their native lands We protest against the passing of sentences of up to twenty-five years on a mass basis because such a sentence is a sentence for life

g All persons who underwent a second trial and were then transferred from camp to jail because of their participation in camp strikes or in any other form of mass or individual protest against the violation of their rights as political prisoners should be released from jail and their sentences annulled

h All desert lands, pits, mines and forests that became part of the USSR after their discovery or cultivation should belong to the nations whose sons and daughters worked on them and strewed them with their bones

II

a We demand the establishment of an international control commission charged with the fair distribution of aid earmarked for underdeveloped countries and for disaster areas (including the USSR)

b We are wholeheartedly in favour of extending aid to all those who need it — regardless of their nationality, religion, race, or political convictions But we cannot agree that bread should be torn from the mouths of the starving and sent abroad as aid, when it is really for purposes of propaganda This is done in the Soviet Union at a time when millions of people are starving

III

a Whereas every criminal act against the enslaved nations is perpetrated with the knowledge of the Politburo and of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we demand that the entire ruling class of the Soviet Union be brought before international justice

b Yezhov Beria Abakumov and others whose execution was ordered by the security organs in order to deceive people at home and abroad cannot be held responsible for everything because crimes against the enslaved nations continue to be perpetrated

IV

We, Ukrainians, make the following demands on purely national grounds:

a. All Russian nationals shall be required to leave Ukrainian territory. They shall not be permitted to return until such time as Russia abandons her dream of denationalising, assimilating and eventually devouring Ukraine — until she ceases to regard herself as Big Brother. It is a distortion of reality and of historical fact to speak of "the union of Ukraine with Russia." Ukraine has always been cruelly enslaved by Russia.

b. We concede the right of other nationals — unless they have been sent by the Russian Government for aggressive purposes — to live on Ukrainian territory, enjoying equal rights with the Ukrainian people. Russians may live there only when they begin to be governed by general standards of morality.

c. As long as there are armed forces in the world, the only units stationed in Ukraine are to be composed exclusively of Ukrainians and under the command of Ukrainians; all soldiers and commanders not of Ukrainian extraction are to be withdrawn beyond the borders of our country. This also applies to the administrative and security organs of the MVD.

d. Anyone who violates the laws of Ukraine is to be tried before a Ukrainian people's or military court; if convicted, his sentence will be served within the national borders.

Note: We request that the citizens of the world be informed of this letter by the United Nations, Human Rights Commission.

We have signed with initials and pseudonyms, so as to forestall any possible consequences.

(Signed by initials and pseudonyms of five deputies from the women's column and eight deputies from the men's column of prisoners)

September 30, 1955.

A P P E N D I X 2

LETTER BY UKRAINIAN WOMEN POLITICAL PRISONERS TO THE UKRAINIANS IN THE FREE WORLD

Dear Friends

We wish to take advantage of this opportunity to tell you briefly what the Bolsheviks say about you — our political emigres of the last decade — in their so-called lectures and in recent articles in the press. We would also like to give the Ukrainians abroad who are not indifferent to our fate some idea of the conditions prevailing among political prisoners in special Soviet camps since the war.

Lectures on Ukrainian affairs are delivered by important officials in the Mordovian Party, and not by members of the administration of local special camps. The main point in what they have been saying about you is roughly as follows. Although the number of Ukrainian by dissension and split into many parties. They are politically short-political emigres in the last decade has been small, the group is torn sighted, and they no longer enjoy popularity among their people, whose support they have lost. They are not fighting for anything real — just for the capital letter 'U'. The Bolsheviks cite the names of our most prominent political leaders abroad, calling them the most despicable traitors of the Ukrainian people.

Lectures on Ukrainian affairs have recently been discontinued. The reason may lie in the prisoners' dignified reaction to the Bolsheviks' tendentious distortion of historical facts. These lectures held at unexpected times caused us spiritual anguish. But at the same time they were a welcome event, because they allowed us to think (correctly, we hope) that our position in international politics had improved and that the Bolsheviks were therefore intensifying their propaganda efforts in the pertinent direction. Political prisoners of other nationalities in the Soviet Union envy us without rancour, and they hope that we did not rejoice in vain.

Among recent printed works attacking us the first place is occupied in the libraries of the Mordovian special camps by the brochures of Halan (*Selected Works*, 1954) of Belyayev, and of M. Rudnitskiy (*Under Alien Banners*). They are permeated with monstrous unparalleled venom, bigotry, and hatred for everything Ukrainian and non-Communist.

Entire chapters in these libellous sheets are devoted to you, our political émigrés of today. Emphasis is placed on internal disorder, dissensions, the struggle for power, the lust for gain, and political immaturity. Our attitude towards all forms of Bolshevik propaganda is the same. We are convinced that the written and the spoken word in the Soviet prison of nations is hopelessly slanted. We firmly believe that with the benefit of past experience, you will do your duty with honour — a moral duty imposed by the nation upon its political émigrés, that your years in exile will not prove to be time lost, that you are using this time to good advantage and that you will return to Ukraine with your forces undiminished and with an awareness of all important theories successfully practised in Europe and the rest of the world, so that our nation may benefit from them. We believe that your long sojourn abroad will not diminish your longing for your country and that it will not make you want to live abroad for the rest of your lives.

And now a few words about living conditions among political prisoners in Soviet special camps during the postwar years. The basic features of the Bolshevik prison-camp system have not changed. Almost all of the special camps are in areas where the climate is severe (Kolyma, Taymyr, Siberia, Komi, Kazakhstan). Sentences for political crimes vary in length from five years (for a single attempt as they say in jest, at suspect thought) to twenty-five years in so-called corrective labour camps and from fifteen to twenty years of penal servitude. In the immediate postwar period, famine, unendurably hard labour, and appalling sanitary conditions took a toll of thousands of political prisoners.

Again in 1948 a so-called strict regime was introduced in the special camps. The iron-barred barracks were locked at night. Correspondence was restricted to two letters per year. No one was permitted to keep cash. There were penal barracks. Prisoners were not allowed to wear their own clothes but had to wear prison uniforms with numbers on the back; they were not allowed to take notes from books, to engage in handicrafts, to assemble in large groups and so forth. All this was coupled with twelve hours of hard labour and a deliberate increase in the work norms.

The unbearable living conditions brought about uprisings in certain camp centres — Vorkuta in 1953, Norilsk in the spring and summer of 1953, and Kingir (Kazakhstan) in 1954. Over forty thousand prisoners of different nationalities took part in the uprisings. In suppressing them, the enemy used all kinds of weapons, including tanks. At the cost of several thousand comrades killed or wounded, we brought about the abolition of the stricter regime and the introduction of an eight-hour day.

In the last few years the Bolsheviks have paraded their humanitarianism before the world. They issued decrees that also pertained to political prisoners, but most of them were not put into effect on a comprehensive scale (the decree releasing invalids from special camps, the probationary release of political prisoners who had

served two-thirds of their terms) Following their release from special camps, prisoners can usually expect to be exiled to Siberia for an indefinite period

In September of this year, an amnesty was declared for political prisoners who had collaborated with the Germans during the war. The official Bolshevik term for our nationalist prisoners is "Banderivtsi" or "Ukraino-German Nationalists," and the amnesty does not apply to us — another proof of the perfidy of the Bolshevik system

For the sake of the truth, we want to say in conclusion that we hold the name, Ukrainian political prisoners, in deep respect and that we have, generally speaking, gained favour and recognition from political prisoners of other nationalities

God bless you, dear friends. Do not forget us, and keep in mind your return to Ukraine

UKRAINIAN WOMEN
Political Prisoners in the
Mordovian Special Camps

Mordovia, 5 October, 1955

Kuzma KAZDOBA (Australia)

DEPORTATION TO THE NORTH

REMINISCENCES OF A FORMER PRISONER

SENTENCE

One day in March 1930, after eight months' imprisonment in Pervomaysk, my father and I were summoned from our cell to appear before the superintendent of the jail, with all our belongings. This summons was the first during the eight months that we had been in jail. We were conducted down a long corridor by two sentries. I walked abreast of my father and glanced at him from time to time, hoping to discover from him where we were being led to. But my father walked as in a dream, his eyes staring in front of him. Deep in my heart stirred a tiny hope that we might be set free, and my thoughts, already flew homewards. We were led to an iron door. The sentry ordered us to leave our belongings in the corridor. The first sentry opened the door and ordered us to enter. In the room, at a table sat two employees of GPU. One of them took a paper from a folder and read "Prokhor Serhiyovych Kazdoba, born in 1867 in the village of Harbuzynka of Yelysavethrad district and Kherson province, and his son Kuzma Prokhorovych Kazdoba born in 1907 on the farm estate Novyy Stavok belonging to Harbuzynka village council, Yelysavethrad district, Kherson province." After looking keenly at us, he took the folder and went into an adjacent room. The guards ordered us to stand with our faces to the wall and to keep our hands behind us. In this fashion we stood for about an hour.

At last the doors of the adjacent room opened and we were ordered to enter. This room was larger, with leather-covered walls and a carpet on the floor. Above a large table hung the pictures of Lenin and Stalin. At the table sat an official of the GPU. In front of him was a folder. At the side of the table sat the official of the GPU who had brought in the folder and another person in civilian clothes who read out "Prokhor Kazdoba and his son Kuzma Kazdoba." Father replied "Yes." Then the civilian ordered father to step nearer to the table and to hold his hands behind him. I stood behind my father. The senior official of the GPU asked father "Are you a counter-revolutionary?" Father was silent. Then he asked again angrily "Are you a counter-revolutionary?" But father did not

answer, only moved his head. Then the official asked whether my father was arrested in 1920 by CHEKA. Father replied: "Yes." "In January 1921 you were brought before the Tribunal Court in Bratske, for taking part in the revolutionary activities against the Soviet regime and were sentenced by the Tribunal to death. The Tribunal changed the death sentence to 10 years imprisonment in Odessa's jail with confiscation of all property." Father again replied "Yes." "In 1923 you were released from jail owing to an amnesty. In 1924, together with your family, you were deprived of civil rights. In August 1929 you were arrested by G.P.U. and confined in Pervomaysk prison." Father acknowledged these facts. I, standing behind him, saw that his calloused hands trembled from nervous tension. Then the official ordered me to stand beside my father and said to me: "In 1924 you were deprived of civil rights, in July 1929 you were refused enrolment in the Red Army, as being politically unreliable and in August 1929 were arrested with your father and imprisoned." I agreed and the official passed the folder to the civilian, who began to read: "By the sentence of the Pervomaysk District Closed Court, as politically and socially dangerous persons, proved by their taking part in 1918-1919 rebellion against the Soviet Power, Prokhor Kazdoba and his son Kuzma Kazdoba are sentenced to deportation for life into "special camps" in remote parts of the U.S.S.R. All property belonging to Prokhor Kazdoba becomes the State's." Father addressed the senior G.P.U. official in a nervous voice: "What are you exiling my son for? He is young and is not guilty of anything. Allot me the hardest penalty but spare my son." I glanced at my father and shuddered. His eyes were flashing with fury, his face was tense. He took a step nearer to the table but the guards held him back and we were led away. We were not taken back to our cell but into the prison yard. We were ordered to join a group of about thirty peasants under arrest. Then the guards led us through the prison gates to where eight carts were waiting for us, guarded by soldiers of the Red Army, militia and Komsomol members of Blahodatne district. These new guards took us over following the prison's roster. We were seated in the carts and then driven through the streets of Pervomaysk. On each side of the carts rode armed militia and Komsomol* members. People from their houses and passers-by watched us. Many women waved their white headcloths in farewell and wept. Frightened girls gave us covert glances but some of the men hurried past us averting their eyes.

ON THE BANDURKA RAILWAY STATION

We were driven eastwards, past Pidhorodne Station to a small station in the steppe, Bandurka, which was situated over 16 km. from Pervomaysk. The wheels sank deep into the black soil, sodden with melting snow, making it difficult for the horses to move. But still it was easier for them than for us. I sat in deep thought, still hearing the

*) Young Communist League

Kuzma KAZDOBA (Australia)

DEPORTATION TO THE NORTH

REMINISCENCES OF A FORMER PRISONER

SENTENCE

One day in March 1930, after eight months' imprisonment in Pervomaysk, my father and I were summoned from our cell to appear before the superintendent of the jail, with all our belongings. This summons was the first during the eight months that we had been in jail. We were conducted down a long corridor by two sentries. I walked abreast of my father and glanced at him from time to time, hoping to discover from him where we were being led to. But my father walked as in a dream, his eyes staring in front of him. Deep in my heart stirred a tiny hope that we might be set free, and my thoughts, already flew homewards. We were led to an iron door. The sentry ordered us to leave our belongings in the corridor. The first sentry opened the door and ordered us to enter. In the room, at a table sat two employees of GPU. One of them took a paper from a folder and read "Prokhor Serhiyovych Kazdoba, born in 1867 in the village of Harbuzynka of Yelysavethrad district and Kherson province, and his son Kuzma Prokhorovych Kazdoba born in 1907 on the farm estate Novyy Stavok belonging to Harbuzynka village council, Yelysavethrad district, Kherson province!" After looking keenly at us, he took the folder and went into an adjacent room. The guards ordered us to stand with our faces to the wall and to keep our hands behind us. In this fashion we stood for about an hour.

At last the doors of the adjacent room opened and we were ordered to enter. This room was larger, with leather-covered walls and a carpet on the floor. Above a large table hung the pictures of Lenin and Stalin. At the table sat an official of the GPU. In front of him was a folder. At the side of the table sat the official of the GPU who had brought in the folder and another person in civilian clothes who read out "Prokhor Kazdoba and his son Kuzma Kazdoba?" Father replied "Yes." Then the civilian ordered father to step nearer to the table and to hold his hands behind him. I stood behind my father. The senior official of the GPU asked father "Are you a counter-revolutionary?" Father was silent. Then he asked again angrily "Are you a counter-revolutionary?" But father did not

answer, only moved his head. Then the official asked whether my father was arrested in 1920 by CHEKA. Father replied "Yes." "In January 1921 you were brought before the Tribunal Court in Bratske, for taking part in the revolutionary activities against the Soviet regime and were sentenced by the Tribunal to death. The Tribunal changed the death sentence to 10 years imprisonment in Odessa's jail with confiscation of all property." Father again replied "Yes." "In 1923 you were released from jail owing to an amnesty. In 1924, together with your family, you were deprived of civil rights. In August 1929 you were arrested by G P U and confined in Pervomaysk prison." Father acknowledged these facts. I, standing behind him, saw that his calloused hands trembled from nervous tension. Then the official ordered me to stand beside my father and said to me "In 1924 you were deprived of civil rights, in July 1929 you were refused enrolment in the Red Army, as being politically unreliable and in August 1929 were arrested with your father and imprisoned." I agreed and the official passed the folder to the civilian, who began to read "By the sentence of the Pervomaysk District Closed Court, as politically and socially dangerous persons, proved by their taking part in 1918-1919 rebellion against the Soviet Power, Prokhor Kazdoba and his son Kuzma Kazdoba are sentenced to deportation for life into "special camps" in remote parts of the USSR. All property belonging to Prokhor Kazdoba becomes the State's." Father addressed the senior G P U official in a nervous voice "What are you exiling my son for? He is young and is not guilty of anything. Allot me the hardest penalty but spare my son." I glanced at my father and shuddered. His eyes were flashing with fury, his face was tense. He took a step nearer to the table but the guards held him back and we were led away. We were not taken back to our cell but into the prison yard. We were ordered to join a group of about thirty peasants under arrest. Then the guards led us through the prison gates to where eight carts were waiting for us, guarded by soldiers of the Red Army, militia and Komsomol members of Blahodatne district. These new guards took us over following the prison's roster. We were seated in the carts and then driven through the streets of Pervomaysk. On each side of the carts rode armed militia and Komsomol*) members. People from their houses and passers-by watched us. Many women waved their white headcloths in farewell and wept. Frightened girls gave us covert glances but some of the men hurried past us averting their eyes.

ON THE BANDURKA RAILWAY STATION

We were driven eastwards, past Pidhorodne Station to a small station in the steppe, Bandurka, which was situated over 16 km from Pervomaysk. The wheels sank deep into the black soil, sodden with melting snow, making it difficult for the horses to move. But still it was easier for them than for us. I sat in deep thought, still hearing the

*) Young Communist League

cruel words of the sentence O, God, how terrible it was for me I was driven from my native country by armed force, with no opportunity even to take leave of those dearest to me — my sister Oksana and Lydia, my brother Mykhaylo and their children, my other relatives and friends My thoughts turned to a little grave in a small steppe cemetery, where lay in eternal sleep my dear mother and second brother, Polikarp I wanted to stand at their graves and tell them of my misery, of my banishment for life, caused by the same hand which had brought about their early deaths

I looked for the last time on our steppes, where my childhood and youth had passed The spring sun and melting snow on the fields somehow raised my spirits For a moment I seemed to forget my cruel fate and rejoiced, after eight months' imprisonment, to be able to breathe in the fresh air My father was silent, he did not speak once during the journey, he was lost in thought I tried to rouse him but he did not appear to hear me Three elderly peasants, from somewhere near Pervomaysk, who were on our cart were overcome with grief Two of them were crying, the third, the youngest let his eyes wander across the steppe whilst he talked incessantly about his son Mykola After about three hours we arrived at the station Bandurka The horror that I saw there made me regret our jail however wretched it had been

The station was enclosed by barbed wire We were taken over by new guards and led behind the wire There stood a train of 15 goods carriages, guarded by Russian GPU from the North As the Russian occupants had no confidence in Soviet Ukrainian GPU they had to send their own GPU, militia and Komsomol members from time to time brought here cartloads of arrested peasants and their families Barefooted and clad in rags, they were cast out into the snow There were elderly, middle-aged and young people children and even infants Some of the women had families of five or six children the eldest would be no more than 13 or 14 years Some families were without fathers they having been arrested earlier Under foot the snow was mixed with soil forming a spring mud Mothers held in their arms the youngest children the rest stood in that swamp their feet their hands and their faces blue with cold They gathered around their mothers and held onto the rags which the Muscovite invaders had given them instead of their own clothes These little prisoners dragged at their mothers and cried Mother, mother let us go home I am cold and my head is aching Mother, mother, I am hungry Some of the mothers lost self-control and tore at their rags and their hair Others cried and lamented begging God to take them and their children from this world of misery

Our group from the jail was kept apart I was examining those who had been brought earlier when suddenly my heart stood still In the crowd was my sister Anna alongside her husband Cheremukha from the village of Harbuzynka She held in her arms the baby twins Olga and Nadia the eldest Maria who was fourteen and Andriy stood by her They were all crying and looking in our direction The two eldest Maria and Andriy began to walk towards us but the guards

turned them back. I pointed them out to my father. He rushed forward but the guard intervened and father, pale as death, came to a halt Motionless, as a statue, he kept looking at his daughter and grandchildren The blood vessels on his forehead and hands were swollen It was the first time in my life that I had seen my father in such a condition I tried to speak to him, but he appeared not to hear me At last he cried out "Oh, God, what were the children taken for? They are too little to be guilty of anything Lord, take pity on the children "

The guards ordered our party to close in on the carriages and in doing so we came closer to the crowd of arrested peasants, only about twenty steps separated us My eyes from time to time found among them relatives and friends In the crowd stood Trokhym Kazdoba from Blahodatne, my father's youngest brother, who was nearly sixty I saw friends from the villages Blahodatne, Harbuzynka, Konstantynivka, Marianivka, Mykolayivka, and from estates Shkur-lativ, Druha Mykolayivka, Novyy Fontan and Metelytski I saw Roman Skoryk and his son Gregory, Moysey Lytvynenko, and son Panteleymon, Lukian Pyshenin with two sons — Dmytro and Mykhaylo, Vasyl Dashko, Fedir Serdiuk, Fedir Zubenko, Hryhoriy Pleskanuk with two sons Mykola and Peter, Vasyl Koval, Afanasiy Oplachko, Victor Buhay, Andriy Cheremukha, Yosyp Salahor with his brother Zotiv, Drahan, Zekoba with his son Leonid, Skrepyl, Maksutenko and many others They were all there with their families

In the meantime the sons of Muscovy in the uniforms of the G P U had received more loads of arrested Ukrainian families Finally they closed the gates and began counting off 50-60 people and locking them into the dirty damp railway carriages Plank-beds were built on both sides of these In the middle of the carriage stood a stove but there was no trace of firewood Just then my sister Anna walked up the plank, leading to the carriage, with her six children. She carried two in her arms and the other four walked behind her They were crying bitterly and waving with their little hands to us At last the turn came for me and my father Ours was the fourth carriage from where my sister was with her children Father did not take his eyes off their carriage He twice tried to approach it, but each time the guards turned him back. Then father approached an official of G P U but the latter brutally rejected his request The G P U official called our names according to a roster Father with his head bowed, walked up the plank Then I was called Walking up the plank, I took leave in my heart of the azure sky, of my native land Once more glanced around me, my eyes met those of my eldest brother Mykhaylo who was standing on the other side of the barbed wire fence He was crying and waving to me I stood still and waved back. 'Get on' yelled the guard and with a blow on my shoulders from his rifle butt he forced me into the carriage Here I leaned on the stove and cried bitterly, as if sensing that I would never see Mykhaylo again And so it happened Half a year later my brother with his wife and three children Ivan one year, Mykhaylo, three, and Joseph, five years, were

exiled to remote Siberia. After seven years of forced labour he died in 1937 in Stalinsk (earlier known as Novo-Kuznetsk)

My father standing beside me asked me why I was crying. It was my first breakdown in all the eight months of our imprisonment. The guard began to close the doors of our carriages. We all pushed towards the door to take a last look at the rays of the setting sun, at our sky and our land. Then it grew dark in the carriage and only the clattering of the locks was heard. For a while deep silence reigned in the carriage, broken only by the weeping of the children. Underneath the carriage, around it and on top we could hear the guards. We heard some official in charge give orders about shooting on sight. Then the shrill whistle of the train sounded above us. The carriage jerked and slowly began to move. Something ached inside us, we all knelt in prayer, begging God to help us sometimes to return to our country, even if only to die. After a while my father raised himself from his knees and stood beside me. His tears rolled down my face. "My son, now their victory over us is complete," he said and tightly pressed my head to his breast. In July 1932 my father died in jail in Vologda.

The wheels of the train turned, carrying their miserable load onwards, to what fresh horror?

THE JOURNEY TO THE NORTH

Our train had been travelling for two or three hours, but my father and I were still standing by the iron stove. Near us stood two peasants who had been taken from the jail with us. They were also without families. We four were pushed into the carriage later, after the families had taken over all the available plank beds. We only knew three families here: Roman Skoryk, a distant relative of my father from the village of Harbuzynka; Hryhoriy Pleskaniuk and Fedir Zubenko from the village of Marianivka. They told us in detail of the liquidation activities: that the arrests were made at night, the GPU and militia taking all the clothes, leaving only the rags. If there were no rags, the arrested people were given some and ordered to put them on. In one hour, they were taken to Blahodatne. To this place families with children were brought from all the district. They were kept in locked schools and large farm buildings which had been confiscated earlier. There was such a shortage of space that one could not lie down. Thus sitting on the floor they spent one week there on bread and water. Skoryk, Zubenko and Pleskaniuk spoke with gratitude about the peasants of Blahodatne who frequently brought some food for all the arrested. The children especially were helped by having some cooked food. I listened to them, but still had in mind my sister Anna with her baby twins and the four elder ones around her. The mothers and children exhausted by the events of this dreadful day slept at last. We also felt great weariness and crept under the shelves to rest, having eaten nothing all day. Some families had with them some nourishment but the majority did not have even a piece

of bread. Lying on the filthy floor under the shelvings, my father could not sleep for a long while. He was heart-broken about the six grandchildren on the train, also about those grandchildren who were still at home. His son, my brother Mykhaylo whom I mentioned earlier, had three children all under the age of five years, his daughter and my sister Oksana had two daughters and one son about ten. At any time they too might be exiled. To the back of our train were attached two big sleeping carriages for armed guards and G.P.U. officials. They were heavily armed, having even machine-guns.

We travelled all night very quickly without stopping. The first morning of our journey came and daylight began to creep through the cracks in the doors and the sides of the carriage. I crept from underneath the plank beds. Mothers sat on the bunks and cried. They needed warm water to wash their babies and their clothes. However there was no water in the carriage. In the middle of the carriage stood a bucket covered with a linen sheet, as toilet. One bucket for 58 people including children. From early in the morning there was a queue for it. Some of the young girls crept into the corners of the carriage and bitterly wept, as they did not have the courage to come near the bucket. Some time before midday the transport was stopped in an isolated spot. We each received a portion of bread, about 10 ozs., and a bucket of water per carriage. The water was more important than bread. Then the transport moved on. Evening came and still we travelled. The bucket was overflowing and the floor was covered with human excrements. At last the transport stopped again in a lonely spot. The guards opened the door and ordered us to empty the waste bucket. The second night passed as the first. And the second day of the journey differed in nothing from the first. Tears did not dry on the faces of the mothers and children. We travelled all the time behind locked doors. Once every 24 hours we were each issued with a piece of bread and a bucket of water per carriage. The waste bucket was emptied out at isolated spots. Apart from this no one was allowed to leave the carriage.

After four days we reached Moscow, the capital of this red inferno. Here the snow still covered the ground and one could still feel the morning frost. Our transport was directed to a remote goods station. In our carriage some babies had become sick. The mothers tearfully begged the guards for medical help or drugs. Their requests were turned down with oaths. In Moscow we were given soup from salted putrified fish and a small piece of dark bread per person. Besides water, we also received some firewood. The guards informed us that we were nearing colder areas. Then the train moved off again to the North.

THE DEATH OF A BABY

The sick babies lay on the plank bed, breathing deeply. Their faces were red from fever and their lips were dry. Their mothers sat beside them in despair. Thus passed one night. In the morning one of the two

babies died The little body lay motionless on the bunk The young parents did not cry any more From time to time only their shoulders trembled convulsively It was their first child We were all grief-stricken and no one spoke in the carriage The presence of the dead body frightened the rest of the children, who tried to hide behind their parents

Late in the morning our transport stopped in a forest Again followed the same procedure emptying of the buckets, rationing bread, fish and water The two men who emptied the bucket were ordered to remove the dead baby I will never forget this removal of the dead body and the grief of the parents

My father lay most of the time underneath the bunk He told me that he did not have the strength to look at the sick children deprived of any help

"It is the same in all carriages Oh, Lord! Anna and her babies perhaps," and he stopped Later he tried to persuade me not to despair about our circumstances for we did not know what lay ahead of us

Two days had passed since we left the capital of the USSR We stopped in Yaroslavl The last two days and nights were the hardest The air in the carriage was foul After the soup, made from salted fish, thirst tormented us but there was no water The majority of the children contracted diarrhoea The parents again sought medical help, but their request was rejected

Again the train was stopped, not at a station but on the track, on a high embankment not far from a bridge across the River Volga The doors were opened for handing out our bread and water The temperature outside was about 25°C below freezing point Looking down the embankment we could see people crossing the frozen river by horse sledges and on foot They were all warmly clad in sheepskin coats, felt boots and warm caps Anxiously we looked at each other where were we being taken in our light attire and with our sick children? Fear of the unknown gripped us The doors were again closed, the bolts clattered and our train moved off further into the North It moved very slowly because of the snowdrifts Next day after Yaroslavl, we stopped at a small crossing in a forest For the first time in our journey we received 15 whole uncut 2 lb loaves of bread per carriage, also half a herring per person and the usual bucket of water As the transport moved slowly northwards we could feel the bitter cold creeping in We stopped again in Danilov When the doors were opened by the guards we saw the Northern winter — the snow was very deep and a sharp frost prevailed Here we received bread, but this time were not issued with water

THEY WANTED SNOW — GOT BULLETS

After Danilov we passed through a dense endless forest After a while we stopped at a clearing The doors were opened and we were ordered to empty the bucket We all were thirsty, the mothers and children begged for some snow The younger people taking advantage

of the fact that the men with the bucket had not returned, jumped from the carriage with bowls and buckets. Not less than fifty of the young men tried to fill their vessels with snow in the vicinity of the train. Just as I also moved to do the same, shots were fired behind us but we did not think that they were being fired at us. But as the bullets whistled past me I looked up and saw the guards running from the last two carriages and shooting at us. In the carriage women screamed.

"Kuzma, help me!" I turned. It was Peter Pleskaniuk, my friend from the village Marianivka. A bullet had pierced his chest. His blood marked the snow with dark red spots. But at that moment we thought only of saving our own lives. I sprang to the door of the carriage. Someone's strong hands snatched me and lifted me, like a small child into the carriage. It was my father. To our carriage came running a dishevelled drunken guard. He fired two more bullets into the carriage but they went above us. The doors were slammed, the bolts clicked and the train rolled away.

We felt as if only death lay before us, and fear lay upon us. The tragic despair of Peter Pleskaniuk's parents, his brother Mykola and sister Raya moved us all.

We left behind us on the snow not only young Pleskaniuk but also wounded men from other carriages. My father begged me to be more careful in the future and I said to him "Father, I would never have thought that you were so strong." My father looked at me and said "That was a different strength — that of a parent." And he placed his hand on my shoulders. The further we went North, the less the doors were opened and water issued. Hunger and thirst tormented not only the children, but also us adults. Another two-year old child died from diarrhoea. The body was carried out somewhere in the forest. All the mothers cried, even some of the fathers.

In other carriages people were going through the same agony. And what of the other numerous transports directed by GPU from Ukraine to the far North, to Ural, Siberia and Kazakhstan?

THE NIGHT OF SEPARATION

One late evening our train stopped. Through the gaps in the carriage we could see that we were in a large goods station. We sat silently in the dark. Only the sick children's cries and heavy breathing broke the silence. After midnight movement was heard near the train. Suddenly the doors were opened, letting in the cold wind and frost. At the door appeared two GPU officials. One of them held a piece of paper and he turned to us "In half an hour everybody is to be ready for detrainment. Mothers are to take their children with them." Then he went away, leaving the other in the doorway. From him we learned that we were in Vologda. After a while the first official returned and announced that we would be called according to a roster and the person called had to come out immediately. Men over 60 and boys of 15-16 had to stand on the right, women, girls and

children on the left and all other men from 17 to 60 had to remain inside the carriage

My father was over sixty, so he had to go out and I had to remain inside My father turned to me "My son, this is a hard moment We are being separated But I believe that we shall see each other again Keep well and do not forget me "

The old men and boys were called out first My father's turn came We heard "Prokhor Kazdoba" Father made the sign of the cross over me and said "I leave you to the care of the Almighty Keep well and do not forget your old father" He kissed my forehead and quietly walked down the plank He turned to the left and walked briskly along the train Standing near the door of the carriage, I could not understand where he had gone But fifteen minutes later I saw him again He was returning to the group of elderly people I was appalled He was in his summer jacket with some sort of a scarf around his neck I called out "Father, you'll die of cold Where is your sheepskin coat?" "I found Anna and covered the children with it," he retorted Behind me someone called out, "Catch, Prokhor!" and over my head a coat was flung Father picked it up from the snow and called out "Thank you Roman!" I turned and saw Roman Skoryk behind me When he had seen my father in his suit only, he had snatched his overcoat from the plank bed and thrown it to father, leaving himself his old sheepskin coat only

During the calling out of old men and young boys, women were bidding good-bye to their husbands and elder sons and the children to their fathers and brothers In the carriage there was crying and screaming of women and children Then the women's and children's turn came to leave The women took off their warmer clothes and put them on the children, especially the sick ones Then they proceeded to leave the carriage, into the snow and frost The majority of them were dressed in spring clothes and light shoes Many children had rags wound around their feet Many of the mothers were very lightly dressed as they had given most of their clothes to the children There were also women of over 60 years of age

When the GPU had finished calling out the people from the carriages, there were not less than 1500 people on the snow The majority of them were children In the confusion many children and mothers lost each other and these were screaming and waiting Then numerous horse-sledges arrived The mothers and children were placed on them and were immediately driven away Many families were separated in this confusion the cries and screaming became louder, mixed with the curses and shouts of the guards

The older men and younger boys were formed into a marching group and under GPU guards and militia were walked off somewhere into the forest

We who remained sat in the locked carriages I cannot express in words my suffering during those moments I felt that my mind would not be able to endure it, that I would go insane

WE ARE DISEMBARKED

In our carriage there were left 18 men. Among them were Roman Skoryk, who was separated from his wife Lukeria, his son Hryhoriy and his daughter Vira, and Fedir Zubenko, also separated from his wife and his only son, a small boy. Both were in despair. "Oh, Lord! Why are we punished? Why are the children taken away from us? What will become of them?" They could not find peace in the carriage. They either lay down on the berths or got up again.

At dawn, 25 men and older boys from other carriages were added to us. We were given a piece of bread each and some warm water and once again our transport moved on northwards. I lay down on the plank bed where my father had lain. To me it was sacred. I felt very lonely. Suddenly my thoughts flew home to the wide steppes of Kherson. I saw myself with my father, walking across the wide green corn fields and father was saying to me: "My son, these are your fields, when you grow up you will replace me. Remember, the soil needs a peasant's sweat. But for your hard work, the fields will repay you, they will give you a good harvest. And for us peasants a good harvest is the hope and joy of our lives." My childish heart was filled with joy by the green fields with many bright flowers. I was happy and joyful, when my father said that all this was mine. He was happy too. While walking, he held my hand, the hand of his youngest son. He knew that I would support him in his old age.

With a sudden jerk the train stopped. The picture of my happy childhood days vanished. I opened my eyes to dread reality. I was lying on the planks of a prisoners' carriage on the tenth day of a journey to an unknown destination. I visualized my father and heard his last words of farewell: "Keep well my son, do not forget me." I covered my eyes with my hands and cried: "Oh, Lord! How can I help him?"

I was ready to break under the strain. It was stifling under those planks, so I crawled into the middle of the carriage. At that moment there was a knock on the door and from outside an order for detainment was given. At last we had arrived somewhere. After a while voices were heard outside the carriage: prisoners were evidently being unloaded from other carriages.

Then came our turn. We heard the rattling of the lock, the doors were flung open and three people appeared of whom one was in G.P.U. uniform and two were in civilian clothes. But the latter were also G.P.U. officials judging by their healthy faces and good clothes. One of the civilians held a piece of paper in his hand from which he called our names.

We came out from the carriage into God's daylight. It was a wonderful day, the sun showed it was midday. Not far from our carriages stood four horse-sledges and several militia. We were ordered to assemble in groups of ten beside each horse-sledge. Later the men from three more carriages were disembarked, making about 150 of us from four carriages. We evidently belonged to a second party; the transport had eight carriages, and the first party must have been

already directed somewhere while we were still locked up in the carriages. The station of our detrainment was Vozhega on the railway line Vologda — Archangel.

Near the sledges we were checked again and handed over to the militia who began to arrange us into a marching column. But before we were marched off a one-horse sledge drew up, in which a uniformed GPU official stood. On his tabs were two stripes of distinction. The militia and the guards stood at attention. The big "fish" after some words with the GPU men turned to us slaves and addressed us as "Special Settlers." Thus we learned what we had become. "According to the plan of appropriate authority, you have been brought here from the Ukraine as enemies of the Soviet Government. The Northern country has taken pity on you and received you. You must justify yourselves through work. The Soviet Government does not punish you, but trains you to become worthy citizens. You will work in the forest and belong to the Mishutino forestry on the River Yemba."

Further, we learned from this Soviet official that our working week would be 6 days of ten hours each day, and Mondays would be our rest days. Our work would be without pay, as all the cleared forest was to be used for building "Special Settlements." These settlements would be built in time by us and would become our permanent places of residence, to which our families would be brought.

"You are under the orders of GPU," continued the official, "and must carry out all the instructions of the commanding officer. Those of you who do not carry out orders will be severely punished. Those who attempt flight will be imprisoned. You will receive your food through the commanding officer of the special settlements." At the end the official repeated loudly and clearly, "You are under the command of GPU and are 'Special Settlers'." We all stood there as if rooted to the spot. The words "permanent place of settlement" rang a death knell in our ears and with it all hope vanished.

MARCHING TO OUR DESTINATION

Before us lay 100 km to be made on foot. We marched in double file, with two of the sledges with militia at the head of the column and two at the rear, on each of which was a huge dog.

We marched through Vozhega. It was a small community with 40-50 houses, most of them on the Eastern side of the railway track. Vozhega was a district centre of executives of GPU and militia. Before the headquarters of militia we were stopped for a short time. The commander of the militia and about twenty of his men walked along our column, looking closely at us.

Then our column moved eastwards by a narrow snow-covered path, through a pine and fir forest. In the forest the snow was about 2 metres deep. Luckily for us there was no big frost. I marched beside Roman Skoryk. The sun set but we still marched weary, with lagging steps.

It was almost dark when we came to a small village of about twenty cottages in a forest clearing. We were ordered to stop and wait in

the street. Someone touched my shoulder. I turned and saw my uncle Trofym Kazdoba. I was overjoyed to see him. He told me that he had noticed me at the station but had not been able to approach me as he was in the rear part of the column.

We were ordered to form groups of ten for distribution for our night's rest. In my group of ten there were besides my uncle and myself, Roman Skoryk, Afanasiy Oplachko, Fedir Zubenko, my uncle's friends from Blahodatne, Vasyl Verbyn, Mykhaylo Priatko, Lapyn and two more, whose names I do not remember. The guard took us to a poor householder, who was told that he was responsible for us till the morning. We received 300 grams of bread and half a fish with plenty of warm water. After supper we longed for a good rest in the warm cottage, after such a long journey in the crowded goods train. Our host told us to lie on the boards, five persons on each. No one understood what he meant by boards or where we should find them. Our host repeated his request but no one moved. At last my uncle asked him what the boards were. The host pointed to two large boards near the ceiling. If one sat on them one's head would touch the ceiling. After this explanation we climbed up a ladder to these boards. The host explained that when the temperature fell to 45-50°C below zero, he took the cow and his horse into the room and the family slept on these boards as it was warmer there.

We lay down on these bare boards and being exhausted soon fell asleep. But we did not sleep for long. We all woke up more or less at the same time because something was biting us. It proved to be bed bugs, so we did not rest well that night.

In the morning we finished our bread with warm water and then by order of the guards moved on. This time I walked with my uncle. The weather was calm and there was only a slight frost. We walked the whole day without any rest and were more tired than the day before. In the evening we came to a village of about 30-40 houses. The inhabitants of this village were not pleased to see us. We were again grouped in tens and taken to the houses. This time my group was taken to a better family. The owner told us that the country was poor, that the only vegetables grown were potatoes and even of potatoes they did not have enough, that no wheat grew there, that many people had never seen white bread, that sugar, salt, tea and tobacco could be obtained only with difficulty, the same also applying to clothes, which were home-woven.

He told us also that the poor local inhabitants were troubled by the coming of new settlers, because the shortage of food would be greater.

In the evening we again received some bread and half a fish per person. The night passed quietly as we were not troubled by bed bugs.

The third day of our marching did not differ in any way from the first two. In the evening we again stopped in a village. We were ordered to be ready for further marching at daybreak, so that we might reach Mishutino forest centre — our working point in daylight.

The fourth day of marching completely exhausted us. Our feet almost refused to move. But we comforted ourselves with the thought

that it was the last day of our marching and that we would then be able to rest

Towards the evening we approached the village Mishutino. Here we were met by the commanding officer and GPU men. He looked at us, at our light torn attire and asked how we hoped to work in the forest in winter clothed thus. These were the first humane words we had heard from an official. Someone answered that we had not thought about this as we had been brought by force.

We were billeted with villagers as before. During the distribution of bread the guards informed us that in the morning we would be moved to a camp about 15 km from there. There we should live and from there we should be marched to lumber-cutting work.

AT OUR DESTINATION

Next morning, the fifth day of marching, we were gathered near the forestry headquarters, and after being given the usual bread and half a fish we were divided into two groups. The group where I, my uncle, Roman Skoryk, and friends were was sent into the forest first. We crossed the River Yemba which flowed into the Voga, a tributary of Northern Dvina. About 8 km from the "camp" we turned from the road into a narrow path, covered with snow through which we frequently fell.

In the afternoon we came to an old wooden hut. This was our "special camp." It was covered with snow so deep that the windows could not be seen and only the upper part of the door appeared above the snow. We cleared the snow from the windows and the door and were then admitted into this hut one by one. My turn came also. I saw a small corridor with three doors, one on the right, one on the left and one at the end. A militia official instructed me to go through the left door and I entered a low room with two rows of wooden bunks on one side of it, on which we were ordered to sit side by side. When the first part of the hut was filled, the official admitted people into the other part. Each part of this barrack had a little window. In the middle of the hut stood a clay stove, about 1,5 m long, 1 m high and 1 m wide. Above the stove hung a tin cover. In two corners of the ceiling were two outlets of about 15-25 cm for smoke. When the fire burned in the stove, the smoke collected near the ceiling and went out by these two holes. This was a "Russian black stove." A quarter of the walls and the ceiling were covered with soot, like the inside of a chimney.

We made a fire, which burned through the night, warming us and drying our rags. I slept on the upper bunk and above me stood a cloud of smoke. The boards were covered with dry moss, which smelt mouldy. Our two militia guards remained in the corridor.

In the morning of the next day "comrade" Krylov, the GPU commander, and five armed guards arrived to remind us once more that we were under GPU command and would be responsible to him for breaking any regulations. He also introduced us to the timetable of our working day. We had to get up at 5 a.m., march to

working points and begin work at 6 a.m. Have our lunch between 12-1 and work further till 6 p.m. At 7 p.m. we would be supplied with food and checked through and at 10 p.m. retire for the night. During our stay in the hut and during work we were guarded by two militiamen. At work we were to be under brigadiers, which were selected by the G.P.U. When we were in the hut we would be permitted to walk out from it to a distance of 50 paces only, beyond that was a prohibited zone.

After this the commander read out our rations: For a day's work a special settler would receive 450 gms. (1 lb.) of bread, 40 gms. (1½ ozs) of peeled grain, 40 gms. (1½ ozs.) of fish, 5 gms. (¼ oz.) of sugar and 7 gms. (¼ oz.) of salt.

We were divided into groups of 15 and were given tools for felling trees.

THE DREAD SLAVERY

That afternoon, without being given any food we were driven to working points. The brigadier went on skis, ahead of us. We however dragged on through the deep snow. Some had wound rags around their shoes, many had torn boots through which the snow penetrated. After an hour we stopped in a dense pine-fir forest. We began to work. First we cleared the snow from the trees, then cut the tall pines and firs which fell into the deep snow. We cut off the branches, removed the bark and stacked the trunks into piles. The branches and smaller wood were cut for firewood. There was no set amount of work that we had to do but we worked very hard.

In such a way began our slavery. We thanked God that the frost was not too severe, otherwise, badly clothed and exhausted through malnutrition, as we were, we would not have come through this ordeal. In addition, tormenting thoughts about our families and their fate never left us.

The armed brigadiers demanded from us thorough work. Two guards walked from one group to another, watching us and on the alert for any attempts at flight. But both they and we knew that any attempts of flight at this time of the year were impossible. The forest paths and the whole forest were covered with snow and any roads through it were guarded by militia and Komsomol members.

When at 7 p.m. we returned to our hut we hurried to start a fire. The ceiling, black with soot, filled us with disgust. There were always evening and morning roll-calls as in a prison. Of our daily food supply, the bread was ropey, the grain was of bad quality, the 40 gm. of salted dried local fish was often decomposed. The sugar was always brown, the 5 gm. did not fill one teaspoon. The piece of salt was of a grey colour.

When we left for work it was still dark and when we returned from work the dusk had set in

THE EASTER DIVINE SERVICE

So came Easter-time — in the far North, in exile. Palm Sunday was very hard for us. Heavy snow was falling incessantly, covering

us in the forest, making our hard work more difficult. Then came Good Friday and Easter Sunday. We returned from work physically exhausted and depressed. After the evening roll-call we all resolved not to go to work the next day, Easter Sunday. Whatever should happen to us for this defiance, we were prepared to meet, but we all wished to observe Christ's Resurrection Day. It was certain that for not going to work our daily ration would be withheld.

After the hard day's work I soon fell asleep. But later I felt somebody waking me up, and opening my eyes I saw my uncle Trofym. Get up, Kuzma," he said in a trembling voice. "Judging by the stars it is near midnight — the time of Christ's Resurrection."

There was stillness in the hut. I could hardly hear the words from the Bible that someone was reading. I caught the familiar odour of burning wax candles, which woke in me nostalgic memories about beautiful Easter-time at home. I raised myself on my elbow and looked around our hut. Three small candles were burning in the middle of the room, around them were gathered about half of us. The rest were joining them. I rose and stood with them. One of us, Zotiv, read almost in a whisper from a small Bible, which he had brought with the candles from home. * We all stood and prayed, while tears rolled down our faces. We were no longer people who lived in Ukrainian villages and farms. In the dim light we looked more like phantoms, dark, thin, tired and in rags. Having read the Bible, Zotiv took out of his bag a big swede, peeled it, cut it into small pieces and placed them on the end of the boards. Then after reading a few more passages from the Bible, he uttered three times in a whisper 'Christ is Risen!' 'He is risen indeed!' We answered, choking back our tears. Then Zotiv shared with each of us a piece of swede. **

The Monday came like all the other Mondays, our rest day, free from work. At seven o'clock in the evening we received our rations. Many consumed theirs before reaching their bunks.

Tuesday awaited us with its hard labour — all day without a piece of bread. We rose with the thoughts: what awaited us for our refusal to work on Sunday?

At six o'clock, the commanding officer Krylov appeared. His shouts and cursing of God and religious observance of rites nearly deafened us. Then full of rage he asked us why we had not appeared at work. We did not answer. This further enraged him, but we remained silent. A militia officer answered for us, that our refusal to work had been because of Easter Sunday. This brought further shouts from Krylov, that religion and its rites were merely narcotics and were quite without meaning and stupid, and threatened that should we refuse again to work he would punish us twice as severely.

We were then driven into the forest. Unending days of ceaseless labour stretched before us again. There was no hope left to us, our doom was sealed.

*) He was a reliable peasant about 50-55 years old, blind in one eye. He had lived on a farm at Kamynnyy Potik on the River Mertvovody, about 10 km from my home.

**) Which took the place of our traditional Easter cake. Paska.

MURDERED BY MOSCOW

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Public opinion in the West has been shocked of late by the revelations throwing light on the murder of the outstanding Ukrainian nationalist leader, Stepan Bandera, by a Soviet Russian secret agent in Munich, Germany, on 15th October, 1959. The agent, Bohdan Stashynsky, received the Order of the Red Banner from the hands of the then chief of the Russian security police Alexander Shelepin, for this crime carried out with the aid of a poison pistol. There is no doubt that, in issuing the order to assassinate Bandera, Shelepin acted with the knowledge and approval of the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet Government and its head, Nikita Khrushchov. Thus, Nikita Khrushchov carries direct responsibility for this perfidious murder. Stashynsky has since defected to the West, in August, 1961, and confessed to the murder, for he feared that his masters would try to wipe out the traces of the crime by liquidating him, too.

Two other prominent leaders of the Ukrainian national liberation movement have been murdered in a similar manner by Moscow's agents in recent decades. Seven revolver shots fired by the Russian agent Schwarzbart, in Paris on May 25th, 1926, killed Symon Petlura, exiled President of the Ukrainian National Republic and Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Armed Forces during the period of the Liberation War 1917-1921, when Ukraine fought for her national freedom and independence against the overwhelming forces of red and white Russian imperialists. A parcel bomb which exploded in the hands of Evhen Konovalets, the fearless leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, in Rotterdam, Holland, on May 23rd 1938, was sent to him by Moscow killers through one of their secret agents Valyukh. At that time, it should be noted, Nikita Khrushchov was First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine i.e. the highest ranking lieutenant of Stalin in that country.

Murder, cunning, cruelty and deceit characterise the history of Russia from its very beginnings until the present day Like the Russian Tsars in the past the modern tyrants ruling the 'paradise of workers, peasants and toiling intelligentsia' have been constantly trying to extend their huge dominion by means of treachery, disregard for law and the use of lies, to other countries, and to keep their prison of nations together by means of terror, mass deportations forced labour, executions and assassinations

In this respect Russian historical epochs bear close resemblance The same principle as prevailed at the time of Ivan the Terrible and Catherine II has been valid in the most recent period under Lenin, Stalin and the allegedly liberalising Khrushchov the hangman of Ukraine now slyly smiling now menacingly growling

This book offers three small, but nevertheless important segments from current history The reader, if he so wishes may be able to get a deeper insight into the events and methods of suppression practised by the saviours of the proletariat and the 'liberators of the colonial peoples,' in Ukraine from the documentary report entitled 'Russian Oppression in Ukraine' which has just been published Some articles contained in this little book have been taken from that detailed report

It is hoped that this abridged version will make it easier for the reader to see through the deception manoeuvres of the Soviet lying propaganda in its attempt to veil the guilt of the Moscow accomplices in the murder of Bandera on the eve of the trial of the actual perpetrator of the crime

The articles that follow reveal details of the assassinations of Ukrainian nationalist leaders by Moscow agents unmask Bolshevik Russian attempts to calumniate their victims and shift the guilt for these murders on to someone else's shoulders The reader will find brief biographical sketches of the lives of the outstanding Ukrainian patriots murdered on Moscow's orders by Bolshevik agents in Western Europe These articles completely lay open Moscow's cynical lies with which the Bolsheviks are trying to camouflage their unspeakable crimes

Stepan Lenkowsky

SOVIET RUSSIAN POLITICAL MURDERS ABROAD AND ATTEMPTS TO CAMOUFLAGE THEM

THREE LEADERS OF THE UKRAINIAN LIBERATION MOVEMENT MURDERED BY MOSCOW

The murder of Stepan Bandera is by no means an individual case in the history of the fight between Ukraine and Russia. During the past forty years three leaders of the Ukrainian national fight for freedom have been the victims of political murder by Communist Moscow.

In 1926 Symon Petlura, the head of the state and government of Ukraine, was murdered in the street in Paris by seven bullets.

In 1938 Colonel Evhen Konovalets, the founder and leader of the revolutionary liberation organization — the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) — was killed in the street in Rotterdam by the explosion of a time-bomb.

In 1959 Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, was murdered in the entrance-hall of the house in which he lived in Munich by a shot fired from a poison-pistol.

We do not intend to mention the countless other victims of Soviet Russian terrorism, who played an important part in the national liberation movement of the Ukrainian people, or in the field of scientific and cultural activity and in ecclesiastical life, and who were murdered by Moscow either openly or secretly. We shall confine ourselves here to mentioning only the leading and most outstanding political personalities of the national liberation movement, whose names enjoyed the highest prestige in Ukraine during the years of the latter's occupation by Russia.

The above-mentioned leaders of the Ukrainian fight for freedom — Petlura, Konovalets, Bandera — were murdered outside Ukraine in the West European states of France, Holland and Germany, by hired murderers and agents sent there by Moscow.

All three of these murderers were tracked down. Two of them were arrested, — one at the scene of the crime immediately after he had committed it, and the other two years after the murder.

Petlura's murderer, Schwarzbart (alias Walsberger), an out-and-out criminal and a leftist socialist, was arrested at the scene of the crime by the French police and handed over to the judicial authorities. The Paris court acquitted him and morally condemned the murdered victim — Petlura.

The man who murdered Konovalts, an agent of the NKVD known under the alias of Valyukh, pretended to be a courier who had allegedly been sent to Konovalts by a national, revolutionary, anti-Bolshevist organization in Soviet Ukraine. He handed Konovalts not a parcel containing reports and documents on the activity of this underground organization, but a time-bomb and subsequently escaped to the USSR on a Soviet ship.

The agent of the KGB, Stashynsky (alias Lehmann, alias Budeit alias Krylov), who murdered Stepan Bandera, fled by plane via East Berlin to the Soviet Union after having committed the crime. He remained hidden in the Soviet Union for two years, then he managed to get from Moscow to West Berlin, where he was arrested by the German police.

The choice of the time at which each of these political murders was committed against leading Ukrainian politicians abroad seems to have been determined by the internal political development of events in Ukraine, as well as by the international position of the USSR and not solely by any favourable opportunity which presented itself for the practical execution of the crime.

The assassination of Petlura was carried out in 1926 after the internal putsch in Poland, when Pilsudski again assumed power. In 1920 he and Petlura had undertaken a joint campaign as allies against the Russians. Since it was well aware of Pilsudski's anti-Russian political attitude Moscow was afraid lest Petlura with support from Poland might kindle a national revolution in Ukraine. The internal situation in Ukraine during these latter years of the era of the New Economic Policy (NEP) was characterized by a considerable and sudden increase in patriotism. Moreover with the intensification of the nationalist trends amongst the youth, the intellectuals and the farmers with the so called Ukrainization and the defiant attitude of the Ukrainian national Communists at that time in the Communist Party of Ukraine (similar to the revolt of the intellectuals and the youth in Poland in 1956) the situation as regards Ukraine was becoming extremely precarious for Moscow. At this critical time the hopes of the Ukrainian people as a whole were concentrated on the person of Petlura as the highest representative of the national liberation policy. NKVD chief Dzerzhinsky was responsible for the liquidations carried out during this period.

There could be no illusions in 1938 the year in which Konovalts was murdered about the fact that the Western democratic states were not in a position to prevent the three anti-Comintern states Germany, Italy and Japan from further acts of territorial expansion by international agreements and pacts. In the Far East Japan assumed the leading role. Italy who as a result of her war against and her occupation of Abyssinia was in conflict with the measures of the League of Nations stressed that the resolutions of such an international fiction could not be carried out in practice. The last stage of the civil war in Spain which lasted for almost three years revealed not only the weak spot of the Russian world Communist conspiracy but also the technical perfection of modern German arms.

The incorporation of Austria into Germany, which was indeed a triumph for Hitler, afforded Germany the initial position for the revision of her frontiers and those of Czecho-Slovakia and Poland, and in no time the collision between two opposite imperialistic camps loomed on the horizon. German national socialism, which was intent upon realizing its principle of "greater living space" in the East, and Russian Communism, with its unchangeable plans for a "world revolution of the proletariat," that is to say the creation of a Russian world imperium. The prospect of such a clash between these two powers seemed inevitable. Moscow decided to crush the internal forces of resistance as speedily as possible, since in the event of a conflict they might disintegrate the Soviet Russian imperium from within. Three months after the incorporation of Austria into Germany and soon after they had carried out a large-scale ruthless extermination campaign not only in Ukraine but also in the entire USSR amongst the intelligentsia, in the army, the administration and the Party apparatus, a campaign which has gone down in the annals of history as the "Yezhov purge," the Bolsheviks on May 23, 1938, murdered the leader of the Ukrainian liberation movement, Yevhen Konovalts, who was living abroad.

This wave of terrorism also included those of Stalin's enemies abroad who were dangerous. That same year, i.e. 1938, the Bolsheviks also carried out a number of attacks on the Trotsky-ists who played a leading part in the 4th International. In February 1938, for instance, Leo Trotsky's son Lev Sedov, was murdered in Paris, and on June 13, 1938, the secretary of the 4th International, Rudolf Klement, was abducted from Paris. Two years later (on August 21, 1940) Leo Trotsky was murdered in Coyocan (Mexico). The person responsible for the political murders in 1938 was Yezhov, and for those committed in 1940, Beria.

1959, the year in which Stepan Bandera was murdered, held no foreign political and international complications for the Russians. Times had changed. Moscow now holds the initiative in international politics in its hands, and Moscow alone determines in which parts of the world and at what times unexpected acts of aggression, intrigues and conflicts, either on a small or on a large scale, are to take place. The West tries to defend its *status quo* by means of compromises and complaisance, and when it fails to do so, it endeavours at least to play the part of a belated fire-brigade, a role for which it pays with loss of prestige and more concessions. Hence the choice of time in the case of the murder of Bandera was not a precautionary measure before a storm that threatened to break over Moscow's head in the field of international politics, as had been the case when the other two murders were committed. It was, rather, a preparatory measure, by means of which a favourable starting-point was to be created in the interior of the Soviet Russian colony — that is Ukraine — for Moscow to launch aggressive surprises against the free world (Laos, Berlin). The discontent of the nations subjugated by Russia, in particular of Ukraine, represents an internal obstacle

to Russian world-conquest plans and to subversive propaganda in the underdeveloped countries. One can assume that the Russians were afraid lest their provocations might call forth an unexpected reaction on the part of the West.

HOW DO THE BOLSHEVIKS EXPLAIN THE MURDERS COMMITTED BY THEM?

The Bolsheviks realize only too well that political murder is a two-edged sword. The liquidation of a politician who is a danger to Moscow only serves their purpose if the crime committed evokes no indignation against Moscow in public circles, that is to say in precisely those circles in which the murdered person was regarded as an authority. The Russians have one inalterable principle: Moscow was never guilty and is never guilty of crime. The blame is always thrust on the others, above all on the enemies of Bolshevism, and very often on the victim himself and on those who share his views and ideas. Even if the logical aspect of events objectively reveals incriminating evidence against Moscow, Moscow always invents lies accordingly in order to mislead the public. For every one of its criminal acts it has always invented expedient legends, which are obstinately repeated year after year in its propaganda. In this respect the Bolsheviks rely on the true information, which would expose the real organizers of the murders and the murderers themselves, not getting through the Iron Curtain, and thus they seek to prevent by censoring all letters and disturbing the transmission of broadcast programmes. If, however, some information does seep through to the Soviet citizens, then they are promptly misled by Bolshevik dementis which make the truth appear questionable and less probable.

But who are the "others" whom Soviet Russian propaganda makes out to be the alleged organizers and perpetrators of the assassinations of Ukrainian leaders of the national liberation movement instead of Moscow?

Jews and Germans!

According to Bolshevik misinformation, the Jews are to blame for the murder of Petlura. And the Germans are to blame for the murder of Konovalets and of Bandera. In the case of the last two murders the Ukrainian nationalists allegedly assisted the Germans in carrying out these crimes. *This, in brief, is the Bolshevik explanation of the murders perpetrated by Russian agents.*

On what do the Bolsheviks base their lies and tricks in this respect?

The choice of the person who was to commit the murder has always served as the basis for the invention of lies and legends about the actual murder itself. They have always chosen persons to whom — in the event of their arrest — credible tales about motives other than the orders of the Kremlin, motives of a personal or political character could be imputed, so as to conceal the fact from the court that the order to murder was issued by Moscow.

In the case of Petlura, a Jew, Schwarzbart, was instructed by Moscow to carry out the murder. He received orders to give himself up of his own accord to the police as a Communist agent, in order to start a political trial in this way. Thus there was a two-fold purpose behind this murder: to murder Petlura who was a danger to the Bolsheviks, and to direct the political trial of this murder in such a way that the person of Petlura and the Ukrainian government which he represented, as well as the national liberation movement, which was a danger to Moscow, could be defamed from the political point of view. It was Schwarzbart's task during this trial to conceal the part played by the Russian GPU in this murder and to pose as a national avenger of the Jewish people for the brutal pogroms committed against them by various anarchist groups, who operated in Ukraine during the years of the revolution, that is from 1919 to 1921, and in the interests of Russia also fought against the Ukrainian state. The blame for the pogroms carried out by these groups was to be imputed to Petlura. By planning the trial in this way the Russians managed to gain a two-fold success. In the first place, they succeeded in winning over most of the Jews in the world for the defence of the Communist agent Schwarzbart and in arousing anti-Ukrainian feelings, which, incidentally, persisted a long time, amongst the Jews, and, secondly, as a result of the unjust verdict of the Paris court, the Russians and other enemies of an independent Ukraine were able to obtain "the objective judgement of an impartial court in an unprejudiced state," which could then be used in anti-Ukrainian propaganda. For years the Russians made use of this judgement in order to defame Petlura in the eyes of the world and to misrepresent the Ukrainian state government which he represented and the Ukrainian liberation movement as an anti-Semitic, destructive and not a constructive state movement, which would be capable of ensuring human democratic freedoms to the national minorities in Ukraine. The jury of the Paris court, who consisted for the most part of supporters of the popular front at that time and of socialist liberals, refused to believe the testimony of the numerous witnesses of various nationalities, which clearly proved that Petlura had neither had any share in the pogroms against the Jews nor could be held in any way responsible for them. They ignored the actual facts of the murder, and by their acquittal of the murderer rendered Bolshevik Moscow an even greater service than it had expected. Thus Moscow scored two successes. But it did not score a third for the Paris trial did not help Moscow to change the anti-Russian attitude of the Ukrainians into an anti-Semitic one or to conceal its responsibility for the murder of Petlura from the Ukrainians.

In the case of the murder of Konovalts the Bolsheviks did not attempt to start a trial. On the contrary, the motives for this insidious murder were, in view of the manner in which it was carried out to remain a mystery in order to maintain for as long as possible doubts as to which political forces that were hostile to Ukraine could have been anxious to liquidate Konovalts. The mystery surrounding this question made it easy for the Russians to arouse political ill-feeling

amongst the Ukrainians against various political forces which the Bolsheviks regarded as undesirable, by circulating different versions of the account of the murder. One of these forces, in particular, was Poland, for under the leadership of Konovalets the revolutionary fight for freedom had assumed an intensified character in the territories of West Ukraine which were occupied by Poland. For several weeks many Ukrainians regarded it as very probable that Konovalets had been murdered by the Poles, until it finally became known that the parcel containing 'documents' which had exploded and killed Colonel Konovalets had been handed to him personally by an agent who posed as the courier of the national revolutionary organization in Soviet Ukraine.

It was necessary for the Russians to choose a murderer of Ukrainian nationality for the simple reason that such a person was more likely to gain the confidence of his victim and be able to establish personal contact with him, a fact which made it easier to carry out the murder later on. The very fact that the agent who posed as a courier of a fictitious or real underground organization was of Ukrainian nationality, can be regarded as a negative for a revolutionary organization and as an advantage for Moscow, since in this way the impression could be created that the OUN had no check whatever on the agents who wormed their way into its ranks. Indeed, after Konovalets' death reproaches to this effect were voiced by certain Ukrainian opportunist groups who did not approve of the form of the revolutionary national liberation movement in the underground.

The suspicion that the Poles and not the Russians had murdered Konovalets was short-lived. After a time the Soviet Russians began to circulate a new version with various variations, according to which Konovalets had been murdered by the Germans with the aid of one of his co-workers. The Russians did not even bother about the fact that this new version was a contradiction of their previous propaganda lies, according to which Konovalets had been an ally and also an agent and a hireling of Hitler. In this connection we should like to quote a passage from a Bolshevik book published in 1956:

'The first fatal blow was dealt the OUN in 1938, Soviet security organs discovered and destroyed the entire network of its underground cells in Ukraine. That same year Hitler and the Gestapo leaders decided that the OUN ringleader Konovalets knew too many secrets of the German government and that he had so many international contacts that it would in future be difficult to hold their own against him. For this reason they gave instructions that a special 'present' was to be sent to Konovalets who at that time was attending a congress of Ukrainian nationalists in Rotterdam (Holland).

At the entrance of the hall in which the congress was being held one of Konovalets' co-workers, a trustworthy Gestapo agent handed him a parcel with the remark that it was intended for him personally. When Konovalets opened it the bomb inside it exploded and tore him to pieces. Thus Konovalets became the martyr of the Ukrainian

"nationalist" movement High-ranking Nazi personalities later said quite openly and candidly "After his death Konovalets became more useful to us than he had been during his lifetime"

Konovalets' death at the hand of one of his co-workers was no exception "*)

Here for once the Bolsheviks were right For the case of such a Bolshevik lie was indeed no exception! It was repeated again in 1961 on the occasion of unsuccessful agitation attempt made by Lippolz (alias Liebholz), who "testified" in East Berlin that Bandera, too, had been murdered by the Germans with the assistance of one of his own co-workers We shall discuss this amazing lack of imagination and stereotype invention of lies later on In the first place we should, however, like to rectify two lies of less importance firstly, no congress of Ukrainian nationalists took place in Rotterdam Konovalets went to Rotterdam alone, — by plane, secondly, Colonel Konovalets met Valyukh alone in a cafe as arranged, and for reasons of conspiracy there were no intermediaries and no witnesses with them, since the presence of several persons might have drawn the attention of enemy secret services to their meeting Nor was the parcel handed to Konovalets by a middleman After a short conversation Valyukh hurried out of the cafe and left the parcel which he had brought with him behind Konovalets left immediately after him with the parcel in his hand and a few minutes later when he was in the street the time-bomb in the parcel exploded and killed him

In the third case, the insidious murder of Stepan Bandera, the organization and arranging of the circumstances connected with this murder and all the perfidious Bolshevik intrigues will only be revealed in all detail when the trial is held It is, however, clearly obvious from the data available so far that the attempt on Bandera's life was planned as a secret murder without bombs, shots or any other traces of external violence or injuries, in order to create the impression of death from natural causes, namely heart-failure an impression which the Bolsheviks succeeded in creating in the case of the murder of Lev Rebet in 1957 By murdering Bandera the Bolsheviks in the first place wanted to liquidate the leader of the liberation movement, who was a danger to them, and in the second place to create an unhealthy atmosphere of suspicion against all those in any way concerned with his mysterious death and to circulate various misleading versions of what had happened Several attempts on Bandera's life were prepared by the Bolsheviks in the years prior to his death but they were always frustrated by the Ukrainian nationalists or by the police Only one of these plans points to a different manner of carrying out the murder, namely to the same manner in which Petlura was murdered The crime was to be committed by a fanatical Pole posing as a national avenger (like Schwarzbart) of the wrongs which the Polish people have allegedly suffered at the hands of Bandera's supporters But the Bolsheviks

*) V Byelyayev — M Rudnytsky "Under Foreign Banners Kyiv 1956 p 36

abandoned this plan and decided in favour of an extremely unsuspecting form of murder so as not to arouse the indignation of the Ukrainian people against themselves and not to destroy their halo as philanthropists amongst the colonial peoples and as humane anti-Stalinists amongst the Western snobs

When the post-mortem examination, however, revealed traces of poison in the body of the victim, a whole avalanche of different explanations and versions started moving, all of which were advantageous for Moscow since they cast suspicion on others and diverted it from Moscow

The version which persisted longest was the one that Bandera had committed suicide for political or personal reasons. A Swiss weekly even published a whole series of freely invented reports about a grim massacre in the national revolutionary underground movement and about unsuccessful insurrections in Ukraine which had allegedly driven Bandera to despair and to suicide. Another version affirmed that one of the secretaries in Bandera's office, who shortly before his death had been with him in town when he bought in fruit had given him the poison. Although police investigations ascertained nothing suspicious in this connection, a Ukrainian monthly published in Chicago (USA) stated that a case was being built up against this secretary by the public prosecution a fact which was however denied by the latter. At the same time rumours were circulated in the USA to the effect that the leading members of the Units Abroad of the OUN had been arrested. The Bolshevik agencies spread rumours that Bandera had been murdered by the Americans whilst shady sources expressed the opinion that the murder had been committed by the British. In certain circles the suspicion was also voiced that the Germans had had a hand in the poisoning of Bandera. A new version imported from the USA circulated amongst the Ukrainians in Europe for a time according to this version a leading member of the OUN, who many years previously had been sent to Ukraine by Bandera had returned to Germany and had been seen in Munich two weeks before the murder. It was alleged that he had met Bandera secretly and had either prepared the murder or else carried it out himself. All these and various other versions figments of imagination or propagandist lies which were intended to create an atmosphere of cold war, pursued one single aim namely to undermine and discredit the firm conviction held by Bandera's adherents since the day of his death that he had been murdered by Soviet agents. With the arrest of Stashynsky this conviction was corroborated and all the rumours and intentional misrepresentations circulated hitherto were refuted for all time.

When the Soviet Russians learnt that the murderer had escaped from their clutches, they staged an unsuccessful press conference with Lappolz (alias Liebholz) in East Berlin after having racked their brains for a month. But in this way they only incriminated and compromised themselves still more. In order to simplify this urgent matter, the Bolsheviks based this new agitation on their old hackneyed

version, according to which attempts on the lives of leading Ukrainian personalities are carried out by the Germans with the assistance of the Ukrainian nationalists. The plan on which the Bolsheviks based their agitation campaign in the case of the murders of Konovalets and Bandera can be summed up in certain identical facts, and if we substitute the name Bandera for that of Konovalets and the word "poison" for "time-bomb," we have in brief the following scheme, as conceived by the Bolsheviks

Gestapo decides to liquidate Konovalets because
Oberlander Bandera
he knows too much about the secrets of the Reichs government
of his "crimes"

Gestapo through one of its trustworthy agents and
Secret service Gehlen
co-workers of Konovalets hands him the parcel intended
for him personally Bandera lunch
When Konovalets accepted the parcel he was killed by the bomb
Bandera lunch the poison

The lower lines of this scheme show only too plainly that in the case of Bandera the Soviet Russians were obliged to quote additional proof in order to emphasize the probability of their lying inventions

1) that Oberlander had committed some criminal act or other and had let Bandera into this secret,

2) that Bandera ate a poisoned lunch which was handed to him by one of Oberlander's agents and co-workers

On what did the Bolsheviks base the credibility of their lies? They invented corresponding legends and intrigues on a large scale

LEGENDS ABOUT THE CRIMES OF OBERLANDER, SHUKHEVYCH AND THE UKRAINIAN LEGION

As regards the "crimes" of Oberlander, the Soviet Russians circulated the accusation that the mass-murders of prisoners, who had been arrested by the Bolsheviks and were murdered by them in the prisons of Lviv (Lemberg) prior to their retreat in 1941, were committed by the Ukrainian "Nightingale" battalion of volunteers. The latter, according to the Soviet Russians, were under the command of Shukhevych and Oberlander, who entered the town at the same time as the German forces. The Russians demanded that Oberlander, since he was a "war-criminal," should be removed from his post as Minister in the German Federal government, and, indeed, after a time their request was successful. In their aggressive propaganda

they then continued for some time to quote the testimony of "witnesses" who corroborated these accusations. The political purpose of this lying campaign was obvious: the blame for the crimes committed by Moscow was to be cast on the German Federal Minister as a war-criminal and on the Nazis who had gone into hiding, as well as on Shukhevych and the Ukrainian Legion, as hirelings of Hitler.

In order to investigate these accusations an International Investigatory Committee "Lemberg 1941," which consisted of former members of the resistance movements against the Hitler regime in Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Switzerland, was formed in The Hague on December 27, 1959. This Committee, consisted of 5 members, heard testimony by 232 witnesses, who made their statements under oath, and carefully investigated the incriminating material and the said testimonies. The Committee ascertained that on June 22, 1941, the Soviet Russian security authorities (NKVD) carried out the arrest of thousands of persons of various nationalities who were regarded as politically untrustworthy. Since it was impossible to transfer the persons who had been arrested to the east territories owing to the collapse of the Soviet transport system, the leaders of the NKVD groups on June 24, 1941, received orders over the radio from Nikita S. Khrushchov personally that all the political prisoners were to be killed and the criminal prisoners to be released. As was unanimously corroborated by all the witnesses who testified before the above-mentioned Committee, these orders were carried out by the NKVD units in the prisons of Lviv and other towns in West and Central Ukraine during the last few days before the Soviet troops retreated. Prior to the entry of the German troops and the Ukrainian Legion under the command of Shukhevych and Oberlander, the latter as liaison officer of the German High Command, the inhabitants of Lviv discovered the corpses of murdered prisoners in the prisons, which were no longer guarded. Many of them recognized their relatives amongst the prisoners who had been murdered and Shukhevych also found the body of his brother, who had been arrested by the Bolsheviks, there.

The legend of the crimes committed by the Ukrainian Legion against the prisoners proved to be a flagrant lie. Oberlander did not carry out the massacre, nor did he have any opportunity to cooperate with Bandera, for Bandera did not belong to the Ukrainian Legion. Hence, Bandera could not have been initiated into the "secret plans of destruction" of Oberlander. When the Bolsheviks were murdering the prisoners, Bandera was not in Lviv at all but behind the German front lines and during the entry of the Ukrainian Legion into the town of Lviv Bandera was already under police surveillance in Cracow, where he was neither in a position to escape nor to see the murdered prisoners in Lviv.

These facts which are ignored or overlooked by the Soviet Russians refute their theory that Oberlander intended to liquidate Bandera since he was the only person in the West who was in the know as regards the secret of the alleged crimes committed by Oberlander.

LIPPOLZ'S SPECULATIONS ON THE POISONING OF BANDERA

The Lippolz affair was more or less only a continuation of the previous legend. The technical execution of Oberlander's orders to murder Bandera, so it was alleged, was undertaken by the Gehlen secret service, which in any case wanted to settle up with Bandera since he was said to be in contact with the British and refused to collaborate with the Germans. The Gehlen secret service allegedly gave Lippolz orders to poison Bandera, but when Lippolz failed to worm his way into the circles most closely connected with Bandera the German secret service, at Lippolz' advice, passed on these orders to someone who was closely connected with Bandera, namely Myskiv, who allegedly carried them out and then died five months later.

The political aim of this legend is the same as that of the previous one: to represent someone else as the guilty party instead of Moscow, to foster hostility between the Ukrainians and the Germans, and at the same time to create the suspicion that there are agents of foreign secret services in the leading circles of the OUN.

The Bolshevik agitators were not in the least concerned by the fact that this version was a contradiction of the other versions circulated by their propaganda only a few months earlier, according to which the OUN was to cease collaboration with the British and act as agents for the German secret service. They considered it necessary to impute to the German secret service other motives apart from the less credible motive harboured by Oberlander, namely that he wanted to settle up with Bandera, a tale the validity of which could not be ascertained by readers who were not thoroughly acquainted with Bolshevik propaganda.

The entire legend is based on the testimony of one single person: the old Bolshevik agent Lippolz, whom the Russians sent to Munich and who, during the years 1953 to 1957, was to worm his way into the circles connected with Bandera for the purpose of poisoning him. He was also to collect information about other Ukrainian political groups. But in inventing this legend the Russians committed three fatal errors:

- 1) they overlooked the fact that Lippolz had long since been exposed as a Bolshevik agent by the Ukrainian nationalists and that they were keeping a check on him.

- 2) they imputed the handing of the poison to Bandera in his lunch to the late Myskiv, who at the time of the murder was in Rome. And they completely overlooked the fact that Bandera on the day of his death did not have his lunch in the office canteen but was on his way home for that purpose.

- 3) they accused certain persons of having murdered the Bolshevik agent Skob, who in 1956 was recalled to the USSR, and mentioned the names of three Ukrainian nationalists, regardless of

the fact that two of them at the time of his return to the USSR were serving sentences in a German prison, and the third person was in Italy.

BOLSHEVIST DEFAMATION TACTICS

Soviet Russian defamation of the Ukrainian liberation movement, its leading personalities and members, to which method the Russians resort in order to cover up their own crimes, either already committed or planned, is by no means an invention of recent years. Since the Russian-Ukrainian war and the first occupation of Ukraine by Soviet Russia, practically every Party Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Communist Party of Ukraine decrees measures and directives for the Party and administrative apparatus in order to combat Ukrainian nationalism as a "counter-revolutionary force," as the "enemy" of the "people," which serves the interests of the "capitalistic states." In this propaganda campaign, which has been going on for years, the unscrupulous application of lies, half-lies and the misrepresentation of facts and events has become a firmly established habit with the Bolshevist agitators. Nor do they need to fear any opposition or refutation of their lies, since every opponent is only too well aware that he himself will be branded as an "enemy of the people" if he undertakes such an attempt. There is an old Ukrainian saying — "to lie like a Russian," which participators in meetings and readers of the Bolshevist press undoubtedly repeat to themselves or in confidential circles as soon as the applause has died away and the proclamations of obligations and of homage for the "wise" Party leaders have ceased.

The typical stereotyped methods of Bolshevist lying propaganda, which have been practised for years, and other vile methods resorted to in Ukraine and elsewhere include the following:

- 1) the casting of blame for the failure of thoughtless and impracticable economic plans, drawn up by the Party leaders, onto Party functionaries of lower rank, and the reproach of negligence, damage or even sabotage which is uttered against the proletariat, subjugated by the Bolsheviks,

- 2) compulsory obligations for the workers to carry out higher quotas of work in order to exploit their labour-power, to engage in financial self-taxation to the state in the form of state loans or investment capital out of the income of the industrial concerns, etc. merely for illusory promises that in five years' time, that is to say after the completion of the Five-Year Plan, there will be a considerable improvement in the standard of living,

- 3) the propagation of atheism and contempt of the traditions of the Church, as well as the destruction and desecration of churches

- 4) the falsification of history and the organizing of mass anniversaries and jubilees for the purpose of singing the praises of Ukrainian political and cultural personalities, whose attitude and whose works are falsely represented as pro-Russian,

5) the constant dissemination of defamations and misinformation regarding the policy, social and economic conditions, and military plans of individual Western and non-Communist states, and, at the same time, the arrogant and exaggerated eulogizing of the military strength and achievements of the "socialist" construction in the USSR and in other Communist states,

6) the concealment of their plans of aggression, war and subversion in foreign states by means of the usual fairytale about defending those who have been deprived of their rights, exploited, attacked or threatened by the capitalists and colonial rulers,

7) the systematic defamation of the Ukrainian national liberation movement and its leading personalities, together with the constantly repeated allegation that Soviet Ukraine, thanks to the help of Soviet Russia, is now an independent and sovereign state

The following examples will serve to illustrate the manner in which the Bolsheviks seek to defame the Ukrainian national liberation movement

In the years 1917 to 1921, Lenin was already alarmed lest the advocates of an independent Ukraine should try to break the "brotherly ties" between the Ukrainian and the Russian people. Even in those days Russian Bolshevik propaganda was already accusing the government of Ukraine (the Central Council) in Kyiv of serving German and Austrian interests. The setting up of the Ukrainian Legion in Galicia (the Ukrainian Sich infantry) in 1914 and of Ukrainian military units in 1917, consisting of Ukrainians who had been taken prisoner-of-war by the Austrians and who until then had served in the Russian tsarist army and now wanted to take part as volunteers in the fight for freedom of Ukraine against tsarist Russia (the Grey Division), is to this day still designated by the Bolsheviks as "agents' service" on the part of these Ukrainian patriots. At the same time, however, they take good care to keep silent about the fact that the German secret service enabled Lenin to return to Petersburg and they draw no conclusions regarding any agent's activity, dependence or collaboration on the part of Lenin with the German secret service.

A fierce Russian Bolshevik attack was, incidentally, launched against Hetman Pavlo Skoropadsky in those days, who was alleged to be a German agent simply because he continued to cooperate politically and militarily with the Germans in order to protect Ukraine against Russian Bolshevik annexation. But they also made similar accusations regarding agents' activity for the Germans in the case of Skoropadsky's opponents, who were trying in vain to find allies for Ukraine in England and France. It has become an established and evil habit of the Bolsheviks to brand every Ukrainian politician, who has tried either successfully or unsuccessfully to win friends for Ukraine and for its fight for freedom against Soviet Russia, as an agent in the secret service of the foreign state in question. In the course of time the Russians have also begun to spread accusations and defamations about the Ukrainian politicians who carried on the fight

for freedom in Ukraine against the foreign occupation forces (Poland, Nazi Germany), and have affirmed that they were agents of the secret service of these very occupation powers which were persecuting them, — an allegation which could not be more untrue and illogical

Forty-eight years have passed since the first world war, when the Ukrainian fighting forces were organized and liberated Ukraine from tsarist Russia. Both Russian monarchist and, later, Russian Bolshevik propaganda have endeavoured up to the present time to defame the soldiers who belonged to the ranks of the Sich infantry (USS), of the "Grey Division" and of the Ukrainian National Republic Army (UNR Army) of the years 1917-1920 and to brand them as "pogrom instigators" or agents of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy

True to the Russian stereotyped way of thinking, the Bolsheviks defame the legion commanded by General Shukhevych 21 years ago as a unit which was in the service of the Nazis as an agent, in spite of the fact that this legion was disbanded by the Nazis and then became an insurgent anti-Nazi army under the leadership of General Shukhevych. The Bolsheviks try to thrust the responsibility for the massacres which they themselves committed onto this unit

For fifty years the Bolsheviks have been repeating the same old hackneyed lies and defamations, which for the past decades have been directed in particular against the Ukrainian patriots in the ranks of the OUN, and since they murdered Stepan Bandera they have been trying to defame the OUN and UPA as hirelings of various Western secret services and as the perpetrators of vile atrocities committed against the Ukrainian people

Such falsehood and defamations are not unusual in the East

The same category of thought, the same methods of mendacity and defamation, which have been applied by Russia during the past fifty years, have also served her as a "weapon" for centuries, in particular whenever Russia was discovered red-handed in the act of committing a crime

Under the volley of defamatory Bolshevik propaganda, which in accordance with the Russian custom is based on falsehoods, the trial against the murderer of Bandera is approaching. During the Paris trial in 1927 the Bolsheviks successfully applied their tactics of defaming the highest representative of the Ukrainian state, Symon Petlura. And the strategic plan of the defence of Schwarzbart was based on these tactics. The attention of the court was diverted from the murderer and from those who had commissioned him to commit this crime and was directed to an account of the atrocities which occurred here and there in Ukraine contrary to Petlura's orders and measures and as a result of the revolutionary chaos in that country. Instead of accusing the murderer and summoning those who had commissioned him to perpetrate the crime, before the court the plaintiffs representing the widow of the victim, Symon Petlura, were obliged to defend the latter against the defamatory accusations made regarding his responsibility and participation in the said atrocities

Thirty-six years have elapsed since the murder of Petlura. In 1962 the Bolsheviks will now stand accused before a court of a free Western state a second time on account of a political murder committed abroad. This fact alone is an embarrassing political exposure and disgrace for them before the rest of the world. How do the insidious Russian murderers intend to get out of this difficulty?

By means of a lie, of course. And according to the old watchword: "Moscow is never to blame for a crime. The others are always to blame." Who are "the others"? As usual, — those to blame are their murdered victim and his adherents, or those in whose country the trial is to be held in which the Russian Bolshevik murderers are the accused. This latter manoeuvre is a blackmail manoeuvre, intended as discouragement, to prevent an objective judgement from being pronounced.

The big propaganda campaign of the years 1961-62, the aim of which has been to defame Bandera and his organization regarding the alleged vile atrocities in Ukraine and abroad, indicates that on this occasion, too, the Bolsheviks would like to repeat the strategic plan to which they resorted 25 years ago. Once again the attention of the court is to be diverted from the murder that has been committed. In the Stashynsky trial the plaintiffs are to be occupied in refuting the stories and defamations invented by the Bolsheviks. If this plan does not succeed, then the Western press is to be misled, at least for a short time, by the lies blared forth to the world by agitators such as Lippolz, Verhun and others.

In the course of the 36 years that have elapsed since the Paris trial, the world has become more closely acquainted with Moscow's insidious methods of deception and mendacity than was the case in those days. The documentary reports on the fight of the Ukrainian underground movement supplement this experience by means of facts which are not well known enough in the West but nevertheless suffice to show the world the true character of Bolshevism with the mask off.

* * *

These three murders committed in the West by Soviet agents against three leaders of the Ukrainian liberation movement complete the series of victims and should prompt the leading statesmen of the free world to ponder over the manner in which they can successfully combat Soviet Russian terrorism in their states, even though the victims are only foreigners. The West, lulling itself in its freedom and prosperity, has not drawn adequate conclusions as regards itself from the grim experience of the peoples subjugated by Russia

In the countries which it occupies Moscow carries out mass and individual murders, either openly and brutally, or under the guise of a sham legality. Conditions are either created which result in a slow death in the places of exile to which people are deported, or else Moscow disposes of the persons whom it considers a danger by means of treacherous murders. The West is aware of these facts but

it keeps silent about them, no doubt because it wrongly assumes that to call Moscow to account before an international tribunal for its cynical and constant violations of the convention of human rights behind the Iron Curtain would be equivalent to an "intervention in the internal affairs" of the Soviet Union. On the other hand, however, Moscow does not fear such reproaches on the part of the West. It uses the slightest unrest and cases of strikes in the West as an opportunity to make hysterical accusations against the West without bothering to consider whether such tactics might perhaps be construed as intervention in foreign affairs or not.

Since "socialist legality" was introduced with considerable publicity there have been no statistics whatever on the rate of mortality of Soviet subjects as a result of sudden "heart attacks." Moscow is in no hurry to announce these figures. But who can guarantee whether the poison pistol invented by the MVD, the existence of which has now by chance become known in the West, is not being turned out in serial production and being used on a large-scale in the Soviet Union, too, against persons whom Moscow considers to be a political danger?

The discovery that this insidious weapon is used by the Bolsheviks provides the West with a unique opportunity to take sides with the enemies of Soviet Russian rule for whom "socialist legality" is no protection against the murders perpetrated by the Soviet state organs.

The cunning form of Soviet Russian terrorism applied in a free state of the West, which has been exposed by Stashynsky's confession is a further warning to those who are willing to comprehend it. The penalties provided for by law in many of the democratic states are an inadequate deterrent against the Soviet Russian terrorists, agents and spies, together with their accomplices, who undermine public law and order and spy out the state secrets of the free world.

An attack against the colonial system and against the subjugation of the peoples in the USSR, as well as the calling to account of the Soviet rulers before the free world for every crime that is exposed would be a more effective means of undermining the power of the enemy and exposing him than the denials and rectifications which the West has practised so far as regards Bolshevik accusations and defamations.

The trial of Stashynsky, the murderer of Bandera, is to be held in the very near future.*) On this occasion the West will be reminded once more of the fact that Bandera is already the third victim of the Soviet Russian terrorism directed against the most prominent Ukrainian freedom fighters, but, above all, the question will be raised as to why Moscow for decades has felt that it is threatened by the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people and why Ukraine — a factor of strength which is underestimated by the West — is such a danger to Moscow.

*) The article was written before the trial which took place in Karlsruhe between 8th and 19th October, 1962.

SYMON PETLURA (1879-1926)

Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Army
and President of the Ukrainian National Republic

CRUCIAL EVENTS

Three significant events in the modern history of Ukraine reveal the dramatic dynamic quality of this nation. About the middle of the 17th century, the Ukrainian national revolt, led by the powerful Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky, seriously undermined the regime of the Polish kingdom and of the Muscovite tsardom which had predominated in Eastern Europe up to that time, and set up the state organization of Ukraine in the form of a sovereign Kozak (Cossack) state. In addition to Moscow and Warsaw, Kyiv (Kiev) now also became a political centre, the importance of which lay in the restoration of the national traditions of Ukraine and in the fact that it linked up with the continuity of the principality of Kyiv which came into existence in the 9th century.

At the end of the 18th century, the armies of the Empress Catherine II destroyed the last Ukrainian military base — the Zaporozhian Sich — on the lower Dnipro (Dnieper). Thus, Ukraine's military resistance was finally broken and the last remnants of Ukraine's state autonomy were abolished by a decree issued by the Empress.

In the course of the 19th century, a process of cultural revival among the nationally conscious element of Ukraine took place, and, despite subjection by Russia and the Russification measures which were enforced, the liberation movements came into existence which at various times in the 19th century led to revolutionary insurrections on the part of the Ukrainian people and paved the way for the general revolt of the Ukrainians and the national revolution in 1917. In connection with this latter event the complete independence and sovereignty of the Ukrainian people was proclaimed and the Ukrainian state was restored in the form of the Ukrainian National Republic. The starting-point for this third important period in the history of Ukraine were the ideological principle propagated by the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party (RUP), which was founded at the end of the 19th century and from whose ranks came the man whose name is inseparably connected with the National Revolution of Ukraine and with the formation of the Ukrainian National Republic, — Symon Petlura.

Born of a lower middle-class family in 1879, in the old Ukrainian town of Poltava, Symon Petlura at the age of twenty joined the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party and began to play an important part in secret circles. Whilst still a pupil at the priests' seminary in Poltava, that is to say in the 1890s, he had already organized a Ukrainian youth movement to fight for the liberation of Ukraine. For this reason he was persecuted by the school authorities and in the end was forced to leave the seminary.

Even in his youth he realized that the only means by which his fellow-countrymen could attain national freedom were a revolutionary upheaval and the overthrow of the imperial power of tsarist Russia. The fierce insurrections on the part of the Ukrainian peasants, which during the years from 1902 to 1904 assumed the form of a revolution in the province of Poltava and which were directed against the national and social subjection of Ukraine and, in particular, against the exploitation of the Ukrainian people by the Russian tsarist empire, made a deep and lasting impression on the young Petlura. His work in the Revolutionary Ukrainian Party assumed a deeper significance and gave him a sense of moral satisfaction. He became an extremely active organizer, he started new secret circles in the remotest districts of the extensive province of Poltava, and his name was soon well-known in other parts of Ukraine, too. When revolutionary upheavals threatened to undermine the tsarist empire, after Russia lost the war against Japan, and signs of the inevitable downfall of Russia's imperial power became more and more obvious, Petlura moved to Kyiv, which was the centre of all the groups of the Ukrainian liberation movement. Here he began to publish an ideological journal which appeared as the central organ of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party.

The Revolutionary Ukrainian Party founded at the end of the 19th century was a central organization of all national Ukrainian elements, who in an informative publication proclaimed as their aim the independence of Ukraine. As the Ukrainian liberation movement increased in size, differences of political thought began to make themselves felt. Various separate trends were formed, including the social democratic wing which predominated in the RUP. The old revolutionary organization, the RUP, was disbanded and in its stead three political parties were founded, — the Social Democratic Party, the Social Revolutionary Party, and a moderate bourgeois party, the Ukrainian Radical Democratic Party. Despite this differentiation all three parties were in agreement as regards the vital questions of Ukrainian policy: they only differed in their tactics and in their treatment of the social and political problems of Ukraine, but always remained true to the fundamental aim of the liberation movement, — the national independence of Ukraine and the rebirth of the nation, the revival and regeneration of all spheres of cultural, political and economic life, the development of all national forces in connection

with Western culture in general and the progress of mankind, in which respect Ukraine was to represent an important factor in the East. All these aims predominated equally in all three political parties.

PETLURA VERSUS LENIN

The first problem with which Symon Petlura had to deal as a leading member of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party was the question of Ukraine's relations with the Social Democratic Party of Russia, which at that time (1904 to 1905) was divided in two camps (the Bolsheviks led by Lenin and the Mensheviks led by Plekhanov). Both these trends were, however, in agreement as regards the Ukrainian problem, they both opposed the liberation aims of the Ukrainian people on the grounds that the working class should be united and centrally organized in order to fight against tsarist power. It was emphasized that recognition of the national principle in the workers' party and movement might lead to the partition and weakening of the same, especially in view of the fact that the important industrial centres of Ukraine in this case would be outside the sphere of influence of the Russian Social Democratic Party. Lenin and Plekhanov even went so far in their objections as to brand a modest formula of self-government as "pernicious particularism." Petlura resolutely opposed this attitude on the part of the Russian Socialists and in this connection used those famous words, "The social freedom of a nation cannot be achieved without national liberation." In countless articles Petlura, on the other hand, exposed the imperial tendencies of the Russian Socialists who wanted to preserve the imperial unity of Russia after the Revolution. He conducted a fierce fight against this trend and soon succeeded in mobilizing public opinion and in particular, the working class in Ukraine, and in eliminating the influence of the Russian socialist parties in Ukraine. The ideological principles which he formulated at that time prove beyond all doubt that in the first place, he considered the complete liberation of the nation to be an indispensable precondition of social progress and that this was his watchword in leading the Ukrainian masses into the political battle against Muscovite imperialism in its tsarist socialist or liberal democratic form. From his headquarters in Kyiv he toured the industrial areas of Ukraine and organized workers' movements, held lectures and issued instructions. Actually, all the political parties of Russia irrespective of whether they represented socialist or bourgeois trends opposed Ukraine's liberation aims and advocated the preservation of the imperial unity of Russia. But in spite of this opposition the activity of the Ukrainian national forces in all spheres of public life continued to increase. Petlura's power and authority was no longer confined to the doctrinaire limits of the Ukrainian Social Democratic Party, but was now recognized by other political groups.

At that time, that is to say during the years from 1904 to 1906, he was already acknowledged as the authorized spokesman of the Ukrainian liberation movement. He devoted himself above all to the ideological education and training of the younger generation and the broad masses, i.e. the workers and peasants, for he was of the opinion that the Ukrainian liberation movement required a firm social and political basis and that the strengthening of the national consciousness of the workers and peasants was an essential prerequisite for success in the fight for the freedom of Ukraine. When, in 1910, Russian reprisal measures reached their climax under the rule of the "strong man" of the tsarist empire, Stolypin, Petlura, too, was obliged to leave his native country in order to avoid being arrested. He went to Moscow where he managed to get a small post in the cooperative organization. But here, too, he continued his political activity, and founded the "Kobzar" movement in the large Ukrainian community in Moscow. When all Ukrainian publications were prohibited in Kyiv Petlura began to publish a Ukrainian journal in Russian, the "Ukrainskaya Zhizn", in a series of brilliant articles which appeared in this journal he and various other leading men of Ukraine voiced their country's claim to state independence and national freedom.

WAR AND REVOLUTION

During the war (1914-1918) Symon Petlura likewise continued his political activity, in particular in those sectors of the fighting front in which thousands of Ukrainian soldiers and officers were being used by the tsarist government in hopeless combat against the Central Powers. It was obvious to everyone that the tsarist empire would not survive this war and that it would be fundamentally destroyed by a revolution. Petlura foresaw the imminent upheaval. He instructed his confidential agents in all sectors of the front lines, which had already come to a standstill, to organize a secret movement of all the Ukrainian soldiers so that Ukraine would not be caught unprepared when matters came to a head. The extent of this organizing activity can be realized if one recalls to mind the fact that the tsarist army included as many as three million Ukrainian soldiers who were stationed in the front fighting lines in various sectors of the extended front. By February 1917, that is on the eve of the big revolution, Petlura had centralized all the groups of the Ukrainian liberation movement in the army. Petlura and his supporters were inspired by the vision of a free Ukraine and an independent state, by the idea of the complete development of the nation and its forces in the sphere of national culture, politics and economy, a development which was to be in keeping with the historical traditions of the country. The fateful turning-point in the East was rapidly approaching.

A convinced democrat and opponent of every form of violence whose convictions and attitude to life and the world in general had to some extent been determined by the atmosphere of idealism which still prevailed at the end of the 19th century, Petlura was a man

with a certain amount of political experience when the revolution broke out at the end of February, 1917, and the tsarist empire collapsed. Objectively and realistically he assessed the situation which ensued after the downfall of the Russian empire. The new men in power in Russia, Prince Lvov, Milyukov, Kerensky, Chernov, and, later on, Trotsky and Lenin — who represented all the political trends in the new Russia, were determined to suppress the Ukrainian liberation movement by force. The only difference between them was their individual conception of the tactical problems involved and in the reasons they gave for their hostile attitude concerning the Ukrainian question. And in this respect Lenin, for instance, resorted to more adaptable tactics than Milyukov or Kerensky.

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENT UKRAINE

In view of Russia's united opposition to Ukraine, Petlura proclaimed the principle of the national consolidation of the Ukrainians with all its subsequent consequences. He devoted himself whole-heartedly to the task of organizing and setting up the first military units of the new Ukrainian fighting forces. Within two months after the February Revolution he became the chief of the so-called General Committee of the army which fulfilled the important function of a general staff. With his haydamaky he stormed the arsenal of Kyiv which had been seized by Bolshevik troops and crushed the revolt incited in the town by Lenin. Petlura's speedy action on this occasion proved a decisive step inasmuch as it helped to stabilize the development of the Ukrainian State. Thanks to his untiring activity as the leader of the army, the Central Rada of Ukraine was able to proclaim the historic resolution of the sovereignty and independence of the Ukrainian National Republic at the crucial moment, namely on January 22, 1918. The national popularity and power which Petlura enjoyed at that time was amazing; for instance, a rumour that Petlura was approaching with his troops was enough to destroy the morale and discipline of the Bolshevik units. For this reason Lenin was obliged to send out strong detachments of the Soviet Russian Army from Moscow and Leningrad against the Ukrainian National Republic and to make a formal declaration of war, despite the fact that his government had recognized the independence of Ukraine in a previous proclamation. Lenin's original plan to start a Bolshevik revolution in Ukraine proved impracticable, and the Russian army, under the red flag of Communism, accordingly advanced from the north, crossed the Ukrainian frontier, and proceeded to set up soviets in keeping with the Russian pattern in the occupied territories of Ukraine.

In these troubled times Symon Petlura revealed his outstanding ability and skill as a statesman who succeeded in overcoming all difficulties and leading his fellow-countrymen to national freedom and sovereignty with a firm hand. In December 1917, France and

At that time, that is to say during the years from 1904 to 1906, he was already acknowledged as the authorized spokesman of the Ukrainian liberation movement. He devoted himself above all to the ideological education and training of the younger generation and the broad masses, i.e. the workers and peasants, for he was of the opinion that the Ukrainian liberation movement required a firm social and political basis and that the strengthening of the national consciousness of the workers and peasants was an essential prerequisite for success in the fight for the freedom of Ukraine. When, in 1910, Russian reprisal measures reached their climax under the rule of the "strong man" of the tsarist empire Stolypin, Petlura, too, was obliged to leave his native country in order to avoid being arrested. He went to Moscow where he managed to get a small post in the cooperative organization. But here, too, he continued his political activity, and founded the "Kobzar" movement in the large Ukrainian community in Moscow. When all Ukrainian publications were prohibited in Kyiv Petlura began to publish a Ukrainian journal in Russian, the "Ukrainskaya Zhizn", in a series of brilliant articles which appeared in this journal he and various other leading men of Ukraine voiced their country's claim to state independence and national freedom.

WAR AND REVOLUTION

During the war (1914-1918) Symon Petlura likewise continued his political activity, in particular in those sectors of the fighting front in which thousands of Ukrainian soldiers and officers were being used by the tsarist government in hopeless combat against the Central Powers. It was obvious to everyone that the tsarist empire would not survive this war and that it would be fundamentally destroyed by a revolution. Petlura foresaw the imminent upheaval. He instructed his confidential agents in all sectors of the front lines which had already come to a standstill to organize a secret movement of all the Ukrainian soldiers so that Ukraine would not be caught unprepared when matters came to a head. The extent of this organizing activity can be realized if one recalls to mind the fact that the tsarist army included as many as three million Ukrainian soldiers who were stationed in the front fighting lines in various sectors of the extended front. By February 1917 that is on the eve of the big revolution Petlura had centralized all the groups of the Ukrainian liberation movement in the army. Petlura and his supporters were inspired by the vision of a free Ukraine and an independent state by the idea of the complete development of the nation and its forces in the sphere of national culture, politics and economy, a development which was to be in keeping with the historical traditions of the country. The fateful turning-point in the East was rapidly approaching.

A convinced democrat and opponent of every form of violence whose convictions and attitude to life and the world in general had to some extent been determined by the atmosphere of idealism which still prevailed at the end of the 19th century, Petlura was a man

with a certain amount of political experience when the revolution broke out at the end of February, 1917, and the tsarist empire collapsed Objectively and realistically he assessed the situation which ensued after the downfall of the Russian empire The new men in power in Russia, Prince Lvov, Milyukov, Kerensky, Chernov, and, later on, Trotsky and Lenin — who represented all the political trends in the new Russia, were determined to suppress the Ukrainian liberation movement by force The only difference between them was their individual conception of the tactical problems involved and in the reasons they gave for their hostile attitude concerning the Ukrainian question And in this respect Lenin, for instance, resorted to more adaptable tactics than Milyukov or Kerensky

IN THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENT UKRAINE

In view of Russia's united opposition to Ukraine, Petlura proclaimed the principle of the national consolidation of the Ukrainians with all its subsequent consequences He devoted himself whole-heartedly to the task of organizing and setting up the first military units of the new Ukrainian fighting forces Within two months after the February Revolution he became the chief of the so-called General Committee of the army which fulfilled the important function of a general staff With his haydamaky he stormed the arsenal of Kyiv which had been seized by Bolshevik troops and crushed the revolt incited in the town by Lenin Petlura's speedy action on this occasion proved a decisive step inasmuch as it helped to stabilize the development of the Ukrainian State Thanks to his untiring activity as the leader of the army, the Central Rada of Ukraine was able to proclaim the historic resolution of the sovereignty and independence of the Ukrainian National Republic at the crucial moment, namely on January 22, 1918 The national popularity and power which Petlura enjoyed at that time was amazing, for instance, a rumour that Petlura was approaching with his troops was enough to destroy the morale and discipline of the Bolshevik units For this reason Lenin was obliged to send out strong detachments of the Soviet Russian Army from Moscow and Leningrad against the Ukrainian National Republic and to make a formal declaration of war, despite the fact that his government had recognized the independence of Ukraine in a previous proclamation Lenin's original plan to start a Bolshevik revolution in Ukraine proved impracticable, and the Russian army, under the red flag of Communism, accordingly advanced from the north, crossed the Ukrainian frontier, and proceeded to set up soviets in keeping with the Russian pattern in the occupied territories of Ukraine

In these troubled times Symon Petlura revealed his outstanding ability and skill as a statesman who succeeded in overcoming all difficulties and leading his fellow-countrymen to national freedom and sovereignty with a firm hand In December 1917, France and

Great Britain recognized the state independence of Ukraine de facto. Their example was followed by Italy and Roumania. In January 1918, the Central Powers — Germany and Austria-Hungary as well as Bulgaria and Turkey — recognized the independence of Ukraine de jure. The young Ukrainian National Republic now, for the first time, ventured into the field of international politics. Here, too, Symon Petlura proved a far-sighted politician. He was opposed to the idea of a one-sided alliance between Ukraine and any one of the belligerent powers, and, when Lenin created a new situation by sending a peace delegation to Brest Litovsk, he realized that by making separate peace treaties with the Central Powers Ukraine would have a chance to limit the sphere of influence of the Russian Soviet state to the ethnical Russian territories. On the other hand however, he foresaw considerable difficulties and, by establishing contact with the French and British representatives, sought to neutralize the dangers of a one-sided alliance. In addition, he also carried on important negotiations with the representatives of the non-Russian peoples of the former tsarist empire who, after the October Revolution, had hastened to Kyiv in order to join forces with Ukraine in forming a bloc of democracy and freedom and putting up an effective resistance against the Russian Soviet dictatorship. Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Moslem Turkestan, the Crimean Tatars, Byelorussians, and Cossacks — all these peoples turned to Kyiv and, together with Ukraine, sought to safeguard their rights and their future. Petlura regarded the realization of this idea as the most important task to be achieved by Ukrainian policy. Later on too, during the bitter years of his exile, he still considered this idea to be the basis for a joint liberation fight against Soviet Russian imperialism.

After the manifesto of April 29, 1918, when General Groner supported the "assumption of power" by General Skoropadsky, Petlura resigned from active politics. His popularity, however, was so great that the Congress of the Municipal and Regional Administration of Ukraine which was held in Kyiv elected him as its president. At the same time, Skoropadsky had him arrested. But under pressure of public opinion he was released again two months later. When Skoropadsky issued a proclamation in November 1918, to the effect that a federation had been formed with Russia, Petlura as the head of the National Alliance of Ukraine marched to Kyiv with his troops. In an appeal addressed to the Ukrainian people he declared Skoropadsky's proclamation null and void and exhorted all Ukrainians to continue the fight for the freedom and national independence of Ukraine. The National Congress of Ukraine, which convened in Kyiv in January, 1919, confirmed the full power and authority of Petlura as the supreme head of the army (Holovnyy Otaman) and elected him as a member of the Directory of the Ukrainian National Republic in which capacity he soon assumed the office of President. At the same time, the Congress proclaimed the union of Western Ukraine and the Ukrainian National Republic. By this union practically all

the Ukrainian territories were united into one independent state. The aim which Petlura had set himself in his youth in Poltava was thus achieved — Ukraine was free and independent and all branches of the Ukrainian people were united.

RUSSIAN AGGRESSION IN UKRAINE

But a new danger threatened from the north, from Russia. Soviet Russia once more resumed hostilities against Ukraine. And the Polish divisions which had been supplied with arms by France, on condition that they were only to be used against the Soviets, now began to advance on Western Ukraine. The strategic position of the Ukrainian Army was threatened still more owing to the fact that the Russian White Army under General Denikin, began an offensive in the south the object of which was to restore the tsarist empire. The Major Powers — England and France — failed to assess the situation rightly and supported Denikin, since they regarded him as the future ruler of Russia.

It was an unequal struggle on three fronts, — in the north against Lenin, in the west against Poland, and in the south against Denikin. Under these circumstances Petlura decided to suggest an armistice to Marshal Pilsudski. At the end of September, he sent a special delegation to Warsaw which after lengthy negotiations signed an armistice with the Polish army command. Exactly seven months later, in April 1920, an alliance was signed by Poland and Ukraine. On the strength of this alliance, the joint Ukrainian and Polish armies advanced as far as the Dniipro (Dnieper), but they were unable to check the offensive of Marshal Tukhachevsky's troops and were compelled to retreat to Poland. It was only when Tukhachevsky had almost reached Warsaw that he was eventually repulsed after a fierce combat. The reason for the failure of the Ukrainian and Polish armies lay in the attitude which had been adopted by the Polish generals, headed by Sikorski, they opposed Petlura's order that all Ukrainians of military age should be mobilized, and refused to supply the latter with arms. They were afraid lest the army commanded by Petlura, once it had been reinforced by fresh troops from Ukraine might be superior in strength and numbers, a fact which might then have certain unfavourable results in Western Ukraine. Poland then terminated its alliance with Ukraine by signing a peace treaty with the Soviet government in Riga in 1921. The political clauses of the Warsaw alliance of April 1920 were thus rendered invalid a fact which proved of importance as regards the future development of relations between Ukraine and Poland. During the years from 1920 to 1921, Petlura endeavoured to round up and centralize all the numerous active units of insurgents in Ukraine. Advancing from Western Ukraine, an expeditionary corps of his troops broke through the Soviet front and for a whole year carried on operations in the central Ukrainian territories under the command of General

Omelyanovych-Pavlenko. For several more years the Ukrainian insurrections continued. The Soviet government was eventually forced to concentrate large troop units in Ukraine in order to ensure the forcible incorporation of Ukraine with the Soviet Union. In 1928, when the Red Army was reorganized by Tukhachevsky, 34 infantry divisions of this army were stationed in Ukraine. The Soviet military potential was thus tied down in Ukraine, a fact which made all expansion westwards on the part of the Soviet Union impossible.

CHAMPION OF THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM AND INDEPENDENCE

Long after Symon Petlura had gone into exile and was living in Paris, armed resistance broke out again and again in his name in Ukraine. Indeed, even today his name is still regarded by the Ukrainian masses as the symbol of the fight for freedom, as the principle of a just reorganization of the East, and as a sign of the future regeneration of forty million Ukrainians in the free world. When thirty-six years ago, in May 1926, Symon Petlura was murdered by a Soviet agent in Paris, the rulers of the Kremlin were firmly convinced that his death would mean the end of the Ukrainian liberation movement. But they overlooked the fact that a noble idea cannot be killed even though the original advocate and champion of the idea may die. One of these rulers of the Kremlin, Mikoyan, had every reason to talk about the dangers of "Petlurism" at the 20th Party Congress, in February 1956; for even after thirty-six years the name of Symon Petlura is still, as far as the shaky "collective leadership" of the Soviet Union is concerned, an indication of an imminent revolution which will destroy the dictatorial power of the Soviets in Ukraine



THE SPEECH BY THE FRENCH ATTORNEY GENERAL AT THE TRIAL OF PETLURA'S ASSASSIN, IN PARIS, ON OCTOBER 26th, 1927

At the trial which took place before the Paris Court of Justice between 18th and 26th October, 1927, Petlura's murderer, Schwarzbart asserted that *being a Jew, he acted from revenge and murdered Petlura as a man responsible for the Jewish pogroms in Ukraine*

The real motive for the murder was the fact that Petlura as the Supreme Commander in the Ukrainian Liberation War, was the most dangerous enemy of the Russian domination in Ukraine. However, in order to divert the attention from their terrorist rule and their crimes in Ukraine, the Russians invented the guilt and responsibility of Petlura for the Jewish pogroms. To make it appear plausible they sent as assassin an agent of Jewish origin.

The Attorney General Reynaud completely refuted at the trial the assertions of the murderer. Below, we publish in an abridged form the speech of indictment by the Attorney General Reynaud *).

"Unfortunately there is no denying the fact that bloody pogroms took place under Petlura. But we are confronted by an entirely different question namely to find out who was responsible for these pogroms. And herein lies the error, a wilful error, into which the accused, too, has lapsed. What has caused the memory of Petlura to be sullied with suspicions, namely that he was responsible for the unheard-of and dreadful atrocities perpetrated during the period of his government? What has, in fact, been ascertained so far? Some individual opinions, which even though they may be sincere, unfortunately, however, come from persons whose families were the victims of these atrocities.

What reasons have prompted all these persons to accuse Petlura?

There is no direct evidence, he is merely declared guilty on the strength that these mass murders are said to have taken place before his very eyes, and because the opinion is held that he must have been responsible for all this since he was the head of the state at that time.

*) Revue des Grands Procès Contemporains No 5 6 mai-juin 1929
Librairie Générale de Droit et de Jurisprudence 20 rue Soufflot Paris
(pp 314 et suiv.)

And that is actually all. No arguments and no concrete proof have been produced here.

True, I cannot claim to be able to write history, still less modern history.

But without taking such a task upon myself, I should at this point simply like to draw some conclusions from these files and from the discussions which you yourselves have heard, — conclusions which a person of good and honest intention may logically draw on the strength of the details available.

In conclusion, therefore, I should like to put the following facts to you: Petlura was never an enemy of the Israelites. He never advocated the pogroms of the Jews. He was never an anti-Semite, but, on the contrary, a friend of the Jews.

I express these convictions, Gentlemen, on the strength of established facts which I intend to recall to your minds.

These facts have been established after carefully examining the files of this case and also on the strength of the manifestations of loyalty accorded to Petlura by his co-workers and fellow-countrymen and to a certain extent also by Israelites.

As regards the files of the Petlura case, they reveal the same essential fact, namely that Petlura was inspired by the idea of doing everything in his power to protect the Jewish people.

As head of the government he introduced a law on the national and personal autonomy of the minorities in Ukraine. One cannot, of course, assess this law according to our Western and French conception. For we only have one nation and that is France. In our country the Jews enjoy the same rights that we do, and hence there is no such problem as there is in Ukraine. But visualize the situation in Ukraine, where there are three or even four different nationalities and you will realize how far-sighted and how courageous Petlura was to enforce this law, a law in accordance with which the Israelites and also the Poles and Ukrainians were able to enjoy all their rights and to possess their own national legislation.

On the strength of this law, they could levy their own exclusive and special taxes amongst themselves, that is amongst their fellow-countrymen, and moreover, participate in the general taxes of the country.

One can hardly imagine a more noble-minded political and social point of view. And one can hardly visualize a greater friend of the Israelites and the Poles than Petlura.

Another measure introduced by his government likewise clearly proves that Petlura occupied himself with every aspect of the Jewish question. On July 17, 1919, for instance, he issued a decree on the strength of which a general investigatory committee was set up, which was to deal with the question of the Jewish pogroms.

A few days later Petlura's government issued another decree, on the strength of which a special committee was set up to investigate

the pogroms in Proskuriv, to which reference was so often made (as you will no doubt remember).

From this you will see that Petlura did not hesitate to introduce measures in this respect even if, in spite of his efforts, he could not prevent the pogroms: he immediately issued orders to the effect that certain funds were to be set aside in order to alleviate the dire need of the victims of the pogroms. You will no doubt come across decrees, on the strength of which millions of hryvni (Ukrainian currency) were set aside as relief funds after all the big pogroms.

A further reform measure was the forming of a Jewish Ministry, which existed as long as Petlura was in power. You may no doubt be aware of the fact that there were three Jewish Ministers one after another. Krasny held this high post longest, for he remained in office for a number of years.

Let us now consider what Petlura did for the Jews in his capacity as supreme Otaman of Ukraine. As head of the army he constantly issued orders to his troops to prevent massacres both during the period of his government and later.

Petlura condemned the pogroms most violently and issued orders prohibiting them and threatening severest reprisals against those who disregarded these orders. He appealed to the Jews and the Ukrainians to remember their common sufferings in the past. And he untiringly emphasized the *fraternity of these two peoples*.

Gentlemen, Petlura possessed two outstanding qualities as a statesman: a great power of discernment and an amazing far-sightedness. These two qualities were clearly apparent in his proclamations regarding the pogroms against the Jews.

"These pogroms — he said — are nothing but a crime against humanity." That is self-evident, and I do not intend to discuss this statement further. But pogroms are also a grave political error.

Petlura placed this idea foremost, — namely that harmony and union between the Jews and the Ukrainians was the only medium which could serve his policy.

And what principle did Petlura's policy pursue? The independence of Ukraine: "In order to create an independent Ukraine, in order to restore an independent Ukrainian state once more, we need the union of two large groups in this country, the Ukrainians and the Jews."

Hence those who allowed themselves to be carried away to the extent of organizing pogroms, cannot be advocates of Ukraine's independence. On the contrary, they are opponents of this independence; they are people who practise the principle of "Divide et impera!" (*divide in order to rule*) They are persons who are obviously enemies of Petlura.

Gentlemen, consider the following appeal to reason and you will realize at once that these are not the words of one who wishes to stir up hatred, or of an anti-Semite. I wish to quote the following proclamation:

TO THE UKRAINIAN ARMY!

"With the aid of pogroms, our enemies are endeavouring to separate two peoples, the Jews and the Ukrainians, who are bound to each other by a common fate and by the enslavement which they have both endured for three hundred years under the tsarist sceptre

Our national army shall guarantee both to the Ukrainians and to the Jews equality, fraternity and liberty From my own experience I know how greatly our Jewish fellow-citizens have helped our army and our Republic It is with the greatest esteem and profoundest feeling that I think of the victims amongst the Jewish population and of their honoured dead who have laid down their lives for the cause of the fatherland

I also know from experience that the Jewish people have looked after our sick and our wounded most solicitously and that Jewish children have bathed the wounds of our brave soldiers

I was deeply moved to see tears of gratitude for the solicitude manifested by the Jews And I was likewise very happy to see some of our soldiers setting up guards in front of Jewish shops and stores in order to prevent looting

I am firmly convinced that such acts of kindness, which cannot be repeated often enough, will benefit our country for the common weal of its inhabitants

Beware of those who endeavour to provoke hatred and ill-feeling and of those who seek to organize pogroms Be ruthless towards such persons The death sentence awaits all those who instigate pogroms with evil intent and all provocative agents I demand the strictest discipline of you so that no innocent person may be harmed in any way"

Another proclamation by Petlura, dated August 26, 1919 which I do not, however, intend to read to you is worded in the same unmistakable terms

But I should like to mention yet another proclamation which is characteristic of Petlura It dates from the period when Petlura was no longer in Ukraine but had already gone into exile This proclamation was drawn up in the Stavka (headquarters) The instigators of pogroms were threatened with the severest form of punishment in the event of Petlura returning to his own country again

Gentlemen, do not assume that these threats, as you have been told, were useless People were sentenced to punishment and the sentences were executed One witness has already testified in your presence regarding a number of sentences that were carried out True, amongst the persons sentenced there were numerous Cossacks of the rank and file, but there were also various Otamans (leaders) as for instance that notorious Otaman Samusenko who was shot because he had organized the above-mentioned pogroms in Proskuriv

To this statement of mine you may possibly retort "Yes, but not until two years later" This fact, incidentally, has already been explained

Samusenko was not arrested immediately after the pogroms because Petlura, as you have already been told, did not possess sufficient power in this anarchist country to be able to have this Otaman, who had acted arbitrarily, arrested Hence for a time no steps were taken against Samusenko, but when he was eventually arrested, he was promptly shot

Thus, Gentlemen, the idea might perhaps (I say "perhaps," but actually this has already happened) occur to one to accuse Petlura of condemning those who were to blame for the pogroms because he wanted to pacify the public, whilst on the other hand encouragement was given to these pogroms in the lower ranks Petlura had actually anticipated such an accusation and for this reason he endeavoured to counter it with a fitting reply He therefore personally addressed himself in this matter to various persons and, above all, to prominent Jewish personalities in various countries of Europe But the reply he got was "You would do better to appeal to collective bodies rather than to individuals"

Tireless as ever in his efforts in the cause of justice, Petlura now appealed to these collective bodies and told them "I am tired of constantly being defamed and accused I want this matter to be cleared up and I therefore wish to put myself at your disposal Appoint a committee, which shall be under my protection, shall have complete freedom of movement and shall consist of persons not connected with me, that is to say of Israelites"

Petlura, however, did not receive the answer that he had expected He was told that in view of the anarchist conditions prevalent in Ukraine it was not expedient that any investigation should be initiated at that time

Surely all this is an indication of the tireless efforts of a man whose conscience was clear In my opinion all this is proof of an unusual conviction, honesty and innocence, for Petlura knew only too well that had he been found guilty, he would immediately have been accused of falsehood I repeat, it is regrettable that Petlura's suggestions were not accepted and followed, but he is not in any way to blame for this fact

Let us now turn to one of the manifestations of loyalty which have been accorded to Petlura by his co-workers, fellow-countrymen and also by some Jews

As far as his co-workers are concerned, you have already heard a great deal of evidence here in this respect They all protested most indignantly against the allegation that Petlura supported the pogroms and that he was an anti-Semite These witnesses have testified at length and have told you about facts that have been proved and about those on which there is still some doubt I am referring to the measures which I have just enumerated, that is to say measures with which everybody in Ukraine was acquainted, although — as was

affirmed on the other side of the barrier in this court — they were published in the official gazette of the country, which in Ukraine is read as little as it is in Paris

But this is merely a pretext and empty talk, for Petlura's co-workers rightly informed you as follows "These measures were published in the essential and necessary way and everybody was acquainted with them"

One of Petlura's co-workers even described to you in precise terms — I think, in answer to a question put by me — the nature of Petlura's relations with the Rabbis in Ukraine This witness told you

"Sincere, friendly and excellent relations" When Petlura's troops arrived in the capital, the Rabbis would frequently join with the Ukrainian population in welcoming them

Let us now consider the manifestations of loyalty accorded to Petlura by his fellow-countrymen I should merely like to recall to your minds a number of meetings which were held in Paris Mr Willm told you that one such meeting was even held on the day of the funeral At all these meetings, whether they were held in Prague Berlin or Paris, the Ukrainian refugees protested against the fact that responsibility for the pogroms was imputed to Petlura They regarded this accusation as an insult to and a defamation of the memory of their head of state and of independent Ukraine

Let us now look more closely at the homage paid to Petlura by the Jewish population Gentlemen, a fact is recorded in my files according to which Petlura on July 17, 1919, received a Jewish delegation headed by Rabbi Goodman, in Kamyanets Podilsky On this occasion Petlura emphasized that he condemned the pogroms He expressed his gratitude to the Jews for the support which they gave to the Ukrainian national army

In reply to Petlura's speech, the delegate Katz said that he and his co-religionists were grateful to Petlura and his government for having set up a Jewish Ministry for the first time

The Rabbi then added that the Jewish population would wholeheartedly share the lot of this government, which had taken it upon itself to restore order to the country and to protect the Jewish nation

Other prominent Jews — and I have already quoted Zhabotinsky — have likewise admitted that Petlura cannot be held responsible for the pogroms True, Mr Zhabotinsky informed us that he now holds a different opinion to what he formerly did and that he therefore now supports the opposite theory

You have also heard another witness here, Mr Temkin, who has undergone the same evolution and now affirms that the instigator of the pogroms was Petlura, although he has apparently forgotten that he affirmed on a former occasion that Denikin was to blame for the pogroms

However strange these fluctuations of opinion may seem, one thing however, is certain, namely that the two witnesses in question were of the opinion at the time in question, that is to say before this trial

that Petlura was in no way whatever to blame for all the mass-murders. One question in particular will, Gentlemen, no doubt have occurred to you: what was the cause of all these murders and pogroms? Wherein lies their origin? I should in the first place like to inform you that, as regards the notorious pogrom of Proskuriv, it was carried out at a time when Petlura was merely a member of the Ukrainian Directory and therefore did not exercise the power which is the right of a head of state. This is also a reason why he could not have been responsible for these atrocities.

In fact, one witness even went so far as to say "If Petlura had been in power at that time, these pogroms would never have occurred, for he would have done everything in his power to prevent them."

As far as the other pogroms are concerned, an explanation can easily be found for them, Gentlemen, if one recalls the dreadful state of anarchy which prevailed in that unfortunate country at that time, a fact of which you are all aware: there were at that time in the territory of Ukraine the Russian Red and White armies, as well as the Ukrainian national army. The town of Kyiv, for instance, was occupied fifteen or sixteen times within a very short period by the rival armies. Under such circumstances how can excesses be prevented for the incidents designated as pogroms were nothing more than the usual type of excesses which are the result of such a situation. Mass-murders of Greek Orthodox persons, Roman Catholics and Jews occurred. Persons were murdered because the armies were without food, armies on the retreat pillaged and murdered and had not the least scruples, if I may be permitted to say so, about the opinion, race or religion of the persons who were to pay ransom to them.

But in spite of this fact, you will no doubt reply that my arguments are at fault, for, though one may realize that the hostile Red and White armies committed excesses, one cannot understand how Petlura's national army, whose task it was to preserve law and order and to protect the population, could allow itself to be carried away to such an extent as to commit such excesses, too.

This is a question which is far too difficult and complicated to be examined at length and in detail. But the reason here is the same as in the case of the other two armies: confusion and chaos in the army, in Petlura's army as in the other two armies. Moreover the fact must be taken into consideration that Petlura was not in a position to prevent individual excesses and pogroms in every town and village of the vast Ukrainian territory. Incidentally, Petlura was never a dictator nor a generalissimo, and this fact should also be borne in mind. He could not be a dictator for the simple reason that he was merely the President of the Ukrainian Directory, which simply meant that he was a kind of head of a constitutional state whose powers of authority were more or less only equal to those of a president of a republic. He had to cooperate with the individual Ministries and could not sign any act of state unless it was also signed by the competent Minister. As Supreme Otaman he was

assisted by a generalissimo, — for a time this office was held by General Ossetzky. Petlura had many generals and Otamans under his authority. But it is precisely in this Otaman system that the cause of the pogroms is to a certain extent to be sought, since the Otamans were not sufficiently disciplined but behaved like local potentates, inasmuch as they acted arbitrarily and, it must be stressed, did not always obey their supreme head, Petlura, who was far away.

All this leads up to what I now intend to say to Schwarzbart: you cannot reproach Petlura with anything. You cannot criticize anything in his past. There are certain points in your affirmation and in your defense which cannot be substantiated, for they prove that you have sought to distort and falsify the true nature of facts in this case and that you have constantly lied in your testimony.

The role of a murderer of kings, the role of a champion of justice, or of a Brutus or Cassius does not suit you and cannot be judged according to your standards. For Brutus and Cassius were honourable men. But you are a vile criminal, who hides under the alias of Walsberger, and who roams from place to place because you are pursued by all the police authorities, not on account of your political convictions (I would not credit you with having any convinced political views), but because of your wanton crimes, which the law must punish. Hence your story of revenge in the cause of justice can neither mislead nor impress me.

Dmytro Shtyhalo

THE FOUNDER
OF
THE REVOLUTIONARY LIBERATION MOVEMENT

EVHEN KONOVALETS IN THE WAR

Evhen Konovalets, who for seventeen years led the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement, appeared on the political stage in 1917. Ukraine, divided between the Austro-Hungarian and Russian Empires, was in the third year of the war. Millions of Ukrainians served in the Austrian and Russian armies. At the outbreak of the First World War Evhen Konovalets (born 1891 at Zashkiv, province of Lviv, in Western Ukraine) was called up and fought, as a lieutenant of the Austrian army, in the front line against the Russians. In April 1915 he was taken prisoner by the Russians. At the time of the outbreak of the March Revolution of 1917, started off by the Volhynian regiment, and after the overthrow of the Tsar, Konovalets was in a prisoner-of-war camp near Tsaritsyn (now known as Volgograd). After the March Revolution a national struggle for liberation flared up in the Russian-occupied part of Ukraine, which aimed at the creation of an independent Ukrainian state. The Ukrainian Central Council (Centralna Rada), the revolutionary parliament and the provisional government of Ukraine took over the leadership of this movement and on the 22nd of January 1918 an independent State was proclaimed in the central and eastern provinces of Ukraine.

After the first news of the revolution and some months before the restoration of the independent Ukrainian State Konovalets fled from the prisoner-of-war camp on the Volga and eventually reached Kyiv where he entered into the service of the newly-created independent State.

His extraordinary organising abilities, which he had already shown at school and university, in community and cultural activities, and most of all in the organisation of paramilitary Ukrainian youth associations, became fully apparent during his stay in Kyiv. Very soon he raised a battalion of West-Ukrainians who had been in Russian captivity as soldiers of the Austrian army, and this unit rapidly grew into an army corps by the enlistment of Ukrainians from the central and eastern provinces. Under the name of 'Sichovi Striltsi' (Sich riflemen) it became the best formation in the armed forces of the young Ukrainian state. Under the command of Colonel Konovalets the brave, well organised and highly disciplined Sich riflemen played a decisive role in the War of Liberation from 1918 to 1920. They distinguished themselves not only through bravery but through a Ukrainian patriotism which set the welfare of the entire Ukraine — an independent state comprising all Ukrainian regions — above all regional interests. The 'Sichovi Striltsi' corps was the most faithful support of the Symon Petlura government in its fight against the Russian invaders and other enemies of Ukrainian unity and independence.

The name of Colonel Konovalets became familiar in the whole of Ukraine, and even abroad he was esteemed as a chivalrous soldier and as the commanding officer of one of the best military units of Ukraine.

After the failure of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation Colonel Konovalets and his Sich riflemen were interned by the Poles. In the spring of 1920 he succeeded in escaping from the camp and went abroad. He visited all the larger centres of Ukrainian emigration in Czechoslovakia, Austria and Germany. The vast majority of the emigrants were former members of the Ukrainian army who after many vicissitudes had gone abroad. Among them were comrades and close collaborators of Colonel Konovalets — members of the so-called Riflemen's Council.

THE FOUNDATION OF THE UVO

On the initiative and under the chairmanship of Colonel Konovalets a meeting of the Riflemen's Council was held at Prague in July 1920 at which he submitted to his comrades a plan for the continued fight for the ideal of a Ukrainian national state, a fight which now had to be carried on under the new conditions of enemy occupation of the country. According to this plan the methods to be employed were revolutionary underground activity and individual armed action. Colonel Konovalets proposed the setting-up of a Ukrainian Military Organisation (Ukrayinska Viyskova Orhanizatsiya — UVO) which was to develop its activity in every region of Ukraine. The Council accepted this proposal.

After the failure of the Ukrainian War of Liberation of 1917-1921 the country was occupied by four neighbouring states Russia, i.e. the USSR, Poland, Roumania and Czechoslovakia. The major part of Ukrainian territory, however, was occupied by Russia and annexed to it, and a regime of appalling terror was the consequence. Under the three other occupants the life of the Ukrainian people was full of troubles and persecution. However, these three countries, unlike bolshevist Russia, did not have at their disposal sufficient means and manpower which would have enabled them to suppress and exploit the Ukrainian people to the same extent.

The Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO), led by Colonel Konovalets, began to organize itself in all regions of the quartered Ukraine. It had to adapt its activities to varying local conditions and circumstances. It also encouraged the formation of UVO cells among emigrants and appointed representatives in various countries.

The activity of the UVO gained its strongest impetus and widest expansion in the years 1921-1923 in the western regions of Ukraine which were under Polish occupation. At that time the occupation by Poland had not yet been legalised by the victorious powers. It was only made legal on 15th March, 1923, by the Council of Ambassadors with the proviso that the autonomy of Eastern Galicia should be ensured and the Convention for the protection of national minorities be respected. Eastern Galicia never did become autonomous, and the Convention about minorities was persistently circumvented and in the end unilaterally terminated by Poland on 13th September 1934.

The revolutionary activity of the UVO (armed attacks, acts of sabotage, liquidation of administrative institutions of the occupying power and their exponents, widespread agitation and propaganda) supported and strengthened the spirit of resistance among the broad masses of the Ukrainian people and demonstrated to the world the Ukrainian people's desire for freedom and independence.

At the same time resistance against the Russian-bolshevist occupation also increased and manifested itself in numerous armed risings in which members of the UVO actively participated. The revolutionary struggle of the Ukrainian people weakened and demoralised the enemy and at the same time stimulated the so-called '*organic sector*' of Ukrainian life (*culture, education, economy*) which developed a purely national character.

Colonel Konovalets, the commanding officer of the UVO, had returned to Western Ukraine from abroad in June 1921 in order to take direct charge of the leadership and planning of UVO activities. For political and conspiratorial reasons he left the country again in the autumn and went into exile in the West from where he continued to direct UVO activities. As supreme commander and representative of the UVO, and thus the leader of the Ukrainian liberation struggle after the assassination of Petlura, Colonel Konovalets showed himself as an alert, energetic and versatile man of action.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF ACTIVITY ABROAD

An organisation like the UVO had, of course, to provide for the proper administrative and military training of its cadres. Colonel Konovalets directed all his energy to this task and ensured that many Ukrainians, at home as well as abroad, received military instruction. Abroad, he not only supervised military training but took part in it. The trainees formed later on the nucleus of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) which was to play a decisive role in the Second World War.

Konovalets attached great importance to political journalism and propaganda both in Ukraine and on the international forum. Under his editorship appeared 'Surma' (Fanfare), the official UVO publication, secretly printed and distributed, in several tens of thousands of copies. 'Surma' played an important part in the spreading and strengthening of the revolutionary spirit among the broad masses of the people and particularly among the Ukrainian youth.

Konovalets suggested the publication, in German, of the 'Osteuropäische Korrespondenz' (East-European Correspondence) which was published in 1924 in Berlin by the Committee of Subjugated Nations. The UVO in every way supported this sound publication which appeared two to four times a month by financial assistance and contributions from UVO members. The main objective of the 'Korrespondenz' was to supply information to foreign newspapers and political bodies about events in the Ukrainian territories, about the liberation struggle of the Ukrainian people and about their history, culture and economy. Beside connections with the appropriate German departments the 'Osteuropäische Korrespondenz' had contact with the accredited correspondents in Berlin of thirty European and non-European countries and relations with the English, Lithuanians, Bulgarians and Croats were particularly friendly. Konovalets was also in permanent contact with Ukrainian organisations and newspaper editors in the United States. He also set great store by the publication of various writings on Ukraine and especially of material transmitted from the Ukraine. He took the initiative in organising Ukrainian press agencies in the capitals of some European countries. Apart from issuing its own periodical publications, the UVO stimulated the publications of several larger works.

Konovalets established close and important contact with leading politicians and statesmen of other countries and of the subjugated nations. With regard to their revolutionary underground nature these relations were carried on in secret and were kept confidential. No news of them reached the public and only very few members of the Ukrainian underground knew of them. Later on these contacts became all the more important when it came to the actualization of the Ukrainian struggle for liberation in the international field.

The UVO and Konovalets also kept in touch with leading representatives of the legal life in the Ukrainian homeland. Every

initiative, every communal or political enterprise, which might be of advantage to the national struggle, was approved and supported by Konovalets and the UVO. This support was particularly evident during and after the so-called 'pacification' of the Western Ukraine by the Polish rulers in the year 1930. It is due to Konovalets that the world received news of this 'pacification' and that it was discussed at the League of Nations.

It is also due to him that the innumerable Ukrainian exiles in Europe and overseas rallied round the banner of the national liberation movement. In this way it was possible to present the Ukrainian problem to the world and to popularize it. At the same time the movement was given a sound financial basis and the UVO could rely on its own resources and on the generosity of Ukrainians everywhere for the continuation of its struggle. Its financial independence enabled it to ward off alien influences.

BIRTH AND GROWTH OF THE ORGANISATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS (OUN)

During the revolutionary struggle the spiritual and ideological basis and aim of Ukrainian nationalism became more and more definite as years went by. Alien ideologies had no room in the UVO. On the other hand, stimulated by the influence of the UVO, fresh forces arose among Ukrainians at home and abroad and particularly among young people, whose ideology was closely related to that of the UVO. They became active in the many legal or semi-legal youth associations and unions formed by the youths at school and university and inspired by Ukrainian nationalism. It was absolutely essential to combine and coordinate all these forces into a single organisation, under a single leadership. Konovalets readily understood this necessity and was aware of the fact that the centralisation of all Ukrainian nationalist forces could not be fitted within the framework of UVO and would require a new type of organisation. In November 1927, and on the initiative of Konovalets, the First Conference of Ukrainian Nationalists was held at Prague, at which a resolution was passed concerning the formation of a single, centralized organisation of Ukrainian nationalists. At this conference the Leadership of Ukrainian Nationalists (Provid Ukrayins'kykh Natsionalistiv — PUN) was established under the chairmanship of Colonel Konovalets.

The most urgent task of the PUN was the preparation and summoning of the Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists. The PUN fulfilled this task and from 29th January to 3rd February 1929 the First Congress of Ukrainian Nationalists met at Vienna, in the course of which the 'Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists' (OUN) was founded. Within a short time all cadres of the UVO and of other nationalist associations and groups were merged in the OUN and Colonel Konovalets was elected president. With the creation of the OUN a new era began in the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people.

The foundation of the OUN was without doubt the work of Colonel Konovalets and it was owing to his exceptional administrative ability and competent leadership that it rapidly developed and showed itself to the world as the organising force and advance-guard of the Ukrainian nationalist revolution.

The official publication of the OUN was the monthly journal 'Rozbudova Natsiyi' (The Building of a Nation) which was published in Prague, widely distributed, and secretly read also in Ukraine. The purpose of this publication, to which Konovalets contributed, was to make known the ideology and programme of Ukrainian nationalism and to inform the Ukrainian public about the work of the freedom movement. As president of the OUN Konovalets extended and perfected the work of the OUN in the homeland and abroad whereby the OUN eventually gained influence upon all spheres of life of the Ukrainian people. In contrast to the UVO period, armed action no longer took first place of importance; stress was now laid mainly on the ideological and political mobilisation of the broad masses of the people. This activity aimed at the constant undermining of foreign rule and the systematic preparation of the people for the decisive battle against the occupiers in the war for the final liberation of Ukraine and the creation of an independent state.

In April 1929 Konovalets set out on a four-months' journey to the USA and Canada where he visited the larger centres of Ukrainian emigration. The result of his visits was a further activation of Ukrainian life and its inclusion in the common national front.

Until the foundation of the OUN Konovalets was domiciled in Berlin, but in 1929 he moved to Switzerland. During the next seven years his permanent residence was at Geneva, from where he directed the Ukrainian liberation movement and on his mission travelled widely through European countries. In 1936 he had to leave Switzerland after an attempt on his life was made by bolshevist agents, which was foiled by the Swiss police who arrested the Russian agent, Norman, and his associates. Urged by the Swiss authorities to leave the country, he went to Italy and took up residence in Rome.

Under the leadership of Konovalets the OUN in ten years spread and elaborated its organisation throughout the whole of Ukraine. For tactical reasons it often had to work under cover of legal societies or associations. It fought against the attempts of the enemy either to belittle the Ukrainian problem or to describe it as the 'internal affair' of the respective occupying power.

The structure of OUN organisation depended on the existing possibilities in each region and, therefore, varied in strength. Nevertheless, the OUN became everywhere the mouthpiece and true representative of an independent Ukraine and of the interests of the Ukrainian people.

The central and eastern parts of Ukraine under Russian occupation presented the greatest problem to OUN organisation.

Here the conspiracy required a maximum of skill and Konovalets himself dealt with it, often without the knowledge of his closest colleagues

The numerous proceedings against UVO and OUN members in the Russian-occupied Ukraine and the inflammatory writings in the Soviet press against 'Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists' in general and UVO and OUN in particular, are all proof of Konovalets's success in strengthening the UVO/OUN in Russian-occupied territory

To this task Konovalets devoted all his energy. In various European towns he met the middlemen and couriers from OUN underground centres in Ukraine. These individual centres were so strong that in 1938 Konovalets planned to visit Ukraine in order to inspect and coordinate the work of the OUN. With growing international tension and the threat of war Konovalets considered such a visit as absolutely necessary

DEATH BY MOSCOW'S HAND

Moscow saw the danger which threatened in the shape of the Ukrainian nationalist movement and fought it ceaselessly and ruthlessly. In order to deprive the OUN of its leader Moscow had for a long time intended an attempt on the life of Konovalets who had gained such popularity in Ukraine and whose name — after Symon Petlura's death — had become the symbol for the desire for independence of the entire Ukrainian people. For many years however, the experienced revolutionary managed to escape or foil these cunning attempts.

Faced with the threat of war Moscow increased its reprisals against the Ukrainian people (a concrete example is the murder of thousands of Ukrainian 'anti-social parasites' at Vinnytsia in 1937 and 1938) and at the same time it endeavoured to destroy Colonel Evhen Konovalets, the leader of the resistance.

The Kremlin finally achieved its object in 1938. The GPU had succeeded in smuggling one of its agents into the network of an underground centre in Soviet-Ukraine and this agent, Valyukh, was sent as an alleged confidant and courier of the underground to Konovalets. Meetings with this 'middleman' took place in various towns of western and northern Europe similar to the meetings with genuine envoys from the underground. The last encounter took place on 23rd May 1938 and ended in the death of Colonel Konovalets.

The investigations carried out by the Netherlands police in co-operation with security departments of other countries showed that the agent Valyukh had arrived at Rotterdam as a passenger on the Soviet merchant vessel 'Menzhinskiy'. He met Konovalets on the 23rd of May at 12 o'clock in the 'Atlanta' cafe. He handed Konovalets a small package which was supposed to contain cyphers and reports from underground centres in the Ukraine. After a short conversation

Valyukh left the café. Konovalets himself left soon after and went towards the near-by 'Grand Central' hotel at which he stayed during his visit to Rotterdam. He stopped in front of the 'Lumière' cinema and at that moment the infernal machine inside the package exploded and tore Konovalets to pieces. Meanwhile, Valyukh succeeded in leaving Rotterdam on the same Soviet vessel that had brought him.

The death of Colonel Konovalets was a severe blow to the Ukrainian revolutionary movement. However, the OUN was able to resist all enemy attacks, which was to become apparent very soon after the death of Konovalets.

The Ukrainian people will always hold in high honour the memory of their great son. The graves of Symon Petlura in Paris, Evhen Konovalets in Rotterdam and Stepan Bandera in Munich are memorials on the steep and thorny path to the liberation of the Ukrainian people.



Danylo Chaykovsky

STEPAN BANDERA, HIS LIFE AND STRUGGLE

When Stepan Bandera was born in Uhryniv Staryy (district of Kalush, West Ukraine) on January 1, 1909, as the son of a Ukrainian Greek-Catholic priest, Andriy Bandera, Ukraine was under the rule of two empires. The eastern regions together with Volhynia, Kholm and Pidlyasha belonged to Russia, whilst the western regions, Galicia, Transcarpathia and Bukovina were part of Austria-Hungary and were administered with the help of the Poles. In spite of this partition, however, the demands of the Ukrainians for national and social liberation in all their territories became more and more insistent. The "Springtide of the Peoples" of 1848 had also spread to Ukraine and the seeds that it had sown germinated and thrived, nurtured in every sphere of life of the Ukrainian people by prominent Ukrainian personalities, politicians, scientists, artists and clergymen. This seed ripened fully in the stormy years of the first world war, when the independent Ukrainian National Republic was established in Kyiv (1917-1918) and the West Ukrainian People's Republic, which three months later became part of the All-Ukrainian State, was founded in the West Ukrainian territories in November 1918. These important events in the history of the Ukrainian people had a decisive influence on the awakening of the national political consciousness of ten-year old Stepan Bandera, as he later stated in his autobiography.

UNDER THE POLISH RULE

But the joy of the Ukrainians at attaining their independence was only short-lived. During the early days of its existence the young state was already obliged to defend its independence against four enemies, the Russians, Poles, Rumanians and Czechs, by armed force. After a year of heavy combat against the Poles, the Ukrainian

Galician Army, owing to lack of weapons and equipment, was obliged to retreat across the River Zbruch and abandon the West Ukrainian territories to the Poles. With the army, the army chaplain and deputy of the West Ukrainian parliament, Andriy Bandera, also left his native country, and thus Stepan Bandera at an early age came to know the tragic lot of the homeless after his family fled before the brutality of the Poles.

After the mandate granted by the Entente on June 25, 1919 Poland occupied the West Ukrainian territories and enforced a ruthless occupation regime there. By June 1919 more than 250 000 of the 3½ million Ukrainians in Galicia were confined in Polish prisons and internment camps as prisoners, and this number also included 1,000 clergymen. The Warsaw paper "Robotnik" stated in its edition of October 16, 1919: "The conditions which prevail in the camps at Modlin and Brest-Litovsk are a disgrace to the Polish state." Thousands of prisoners-of-war and civilians died, Ukrainian property to the value of millions was pillaged and destroyed, Ukrainian cultural achievements were annihilated, and the Ukrainian population of Galicia was in danger of being exterminated, — such was the state of affairs at the beginning of Polish rule in the West Ukrainian territories. A year later East Ukraine suffered an even heavier blow under Russian Bolshevik occupation.

But the Ukrainian people did not submit resignedly to their fate. In the central and eastern regions of Ukraine countless insurrections continued to break out for years and the Russian occupants had hard work to crush them. In the West Ukrainian territories which after the Polish-Russian Treaty in Riga were occupied by Poland, the Ukrainian Military Organization, the UVO, whose nucleus consisted of officers and men of the best detachment of the former Ukrainian army, the Ukrainian Sich infantry, was formed. This Military Organization, under the experienced leadership of the military expert and politician, Colonel Evhen Konovalts, developed a lively underground activity. By means of armed insurrections against representatives of Polish rule, assassinations, destruction of Polish landed property and estates, and the dissemination of propaganda literature the UVO in an active and concrete manner gave the Ukrainian people moral support in their independence aims, brought about the restriction of Polish interference and atrocities and, in addition did its share in informing and warning the rest of the world that this disregard of human rights would lead to a dreadful catastrophe.

Because of its courageous action the UVO won the sympathy and support of Ukrainian youth, who deeply felt the subjugation and humiliation of the Ukrainian people. Young people at school began to organize secret groups and cells which were based on the ideological principles of the UVO and whose members were trained in the national revolutionary spirit to become fighters and champions of the cause of freedom of Ukraine. At the same time the purpose of these groups was to appeal to the Ukrainian population to give its active



Symon Petlura
(b. 23. 5. 1879, d. 25. 5. 1926)
President of Ukraine and
Supreme Commander of
the Ukrainian forces, mur-
dered by the Russian agent
Schwarzbard in Paris.



Mrs. Olha Petlura and her daughter Lesia



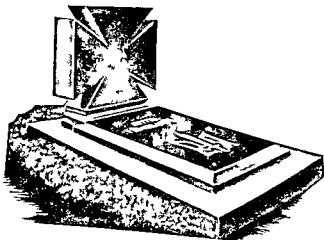
Petlura's Grave
in the Montparnasse Cemetery in Paris



Evhen Konovalets
(b 14 6 1891 d 23 5 1938)
Colonel Commander in
Chief of the Sichovi Stril
tsi corps of the Ukrainian
Army founder and head of
the Ukrainian Military Or
ganization (UVO) and of the
Organization of Ukrainian
Nationalists (OUN) mur
dered by an NKVD agent
in Rotterdam



Evhen Konovalets and his son Jurij



Konovalets Grave
- the Crooswijk Cemetery in Rotterdam



Andriy Melnyk (b 1890)

Colonel Chief of Staff of the Sichovyi Struzhiv Corps Chairman of the Presidium of the OUN 1938-40 and since then President of the OUN (Solidarists)



Iulian Holovinsky (b 1891 d 1930)

Captain territorial leader of the UVO and OUN in West Ukraine arrested by the Polish police and treacherously shot on September 30 1930



**Monsignore Avhustyn Voloshyn
(b 1874 d 1946)**

President of Carpatho-Ukraine after the proclamation of the independence of Carpatho-Ukraine on March 14 1939 hanged in prison by the Communists



Jaroslaw Stetzko (b 1917)

Prime Minister of the Ukrainian State Government in 1941 a prisoner in Nazi concentration camps from 1941-44 President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN)



Stepan Bandera
(b 1 1 1909 d 15 10 1959)

Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) from 1940 1943 and from 1945 1959 1941 1944 interned in a Nazi concentration camp murdered by a KGB agent in Munich



Stepan Bandera's Grave
in the Waldfriedhof Munich



Stepan Bandera with his son Andriy and his younger daughter Lesia



Dmytro Myron Orlyk (b 1911 d 1942)
Member of the Central Presidium and territorial leader of the OUN in 1941 murdered by the Gestapo in Kyiv



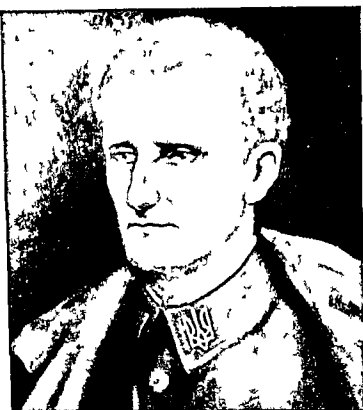
Ivan Klymiv-Legenda (b 1909 d 1942)
Member of the State Government territorial leader of the OUN murdered by the Gestapo in Lviv



Dmytro Mayivsky Taras (b 1914 d 1945)
Member of the Presidium of the OUN killed in action in Czecho Slovakia in December 1945



Vasyl Sydor Shelest (b 1911 d 1949)
Colonel Commander of the UPA-West (Carpathians) killed in West Ukraine during combat against MVD troops



Roman Shukhevych—Taras Chupryna
(b 17 7 1907 d 5 3 1950)

General member of the Ukrainian State Government 1941 GOC in Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) from 1943 1950 Chairman of the OUN Presidium 1943 45 and of the General Secretariat of the UHVR 1944 50 killed on active service whilst fighting against MVD troops near Lviv West Ukraine



Dmytro Hrytsay Perebyynis
(b 1906 d 1945)

General Chief of the General Staff of the UPA member of the OUN Presidium killed in act on in Czechoslovakia in December 1945



The Golden Cross for Distinguished Service of the UPA



Rostyslav Voloshyn Pavlenko
(b 1911 d 1945)

Member of the Presidium of the OUN Chairman of the 1st Conference of the Subjugated Peoples killed in combat against the Soviet Russians



Volhynia — an artillery unit of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA North Command) during the winter campaign December 1943



UPA West Command Soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army celebrate Easter in the forest



A bivouac of soldiers of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA)



UPA Leaflets (1919) — Woodcuts by UPA fighter and artist Nii Khasevych
 Left: USSR — The Peoples' Prison; Freedom for Peoples — Freedom for Individuals
 Right: For a Ukrainian Independent State — For Freedom and a Better Life

support to the revolutionary underground movement. This support included, amongst other measures, donations for the secret Ukrainian university in Lviv, the circulation of Ukrainian publications printed abroad, which were prohibited by the Poles, the boycotting of Polish societies, as well as the boycotting of the census and the elections for the first Polish Sejm or parliament.

BANDERA'S YOUTH

Stepan Bandera, a pupil in the forth form of the grammar school in Stryy, also joined one of these secret youth groups. In addition to physically hardening himself in the Boy Scouts and in the Sokil Sports Society, he acquired in this secret nationalist group the moral and ideological principles which were later to have such a decisive influence on his course in life. Because of his exceptional intelligence and talent, his good qualities of character, his spirit of comradeship, sense of duty, and modesty, and his happy disposition, he was outstanding amongst his schoolmates of the same age.

After passing his school-leaving examination in 1927, Stepan Bandera intended to go to Czecho-Slovakia in order to study at the Ukrainian College of Technology and Economics in Podebrady, but the Polish authorities refused to give him a permit to leave the country. It is interesting to note that the Polish authorities in the West Ukrainian territories showed no political farsightedness at all in this respect, a fact which undoubtedly also explains the increasing strength of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement

In order to consolidate their rule in the Ukrainian territories and to assimilate the Ukrainian population, the Poles introduced their so-called "borderlands policy," — that is to say, the ruthless extermination of Ukrainian cultural creativeness. And the first victim of this "policy" was the Ukrainian educational system, a fact which is even corroborated by Polish sources.

In his book "The Educational System in Poland from 1929 to 1939," published in 1961, Bronislaw Lugowski states that in Galicia under Polish rule only 5 per cent of the Ukrainian schoolchildren were able to attend schools in which the language of instruction was Ukrainian, whilst in Volhynia, Polissia and Kholm region the percentage was only 0.02. In 1922 there were 2,426 elementary schools in which the language of instruction was Ukrainian in the Polish-occupied Western Ukraine; by 1935 this number had decreased to 457, and by 1938 there were only 214 such schools. Of the 2,205 new students who registered at the various colleges in Lviv in 1938, only 310 were Ukrainians.

Since the percentage of the Ukrainian population in the towns of West Ukraine steadily decreased owing to the constant alien (Polish) influx, the youth of the villages, that is the sons and daughters of village priests, teachers and wealthy farmers, constituted a large percentage of the pupils at the grammar schools, commercial schools and teachers' training colleges. Since these young people after completing their studies at these types of schools were not, however, admitted to the universities and colleges, they were obliged to return to their villages. As they were not used to agricultural work, they usually tried to find employment in other fields, as for instance in the co-operatives, libraries, savings banks, agricultural unions, and in other Ukrainian unions and societies. These young people brought a new revolutionary spirit into the villages and small towns. Hence it was not surprising that within a short time the ranks of the UVO not only included the children of intellectuals but also the children of farmers and workers.

Thus Stepan Bandera, too, withdrew for some time to the village where his father, who had meanwhile returned from East Ukraine, lived and here he took an active part in cultural and educational work. In 1928 he returned to Lviv and began studying in the only faculty of the Technical College open to Ukrainians, the department of agriculture. During his studies he devoted all his spare time and energy to the revolutionary activity, which captivated him more and more. After having become a member of the UVO in the same year, he met a number of former schoolmates and other leading representatives of the Ukrainian liberation movement in Lviv, whose names were later also to become known abroad, as for instance Stepan Okhrymowych, at that time chairman of the Home Executive Committee of the OUN, Ivan Gabrusevych (later perished in the concentration camp at Sachsenhausen), Stepan Lenkavsky, the present chairman of the Units Abroad of the OUN, Jaroslaw Stetzko, who became Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government of 1941 and now is President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), Roman Shukhevych, later Commander-in-Chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army — UPA, and famous under the name of General Taras Chuprynka, Dmytro Hrytsay (General Perebyynis), Chief of Staff of the UPA, and numerous other persons who were later to become prominent. Together with them and other comrades, Stepan Bandera planned the activity of the revolutionary liberation movement.

IN THE RANKS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

The Ukrainian Military Organization under the leadership of Colonel Evhen Konovalets did not limit its armed action merely to the West Ukrainian territories. Its liaison men also penetrated into the eastern territories of Ukraine, where they set up a network of

resistance groups and even won supporters amongst the members of the officers' training school of the Red Army in Kyiv. It was the aim of the UVO to include all classes of the Ukrainian population in its activity in order to carry out a general armed insurrection when the time was ripe. But the organizational structure of the UVO was not large enough to encompass the active participation of the masses. The Ukrainian youth followed the example of the older generation of Ukrainian patriots, who had founded the "Union for the Liberation of Ukraine," the SVU, and now formed the "Union of Ukrainian Youth," the SUM. The discovery of these two underground organizations by the Russians led to mass-arrests and to the liquidation of the elite of the Ukrainian people.

In the meantime the numerous secret nationalist groups and organizations in West Ukraine united and in 1929, at the First Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists which took place in Vienna, founded the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, the OUN, and elected Colonel Evhen Konovalts, hitherto Head of the UVO, as chairman. The UVO was gradually assimilated in the military section of the OUN. The OUN owed its development and its strength to its founders, whose names we have mentioned above, and in particular to Stepan Bandera, whose outstanding qualities as an organizer and a leader had a chance to develop to the full during the years 1928 to 1933. Since he was constantly in contact with Colonel Konovalts who at that time was abroad, Stepan Bandera was able to realize the plan for the development and expansion of the national liberation movement which he and his closest co-workers had drawn up.

The OUN now began to extend its organization network and to increase its cadres in all the Ukrainian territories under Polish rule and abroad, particular importance was attached to the West Ukrainian territories, which were threatened by Communist subversion. In order to consolidate the power of the organization, it now included in its activity the masses of the farming and working classes, who saw in the OUN their protector and champion of the fight for freedom. In training its members the OUN attached especial importance to an ideological-political training, as well as to military training and training in underground tactics, conspiring and reconnaissance, etc. In addition to political propaganda attacks and campaigns within the scope of the organization, the OUN members also developed a new form of activity, namely mass-campaigns on the part of the Ukrainian population. At the initiative and instructions of the OUN the Ukrainian population carried out an anti-monopoly and a school campaign. In order to achieve a moral and political effect, the Ukrainian population, at the initiative of the OUN, boycotted the purchase of goods under the state monopoly. This campaign was a big success, and the Polish state suffered a considerable financial loss.

The school campaign was carried out by the OUN as a retaliation measure against the cultural Polonisation policy and in order to

protect the Ukrainian school-system and the national education and training of Ukrainian youth This campaign consisted in the Ukrainian pupils in all the elementary and secondary schools at an appointed time demanding instructions in the Ukrainian language As an indication of their protest against the Polish school law, they destroyed the Polish textbooks, tore down the Polish coat-of-arms from the walls of the classrooms, sang Ukrainian songs in unison, and refused to answer questions put by the teachers in Polish and to pray in this language All the efforts on the part of the Polish school, administrative and police authorities to crush this "children's mutiny" proved unsuccessful In their counter-actions the Polish authorities made themselves ridiculous in the eyes of the population, for in some cases (as for instance in Sokal district) the police received orders from the authorities to arrest the schoolchildren and bring them before a court Unbelievable scenes were enacted incapable of keeping guard over 30 schoolchildren who had been arrested, a Polish policeman, the "guardian of public law and order and safety," tied them together by means of a long chain and led them through the village, — turning his head away in shame and embarrassment before the gaze of passers-by

ARMED CAMPAIGN OF THE OUN IN WEST UKRAINE

In addition to its revolutionary activity against the Polish oppressors of West Ukraine, the OUN also began a fight for freedom on the second front, — an anti-Bolshevist fight in all the Ukrainian territories In West Ukraine the OUN conducted its campaigns in two directions — against the Communist Party of West Ukraine, its propaganda and agents from the USSR, as well as against the diplomatic representatives of Bolshevist Russia and the Sovietophil trend In a relatively short time the OUN, with the assistance of the masses succeeded in breaking down Bolshevist diversion manoeuvres in Ukraine During World War II these territories became the base for the fight of the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement against Russian Bolshevist rule in the central and eastern territories of Ukraine

By means of attacks on Soviet diplomats (as for instance the famous attack on Maylov in the Soviet consulate in Lviv) and leading Communist functionaries, the OUN demonstrated the unity of the Ukrainian liberation front and the solidarity of the West Ukrainians with the anti-Bolshevist fight in the central and eastern territories At the same time, these measures were also a protest against the famine which had been artificially created by Moscow in order to force the Ukrainian farmers to accept the system of collectivism About 6 million Ukrainians died during this artificially created famine During his trial before the court in Warsaw in 1936, Stepan

Bandera defined the fundamental motives of the anti-Bolshevist fight conducted by the OUN and said "We are fighting Communism not only by means of propaganda but also with armed force, since Communism is fighting Ukrainian nationalism with the aid of a hitherto unheard-of ruthless physical mass-terrorism, namely by mass-executions in the Cheka and GPU prisons, by starving millions of people, and by ceaseless deportations to Siberia. By means of the system of Bolshevism, Moscow has destroyed the Ukrainian state and has subjugated the Ukrainian people" ("Dilo," No 124, Lviv, June 6 1936)

In 1933 Stepan Bandera was appointed Chairman of the Executive of the OUN in Ukraine. It was during this period that the OUN reached the height of its development. On December 30, 1933, the Polish journal "Bunt mlodych" published an article entitled "At the Eleventh Hour," which contained the following comments on the OUN:

"The secret OUN — Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists — is today stronger than all the Ukrainian legal parties together. It rules the youth, it governs public opinion, it is unceasingly active in order to draw the masses into the eddy of a revolution. It is now perfectly obvious that time is against us. Every starosta (Polish district officer) in Little Poland (Galicia) and in Volhynia can enumerate the villages which until a short time ago were passive and now, stirred up by anti-state campaigns, are ready and eager to fight. The enemy is becoming stronger and stronger, and the Polish state weaker and weaker."

Poland was playing a losing game in spite of the ruthless measures of oppression to which she resorted in dealing with members of the Ukrainian underground. Other Ukrainians, too, who were not members of the OUN were sentenced to 8 to 12 years' imprisonment by the Polish courts if any illegal literature was found in their possession. But all these measures did not deter the Ukrainian youth from taking part in the fight for freedom. In order to prevent the continuation of Polish colonization in the West Ukrainian territories the OUN carried out a sabotage campaign against the Polish land-owners and settlers and set fire to their estates, farms and granaries. By way of retaliation the Polish government resorted to ruthless measures, which became known as "pacification," against the Ukrainian farmers.

The dreadful terrorism of the punitive expeditions of the Polish army and police at that time occupied the headlines in the world press. The "Manchester Guardian" of November 22, 1935, commented at some length on the "pacification" measures and on Pieracki, who under the Skladkowski government (1930) was the police chief responsible for these measures and who later became Minister of the Interior. The same paper pointed out that the Ukrainians had endured

the Polish pressure with admirable passivity until extremist groups had finally begun to set fire to the estates of the Polish landowners. By way of retaliation, units of the Polish army and police had then raided Ukrainian villages and had arrested the farmers there at random and beaten them. The "Manchester Guardian" added that these operations had been carried out in secret but that there could now be no doubt whatever that these were the most drastic measures of oppression ever heard of in the history of the civilized world. The said paper emphasized that there was no exact information as to how many farmers had been beaten, but careful estimates assessed the number at about 10,000, all of whom had been innocent. As a result of the ill-treatment they had received, many of the farmers were ill in bed for weeks afterwards and some of them died of the injuries they had received.

On December 3, 1935, the same paper stated that Minister Pieracki had been responsible for the "pacification" carried out in East Galicia in 1930, and that he had likewise been responsible for the 'pacification' in the region of Lisko in 1931 and for that in Volhynia and Polissia in 1932, about which the Polish press, at the 'Manchester Guardian' pointed out, had not mentioned a word. The paper added that his pacifying speeches were merely intended to conceal the atrocities, for which he and his government were responsible, from the rest of the world.

In reply to the Polish measures of oppression Stepan Bandera organized a counter-campaign including an attempt on the life of the Minister of the Interior Pieracki. This was carried out successfully by Matseyko*) a member of the OUN, who subsequently fled abroad. The Polish police thereupon carried out mass-arrests amongst the Ukrainian population and in the course of investigations discovered the headquarters of the OUN in the West Ukrainian territories. In 1934 Stepan Bandera was arrested and at the beginning of 1936 he was sentenced to death in Warsaw as being responsible for the entire activity of the UVO and OUN, this sentence was later commuted to imprisonment for life. In the autumn of the same year he was once more sentenced to imprisonment for life in Lviv.

The Ukrainian people and the OUN suffered a number of heavy blows during the years that followed. The OUN chairman for all Ukraine was imprisoned in solitary confinement in the most securely guarded prison in Poland and was completely isolated from the outside world. In 1938 the founder and leader of the OUN, Colonel Evhen Konovalts was murdered in Rotterdam by a Bolshevik bomb. One might have assumed that the revolutionary movement, whose ranks had been decimated by the Polish mass-arrests would now cease to exist, or would, at least for a time, limit its activity. But it very soon became obvious that this movement was so deeply rooted in the hearts of the Ukrainian population that it could only be eradicated by exterminating the entire Ukrainian people. In spite

*) On June 15th, 1934 in Warsaw

of the fact that all the members of the OUN leadership had been arrested, there were still enough other leading members of the OUN who were prepared to continue the uncompromising fight against the enemy. This was only too apparent when the state of Czecho-Slovakia, which had been artificially created in Versailles, under German pressure disintegrated into its natural parts, that is to say, when an independent Carpatho-Ukraine was formed. From the underground fight the Ukrainian people, under the leadership of the OUN, passed to creative state activity.

Contrary to Hitler's plans, Carpatho-Ukraine did not bow to German pressure and refused to submit to the Hungarians without a fight. Fighting on two fronts, namely against the Hungarians and Poles, Carpatho-Ukraine on March 15, 1939, proclaimed its independence. In the foremost ranks of the fighters for the freedom of Carpatho-Ukraine there were OUN members from every district of Ukraine.

The German-Polish war which broke out some months later also brought considerable changes for the Ukrainian people. Russia had occupied Volhynia, Polissia and Galicia, whilst the regions of Lemky, Kholm and Pidlyasha under German occupation became part of the so-called General-Gouvernement. With the change in political conditions, the form of the Ukrainian fight for freedom also changed. The ranks of the OUN swelled anew when countless members were released from Polish prisons and from the concentration camp in Bereza Kartuzka. The reinforced OUN now began to set up combat groups again, which took over the task of protecting the Ukrainian population and setting up ammunition depots for the future fight against Bolshevist Russia. As regards Germany the OUN adopted an attitude of temporization. It was convinced that sooner or later a conflict would ensue between Nazi Germany and Bolshevist Russia. The OUN was of the opinion that such a conflict might provide a chance to re-establish the Ukrainian independent state. Forewarned on the strength of their experience with Hitler with regard to Carpatho-Ukraine, the Ukrainian nationalists refused to believe any tempting promises.

STEPAN BANDERA BECOMES HEAD OF THE ORGANIZATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONALISTS

After his liberation from the Polish prison Stepan Bandera managed to get through to Lviv, where, together with members of the Home Executive Committee of the OUN and other leading OUN members, he now elaborated plans for the further activity of the OUN in the Ukrainian territories. In addition, it was also decided to extend the organization network of the OUN in all the Ukrainian territories under Russian rule, to make the necessary preparations for the revolutionary fight in the event of the outbreak of a war, and to take the necessary defense measures against the annihilation of

the national forces in West Ukraine which was planned by the Russians Stepan Bandera wanted to remain in West Ukraine in order to take part in the realization of these plans But at the express demand of the leading OUN members and at the recommendation of the leadership of the OUN abroad, he in 1939 went to Cracow From here he then went to Italy to meet the then head of the OUN After the death of Colonel E Konovalts, Colonel Andriy Melnyk had assumed the leadership of the OUN Various differences of opinion now arose between certain influential members of the OUN leadership and the members of the Home Executive Committee of the OUN in Ukraine with regard to fundamental questions pertaining to the liberation movement and internal difficulties

In 1941 the 2nd Congress of the Ukrainian Nationalists elected Stepan Bandera as the new leader of the entire OUN The revolutionary OUN under Stepan Bandera now assumed the leadership of the national fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people A resolution was also passed by the same Congress to the effect that the OUN should continue the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people with all the means at its disposal and regardless of any political or territorial changes The OUN now began to enlarge and strengthen the organization network in all the Ukrainian territories under Russian occupation, at the outbreak of the German-Russian war it had at its disposal in these territories over 20,000 organized members who had had a thorough military and ideological training Since conditions were more favourable in the Ukrainian territories which belonged to the "General-Gouvernement," the OUN occupied itself there with preparations for an armed fight in the event of war Within a relatively short time military training courses were organized there for OUN members and, in addition, ideological and propaganda material was prepared for the marching units of the OUN, who were already standing by in readiness All the members of the OUN in the "General-Gouvernement" (about 6,000) received orders to advance in three separate groups into the Ukrainian territories beyond the San and the Bug immediately after the outbreak of the German-Russian war and to intensify their revolutionary activity there and revive the independent state existence of the Ukrainian people

In the event of war the OUN planned to re-establish the independent Ukrainian state in the Ukrainian territories once they were liberated of the Russian occupant For this reason a Ukrainian National Committee which consisted of leading representatives of Ukrainian political and cultural life, was set up in Cracow in 1941, shortly before the outbreak of the war, at the initiative of the OUN The task of this committee was to take charge of certain sectors of state life in Ukraine In this way the OUN was determined to uphold democratic principles when establishing the Ukrainian state again

A few days before the outbreak of war well equipped marching troops already advanced towards the appointed destinations in Ukraine Under considerable difficulties (many of the members of the marching units which were overtaken by German troops fell into the

hands of the Gestapo) they managed to advance into Ukraine as far as the Don and the Crimea. Amongst these marching units there were numerous leading members of the OUN. At the same time, the Ukrainian Legion, consisting of volunteers, under the command of Roman Shukhevych, also advanced into Ukraine. Upon the arrival of the Ukrainian troops in Lviv, where the Bolshevik NKVD had left behind dreadful traces of their rule, the restoration of the independent Ukrainian State was proclaimed on June 30, 1941, and a provisional government was set up. It consisted of representatives of various political trends and was headed by Jaroslaw Stetzko, a leading member of the OUN. The proclamation of the restoration of the Ukrainian state was an event of national rejoicing; moreover, the two highest dignitaries of the Ukrainian Orthodox and Ukrainian Catholic Church, Bishop Polikarp and Metropolitan Count Andreas Sheptytsky, gave the proclamation their blessing.

But the independent policy of the OUN and its proclamation had crossed Hitler's plans with regard to Ukraine. Consequently mass-arrests were carried out. To begin with, certain circles of the German High Command were in favour of the idea of an independent Ukrainian state, which they thought would be an ally. They were, however, powerless to influence Hitler's policy. Stepan Bandera was at first interned by the Gestapo, but when he refused to deny his participation in the proclamation, he was immediately arrested. The Gestapo took him to Berlin, where they put him into prison; he was later transferred to the concentration camp in Sachsenhausen. In Lviv the Gestapo arrested Jaroslaw Stetzko and various members of his government when they refused to resign and to revoke the proclamation. On September 15, 1941, the Gestapo arrested over 2,000 Ukrainian nationalists in Ukraine, who had participated in some way or other in setting up the Ukrainian state. The present leader of the Units Abroad of the OUN, Stepan Lenkavsky, and a hundred leading members of the OUN (including Bandera's two brothers) were taken to the concentration camp in Auschwitz, or else put into prison, or shot. Bandera's two brothers were murdered in Auschwitz and his brother-in-law was tortured to death in the prison in Lviv.

The Ukrainian Legion under the command of Roman Shukhevych protested against the terrorism of the Gestapo. It was thereupon withdrawn from the front, and measures were taken to arrest its commanding officers. Roman Shukhevych and many of his comrades, however, managed to escape in time and went into hiding in the underground movement.

And once more it seemed as if the Ukrainian people, wedged in between two power blocks, would have to submit to their fate. With the assistance of the Gestapo, Hitler's governor in the "Reichs Commissariat of Ukraine," Erich Koch, began to depopulate Ukraine by means of mass-deportations of the Ukrainian population to Germany for the purpose of forced labour. Mass-arrests and also a famine ensued.

The members of the OUN once more resorted to underground activity. They already possessed completely worked out plans for the revolutionary fight for freedom and for defense measures. Within a short time they started their counter-action. At the end of 1941 and beginning of 1942 the first defense units were set up and in the course of time they developed into a truly Insurgent Army. Roman Shukhevych, who became famous under the name of General Taras Chuprynka, became the commander-in-chief of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). The latter eventually numbered 200,000 well-equipped and trained soldiers, who occupied large areas of Ukraine. The UPA enjoyed the wholehearted support of the Ukrainian people, who regarded it as their protector and defender not only against Nazi terrorism but also against the onslaughts of Bolshevik partisan units. In 1943 a secret conference of the representatives of the peoples who were subjugated by Germany and Russia was held in Ukraine. This conference laid the foundation for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN). A year later (1944) the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council, UHVR, the revolutionary government of Ukraine, was founded. It consisted of leading representatives of various political trends and played a decisive part in determining the course of the fight for freedom.

At the end of 1944, when there was no longer any doubt about the fact that Germany would lose the war, the Gestapo released Stepan Bandera, Jaroslaw Stetzko, Stepan Lenkavsky, and many other members of the OUN from the concentration camps. In this hopeless situation the German politicians made a last attempt to remedy the errors which they committed at the beginning of the war. They tried to convince the Ukrainian nationalists of the necessity of a collaboration with Germany. But the OUN refused to allow itself to be taken in by the German wishes and promises and, together with the UPA, continued its fight against Bolshevik Russia.

With the help of friends the members of the OUN who had been liberated from the "protection" of the Gestapo managed to get through to the West and waited there for the war to end.

THE UNABATED FIGHT AGAINST RUSSIA

For Ukraine, which once more fell under Bolshevik rule, the fight did not, however, end with Germany's capitulation. The Ukrainian people and the UPA soldiers continued their fight, which is indeed unparalleled in history, against the Bolshevik oppressors. Without allies, without reinforcements, and without any support at all from the free world, the Ukrainian Insurgent Army for years continued its heroic fight (until 1952) against a Major Power which had seized half Europe and Asia. The proportions which this fight assumed can be seen from the fact that in 1947 Russia was forced to make a pact with Poland and Czecho-Slovakia regarding joint measures to combat the UPA. In the course of this relentless fight, the OUN and the UPA

suffered heavy losses. Even after the heroic death of the Commander-in-Chief of the UPA, Roman Shukhevych, on March 5, 1950, the Ukrainian people and the UPA continued their fight for freedom. The UPA was obliged to alter its fighting tactics, however, and had to resort to underground activity once more instead of open fighting.

As a result of the renewed Russian occupation of Ukraine, countless Ukrainians of all social classes were forced to leave their native country and emigrate. As exiles abroad they met many members of the OUN once more, who had been released from concentration camps and prisons. Under the leadership of Stepan Bandera, they united to form the Units Abroad of the OUN (Z Ch OUN). The main task of the Units Abroad of the OUN became the general support in every way of fighting Ukraine. The Units Abroad extended their organization network to cover all the countries of the free world in which Ukrainian emigrants had settled. They established constant contact with the leadership of the OUN and the UPA in Ukraine and began an active campaign of support for the underground movement in Ukraine.

In the course of time the Units Abroad of the OUN began to inform and enlighten the peoples of the free world on the Ukrainian fight for freedom and on the threat to the whole free world by Bolshevist Russia.

At the initiative of the Units Abroad of the OUN the activity of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) was resumed, and 16 peoples of East Europe and Asia, subjugated by Moscow and on friendly terms with Ukraine, joined this organization as members. Jaroslaw Stetzko, the former Prime Minister of the Ukrainian government of 1941, was elected President of the Central Committee of the ABN. In 15 years' untiring activity he has succeeded in gaining many new friends and supporters for the Ukrainian liberation movement.

In the internal Ukrainian sector of the Ukrainian emigration, the OUN strengthened the anti-Russian and anti-Bolshevist front, exposed the activity of enemy agents and warded off dangerous alien de-nationalization influences. Regardless of social and political differences amongst the Ukrainian emigrants, countless groups have supported the OUN and in this way also the fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people at home. Proof of this support is the liberation fund, which has enabled the OUN to conduct a liberation policy free of all foreign influence during the past 17 years.

The lively activity of the OUN amongst the emigrants and the name of Stepan Bandera, who became the symbol of the fight for freedom eventually came to be regarded by Moscow as a danger and a threat. In addition to its ruthless extermination of the Ukrainian people, Moscow for 15 years endeavoured to exterminate the spokesman and champion of the Ukrainian independence aspirations, Stepan Bandera, since his name had become the symbol of freedom in every region of the Russian "peoples' prison" from the San to Sakhalin and Kamchatka amongst all classes of the population, in the Red Army

and amongst the millions of prisoners in the Russian concentration camps At the instructions of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the KGB (Committee for State Security) tried by every possible means to discredit and destroy the moral greatness of Stepan Bandera, state enemy No 1, amongst the population By every means available the NKVD, later the MVD that is to say the KGB, for years endeavoured to liquidate Stepan Bandera, who lived in Munich under the name of Popel, physically, until finally on October 15, 1959, it succeeded in doing so

But even with this vile murder Moscow did not succeed in breaking the will to freedom of the Ukrainian people And the following fact is proof enough two years after the murder of Stepan Bandera the Bolshevik paper 'Lvovskaya Pravda,' No 18, 1961, wrote "a trial took place recently in which the accused were anti-state criminals and members of the secret organization of the Ukrainian nationalists' The paper reported that one of the accused had been arrested just as he was in the act of affixing Ukrainian nationalist watchwords in the municipal park The other two accused had been standing nearby keeping a look-out The tribunal of the Subcarpathian Military Command sentenced the first mentioned of the accused to death and the other two accused to 15 years' imprisonment



Dr. H. Vashovych

THE STRUGGLE OF THE O.U.N. AFTER THE WAR

THE LAST PERIOD OF BANDERA'S ACTIVITY

The fight for freedom of the Ukrainian people since 1920 can be divided into three main periods, during which the clearly defined ideological principles were continued consistently but which differ from each other as regards the organization and structure of the liberation movement and the manner in which it carried out its activity *) The first period is the era between the two world wars, — the era of many uprisings in Ukraine during the first half of the 1920's, of organized mass campaigns on the part of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO) and of the Organization of the Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) above all in the western territories of Ukraine, as well as of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine (SVU) and of the Union of Ukrainian Youth (SUM) in the central and eastern territories of Ukraine. The second period comprises the armed fight in Carpatho-Ukraine, the operations of the marching groups of the OUN, the extension of the organization network of the OUN to the eastern territories of Ukraine, and the fight of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA). This period extends from the end of the 1930's to the end of the 1940's. The third period — the years since the end of the 1940's — includes the military partisan struggle and its necessary adjustment to new underground fighting methods.

The spirit of self-sacrifice and the heroic courage of the participators in this fight for freedom are characteristic of all three periods, all the freedom fighters were and are fanatical advocates of Ukraine's independence aims.

The first period is marked by the transition from uncompromising, open, armed combat to fighting methods which were predominantly ideological, political and propagandist in character and which consisted in the formation of ideological unions and organizations and in the training and enlightenment of the broad masses in the nationalist, fighting spirit.

*) This article was published in Book No 5 of the *Library of the Ukrainian Underground Fighter, Bolshevism and the Fight for Freedom* (*Bolshchyzm i vyzvol na borot'ba*) published by OUN Units Abroad 1957

During the second period the liberation movement adopted the method of a large-scale armed fight, which, thanks to good organization and the skilled use of numerous military units in the Carpathian Sich, in the insurgent detachments of 1939, in the marching groups of the OUN and, above all, in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army, continued for a whole decade

The excellent leadership of the fight for freedom during the second period was due not only to military experience, but, above all, to two important fundamental decisions regarding organization and operations which have made it possible to continue the organized fight for freedom uninterruptedly up to the present time. The first of these decisions was the one reached by the leadership of the liberation movement prior to the ultimate Russian Bolshevik occupation of Ukraine, according to this decision, all members of the liberation movement, from the top ranks of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the Ukrainian Insurgent Army down to the individual cells and members of the latter, were to remain at their posts and were not to leave Ukraine. This important and decisive decree was observed consistently in all the sectors of operation of the liberation movement, and hence none of its organized members left their post without the permission of their OUN or UPA superiors. In this way the trained cadre units who had proved their combatant worth remained intact in strength and number and available for the active armed fight of the liberation movement. The only members of the liberation movement who left Ukraine during this period were a group of persons who emigrated and who were selected by and received special instructions from the leaders of the movement. In addition, certain members of the intelligentsia and of the farming class, mainly from the western territories of Ukraine, who were not officially members of the liberation movement, and, lastly, certain organized members of the movement, who on account of their state of health received permission to leave Ukraine.

We should at this point like to stress that irrespective of this decision many other members of the OUN were obliged to remain in exile at the end of World War II many of them were leading members of the liberation movement who had been imprisoned in German concentration camps from 1941 to 1944. At that time there were countless other Ukrainians abroad that is to say in Germany, and they also included members of the OUN who had been forcibly sent to Germany during the war in order to work there. During the years 1941 to 1944 these OUN members carried out organized secret campaigns throughout the whole of Germany they maintained contact with the OUN at home and aided the political prisoners in the prison and concentration camps. Numerous other members and supporters of the OUN former members of military units as for instance of the 1st Ukrainian Division remained in exile. All these members and supporters of the liberation movement who were in exile united after the war to form the Units Abroad of the OUN which support the fight for freedom in Ukraine.

and popularize it in the countries of the free world. The systematic maintenance of organized, experienced and trained cadre units and the continuation of the fight for freedom which was made possible in this way are factors which help one to understand the problems of the third period of the fight for freedom.

The second important decision which was reached by the leaders of the liberation struggle after World War II concerned the organization of the massed, armed partisan struggle and its transformation into secret underground activity. The nature of this decision is known to us on the strength of three important documents dating from that period, and also from various underground publications and from the actual results of this decision, that is to say, from the actual reorganization of the liberation movement and its continued existence in new organized forms up to the present time.

The first document on the necessity for the reorganization of the fight for freedom is the "Declaration of the Leadership of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists after World War II in Europe" of May 1945. Section 9 of this document states:

We must adopt a new form of revolutionary fight adjusted to peace-time conditions and we must plan and work far ahead,

we must go over from the form of mass-operations to narrower, more individual forms of conspiracy, from quantity to quality, from extensive to intensive activity,

we need complete secrecy, precision and perfection in the revolutionary underground activity, for in this way we shall be able to master this difficult stage of the fight successfully. 1)

The second document is the "Appeal of the Supreme Commander-in-Chief to the UPA" of July 1946, which contains the following passage:

'The occupant of Ukraine may perhaps again believe (as he did in 1920) that with the cessation of revolutionary mass-operations the UPA has ceased to exist and the revolution has been crushed. But this time too he is making a serious error. For the present period is being used to change over from the former fighting methods to new ones. I am convinced that you, indefatigable and courageous fighters, will adopt the new fighting methods as quickly as you learnt the application of partisan tactics. From hideouts which are inaccessible you will attack and take the enemy by surprise when he expects this least of all.' 2)

The third document is the appeal issued by the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council "To the Ukrainian People under Russian Bolshevik Rule" of November 1946, in which it is stated:

Soldiers and Commanders of the UPA! The difference between our strength and that of the enemy forces you to go over from armed insurgent fighting methods to secret underground methods. Make yourselves acquainted with the new fighting tactics. Continue to set an example of perseverance, tenacity and bravery as you have hitherto done. Preserve the illustrious tradition of the UPA and continue it. 3)

This same question is also dealt with in detail in an article by a leading member of the liberation movement and well-known instructor at the UPA officers' training schools, Ratnyk, which was published for the first time in 1946 under the title 'The Role of the Individual Partisan and Revolutionary in the Fight for Freedom of

the Ukrainian People" in the military journal "Povstanets" ("Insurgent") of the UPA and was later reprinted in exile. Ratnyk writes as follows:

Under the pressure of the enemy who is by far superior to us in strength not only as regards numbers but also as far as technical equipment (tanks aircraft heavy artillery) is concerned and who resorts to the most brutal methods in his fight against us (agents subversion collective responsibility provocation starvation and terrorism) our revolutionary liberation movement has adopted new fighting methods and new tactics — the tactics of a revolutionary underground fight — in order to protect the people against unnecessary losses and to preserve the forms of organization of our movement for the fight in future. The transition from mass-operations to secret activity in small groups by no means indicates a weakening or a shortening of the fighting front of our liberation movement but is merely a change in tactics and methods which will reduce our losses but will inflict serious material damage on the enemy and will lead to the undermining of the morale of the Soviet army to a feeling of insecurity and to loss of prestige on the part of the USSR. This transition means that the fight will be restricted in a region in which on account of the enemy's superior strength it is at present not advisable for us to concentrate all our forces in this way we can use our forces more effectively and with far less losses in the fight in other political and social sectors (sabotage underground activity propaganda maintenance and expansion of the organized resistance) 4)

It can be seen from all these passages that not only was the liberation movement not defeated by the enemy during the second period, but, on the contrary, on the strength of its very considerable fighting experience it systematically adopted a new form of tactics in the fight for freedom as a transition to the third period, and still continues this fight today. In this third period the fight for freedom is continued uninterruptedly and consistently under conditions which differ considerably from those of the other two periods.

Because of the specific form of these new fighting tactics and the nature of the secret underground activity and owing to the fact that the frontiers are closed we are not in a position to give any exact details regarding the extent and the strength of the fight for freedom in Ukraine at the present time. We do however, know for certain that the basic principles as regards ideology and organization of the liberation movement have remained the same throughout its fight for freedom, and also that the experience gained in previous combats has served it in good stead. This experience has been employed when carrying out new underground campaigns, which are proof of the intensity of the present fight for freedom. The campaigns of the third and most recent period include all the underground and partisan operations in Ukraine which are known to us through the underground publications and reports passed on to us by couriers between 1950 and 1953. The proportions which the underground fight in Ukraine had assumed by that time can plainly be seen from these publications and reports. From a list of armed campaigns on the part of the UPA and the underground movement during the period from January 1 1948 to July 30 1949 which were published in the bulletins of the Information Bureau of the UHVR (Ukrayins'ka Holovna Vyzvol'na Rada=Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council) in 1948-1950 it can be seen that in 18 months as many as 1736

armed anti-Bolshevist operations were carried out, in the course of which the enemy lost 1,123 MVD members and paratroops, the number of wounded amounted to 410. The losses of the UPA and underground movement amounted to 452 killed and 27 wounded. These operations (sabotage, armed attacks and political propaganda) took place in ten different regions of Ukraine and in two neighbouring countries (Byelorussia and Roumania) ⁵⁾ These figures are taken from reports published by the Information Bureau of the UHVR up to June 30, 1949. We did not receive any more general lists and reports of a later date, but information material from Ukraine was, however, passed on to us in 1953 by liaison agents, which corroborates the fact that countless anti-Bolshevist operations were carried out until 1951. The fact that numerous underground operations still occur at present in Ukraine undoubtedly proves that the fight for freedom still continues. On June 8, 1956, for instance, various Western press agencies reported that Ukrainian insurgents had blown up a Soviet ammunition train near Shepetivka on May 20th, 1956, and that underground activity was increasing in the district of Kyiv, Berdychiv and Lviv ⁶⁾

Not only these armed operations, however, prove that the fight for freedom is being actively continued. Further proof of this fact is the maintenance of constant contact with Ukraine. In addition to numerous groups of the UPA who in the years 1947 and 1948, after marching on foot for weeks on end, reached the free Western countries and by their appearance there made the entire free world realize the existence of the Ukrainian fight for freedom, numerous other special courier groups who had been sent to the West by the leaders of the liberation movement at home also contacted the Units Abroad of the OUN. In spite of countless difficulties, obstacles and sacrifices and in spite of the vast distance which separates Ukraine from the free Western world, contact is occasionally maintained by couriers. And this contact is not only ensured from Ukraine by the revolutionaries, but also by means of specially selected and trained members of the liberation movement in exile. Some of the UPA fighters who managed to get through to the West prior to 1948 later engaged in the extremely dangerous courier service between Ukraine and abroad for many years, on numerous occasions they brought the support and the reports of the Units Abroad of the OUN to those fighting for freedom in Ukraine and returned to the West again. Some years ago the Ukrainian press abroad published the names of some of these courageous liaison agents who lost their lives whilst acting as couriers. To mention but a few names: Netchuy-Netchuyenko, courier of the Leadership of the Units Abroad of the OUN, who was killed in the summer of 1951, Pimsta-Ternyk, killed in June 1951, the liaison agent Sokil, who was killed on the way to Ukraine in the autumn of 1952, and the two couriers Myron and Bohdan, likewise killed in the autumn of 1952 on the way to the West ⁷⁾ These are but a few examples, for many facts and incidents of the courier activity of the Ukrainian liberation movement have so far not been published

and, in view of the secret nature of this activity, are hardly likely to be published in the near future

In May 1953 the 4th Conference of the Units Abroad of the OUN was held, and that same year the resolutions passed at this conference were sent by courier to the organs of the liberation movement in Ukraine, from whence their receipt was also acknowledged

The report of the Units Abroad of the OUN, published in October 1954, contains the following passage

" Of the liberation funds of the OUN collected abroad the Leadership of the Units Abroad in 1953 gave the OUN in Ukraine a sum which was equivalent to DM 36 600 and received an acknowledgement of receipt of the same from Ukraine In the same year the treasury of the Units Abroad placed a further sum namely the equivalent of DM 18 752 out of the liberation funds at the disposal of the OUN at home "

In addition to the numerous underground operations and the contact which exists between the units at home and those abroad the big political trial held in Warsaw in July 1955 against alleged members of the OUN is further proof of the unceasing fight for freedom of the Ukrainian underground in the third and most recent period The Warsaw Radio and the paper "Zycie Warszawy," No 179, of July 29, 1955, reported on this trial as follows

From July 21st to July 27th a trial was held before the military garrison court in Warsaw against members of the espionage network which was liquidated by security organs in 1954 The accused are former members of the UPA All the accused (with the exception of M Tsviek) were given instructions and supplied with arms radio sets and poison and sent to Poland in order to carry on espionage and diversion there After carefully examining all the incriminating evidence the military court in Warsaw on July 27 1955 pronounced the following verdict the death sentence for Kaminsky, Hoysan and Lykholat life imprisonment for Ptashnyk and Boychuk (Sokolovsky) 15 years imprisonment for Nyz and 12 years imprisonment for Tsviek '

Other important proof of the organized underground fight of the Ukrainian people can be seen from the riots in the concentration camps of the USSR We have learnt of these riots from the accounts given by numerous German and other prisoners who have been released from the camps and have returned home Many of these former prisoners who were interned for many years in Russian concentration camps gave an account of how they had made the acquaintance of Ukrainian prisoners and described the behaviour of the latter in the camps and their unbroken will to freedom as exemplary for the prisoners of other nationalities 'Most of them (the Ukrainians) call themselves Banderivtsi (the designation derived from the name of Stepan Bandera for the members and supporters of the Ukrainian liberation movement) and have been sentenced to imprisonment in the concentration camps for having taken part in the fight for freedom, they are well-organized, disciplined, self-confident and they know exactly what they want' Thanks to these personal qualities and because of their large numbers (about 45 per cent of the total number of prisoners), the Ukrainian prisoners are the initiators and the leaders of the uprisings in the concentration camps

German prisoners who returned home and brought "greetings to their brothers in the West" from the Ukrainian prisoners in Taishet, reported as follows

"We German prisoners who have returned home owe the Ukrainians a great deal, for they often helped us during the hard years of imprisonment. No other prisoners are so well organized as the Ukrainians. The Ukrainian liberation movement continues its fight in spite of most difficult conditions. We never encountered a single Ukrainian who did not firmly believe that some day Ukraine would be free"⁸⁾

Regarding the strikes and riots the German prisoners reported as follows

'At the initiative of the Ukrainian prisoners a general strike began in Karaganda in April 1953, everybody refused to work. The apparent reason for this strike was the death of Stalin. The Ukrainians succeeded in persuading the prisoners of other nationalities that this event would have far-reaching consequences and that there might well be a fierce struggle in the Kremlin for the office of Stalin's successor. The strike led to certain alleviations in the living and working conditions of the prisoners. After the liquidation of Beria a strike broke out in Vorkuta in the summer of 1953, which very soon assumed the form of an uprising. Again the initiative was taken by the Ukrainians according to whose opinion the army had liquidated Beria and was now openly fighting the MVD. The Ukrainian prisoners were determined to use this unique opportunity. Another strike occurred in Vorkuta in the summer of 1954 and about the middle of November 1955 three pits in one district went on strike

According to the reports given by the former German prisoners, strikes also occurred in Norilsk, Karaganda and Kingir, where 40,000 Ukrainians from the region of Lviv had been forcibly resettled. Later the wave of strikes also spread to the camps in Kolyma. In the camp at Kingir in the Kazakh SSR, in which there were 6,000 prisoners, of whom 60 per cent were Ukrainians, a strike occurred in the summer of 1955⁹⁾

In addition to these examples of the strikes organized by Ukrainian prisoners we should also like to quote an appeal addressed by the Ukrainian prisoners in the Mordovian camps to the United Nations in October 1955. They demanded that an international commission should investigate conditions in the Soviet concentration camps, and they likewise demanded the restoration of Ukrainian state sovereignty¹⁰⁾

Thus, the Ukrainian political prisoners, too have continued the campaigns of the liberation movement by popularizing the will to freedom in many regions of the USSR, by organizing strikes and insurrections, and, finally by addressing an appeal to the United Nations in order to proclaim the Ukrainian independence aspirations and aims before the highest international forum

We are convinced that the campaigns of the Ukrainian political prisoners in the concentration camps of the USSR are the result of the ideological political and military training and education of the broad masses in Ukraine which was carried out by the OUN and UPA during the second period of the fight for freedom. In addition this activity on the part of the Ukrainian political prisoners is the

expression and consistent execution of the appeal which was issued by the UPA in the autumn of 1947 "To all those who have been forcibly deported to Siberia and to other Bolshevist concentration camps" This appeal was worded as follows

'Wherever you are — in the pits, ore-mines and forests, — continue to remain brave Ukrainians, whose heroic fight is admired by the whole world Even under the most difficult conditions, preserve your Ukrainian character and soul, and believe in our victory Teach your children the Ukrainian mother-tongue and the Lord's Prayer in Ukrainian, teach them to love Ukraine passionately and to hate the cruel Russian Bolshevist occupant most fiercely Show comradeship towards your fellow-countrymen and to all peoples subjugated by Moscow Tell them about the fight of the Ukrainian people and about the Ukrainian insurgents and revolutionaries Tell them how the Ukrainian farmers in the West Ukrainian territories are still fighting against the Stalinist collectivization, how the workers are committing acts of sabotage and how the women and children are putting up resistance against the NKVD men Tell them about the OUN and UPA and what they are fighting for But in doing so, be careful and do not mention the names of persons who are alive Beware of informers and secret agents" (1)

Not only have the political prisoners obeyed the appeal of the UPA, but they have also continued the fight against Russian Bolshevism under the most difficult conditions of captivity

In the present and third period of the Ukrainian fight for freedom the members of the liberation movement abroad are also conducting large-scale political campaigns As already mentioned, there are a large number of members and supporters of the OUN in the free Western world, including many leading personalities who played an important part in the first two periods of the fight for freedom

Immediately after World War II the members of the OUN who were organized as the Units Abroad began to develop a intensive anti-Bolshevist activity, and they extended this activity in the ideological, organizational and political sectors to all the countries of the Western world in which Ukrainian emigrants had settled In order to popularize the national liberation idea, periodical and non-periodical papers, journals, pamphlets and books are constantly being published abroad in Ukrainian, German, English, French and Spanish To mention but a few of these publications during the early post-war years the following appeared "Samostiynyk," "Na Storozi," "Vyzvolna Polityka," "Surma," "Trybuna," "Ukrayinska Trybuna," "Ukrayinsky Samostiynyk" The following periodicals are now published at present "Shlyakh Peremohy," "Homin Ukrayiny," "The Ukrainian Review," "Vyzvolny Shlyakh" and "Ucrania Libre" The journals "Nabat" and "ABN Correspondence" are published by the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), with the active support of the OUN In addition, numerous publications of the underground movement in Ukraine, which are brought to the West by liaison men of the OUN and UPA, are also reprinted in exile One of the most recent publications is the "Library of the Ukrainian Underground Fighter," which is published by the Units Abroad of the OUN for its members and for the Ukrainian revolutionary underground at home

In addition to the above-mentioned publications, numerous other non-periodical publications on political, ideological and programme questions have also appeared in various Western languages.

The members of the liberation movement who have been organized as the Units Abroad of the OUN have shown steadfastness of purpose, discipline and perseverance; countless other Ukrainian emigrants, too, have given proof of their noble spirit of self-sacrifice and have materially supported the activity of the liberation movement.

At the initiative of the OUN numerous political organizations and societies have been founded in the countries in which the Ukrainian emigrants have settled. It is the task of these organizations and societies to popularize the idea of the Ukrainian fight for freedom and Ukraine's independence aspirations abroad and to win supporters for this cause. Likewise at the initiative of the OUN the liberation movements of other peoples subjugated by Moscow were united in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN), which first originated in Ukraine in 1943. At the initiative of these organizations in exile anti-Bolshevist protest manifestations and mass-demonstrations are held on occasion in the Western countries in order to acquaint the latter with the problem of the peoples subjugated by Russia.

True, the above-mentioned Ukrainian organizations and societies have their own statutes and programmes, but ideologically they are closely bound up with the nationalist liberation movement, to which, according to the resolutions of the 1st Conference of the Units Abroad of the OUN, they belong. These resolutions, for instance, state: "We regard as belonging to the nationalist movement all organized Ukrainian forces that are permeated by our idea, that are working for its realization and are taking an active part in our fight."

One of the most important spheres of activity of the Units Abroad of the OUN is of course the information and political activity abroad. And considerable success has already been achieved in this field. Constant contact is maintained with various circles connected with the governments of the Western countries and also with certain influential governments. In 1955 Jaroslaw Stetzko visited Spain and Free China, for instance, and, in addition to discussions with members of the governments there, also had talks with the heads of state, Franco and Chiang Kai-shek, whom he informed on the Ukrainian fight for freedom. The highlight of Jaroslaw Stetzko's visit to Free China was the signing of an agreement on the co-operation of the Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League (APACLROC, Republic of China) and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) in the fight against Communism and Russian imperialism. This agreement states:

"The Asian Peoples' Anti-Communist League, Republic of China, and the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations are unanimously agreed that their common aims are the annihilation of the international Communist bloc and the destruction of Russian imperialism, in order to assist those nations which have been enslaved in Europe and Asia by the Russian imperialists to restore their independence in their original ethnographical territories" (15)

The co-operation between the ABN and the APACLROC is continued intensively. So far, about a hundred articles on Ukraine and other peoples subjugated by Moscow have been published in the Free Chinese press.

The political activity of the Units Abroad of the OUN also includes, in addition to the information service, demonstrations and personal diplomatic contacts, numerous memoranda, aide-memoires and declarations which are addressed to the leading politicians and statesmen of the Western countries on the occasion of various international conferences. These memoranda and declarations give the Western politicians an account of the true facts regarding the fight for freedom of the Ukrainians and other peoples and the treacherous and cunning policy of Moscow towards the subjugated peoples and towards the free Western world

FOOTNOTES

- 1) "Library of the Ukrainian Underground Fighter," Book No 1, 'Resolutions of the Congresses and Conferences of the OUN' (*OUN v dokumentakh*), 1955, p 140-141
- 2) "Library of the Ukrainian Underground Fighter," Book No 6, "The UPA in Documents" (*UPA v dokumentakh*), 1957, p 168
- 3) "Library of the Ukrainian Underground Fighter," Book No 3, 'The UHVR in Documents' (*UHVR v dokumentakh*), 1956, p 40
- 4) Journal *Do Zbroyi* ("To Arms"), No 15 (28), 1952
- 5) S Danyluk "The Balance of the Victories of the UPA and the Armed Underground," in the journal *Do Zbroyi* ("To Arms"), No 19 (32)
- 6) "The Activity of the Insurgents in Ukraine," the newspaper *Shlyakh Peremohy*, No 25 (121), June 17, 1958
- 7) Paper *Ukrayinskyj Samostiynyk*, No 24 (178), June 14, 1953
- 8) *Shlyakh Peremohy*, No 44 (88), October 30, 1955
- 9) V P Stachiv "System under Compulsion" (*Systema v prymusoviy sytuatsiyi*), in the paper *Suchasna Ukrayina*, No 22 (144), 1956
- 10) A. Mykulyn "Concentration Camps in the Soviet Union" (*Kontsentratsiyni tabori v Sovyets'komu Soyuzi*), OUN Units Abroad, 1958, p 213
- 11) Journal *Surma* ("The Fanfare"), No 3, 1949
- 12) "Library of the Ukrainian Underground Fighter," Book No 4, 'The ABN in Documents' (*ABN v dokumentakh*), OUN Units Abroad, 1956, p 346

INFORMATION ABOUT THE ASSASSINATION OF BANDERA

FIRST ANNOUNCEMENT OF BANDERA'S DEATH

On the day of Bandera's assassination the first appeal to Ukrainian Nationalists was published)*

Comrades, Nationalists!

At this tragic moment when cruel death has deprived us for ever of Stepan Bandera, great son of the Ukrainian people and for many years our illustrious leader, we appeal to you to cherish in your sorrow-stricken hearts the belief in the victory of our sacred cause, to remain unshaken in your loyalty to the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and, more determined than ever, to continue the fight

Paris, Rotterdam, Bilohorshcha**), Munich — these are stains of blood on the road on which our best fighters gave their lives for the freedom of Ukraine. They are examples of the appalling cruelty of Moscow, the arch-enemy of Ukraine, who aims at breaking the organized fighting force of the Ukrainian people by a systematic extermination of its leaders.

But from the sacrifice of these heroes sprang an ideal which inspires fresh fighters in the struggle for an independent and united Ukrainian state. The enemy cannot destroy Stepan Bandera's far-sighted policy or the vast experience gained in OUN cadres under his leadership. His ideals will continue to guide in the future our fight for freedom.

Unity, steadfastness, determination and untiring effort — these must be our answer to the treacherous and murderous plots by which the enemy tries to intimidate and paralyze the leading spirits of the largest of enslaved peoples.

Long live the memory of our heroes!

**The Leadership of Units Abroad
of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists**

15th October, 1959

*) Special number of 'Shlyakh Peremohy,' No 43 of 16 October, 1959

**) The village and forest near the city of Lviv (Lvov) West Ukraine, where General Roman Shukhevych (Taras Chuprynka) the Supreme Commander of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (U.P.A.) was killed in a combat with Russian security troops on March 5th 1950

APPEAL BY THE LEADERSHIP OF OUN UNITS ABROAD TO MEMBERS AND TO THE ENTIRE UKRAINIAN PEOPLE

Comrades, Nationalists!

People of Ukraine!

The Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the whole Ukrainian people have again suffered a severe and painful blow. The cruel and unscrupulous men of Moscow have in the most insidious and horrible manner murdered by poison Stepan Bandera, the intrepid fighter for Ukrainian independence and for many years the leader of the OUN and the Ukrainian revolutionary liberation movement.

This dastardly assassination was part of the intensifying campaign against the Ukrainian nationalist revolutionary movement, which seriously threatens imperialist Moscow and its communist system of enslavement and exploitation of subjugated peoples as well as its plans for conquering the world in order to turn it into a vast prison for all its peoples. In murdering its leader, Moscow was hoping to deal a devastating blow to the Ukrainian national liberation revolution. Once more, however, the enemy failed to achieve his aim, just as he had failed in 1926, 1938 and 1950, when the Commander-in-Chief Symon Petlura, Colonel Evhen Konovalts and General Taras Chuprynka were murdered by the same criminal hands. Nor will he ever succeed in the future. The death of Stepan Bandera is undeniably a grievous shock and a severe loss not only to the OUN but to the whole Ukrainian people and to the entire freedom-loving world. And yet, neither these nor countless other crimes and atrocities perpetrated by barbarous Moscow can destroy the immortal spirit of the nation or check its fight for a great future.

With Stepan Bandera the Ukrainian people have lost a great man who throughout his life toiled and fought for the freedom, glory and greatness of Ukraine, utterly dedicated to the Fatherland and faithful to the last.

Stepan Bandera was the lofty example of an unyielding fighter and revolutionary, ideologist and strategist, theoretician and practitioner of the Ukrainian national revolution, unequalled in his devoted and self-sacrificing service to his people, he was the ideal knight without fear and without reproach, uncompromising when the common weal of the nation was at stake. Fate bestowed on him great gifts, but also

subjected him to hard trials and knocks, but he never wavered. Brave, unflinching and with dignity Stepan Bandera followed the thorny path of his life, serious, but never without a smile, he proudly looked ahead.

A man of kind heart, unshaken faith and firm character, Stepan Bandera confidently and resolutely led the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists and the revolutionary struggle for an independent Ukraine, and his high ideal of untiring service in the cause of national freedom carried us all with him.

In his 'Words to Ukrainian Nationalists' Stepan Bandera has clearly and positively stated not only the task which the Organization has set itself, but also the tasks which every single member of the OUN has to fulfil as a soldier in the front line of the national fight for a free Ukraine.

In the tasks before the Organization as such as well as in the tasks to be fulfilled by individual members we must always be guided by the same principle to which we have adhered in the past and which has in the highest degree become imperative in the homeland: the principle of self-sacrificing devotion.

The Organization must demand of its members that which is indispensable to our fight: to sacrifice everything if need be. Every member must be prepared to give up his family, his personal plans for the future, his profession to join the battle under the toughest conditions and — if fate wills it — to sacrifice even his life. This is the fundamental duty of members: the fulfilment of which the Organization can and will demand of every member without exception.

Our Organization in countries abroad as well as in the homeland has room only for those who possess a sense of responsibility and moral strength and who will dedicate themselves and all they have to the service of our cause. From the basic principle of duty to the cause will derive the directives of the Organization to its members concerning the tasks and the means to fulfil them.

True self-sacrifice, sincere devotion to the task and disregard for the material things of life must issue from the moral attitude of every genuine member.

Calling for the necessary 'thorough examination of the position of OUN Units Abroad and self-examination of each member' the leader stressed that "the certainty of difficulties will not intimidate or detain us in our fight." He closed his 'Words to Ukrainian Nationalists' with the exhortation addressed to us all: 'Let us prepare and set about the great deeds, for the great time is near!'

This 'great deed' for which we are to prepare and which we as members of the OUN and the Ukrainian liberation front, are to tackle as Stepan Bandera ordered us is the Ukrainian national revolution. In countless publications, and particularly in his book 'The Prospects of the Ukrainian National Revolution,' Stepan Bandera

has exhaustively stated the main tasks of the OUN as the advance-guard, leader and originator of this revolution and the advocate of the Ukrainian people; and he has shown the only correct way in which final victory can be won in the gigantic fight to the death against barbarous and imperialist Moscow, the fiercest enemy of Ukraine and of the whole freedom-loving world.

When he spoke of the driving forces of the revolution and discussed the basic and generally valid manner of mobilising the people, i.e. an ideological and political mobilisation, Stepan Bandera heavily underlined the moral aspects, as "the promotion of an idealistic and determined attitude, the readiness to fight in the historic contest of the nation and to sacrifice personal security, possessions and even life."

He declared: "The most important factor in revolutionary education is the living example of heroic deeds in the fight of a revolutionary organization."

From the point of view of an heroic life and a martyr's death, Stepan Bandera is indeed an example worthy of emulation to us all, to every Ukrainian nationalist revolutionary, to every Ukrainian patriot and to the whole Ukrainian people.

The leader Stepan Bandera emphasized that "a sound foundation for revolution can only be found in the native forces of the peoples, subjugated by bolshevism, fighting on their own." He stressed that in order to rouse the people against foreign domination "one must, while negating the existing state of affairs, lift up their own ideals which are based on their own aims and desires and which only require the strength of will and readiness to fight to come into their own again."

Underlying his statements and conclusions was his unshakable faith in the inexhaustible and life-giving forces of the Ukrainian people. He said:

"The ideas of Ukrainian nationalism, which spring from the mind of the Ukrainian people and from its philosophy of life, which express their ideal conception of life and are signposts on the road of history — these are the perpetual motive power behind the Ukrainian nationalist anti-bolshevist revolution."

"The revolutionary Organization, which aims in its work and fight at the realisation of the revolutionary idea, becomes the fundamental and guiding active force in the revolutionary process... In the struggle for a free Ukraine this leading force, the OUN, was born and grew up, until in our day it penetrates with its initiative all forms and branches of the revolutionary movement. Maintenance, strengthening and perfection of the OUN are of fundamental importance for the successful development of the national revolution... The most important thing, however, is that the Organization consistently pursues its work for the eventual realisation of the immutable ideas from which it draws its strength."

These are the basic ideas and guiding principles in which Stepan Bandera firmly believed and according to which he acted. They are the testament which he has left us.

Under his leadership the OUN grew into a strong ideological force and became the advance-guard in the revolutionary fight for freedom of Ukraine, which is a fatal threat to Moscow's rule.

Comrades, Nationalists!

People of Ukraine!

The road taken by our late leader is our road; it must be followed not only by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists but by the entire Ukrainian people. Neither the revolutionaries in the OUN, nor the Ukrainian people will stray from this road, until we have achieved the goal for which Stepan Bandera gave his life. His testament shall be law unto us and guide our fight and our lives.

We shall not give ourselves a moment's rest in the gigantic fight which we have for decades been carrying on against the cruel conqueror of Ukraine, that is Russian imperialism. In answer to the enemy's latest act of terror we shall intensify our fight for a United and Independent Ukrainian State and against the rule of terror and exploitation of our fatherland by an insatiable Moscow. We shall close our ranks yet more firmly under the banner of the national struggle for liberation, under the banner of Stepan Bandera's spirit. We shall increase our vigilance against any designs of the enemy and shall strengthen our internal discipline and readiness for action. We shall exert ourselves in strengthening the positions of the national liberation front in order to make it invulnerable against the enemy's attacks, however severe; and we shall uphold the cause which in the end is to defeat Moscow and to bring freedom and justice to the world.

Eternal glory to Stepan Bandera, the knight of the Ukrainian national revolution, the faithful son of Ukraine!

Long live the OUN, the organizer, leader and advance-guard of the Ukrainian national liberation front, the spokesman of the will of the Ukrainian people!

Long live the United Ukrainian Independent State!

**The Leadership of Units Abroad
of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists**

At Headquarters, October, 1959.

FROM THE FUNERAL SPEECH BY JAROSLAW STETZKO

In 1926, Symon Petlura was murdered in Paris, twelve years later, in 1938, Evhen Konovalts was overcome by the same fate in Rotterdam, and 21 years afterwards — Stepan Bandera in Munich

Three tragic dates in Ukrainian history, three figures, each of them great in his loftiness and singleness, three fiery pillars of the heroic self-sacrifice for the Ukrainian liberation idea along the historic road of self-determination of the Ukrainian Nation

Each of them fell on his post by the hand of the Russian occupier using vile methods typical for Moscow murders of all times and all state systems

Moscow has no courage to wage an open fight against the bearers and representatives of the great freedom idea propagated by Ukraine, the idea of law and justice, of universal freedom and national independence, Moscow follows the path of intrigues and secret murders In the long run, Moscow's successes are merely temporary Moscow, which embodies in itself forces of evil, destruction and ruin takes away from us our best men, but their spirit, their ideas live on

Moscow aims to break our spirit by taking away Stepan Bandera from us by means of violence, and thinks that the Ukrainian Nation will be broken in spirit as a result, will be overcome by hopelessness and will cease its national liberation struggle Vain hopes! — Millions of Ukrainians have already sacrificed their lives for the ideas whose embodiment the deceased represented and which inspire the entire Ukrainian Nation

The name Bandera has become a symbol of the present struggle of Ukraine against Russia for her national independence and human liberty For many years of his revolutionary activity Bandera stood at the helm of the Ukrainian organised liberation movement and distinguished himself by highest personal sacrifice, courage and resolve — first as a territorial leader of the Ukrainian Military Organisation (UVO), then as a territorial leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), and subsequently as the Supreme Leader of the entire OUN and Chairman of the OUN Units Abroad *Neither a death sentence, nor the German concentration camps, nor even the martyrs' death of both his brothers in the Auschwitz concentration camp could sway him from his revolutionary path*

Stepan Bandera drew his strength from his profound religious faith Christianity formed an integral part of his spirit, belief in God and Christian morality characterised all his activity His patriotic nationalism was inseparably bound with his Christian faith He realised full well that Moscow, the centre of aggressive godlessness and totalitarian tyranny, can be combatted successfully only when Ukraine takes up again its historic mission in Eastern Europe — the struggle for Christ against Moscow's Antichrist He fought for this not from tactical motives, but above all from ideological beliefs, and made thus a direct testimony of his personal views on life and the world

Stepan Bandera's look was always directed toward our native country Ukraine which forms the basis of our strength. His attention was devoted mainly to the growth and development of the national revolutionary forces and their actions in Ukraine. He devoted all his efforts to an all-round, consistent and systematic strengthening of the revolutionary potential. He was not only an outstanding organizer of national revolution, but also a farsighted theoretician who did not see Ukraine otherwise than in a common front of all the nations enslaved by Russia. He was therefore a steadfast friend and resolute propagator of the liberation ideas of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations in whose activity he took an outstanding part. The Ukrainian problem meant for him the problem in which the entire world is concerned, he desired liberty and national independence not only for his country, but also for all other peoples subjugated by Russia and Communism, whose fate is inseparably connected with that of Ukraine.

When two totalitarian imperialist powers clashed on the Ukrainian soil in 1941, he took a courageous decision to face the struggle on two fronts, to which the Ukrainian State act of 30th June, 1941 laid the foundations.

He viewed national revolution as an all-embracing upsurge of the entire nation in all fields of public and private life. He had the courage to take decisions and accept responsibility for them, without shifting guilt for possible failures on others.

While he was uncompromising with regard to the enemy of the Ukrainian Nation, he was capable of appreciating any correct action by Ukrainians of other political views, and was convinced that at the decisive moment of Ukrainian history all true patriots of Ukraine would forget their disagreements and would put the interests of the Nation above everything that separates them.

To no lesser degree had he the programmatic questions of the Ukrainian National Revolution at heart, and he made important contributions to the ideological contents of Ukrainian nationalism. His thoughts, widely disseminated in various publications, as well as in political correspondence, provide a clear picture of his views and reveal his political testament.

Moscow has murdered the leader of the Ukrainian national liberation movement in the conviction that at the time of the so-called "peaceful coexistence" and of the mood of capitulation in the West this crime would not cause any conflicts in foreign relations. But the Western world must recognize that Bandera's murder means "memento mori" to all who do not support our liberation struggle. Moscow's misdeed is a confirmation of its resolve to get ready to a forthcoming decisive clash with the West. Will the West understand this?

On the other hand, we, Ukrainian nationalists-revolutionaries, and the entire militant Ukraine, as well as our friends in the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, will continue our uncompromising fight for life or death against Russia and Communism, and implement the behests of Stepan Bandera unfalsified.

REACTION TO THE NEWS OF STEPAN BANDERA'S DEATH

The news of Bandera's assassination was learnt in Ukraine through short reports in the Soviet press and wireless. The Ukrainian underground movement received the news through its own channels. At first, the great majority of the Ukrainian people took the Soviet reports for provocation and did not believe the news. In order to convince the population of Bandera's death, the Bolsheviks released for news-reels in the following weeks film fragments of the funeral ceremonies, which were shown in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Eastern Germany, and they reckoned that the Ukrainians living in those countries would inform their relatives and friends in the USSR. Simultaneously, Polish, Czech and Soviet propaganda began to lay the blame for the murder on the Germans. However, reprisals against bolshevist party bosses in the Western Ukraine indicate that these accusations could not deceive the people as to the real culprits.

The Bolsheviks were not content with Bandera's assassination alone. Their aim was, and still is, morally to destroy — by libel and slander — Bandera's work and the Ukrainian freedom movement which he represented, just as they had done at the time of Petlura's death.

Before and after Bandera's assassination the Bolsheviks staged show-trials at which several genuine and fake people were forced to 'confess' that, as members of OUN or UPA, they had about fifteen years ago committed numerous crimes against the Ukrainian population on the orders of the OUN under Bandera's leadership or in collusion with the Nazis. Specially selected witnesses testified to these revelations. However, the people knew better and on the whole were not impressed by this sort of defamation. In order to intensify propaganda attacks against the OUN, the Bolsheviks started a fresh libel campaign in the autumn of 1960 which lasted throughout the year. Under the names of imprisoned nationalists they published statements, which were to convince above all opinion abroad that the freedom movement was unjustified, that its organization no longer existed and that OUN Units Abroad had become a spy ring in the employment of various western secret services and did not care about the fate of Ukraine. The constant repetition of such slanders and the variants in prepared 'evidence' prove that even the Bolsheviks themselves felt that this sort of calumny hardly convinced public opinion.

Among Ukrainians living abroad and in all their political organizations the news of Bandera's murder produced waves of sympathy for the victim and of indignation. Two-months' mourning was proclaimed, and Ukrainians in Western Europe, the USA, Canada, Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela and Australia flock every year to commemoration ceremonies. Donations to a fund were generously given and represented the answer of Ukrainians to the bolshevist murderers. The donations have secured the livelihood of the victim's family and have made possible the establishment of a fund for the continuation of Bandera's work.

COLLAPSE OF THE BOLSHEVIST PROVOCATION

REFUTATION OF A SLANDER ATTEMPT

Two years ago, simultaneously with the report about the death of the Leader of the OUN, Stepan Bandera, Bolshevik propaganda hastened to put into circulation a false assertion that allegedly those guilty in his death were to be found in the German circles of the then Federal Minister for Refugee Affairs, Oberlander. This Bolshevik lie was spread in the world with the only purpose to deflect the suspicion of the secret crime from Moscow and to dampen the indignation of the public against Moscow. The baseless lie of the Bolshevik propaganda repeated so often and in different versions did not bring about, however, the desired disorientation of the public opinion. Not merely the political sense of the assassination pointed unmistakably to the criminal hand of Moscow, but the preparations of an assassination which for many years were again and again organised by Bolshevik agents and repeatedly prevented were so widespread and well known that all tall stories about the participation or the interest of the "German circles" in such an assassination could not find credibility among the wide public.

After two years of unsuccessful calumny the Bolsheviks spread a new sensational provocation in October 1961, through which unwittingly, they laid bare their lies.

On the eve of the second anniversary of the death of Stepan Bandera, the Bolsheviks staged a press conference in East Berlin on 13th October, 1961, in the course of which they produced an agent of theirs, Stefan Lippolz, who during his stay in Munich was known under the name of Stefan Liebholz. He then made a false statement according to which a former member of the Leadership of the OUN Units Abroad, Dmytro Myskiw, who died on 27th March, 1960 was allegedly the murderer of S. Bandera.

The respective passage in the statement of the Bolshevik agent Lippolz reads as follows:

"About Christmas 1959 I returned to the Federal Republic and immediately sought out Dmytro Myskiw in Munich. Myskiw made a miserable impression on me. When I asked him about the reasons for his depression, he replied that he had murdered S. Bandera on instructions of the Federal Intelligence Service. When he told me that on the day of the sudden death of Bandera he had brought the emigre leader his lunch, I knew immediately that he had acted in the same way, as I once had been expected to act on instructions of Dr. Weber" ("Golos Rodiny" No 77, October 1961)

In the case of this new impudent provocation and criminal accusations against the deceased Dmytro Myskiw the Bolsheviks calculated that the deceased was no longer able to dispute them. At the same time they lightheartedly overlooked some facts, overreached themselves and were caught up in the mesh of their own lies. Thus they offered another proof of their own crime.

The facts overlooked by the Bolsheviks in fabricating the above-mentioned provocation are as follows:

1) On 15th October, 1959, the day of the death of S. Bandera, Dmytro Myskiw who died later was absent from Munich. He was sent by the Leadership of the OUN Units Abroad to Rome on 12th October, 1959 to take part in Ukrainian Catholic festivities which were held there between 12th and 15th October. He left Munich on the former date aboard a through train in the direction of Rome. In the evening of 15th October, 1959 he was informed by telephone from Munich about Bandera's death and was asked to return to Munich immediately. Myskiw arrived back in Munich in the evening on 16th October, 1959.

2) On the day of his death, S. Bandera did not have any lunch on the premises of his office and nobody "brought him his lunch". About 12 o'clock noon he went to town to do some shopping and then returned to his home where he collapsed on a staircase landing at about 1.10 p.m.

Thus, the Bolsheviks themselves have revealed the lie about their non-involvement in the murder of S. Bandera which they wanted to hide behind the deceased.

Headquarters, 31st October, 1961

**Secretariat of the Leadership of the Units Abroad
of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists**

ECHO OF THE ARREST OF THE MURDERER

STATEMENT BY THE LEADERSHIP OF THE OUN AFTER THE DISCOVERY OF THE MURDERER

The first news about the apprehension of the murderer of Bandera and about his confessions was announced on Friday, November 17th, 1961 at noon. On the same day, the Leadership of the OUN Units Abroad issued the following statement in this connection:

The report about the discovery of the murderer of Stepan Bandera, the Leader of the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, tore the mask off the face of the organisers of the assassination.

The Bolshevik agent of the K.G.B. (the Soviet State Security Committee) Bohdan Stashynsky, received the instructions to carry out the assassination directly from the Headquarters of the K.G.B. in Moscow. At that time, Alexander Shelepin was Chairman of the State Security Committee at the Council of Ministers of the USSR. There is no doubt that the plans of the secret murder were known to and approved by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita Khrushchov, to whom the chief of the K.G.B. is subordinated. The fact that Stashynsky was personally presented with an Order of the Red Banner by A. Shelepin in reward for the carrying out of the assassination is a proof that the official Soviet quarters evaluate the carrying out of the political murder of the Leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement as deserving merit and assign an award for it.

Before the world the Bolsheviks make an attempt to appear as the protagonists of the liberation of the Asian and African peoples from colonialism. Among the nations occupied by the Russian colonialists, on the other hand, the Bolsheviks suppress by means of the most cruel and cunning methods the slightest strivings of these peoples for liberation.

The Communist Party awarded A. Shelepin for his part in the acceleration of the Russification processes and the deportations of the millions of young non-Russians to the so-called virgin lands of Kazakhstan, Siberia and the Far East by upgrading him from the First Secretary of the Komsomol (the League of the Communist Youth) of the Soviet Union to the supreme chief of State Security Committee.

As a reward for the crushing of the national liberation movements of the nations enslaved by the Red Moscow, and, among other things, for the organizing of the secret murder of the Leader of the liberation movement, Stepan Bandera, the recent 22nd Congress of the CPSU

raised A. Shelepın in rank by electing him Member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, i.e. making him one of the nine supreme dictators of the Soviet Union

The discovery of those guilty of the murder of Stepan Bandera confirms that

— Khrushchov's policy with regard to the enslaved peoples is a continuation of Stalin's policy of annihilation of non-Russian nationalities,

— the ideas of national liberation of Ukraine and other peoples enslaved by Russia is such a grave danger to Moscow that she continues to carry out terrorist actions even on the territories of the free countries,

— not only this year's Bolshevik provocations aimed at the take over of Berlin, but also the involvement of official Soviet quarters in the organisation of political murders is a signal of warning for the naive people in the Western world that Bolshevism under the leadership of Khrushchov has not changed and has not ceased to be an imperialistic movement, which tries to bring under its domination the peoples of the Free World by means of violence, terror and cunning

Stepan MUDRYK

THE ACCOMPLICES OF THE MURDERER IN THE SOVIET GOVERNMENT

Two years after the murder of the OUN leader, Stepan Bandera the crafty assassin, an agent of the Soviet KGB, was found and arrested. He will shortly have to stand trial before a court of the Federal Republic of Germany within whose jurisdiction the crime was committed.

The criminal does not deny his foul deeds instigated by Moscow, he admitted them and disclosed not only the exact details of the planning but also the names of those who plotted and ordered the assassination, trained the murderer and, after the completion of his foul task, decorated their stooge with the high 'Order of the Red Banner'. The chief criminals are the former Head of the KGB*), Alexander Shelepın, and the hangman of Ukraine, Nikita Khrushchov their tool Bohdan Stashynsky.

*) Komitet Gosudarstvennoy Bezopasnosti (State Security Committee) the latest successor of the Cheka GPU NKVD NKGB, MVD and MGB

It is common knowledge that after the murder of S Bandera the Soviet propaganda machine tried for two years to circulate within the Russian empire and in the countries of the free world base and provocative lies and misrepresentations. These were designed to create confusion and to undermine the prestige of the OUN, as well as to shift the blame for the murder away from Moscow.

Moscow had been planning and preparing an attempt on Bandera's life for fifteen years and repeatedly sent trained agents for this purpose. In many cases, however, the OUN was able to intervene and prevent the attacks, so that NKGB-MGB-KGB headquarters were again and again forced to withdraw their agents and to change their tactics.

The law prevailing in the Federal German Republic does not allow for the prevention of the preparation for murder, i.e. the preliminary study and observation of the intended victim and his habits.

The criminal intentions of Moscow are demonstrated by the following facts:

- In 1947, the KGB agent Moroz was ordered to assassinate the OUN leader, S Bandera, but the plot was foiled by members of the OUN.
- In 1948, a similar attempt was to be made by Stelmashchuk, another KGB agent, who had come to Western Germany with his accomplices.
- In 1950, KGB headquarters at Prague prepared an attempt on Bandera's life.
- In 1952, Moscow dispatched two more agents, Lehmann and Leguda, the first of German and the second of Czech extraction, who had been appointed and trained to murder S Bandera.
- In 1953, an old KGB agent, Stefan Liebholz (now called Lippolz), was sent to Western Germany on the same murderous project.
- In 1959, KGB agent Winzik came to Munich from Vienna with the intention to murder S Bandera or kidnap him and his family.
- In the same year the OUN received a hint that the KGB was planning an attempt on Bandera's life, which was to be carried out in the same manner as had been employed against the Ukrainian Head of State, Symon Petlura. The KGB had trained a young Pole from Western Ukraine and wanted to send him to Germany to kill S Bandera 'in revenge for the murder of his family by followers of Bandera' (Schwarzbart, the murderer of Symon Petlura, had also asserted that he had 'taken revenge for the Jews'). The KGB then dropped the plan and decided to act surreptitiously. For this purpose Stashynsky received his training.

In its defamatory and mendacious propaganda the Soviet KGB employed other methods as well.

As we know, some OUN members who had been sent to Ukraine in support of revolutionary activity there, fell into the hands of the KGB. After long imprisonment and by the use of inhuman torture the KGB succeeded in demoralizing some OUN members and forced them to defame publicly leading members of the OUN and the freedom movement. These men, who had been robbed of their will by incredible methods of physical and psychological maltreatment and who had been prevented by the enemy to die an honourable death, were now dragged from the dungeons and forced to make statements favourable to the KGB, which were to 'prove' the assertions of the KGB about 'OUN co-operation' in Western espionage and about 'appalling murders of innocent people' perpetrated by members of the OUN. After the retreat of Soviet troops in 1941, the prisons at Lviv (Lvov) and other Ukrainian towns, particularly Vinnytsia, were full of the corpses of political prisoners. There were also the bodies found in the village wells. The KGB tried to lay the blame for the murders in NKVD dungeons on the Ukrainian 'Nightingale' legion and accused OUN members of having killed those whose bodies were found in the wells. It is curious, though, that the corpses in the wells were 'brought to light' as late as fifteen years after the war, that is, when all local witnesses of the crime had been removed by the KGB. In the same manner Moscow tried to incriminate German government circles for the murder of Stepan Bandera and named as an 'accessory' to the murder the leading OUN member Myskiv who in the meantime had died.

Now that the biggest lie of the KGB has been exploded and the murderers (Khrushchov, Shelepin and Stashynsky) have been exposed, we once more want to call attention to the fact that the KGB will continue, more vigorously than ever, to spread false and provocative rumours and to attack and defame OUN members, in order to drown the shouts of protest in the free world and to smother the indignation of Ukrainians in the homeland, as well as to exonerate before the world the bemedalled assassins. At the same time, among the noise of KGB propaganda, fresh murders are being planned against the leaders of the OUN.

We know that all these plots are laid in such a way that the guilt can later be placed on others, or a 'suicide' can be simulated. We therefore warn all Ukrainians in exile and all honest people in the free world to beware of fresh crimes planned by the KGB.

Moscow and its public or secret servants will never succeed in misleading the Ukrainian people or in lulling them into security. Moscow's murderous plans have been exposed and it will not be able to pin its murders on anyone else for all these murders the responsibility lies with Khrushchov and his myrmidons, Shelepin, and now also Semichastny *)

*) Semichastny has recently succeeded Shelepin as Head of the KGB (State Security Committee) of the USSR, after Shelepin was appointed Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

PROTEST MEETINGS ABROAD AGAINST THE BOLSHEVIST TERROR

The arrest of Bandera's murderer and the disclosure that for the execution of his crime he had received from the highest Soviet authorities a distinguished service medal, caused strong indignation among Ukrainians living in the free world

In all, 122 protest meetings (5 of which were demonstrations) were held in various countries, i.e. 48 in Great Britain, 38 in Canada, 14 in Germany, 6 in the USA, 5 in France, 4 in Belgium, 3 in Australia, and one each in Holland, Austria, Argentina and Brazil

In the course of these meetings and demonstrations protest resolutions were passed against the bolshevist terror and against the instigators of the murder, Khrushchov and Shelepin, severe punishment of the culprits was demanded and an appeal made to several national and international authorities, requesting them to take appropriate measures for the protection of personalities in political and cultural life against the treachery of bolshevist agents. In several places demands were made for greater safeguards for citizens and democratic institutions. Particularly in Canada, resolutions were passed requesting that the activities of communist organizations in the country should be made illegal.

The resolutions passed at the protest meetings were then forwarded to the appropriate ministries, heads of governments, envoys of the Federal German Republic, to the United Nations (Commission for Human Rights) and to embassies of the free world.

The demonstrations which were held in front of the buildings of the Soviet UN Delegation in New York (2 December 1961), the Soviet Embassy in London (25 and 26 November), in Washington (9th December), Ottawa (22 December) and Guelph, Canada (5 December 1961) were to rouse public opinion. At these demonstrations suitably inscribed posters and placards were carried and thousands of leaflets were distributed, which gave information about Moscow's renewed criminal activities. In New York the demonstrators burnt the Soviet flag in an incident on which the Soviet newspaper 'Izvestiya' reported in abusive language without, however, mentioning the reason for the demonstration.

Sunday, 3rd December, 1961

Charleroi, Belgium,
Dundee (Angus, Scotland), Great Britain,
Edinburgh (Scotland), Great Britain,
Galashiels (Selkirk, Scotland), Great Britain,
Hanley, Stoke-on-Trent (Staff's), Great Britain,
Ingolstadt (Bavaria), Federal Rep of Germany,
Kirkland Lake (Ont), Canada,
Kitchener (Ont), Canada,
La Louviere, Belgium,
Landshut (Bavaria), Federal Rep of Germany,
Liège, Belgium,
Lincoln (Linc's), Great Britain,
Manchester (Lanc's), Great Britain,
Nuremberg (Bavaria), Federal Rep of Germany,
Regensburg (Bavaria), Federal Rep of Germany,
Regina (Sask.), Canada,
Rouyn-Noranda (Quebec), Canada,
Socheaux, France,
Stockport (Cheshire), Great Britain,
Swindon (Wilt's), Great Britain,
Todmorden (Lanc's), Great Britain,
Toronto (Ont.), Canada,
Völkermarkt (Carinthia), Austria,

Tuesday, 5th December, 1961

Guelph*) (Ont) Canada,

Thursday, 7th December

Val d'Or (Quebec) Canada,

Friday, 8th December, 1961

Newhaven (Sussex) Great Britain

Saturday, 9th December, 1961

Washington*) (Wast) USA,

Sunday, 10th December, 1961

Brantford (Ont) Canada
Doncaster (York's) Great Britain,
Rugby (Warwick's) Great Britain,
Saskatoon (Sask.), Canada,
Welland (Ont.) Canada,
Winnipeg (Man.), Canada,

Thursday, 14th December, 1961

Kingston (Ont), Canada,

Friday, 15th December, 1961

Moose Jaw (Sask), Canada,

Saturday, 16th December, 1961

Sheffield (W.R., York's), Gt. Britain,

Sunday, 17th December, 1961

Blackburn (Lanc's), Great Britain,
Delhi (Ont.), Canada,
Edmonton**) (Alta) Canada,
Guelph**) (Ont), Canada,
Hamilton (Ont), Canada,
New Toronto (Ont), Canada,
Oshawa (Ont.), Canada,
Paderborn (Westphalia), Federal Rep of Germany,
Portage la Prairie (Man), Canada,
Sudbury**) (Ont.), Canada,
Vancouver (B.C.), Canada,
Waterford (Ont), Canada
Windsor (Ont), Canada,

Friday, 22nd December, 1961

Ottawa**) (Ont), Canada,

Sunday, 24th December, 1961

Fricourt (Somme), France,

Sunday, 31st December, 1961

Chicago (Illinois), USA,

Sunday, 14th January, 1962

San Francisco-Solano Argentina,

Sunday 21st January, 1962

Sydney (Stratfield), Australia,

Sunday, 4th February, 1962

Jersey City (NY) USA,

Lyon (Rhône) France,

Sunday 25th February, 1962

Le Cateau (Nord) France

Sunday 4th March, 1962

Canberra (ACT), Australia,
Curitiba (Parana) Brazil,
Binghamton (NY) USA,
Bury**) (Lancs) Great Britain,
Roubaix (Nord), France

*) Places at which demonstrations were staged

**) Places at which protest meetings were held for the second time

PROTEST RESOLUTION BY THE ANTI-BOLSHEVIK BLOC OF NATIONS (ABN)

AGAINST THE ACTS OF MURDER PERPETRATED BY MOSCOW GOVERNMENT

The Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations (ABN) regards it as essential that the attention of the public should be drawn to the following facts

1 At the instructions of the Soviet state security service, the leader of the Ukrainian revolutionary movement, Stepan BANDERA, the president of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN), was murdered in the entrance-hall of the house in which he lived in Munich, on October 15, 1959

The man who carried out these instructions, Bohdan Stashynsky, an agent of the Soviet security service, who has in the meantime given himself up voluntarily to the authorities of the German Federal Republic because he feared for his life in the Soviet Union on account of his knowledge of this crime, has admitted that he received these orders to murder Stepan Bandera from the then chief of the Soviet state security service, Alexander Shelepin, personally. He also confessed that he had carried out the murder by means of a poison pistol loaded with cyanide, and that he was decorated with the high "Order of the Red Banner" for this deed by Shelepin. The correctness of this statement has already been investigated, and the murderer Stashynsky will be called to account in a trial in the near future before the courts of the Federal Republic of Germany.

2 This same agent of the Soviet secret service, B Stashynsky, also confessed to having murdered the well-known Ukrainian emigrant politician Dr Lev Rebet in the entrance-hall of the office in Munich where he worked, in the year 1957, by the same method and at the orders of his chief, the above-mentioned Alexander Shelepin.

3 It has also been learnt from American sources that B Stashynsky, who committed the two aforesaid murders, finally admitted at his interrogation that he had likewise received orders to murder the former Ukrainian Prime Minister Jaroslaw STETZKO, another prominent personality of the Ukrainian liberation struggle and the President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. This murder was to be carried out in 1960, but it could not be perpetrated for reasons which have as yet not been clarified.

4 The person who issued the orders in all three cases, Alexander Shelepin, on the strength of his office as chief of the Soviet secret service was one of the closest co-workers and right-hand men of the Party Secretary and Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchov. The confidence which Shelepin enjoys was, furthermore, corroborated at the recent 22nd Party Congress in Moscow, when, at Khrushchov's suggestion, he was entrusted with the post of a secretary for security matters in the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since it was a question of liquidating leading personalities of the Ukrainian national movement and thus of important political decisions in each of the murder cases mentioned above, there can be no doubt that these orders were issued with the knowledge and approval of the Soviet government and Party leaders, and were in fact issued directly by the Party and government leader Khrushchov in the first place. This can also be seen from the conferment of a high order on B Stashynsky for the murders, since application for this conferment had to be made by Stashynsky's superior, Shelepin, to the head of the government, Khrushchov, and adequate reasons for this application had to be given, and, furthermore, the conferment had to be approved by the state presidium.

5 After the agent Stashynsky fled to the West, the Moscow government, since it was afraid of disclosures on his part, tried to escape such exposure by means of a propaganda trick. On October 13, 1961, it arranged a press conference in East Berlin at which another agent of the Soviet secret service, named Stefan Lippolz, appeared in order to make certain 'disclosures' regarding the murder of Stepan Bandera. He blamed the murder onto the cashier of Bandera's own organization, Dmytro Myskiv, who has died in the meantime. This diversion manoeuvre, however, was a failure since it is an established fact that the fictitious 'murderer' was not in Munich when Bandera was murdered, but was in Rome at the time, where he stayed for several days.

These facts which have already been established are by far more significant than the mere facts of an ordinary trial, in which only the physical perpetrator and executor of these terrorist murders would be called to account. Even if mass murders have always been a traditional method of the Bolshevik regime and the world seems to have become accustomed to overlooking individual cases of this type as minor offences, the flagrant cases mentioned above and the attendant circumstances force one to draw far-reaching conclusions both of a juridical and of a moral and political nature precisely because of the proof which they offer.

1 Not only the direct murderer Stashynsky must be accused by the German court as the hired tool for these vile murders committed at the orders of the highest Soviet authority and carried out in the territory of the German Federal Republic, but the following co-accused should also be tried before a German court, — the person who gave the orders, the chief of the Soviet secret service, Alexander

Shelepin, on account of instigation and aiding and abetting, namely, among other things, by supplying the weapon which had been specially constructed for this purpose; and, further, the Soviet government and Party chief, Nikita Khrushchov, in whose name the orders were issued and who must be regarded as the principal instigator and main guilty party. If the Moscow government now has the audacity to demand the extradition of General Heusinger on account of fictitious war crimes imputed to the latter, then there is no reason why the government of a legal state should not demand the extradition of the accomplices and main accused in a planned murder and bring them to trial, especially as these crimes were committed during peacetimes in the free world

2 The murders listed above should be used as precedents in order to expose before the whole world the Bolshevist system of murder and the practices of the Party and government chief, Khrushchov, personally, who today makes a great show of his so-called "de-Stalinization" measures and his alleged "socialist legality." In this respect it would suffice to shed light on the atrocities which he committed during his terrorist rule in Ukraine as the first Party Secretary and Prime Minister of that country from 1938 to 1949

Khrushchov has the mass-murders of thousands of so-called "bourgeois nationalists," who prior to and at the outbreak of World War II bestirred themselves in the cause of Ukrainian independence, on his conscience. Mass-graves containing the bodies of thousands of Ukrainian patriots of those days in Lviv, Vinnytsia, Uman, Lutsk and elsewhere are definite proof of his crimes

The destruction campaign directed against Ukrainian insurgents after the war was over, a campaign which was carried out by means of dreadful chemical and bacteriological weapons, as well as the mass-deportation of Ukrainian youth to death-camps, was likewise the work of Khrushchov

And, finally, Khrushchov was responsible for the ruthless persecution and destruction of both the Catholic Uniate Church in West Ukraine and also the Autocephalous Orthodox Church in Kyiv, which *refused to subordinate itself to the Moscow Patriarchate*. Amongst the martyrs who were victimized by this persecution campaign were the Ukrainian bishops Josephat Kotsylovsky, G. Khomyshyn, N. Budka, and Th. Romzha

In addition, it is in accordance with the will of Khrushchov that at present mock trials are still being held before courts in Kyiv, Lutsk, Stanyslaviv, Kolomyia, Krasnoarmiysk and other places, in which the accused are Ukrainian patriots, who are accused of being "enemies of the state" and "traitors to Soviet patriotism" and are either hanged or sent to prison as "Banderovtsi," that is supporters of Bandera

Furthermore, the ruthless suppression of the liberation revolts in the Soviet Occupied Zone of Germany on June 17, 1953, the riots in Poznan in 1956, and, above all, the massacre of Budapest, when the victorious Hungarian liberation revolution, which had already shaken

off the fetters of the Communist regime, was crushed by Russian tanks, were also the result of Khrushchov's 'liberalization course'

It was likewise under Khrushchov's rule that during the years 1953 to 1956 revolts were crushed in the mass-concentration camps of Vorkuta, Norilsk, Magadan, Mordovia, Karaganda, Tashet, Kolyma and Kingir, where thousands of internees, the majority of them Ukrainian women, were, according to eyewitness testimony, mown down by tanks. The same fate also befell the young people in the concentration camp in Temir Tau who revolted in the cause of freedom in 1959

3 The terrorist murders of political emigrants in the free world which we mentioned in the foregoing, are by no means individual cases. It is an established fact that there have been numerous victims of cases of this type not only in Munich and in the Federal Republic of Germany but also amongst the active freedom fighters and representatives of the political emigrants of Azerbaijan, Byelorussia, Georgia, Hungary, Slovakia, and Rumania, etc., who were found murdered or were abducted. In practically all these cases of murder, abduction and attempts to assassinate persons by laying explosives, which have been directed against emigrants and have obviously been carried out by agents of Moscow and its puppet governments, the competent authorities and the press of the country in which the emigrants resided quite plainly endeavoured to protect the persons who had issued the orders, to make light of these crimes, and to explain away the deaths of the victims either as "suicide," or as the result of "internal differences" amongst the emigrants. Protests have also been voiced against the activity of the emigrants, which has frequently been designated as "questionable" and stamped as a disturbance of law and order, or even as a danger to the country in which they reside.

Such an attitude on the part of the public of the country in which the political refugees from the Bolshevik-ruled countries have sought asylum, is in our opinion, a distortion of the idea of asylum and degrades the political emigrants to the rank of an undesirable, or, at best, an inevitable evil. Such an attitude towards the victims of Russian Bolshevik alien rule, whose duty it is, as representatives in the free world of their oppressed peoples to demand freedom and justice for the latter, is indeed reprehensible, and, moreover, strikes us as particularly strange since some of the countries in which the emigrants have sought asylum, as for instance Germany, are themselves in part already languishing under the same alien rule, or are themselves seriously threatened by the Bolshevik world danger. It is a strange paradox that the once so sacred right of asylum, even for the spokesmen of hostile ideologies and political trends, nowadays does not even include the protection of the fundamental rights of life of the natural allies of the West in the fight against the common Russian Bolshevik world danger.

In view of all these alarming and significant facts, the Central Committee of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations regards it as its duty to appeal to the competent authorities, institutions and organizations of the free world with the following petition, namely that

1 **THE JURIDICAL AUTHORITIES OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY**, in whose territory the murders by poison mentioned above were committed and attempts to murder were carried out at the orders of members of the Soviet Russian government should demand the extradition of the accomplices of the murderers regardless of their rank and person, and should sentence such persons if necessary in their absence, as accessories to crime

2 We propose the setting up of an **INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL** to deal with the *Bolshevist mass-murders committed since Stalin's day* and in which the victims were non-Communists, and to call the present rulers of the Kremlin to account for their crimes against humanity

3 We demand that **THE COMMISSION FOR HUMAN RIGHTS** in the United Nations Organization should apply the statutes of its own Charter, in connection with the murders in Munich of spokesmen of the Ukrainian fight for freedom should take legal proceedings as regards all the mass-murders perpetrated by the Moscow government to which reference has been made in this petition, and should publicly condemn the perpetrators

4 We demand that **THE COURT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS** of the European Council should take proceedings as regards the above-mentioned murders and should sentence the Moscow government on account of these vile crimes committed at its orders

5 We appeal to **THE INTERNATIONAL JURISTS COMMISSION** which has set itself the task of protecting legal, state principles and combatting the system of injustice, to take proceedings as regards these vile violations of the fundamental rights and protective measures for the life of the political refugees from the Bolshevist-ruled countries and their subjugated peoples and to condemn these violations by issuing appropriate resolutions and declarations

6 We exhort the **PUBLIC OF THE WEST** to see to it that the confused attitude which prevails to a large extent in the press and broadcasting services of the free world as regards the political emigrants from the Bolshevist sphere of influence is rectified and the sacred right of asylum is restored and in doing so to recognize the fact that it is imperative that there should be absolute solidarity between the free world and the subjugated peoples and the refugees of the latter, in the joint and decisive fight against Moscow's despotism

7 We demand that **THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE FREE WORLD** should launch a large-scale counter-offensive on a moral and political level against the *criminal Moscow government and its bloodthirsty*

dictator, Nikita Khrushchov, who, in view of the countless atrocities and intentional mass-murders that he has committed, should be exposed in his role as "anti-Stalinist," in the interests of the free world

8 And, finally, we trust that THE POLITICAL AUTHORITIES IN THE WEST will draw the logical conclusions, necessary for the psychological and political war against Moscow's despotic rule, from the terrorist murders perpetrated against the spokesmen of the national fight for freedom of the peoples behind the Iron Curtain. The atrocious murders prove more convincingly than anything else that the main threat to the preservation of the Russian Bolshevik despotic rule lies in the activation of the NATIONAL LIBERATION IDEA, and also reveal the enormous potential of this idea in Moscow's opinion. It would be irresponsible of the West to fail to interpret this omen rightly and to continue not only to ignore the national political emigrants, but also to adopt an indifferent attitude towards the physical liquidation of their leading representatives

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

Munich, December 1961

**PROTEST RESOLUTION AGAINST MOSCOW MURDERS
ADOPTED BY CHICAGO RALLY OF AMERICAN UKRAINIANS**

WE AMERICANS OF UKRAINIAN DESCENT, assembled at a political rally on December 31, 1961 at the American Ukrainian Youth Assn Auditorium in Chicago, Illinois, protesting against the brutal Russian Communist terror, the assassination of Ukrainian state and political leaders and leaders of other Captive Nations, resolved

Whereas, the Ukrainian people continue in their struggle, in their native land against the Russian Communist occupation and regime and whereas their struggle presents a deadly menace to the Soviet colonial empire,

Whereas, both the Tsarist and now the Communist Russian Empire has been engaged in a criminal conspiracy against the Ukrainian state and political leaders, victims of which were leaders exiled in the West, to wit in the past 25 years the Soviets have assassinated the President of the Ukrainian National Republic, Symon Petliura (assassinated in Paris in 1926) Leader of the Ukrainian Nationalists Col Evhen Konovalts (assassinated in Rotterdam in 1938), a noted Ukrainian journalist, Dr Lev Rebet (assassinated in Munich in 1957) and lastly the Leader of the Ukrainian Nationalist Movement, Stepan Bandera (assassinated in Munich in 1959) and whereas these assassina-

tions were perpetrated by Soviet agents in the free world upon direct orders of Joseph Stalin and later Nikita Khrushchov as was proved recently by the confession of KGB agent Bohdan Stashynsky to German authorities who released his confession wherein he admitted murdering Dr. Lev Rebet and Stepan Bandera;

Whereas, the Soviets have perfected a new murder weapon, that is a cyanide spray pistol, which is being used for political assassinations and leaves no evidence of crime, and it appears to be a perfect substitute for clock bombs and pistols used previously;

THEREFORE:

We appeal to the United Nations and the Governments of the free world for the support of their free voice for the cause of freedom and genuine liberation of the Ukrainian people and other Captive Nations from the inhuman Russian Communist oppression;

We ask the United Nations to challenge the members of the Russian Communist regime and to put them before the International Tribunal to answer for the crime and murders committed, for the recent murder of Stepan Bandera and other Ukrainian state and political leaders, and leaders of other Captive Nations;

We appeal to Chancellor Konrad Adenauer to have the West German Court hold a public trial in the case of the murder of Stepan Bandera, and we further ask that correspondents, lawyers and experts on international criminal law be permitted to be present at this trial, and that the Ukrainian exiled political emigrés and the family of the late Stepan Bandera be permitted to be represented by legal counsel of their choice;

We appeal to Mrs Eleanor Roosevelt, Chairman of the United Nations Committee on Human Rights to warn the free world of the newly adopted murder weapon which is used by the Soviets to liquidate state leaders of the Captive Nations, and further that Russia be put before the panel of world public opinion to answer for the international crimes and inhumanities that the members of her government have perpetrated.



PROTEST RESOLUTION BY THE UKRAINIAN MEETING IN LONDON

We, participants in the Ukrainian Meeting and Demonstration held on the 26th of November, 1961, at Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, London, against Moscow Bolshevik terror and enslavement of Ukraine, against the ignominious destruction of the leaders of the Ukrainian Nation, as confirmed by the revelations of the Moscow-hired murderer of Stepan Bandera, a leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, affirm,

1. That the liberation fight of the Ukrainian nation against Moscow, which is still being waged in Ukraine, is a deadly danger to Russian imperialism
2. That to hold Ukraine under its power, to maintain the entire Bolshevik empire and to strengthen its internal position with the aim of furthering its opportunities, to annexe countries that are still free, Bolshevik Moscow adopts physical destruction, and Russification of Ukraine and its incorporation in the land of the so-called USSR and also in the countries of the Free World where Ukrainian political emigres live and act, Moscow adopts political murder as a weapon against the defenders of political and national rights for the Ukrainian nation
3. That the declarations of N Khrushchov about the peaceful policy of Moscow's Government, his condemnation of Stalin's terror and his wishes to co-exist peacefully with the Western World are cynical lies by which he tries to hide his Government's aggressive intentions to capture through Communism the countries of the Free World
4. That despite the proofless declarations of Nikita Khrushchov the policy of Moscow is still unchanged and that in the territories of the enslaved nations, which make up the so-called USSR Khrushchov continues the criminal traditions of Stalin including genocide and the trampling on the rights and dignity of free men
5. That the murder of Stepan Bandera, the leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, by an agent of K G B, one B Stashynsky, is the deed of the Moscow Government and that the organiser of the murder was according to the confession of the agent, Alexander Shelepin the then Chief of the Committee of Government Security of the USSR and at present a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the CPSU and who was directly subordinate to N Khrushchov, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and further that the agent Stashynsky for his part in the murder of Stepan Bandera was awarded the Order of the Red Banner thus making ultimate responsibility due with Nikita Khrushchov, Alexander Shelepin, the CPSU, and the Moscow Government

We, condemn these criminal methods of the Moscow Bolsheviks as adopted by N. Khrushchov, A. Shelepin and their accomplices in the Central Committee of the CPSU against the Ukrainian nation and its leaders, and demand;

1. That N. Khrushchov, A. Shelepin, the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Government of the USSR should be put on trial before a tribunal of the Free World and should bear the responsibility for their criminal and political acts as adopted against the Ukrainian and other enslaved nations within the USSR.
2. That their bloody crime committed against Stepan Bandera should be condemned by all institutions for the Defence of Rights of Mankind and by the voiced opinion of the whole of the Free World.
3. That the murderer of Stepan Bandera the agent of K.G.B., Stashynsky must stand trial and accept the consequences for this and other foul deeds, which were directed not only against Ukrainian political leaders but also in the main against the entire Ukrainian nation.
4. That because the murder took place on German Federal territory, the Government apply the appropriate diplomatic sanctions against the Moscow Government in order to guarantee in future to political emigré leaders a safe sojourn in the country.

We appeal to all Governments of the Free World;

1. To direct their attention to the fate of the enslaved nations within the USSR and to help them in their struggle for liberation
2. To discontinue their false hopes for a change in Moscow Bolshevism and to continue by all possible means the break up of Moscow's tyrannical empire.
3. To mobilise all spiritual and material forces for the victory of the Free World over the tyranny of Russian imperialism.

The freedom loving people of Ukraine that since 1918 has led a continuous fight against Moscow's Bolshevik imperialism, the biggest enemy of Christianity and freedom loving national states, is the best and most useful ally of the Free World. By fighting for its own independence the Ukrainian nation is at the same time defending the freedom and rights of other enslaved nations in the USSR and those which are still free but threatened by Russian imperialism.

All this gives the Ukrainian nation the moral right to approach other nations in the Free World for help to regain its independence which in time will help to destroy Moscow's empire and so ensure a lasting and true peace throughout the world.

For and on behalf of the Meeting,

M. Zacharchuk
Chairman

M. Povrozyk
Secretary.

**PROTEST RESOLUTION BY THE RALLY
OF THE ASSOCIATION OF UKRAINIAN FORMER COMBATANTS
IN GREAT BRITAIN**

We, former Ukrainian soldiers, participants in our annual Rally, having learned about the arrest in Germany of Bohdan Stashynsky, an agent of the Soviet K.G.B., the murderer of the Leader of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Stepan Bandera, and of Dr Lev Rebet, declare together with the members of the Ukrainian community which gathered at the Rally, that

- 1 In its struggle against the aspirations of the Ukrainian people, Moscow, throughout its history, has used the most cruel and base methods for the preservation of its dominant and imperialist positions
- 2 With this aim in view, many prominent leaders of the Ukrainian people have been liquidated, most recently the leader of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement, Stepan Bandera, by means of a shameful method, unheard of in the civilised world
- 3 The organiser of the murder was Alexander Shelepin, the Chairman of the Committee of State Security at the Council of Ministers of the USSR, which is subordinated to the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, Nikita Khrushchov. Hence the Russian Government and the Central Committee of the CPSU are responsible for this new despicable crime and they ought to be condemned by a tribunal of the Free World and the general public opinion
- 4 The perpetrator of this crime, the K.G.B. agent Bohdan Stashynsky, must be put on trial before a criminal court and made responsible for the murders directed not only against the Ukrainian political figures but mainly against the entire Ukrainian people
- 5 The commission of these crimes and the awarding of the 'Order of the Red Banner' to the murderer are one more proof that the Muscovite empire is ruled by criminals and this fact must be a warning to the entire Free World
- 6 In view of the fact that the above crimes were committed on the territory of the Federal Republic of Germany, we ask her Government to apply appropriate diplomatic sanctions with regard to Moscow and to guarantee the political emigre leaders the safety of sojourn in future
- 7 The recent discovery of the murderer consolidates us all in the desire — in reply to the murders of Symon Petlura, Evhen Konovalets, Roman Shukhevych and Stepan Bandera — to

intensify our activities and to prepare for action to erect a magnificent monument to their glorious memory in the form of an INDEPENDENT UNITED UKRAINIAN STATE.

The participants in the Rally
of the Association of Ukrainians
former Combatants in Great Britain.

For and on behalf of the Rally,

M. Bilyj-Karpyne, Cpt/Rtd.
Chairman

Dr. S. M. Fostun
Secretary

Bradford, Yorks., 18th November, 1961.

STATEMENT BY THE ASIAN PEOPLES' ANTI-COMMUNIST
LEAGUE, REPUBLIC OF CHINA,
IN PROTEST AGAINST THE ASSASSINATION OF MR. STEPAN BANDERA,
THE OVERSEAS UKRAINIAN ANTI-COMMUNIST LEADER,
BY RUSSIAN SECRET AGENTS

We were deeply saddened at the assassination of Mr. Stepan Bandera, the overseas Ukrainian anti-Communist leader, which thus deprived the Ukrainian people of an heroic comrade in their struggle for national freedom and independence, and we wish to voice hereby our resentment at the shameless murder carried out by secret agents under the criminal directives of the Soviet Russian Communist imperialists.

Now that the murderer will soon be brought to trial in West Germany, it is our confidence that his crime will be squarely punished by the law. On this most unfortunate incident, we should like to make public our view as in the following:

First, we must unanimously denounce the atrocity of the Soviet Russian Communist imperialists in sending throughout the free world their secret agents to carry out their premeditated murders.

Second, we wish to point to the fact that the Soviet Russian Communist imperialists are dispatching numerous secret agents to every corner of the free world to carry out, at the same time, their intrigues of infiltration, division and subversion. Hence, we of the free world should heighten our vigilance by adopting every possible precautionary measure.

Third, we urge that all democratic nations extend warm sympathy and active support to Communist-enslaved peoples in their fight for freedom, so as to enable them to overthrow the Communist tyrannical rule and thereby regain their national freedom and independence.

Taipei, April 16th, 1962.

Ku Cheng-kang
President of the APACLROC

EXTRACTS FROM PROTEST RESOLUTIONS

The highest officials in the Communist Party and in the Government of the Soviet Union, particularly the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Nikita Khrushchov, and the former chairman of the State Security Committee of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, now member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the USSR Alexander Shelepin, are personally responsible for the planning, support and execution of the political murder of Stepan Bandera, a responsibility underlined by the fact that the murderer was decorated with the Order of the Red Banner'

Contrary to the wordy protestations of the Russian dictators, the character and the methods of Muscovite communism have remained unchanged and the Khrushchov regime systematically continues the criminal traditions of the Stalin era

An extract from the Resolution of Protest adopted at a meeting in Munich Germany

*

Together with the assassin Stashynsky should be put in the dock Shelepin as instigator of the murder and Khrushchov as an accessory to the crime

The German Court should proceed against Stashynsky for murder, Shelepin for instigation to murder, and Khrushchov for abetting the murder. The Federal German government should institute stern diplomatic measures against the Soviet government

Ingolstadt, Germany

*

We request the German government to admit a Ukrainian lawyer to the trial of Bohdan Stashynsky for murder and to indict for this crime also Khrushchov, Shelepin and the Soviet government

Canberra and Queanbeyan, Australia

*

At its General Meeting on 19th November 1961 the Association of Ukrainians in Holland took notice with extreme indignation of the fact that the Soviet citizen Stashynsky, who was arrested in the Federal German Republic murdered on orders from the KGB in Moscow the Ukrainian freedom-fighter Stepan Bandera and Lev Rebet.

The General Meeting registers its strong protest against these terroristic acts of the Soviet government and requests the governments of the free world to call the Soviet government to account before the competent international authority, for this violent infringement of human rights.

General Meeting of Ukrainians in Holland

This resolution was forwarded by telegram to the Prime Minister of the Netherlands and to all ambassadors accredited to Holland.

*

It is our deepest conviction that now is the high time for this matter to be brought before an International Tribunal in order to obtain a just sentence and condemnation of the arbitrary acts of the present Soviet Russian rulers who have rewarded the murderer of Stepan Bandera with an Order of the Red Banner

We, citizens of Canada, request the Canadian Government to take steps to declare illegal the Canadian Communist Party which is in the service of a foreign power and strives to introduce a rule of violence in Canada

Toronto, Canada

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LIST OF GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES

Note: As a rule, Ukrainian transcription of geographical place names in Ukraine has been used throughout this book. For the reader who is unfamiliar with the Ukrainian transcription of geographical place names a parallel transcription following the Russian, Polish, German etc. usage is given below.

Ukrainian

Frequently used transcription (Russian, Polish, etc.)

Berdychiv	Berdichev
Berestya	Brest, Brest-Litovsk
Berezhany	Brzezany
Bibrka	Bobrka
Bila Tserkva	Belaya Tserkov
Bukovyna	Bukovina, Bucovina
Chernyhiy	Chernigov
Chortkiv	Chortkov, Czortkow
Dnipro	Dnieper
Dnipropetrovsk	Dnepropetrovsk
Drohobych	Drogobich

Halych	Galich, Halicz
Horodok	Gorodok, Grodek Jagiellonski
Kamyanets-Podilsky	Kamenets-Podolsk
Kharkiv	Kharkov
Kholm	Chelm
Kosiv	Kosov, Kosow
Kryvy Rih	Krivoy Rog
Kyiv	Kiev, Kiyev
Lviv	Lvov, Lwow, Lemberg
Mukachiv	Mukachevo
Mykolayiv	Nikolayev
Nadvirna	Nadvornaya, Nadworna
Peremyshl	Przemysl
Peremyshlyany	Przemyslany
Pidlyashshia	Podlasze
Polissia	Polesye, Polesie
Proskuriv (renamed Khmelnitsky)	Proskurov
Prypyat	Pripet
Pryashiv	Prešov
Rava	Rava Russkaya, Rawa Ruska
Rivne	Rovno, Rowno
Sambir	Sambor
Stanyslaviv (renamed Ivano-Frankivsk)	Stanislav, Stanislawow
Ternopil	Ternopol, Tarnopol
Tovmach	Tlumacz
Uzhhorod	Uzhgorod
Vynnytsia	Vinnitsa
Volodymyr Volynsky	Vladimir Volynskiy, Włodzimierz Wolynski
Yaniv (renamed Ivana Franka)	Janow
Yavoriv	Yavorov, Jaworow
Zhovkva (renamed Nesterov)	Zholkev, Zolkiew
Zolochiv	Zolochew, Zloczow
Zhytomyr	Zhitomir

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