

**Not To Be Forgotten
1917 - 1991**



**Chronicle Of The Communist
Inquisition In Ukraine**



**"NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN"
1917 - 1991
A CHRONICLE OF THE COMMUNIST INQUISITION
IN UKRAINE**

is an educational handbook/guide to the
exposition by the same title

This handbook was produced by the
Kyiv City Organization of the All-Ukrainian Memorial Society,
a non-profit, non-governmental educational organization
in Ukraine with the support of the
League of Ukrainian Canadians,
League of Ukrainian Women in Canada,
Studium Research Institute,
Prometheus Foundation and Desna Foundation.

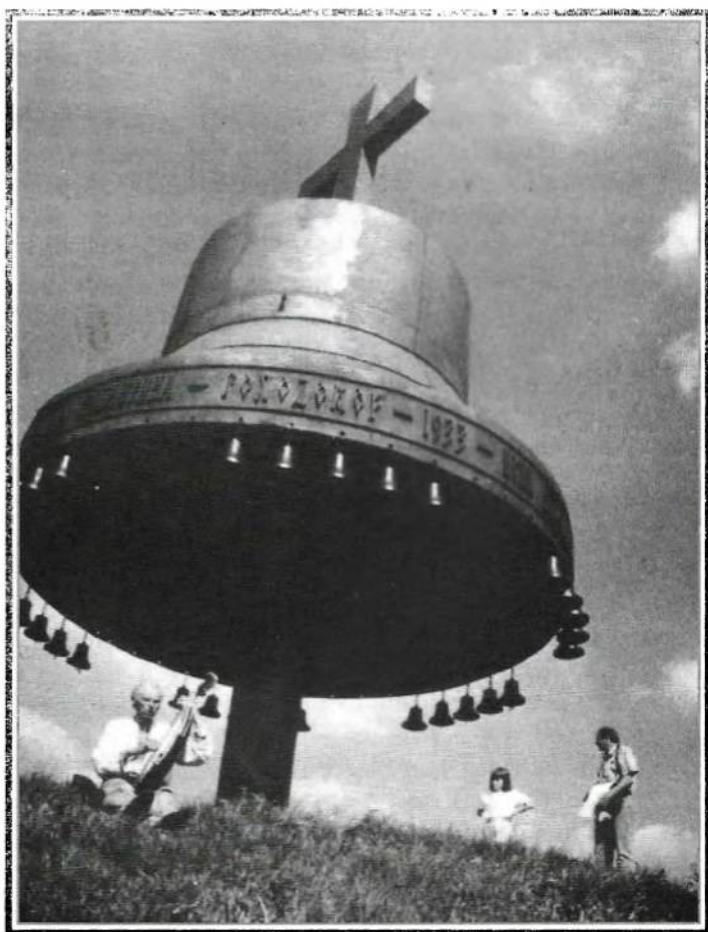
The main corporate sponsor of the "Memorial" project in Canada
is "Buduchnist" Credit Union

© Memorial Society. All Rights Reserved

For additional copies write to
League of Ukrainian Canadians
National Executive
83 Christie Street
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6G 3B1
Tel.: 416-516-8223 ♦ Fax: 416-516-4033

NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN 1917-1991

A CHRONICLE OF THE COMMUNIST INQUISITION IN UKRAINE



Introduction

Throughout the centuries long-suffering Ukraine was the handmaiden of her great-state neighbors—deprived of rights, freedom, and fortune. Yet even this was not enough for those who sought to wreak harm upon us. Through their misanthropic plans that were ultimately aimed at the complete subjugation of the Ukrainian people, the Bolshevik Leninists decided to destroy them completely. Thus, they starved Ukrainians to death, shot them, and deported them to Siberia.

The Communist period was the bloodiest page in Ukrainian history. The Leninists were the first to introduce blatant banditry under the guise of “revolutionary legality.” They glorified and sang paeans to the image of an executioner dressed in a leather coat, holding a Mauser. They became a satanic force that gathered to itself the entire criminal world of the Communist empire. These killers, united in their own, special apparatus, were known early on as Chekists, and later by the names GPU, NKVD, and KGB.

Ukraine became an independent state at the cost of dozens of millions of lives. However, even after more than a decade of independence the consequences of her colonial past are still preventing Ukraine from getting off her knees. The Communist ideologues imbued our history with countless historico-political myths, and it is commonly known that myths, particularly political ones, lead to antagonism in any society. Such myths can only be overcome by means of the truth. Today, truth is akin to vengeance: it speaks to us in the voice of eternity. The truth of Ukrainian history is the memory of the nation, which has been suppressed as a result of evil times. If this memory is not restored, we shall never rise to our feet. Today, the path of truth, which has been achieved through great suffering, is forcing our descendants to pay for the sins of preceding generations.

The restoration of memory is a painful and difficult process. We want our children to live happily in their independent state; we thus have no desire to traumatize them by saddling them with bitter memories of our nation's tragic past. But the suppression of national memory leads to feelings of doom and inferiority. We shall not allow this weight to burden the souls of our children. Let us look back and tell ourselves: “We survived; they did not make us bend.” Let us find in ourselves the will to live and remember, for only memory will preserve us as a nation, a people, and a state. Together, let us embark on the process of spiritual and moral revolution. Let us remove the bondage caused by the trauma of statelessness, national and social enslavement by empires and their totalitarian ideologies, and political myths.

If we want to be better people, then let us become them. Let us learn

about ourselves from our own history, without hiding from the world. Let us not allow others to distort, falsify, and conceal our truth and our history from the world.

The Kyiv City Organization of the All-Ukrainian “Memorial” Society of Vasyl Stus has created the first permanent museum exhibition in Ukraine entitled “Not To Be Forgotten: The Chronicle of the Communist Inquisition in Ukraine.” In chronological fashion it traces historical events from 1917 to 1991, thus mirroring the totalitarian period of Ukrainian history.

This year, the 70th anniversary of the Famine-Genocide of 1932-1933, a poster version of the museum exposition has been created through the joint efforts of the “Memorial” Society and the Ukrainian diaspora of North America. One component of it is comprised of fifty-four posters and this educational handbook, which is intended for lecturers and tour guides. More than seven hundred copies of this poster exhibition have been reproduced and are being circulated throughout various Ukrainian cities, where they are on display in museums, teaching institutions, and public libraries. In order to facilitate the planning and organization of lessons, public lectures, and tours, the materials of this exposition have been grouped according to the following periods:

- The System of Concentration Camps in the USSR.
- (1917-1920) The Bolshevik Coup and the Beginning of the Terror
- (1921-1923) The USSR Is Born out of Famine and Violence
- (1924-1931) The Cost of Industrialization and Forcible Collectivization
- (1932-1933) The Ukrainian Holocaust
- (1934-1938) The Collapse of Ukrainization and the “Great Terror”
- (1939-1941) The Conspiracy of Two Dictatorships and Its Consequences
- (1942-1952) The Last Decade of Stalin's Dictatorship
- (1946-1947) Famine Strikes a Third Blow
- (1953-1964) The Thaw
- (1965-1985) Bloodless Totalitarianism
- (1986-1991) The Collapse

The materials featured in the exposition will provide history teachers, tour guides, and all those interested in the Soviet period of Ukrainian history with ample information for conducting tours, public lectures, and lessons intended for all age groups. The left-hand side of each poster displays a chronology of historical events by month and year, beginning with the creation of the Ukrainian National Republic, the alternate congress of Soviets in Kharkiv, Lenin's early decrees, decisions of party congresses and plenums, Politburo resolutions and other decisions issued by the Communist authorities, and events that took place between 1917 and 1991.

The right-hand side of each poster features photographs, irrefutable facts, previously unknown secret documents from various archives, scholarly conclusions, and statistics. This data reveals the chronology of events and the consequences of the rule of Communist ideology. In legal terms, this exposition is a codification of Communist crimes.

This exposition recreates the true historical chronology of the fate of millions of Ukrainians and other nationalities that perished as a result of the criminal policies of the Soviet occupiers. All the crimes of Communist totalitarianism were carried out in strict secrecy, which is why the population of Ukraine generally knows little about them. Indeed, most people throughout the world have little inkling of the history of Ukraine and at what price this second largest (territory and population) European country became an independent, democratic state in 1991.

The Ukrainian people and the international community must be informed about the crimes against humanity, which were committed by the Muscovite rulers of the Kremlin, and about the deliberate acts that were aimed at the total destruction of the Ukrainian nation.

It is dangerous to ignore the tragic lessons of history, for this weakens our collective ability to progress within the framework of a universal civilization. It is essential to inform the world community about the completely passive role of various governments whose leaders displayed meek indifference or were even implicated in the tragic destiny that befell Ukraine. Knowledge and understanding of our history will enable the countries of the world to fully grasp the concept that support of Ukraine's desire to consolidate its independence is morally justified and will foster the vital interests of their own states.

Roman Krutsyk

NOT TO BE FORGOTTEN

Panels 1-5

We Have No Right to Forget

On November 30, 2001 the Kyiv City Organization of the All Ukrainian Memorial Society, formally inaugurated the first permanent exposition in Ukraine, entitled, “Not To Be Forgotten: A Chronicle of the Communist Inquisition.” This exposition features documents, photographs, materials and displays that recreate the facts and events of the totalitarian past in the history of Ukraine and Kyiv in particular.

The organizers of the exposition were guided by the thematic–chronological principle, their goal being to reconstruct a chronicle of the crimes of the Communist regime and to establish events and facts that can never be forgotten if Ukrainians aspire to build a civil society in Ukraine based on the principles of democracy and humanism.

The idea to create the exposition was initiated by the head of the Kyiv City Organization of the All Ukrainian Memorial Society of V. Stus, Roman Krutysk, who planned the layout of the panels and the exposition’s overall design. The historian, professor, and head of the scholarly council of the Memorial Society, Dr. Yurii Shapoval, elaborated the plans for the exposition, prepared the texts, selected documents and illustrated materials. Another member of the Memorial Society, the artist and designer Oleh Kravchenko, designed the exposition and was responsible for the computer design.

“The moral horror of the terror and its corrupting influence on peoples’ psyches lie not so much in individual killing or even in their numbers, but in the system itself.” These words, written by the researcher of totalitarianism Serhii Melhunov, echo the poetry of Vasyl Symonenko: “Billions of beliefs are buried in the black soil, billions of happinesses have been scattered into dust.” Martin Luther King characterized totalitarianism thus: “Injustice anywhere threatens justice everywhere.” All these aphorisms, which serve as epigraphs to the exposition, expose the appalling system of terror that held sway over Ukraine for many decades. Its name is the Soviet Union.

The System of Concentration Camps in the USSR.

The first and most convincing display in the exposition is a map that could not be published in Soviet times. It shows almost all the Camp Administrations of the 230 concentration camps that existed in the USSR. The map covers the territory of the entire Soviet Union and indicates the systems that were comprised of these camp administrations. Each administration contained between five and twenty concentration camps. In addition to the Camp Administrations listed and marked on the map, there were also many transit points, secret camps, special purpose isolators, ordinary prisons, so-called "central prisons," and psychiatric hospitals.

In cooperation with the Moscow branch of the Memorial Society, the Kyiv City Organization of the All Ukrainian Memorial Society obtained a database of information on the system of punitive organs of the USSR. This body of information includes data on all of the prisons in every Ukrainian oblast, their administrators and the dates when these prisons were established. Facts pertaining to each camp in the GULAG system, the dates of its creation and closure, location, number of prisoners, the type of work that was performed by prisoners, and a name index of the administrative personnel of the Soviet Union's repressive organs, with biographical sketches and photographs, was also included.

Visitors to the exposition will be struck by the fact that there were concentration camps whose prison population equaled the population of current oblast (provincial) centres in Ukraine, e.g., 250,000 and 268,000 (prisoners).

After the Second World War the number of prisoners increased significantly, owing mostly to the influx of Soviet prisoners of war, soldiers from General Vlasov's "Army for the Liberation of the People of Russia," fighters of the OUN-UPA, and people who were shipped off to work in Germany during the war years. According to documented facts, the number of prisoners in the GULAG was much higher than the number of Red Army troops. If one accepts the very conservative figures of Robert Conquest, who estimated the average number of prisoners in the camps in the early 1940s at eight million, then one may conclude that between one-fifth and one-tenth of the adult population of the USSR were in concentration camps and worked in conditions that guaranteed them a premature death. In view of mass revolts in the camps greatly alarmed the Soviet leadership, which engaged in large-scale operations, complete with armoured units and front-line bombing by the air force, against these unarmed prisoners.

A significant part of the GULAG prison population consisted of Ukrainians. In a document stamped "Top Secret," the Commission of the

Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, which operated in the Richnyi concentration camp in the Vorkuta region where, after a revolt was suppressed in this camp, listed prisoners according to the following political designations: (language of the original)

“Nationalists:
Ukrainian—10,495
Belarusian—160
Georgian—16
Armenian—27
Azerbaijani—5
Estonian—1,521
Latvian—1,075
Lithuanian—2,935
Moldovan—4
Pan-Turkic—2
Pan-Islamist—6
Jewish—55
Polish—510
Hungarian—1
Total: 16,812

Chief of the Special Branch
Captain /signature/ Kozhem'iakin
4 August 1953.”

1917 — 1920

Panels 6-7

The Bolshevik Coup and the Beginning of the Terror

This section of the exposition begins in 1917, the year that became known in the history of the Soviet Union as the so-called “October Revolution.” At the time even Lenin and the other leaders of the Communist Party did not call this a revolution but a “coup.” It was only later that this event was mythologized and imbued with total Bolshevik revolutionary zeal. In fact, there was no storming of the Winter Palace, and those scenes that were screened in cinemas and the mass media for many decades were an outright lie. The key element of the Bolshevik philosophy was concealed in all sorts of ways from the very outset, when the Bolsheviks grounded all of their great plans and hopes in violence. After all, it was extremely difficult to govern such a huge country as the Soviet Union, rocked and torn apart by national differences. Soon—in December 1917—the Bolsheviks created the “All-Russian Extraordinary Commission to Combat Counterrevolution and Sabotage” (VChK, or Cheka).

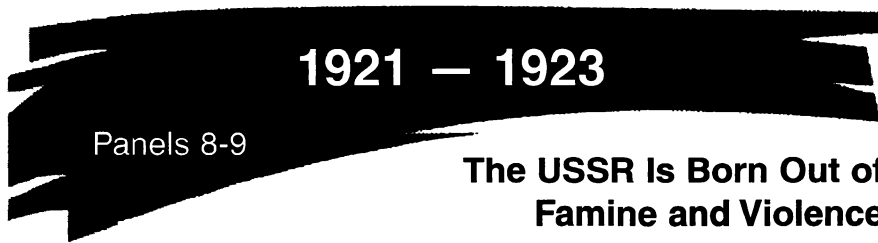
Panel no. 6 reveals the history of the creation of the VChK, which was headed by Feliks Dzerzhinsky, an extraordinarily cruel and blunt individual with a great deal of experience in conspiratorial work, who skillfully gathered likeminded people to his circle. The panel includes photographs of Dzerzhinsky in the company of Ukrainian Chekists and a portrait of Vasyly Mantsev, one of the first heads of the Ukrainian Cheka, who was sent to Ukraine from Moscow. In Ukraine the organs of both the All-Russian Cheka and the Ukrainian Cheka were always headed not by local cadres (the first Ukrainian-born leader of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine [CC CPU] was appointed only in 1953) but those who were dispatched from the “Centre”—Moscow.

One of the attributes of the activity of the Cheka and the CC CPU in Ukraine was that from the very beginning of their pursuits these institutions actively discredited themselves. Their structures were comprised not only of members of the Bolshevik Party but also various types of opportunists—people seeking to adapt themselves to the circumstances. One of these individuals, the commandant of the Kharkiv Cheka, Stepan Saienko, is shown in one of the pictures. The caption to this photograph is based on a quotation from a book describing Saienko’s activity during the mass executions of 1919. After carrying out all these horrific acts, this man became a factory director and was named honorary citizen of Kharkiv. Another

picture shows the female executioner Dora Yevlinska, who personally shot four hundred officers in the Cheka headquarters in the city of Odesa. There are several other, similar, photographs—all horrifying, but genuine.

Control over Ukraine’s territory passed from one power to the next. During the Civil War a special commission was organized to investigate the crimes of the Cheka. The documentary materials of this commission have been preserved, as well as photographs showing that people were savagely interrogated, tortured, and killed for political motives. Thus, methods that as a rule are attributed to the 1930s had already been tested as early as the 1920s.

A key question that is perpetually raised is, did Lenin know about these crimes, and to what degree was he complicit in them? Documents published in recent years prove that Lenin was completely familiar with this state of affairs, and in certain letters he even demanded that “tougher people” be found. In the early 1920s he ordered the Ukrainian Chekists to be “cleaned up” and to “do away with” the most odious individuals. Thus, from the earliest years of the Soviet Union’s existence there is clear evidence of the introduction of violence, which was the foundation of the totalitarian Communist system.



1921 – 1923

Panels 8-9

The USSR Is Born Out of Famine and Violence

The next two panels recreate the recurrent theme in our tragic history—famine. The famine of 1921–23, which claimed the lives of nearly three million Ukrainians, was provoked not only by the poor harvest of 1921 but also by the Bolshevik policy of “food allotment,” which was destructive to the nth degree.

Next are materials relating to two other genocidal famines that occurred in Ukraine. Altogether three famines took place in Ukraine: in 1921–23, 1932–33, and 1946–47. More information has been preserved about the famine of 1921–23, because in those years many international aid organizations were working in the USSR, particularly in Ukraine. Later, for ideological reasons, Moscow banned and sealed this information as a manifestation of bourgeois influence on the population. For decades all references to the famine of 1932–33 were labeled “anti-Soviet propaganda.” Even today Communist propaganda about the famines in Ukraine is aimed

at convincing the world that they were caused by poor harvest and drought. But this is unsubstantiated fiction. Hydrometeorological reports for 1932 confirm that there was no drought in Ukraine that year, and grain productivity was significantly higher than in 1931. A particular geographic feature of the territory of Ukraine is that even if there are drought years with poor harvests in the eastern or southern parts of Ukraine, they do not occur in other regions. What's more, under conditions of a normal exchange of food supplies and unhindered population migration, no general famine and resulting mass deaths would ever occur. This proves that the famine of 1932–33 was planned by Moscow against the rebellious Ukrainian peasantry, and the entire punitive system of the Bolsheviks was put into operation in order to carry out this inhumane “measure.”

On 6 February 1922 the State Political Directorate (GPU) was created in place of the VChK. The Soviet authorities thus attempted to conceal the compromised and detestable abbreviation of the Cheka, which had already become a symbol of violence and mass killing. The creation of the GPU was aimed both at hiding the very nature of the Soviet regime and showing the people that the government was ostensibly changing its attitude toward the population.

Among the first People's Commissariats created by the Bolsheviks was the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (NKVD). In the lower part of the panel are two photographs and a poster attesting to the confiscation of church objects. In addition to anti-religious propaganda, the destruction of churches and the confiscation of church valuables were extremely important means of obtaining revenue for the Bolshevik regime. The Chekists did a brilliant job of conducting such operations in Ukraine, for which they even received awards.

1924 — 1931

Panels 10-15

The Cost of Industrialization and Forcible Collectivization

Lenin died on 21 January 1924. When he was already gravely ill, he no longer had any influence on the political situation in the country, and power was actually in the hands of Joseph Stalin. The posters displayed on these stands portray Lenin and Stalin as inseparable “people’s leaders”, with one leader handing over the reins of power to the other. In fact, the change of rule did not take place in this manner. Stalin simply seized power.

The Bolsheviks followed two political–strategic lines—industrialization and collectivization. Everything began expressly with industrialization, for which the Bolsheviks tried to claim all the credit for themselves. However, there was a serious reassessment of values once the true cost of this industrialization became known. This process was achieved at the cost of hundreds of thousands of people, primarily peasants, who were press–ganged into working on huge construction sites. More than 100,000 labourers perished just during the building of the “magnificent Magnitka”, the steel–producing city of Magnitogorsk.

Forcible collectivization was also carried out during this period. These panels show unique photographs that show farms being destroyed and grain forcibly confiscated from the peasants.

During this period the Bolshevik leadership was discussing various approaches to these questions, and Stalin’s line of forcible collectivization was subjected to criticism. But Stalin realized that if he did not make a speedy breakthrough “to strengthen the material base and industry,” he would forfeit his power. Therefore he made a fundamental change in his political line and created the slogan, “Building socialism in a single country.” A number of widely promoted show trials then took place in the USSR, the goal of which was to mobilize the society to carry out the appointed tasks simply and without question. One of these trials was the “Shakhty case”, which is recounted in the displayed documents and a book entitled *People–Wreckers*. This case, whose name derives from the Ukrainian city of Shakhty, involved the show trial of a group of engineers accused of sabotaging production, and became the symbol of an entire era. By July 1928 Stalin was calling for a “search for Shakhty wreckers” in all spheres of life, i.e., he gave the signal to millions of Soviet citizens to seek out terrorists and wreckers in their midst. The GPU organs seized upon this slogan, implementing it in a highly efficient manner.

It must be stressed that the entire exposition is based exclusively on archival materials and documents. Panel no. 12 features original documents and individual cases drawn up by Cheka personnel, their letters of attestation, decrees, and service cards. This documentation demonstrates the deliberate manner with which cadres were selected for work in these punitive organs. Displayed on the upper right-hand side of the panel is the "Proposition concerning the NKVD" of 24 May 1922, which describes the wide-ranging powers that were granted to this punitive organ. The Bolsheviks carried out their repressive actions under conditions of profound secrecy. Media censors were at work everywhere—from the centre all the way down to the tiniest village. The lower part of the panel displays extracts from the minutes of a meeting of the collegium of the OGPU USSR concerning the case of the "Ukrainian National Centre." The fate of fifty innocent people was decided during one such meeting.

One of the most significant cases of this period was that of the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine [SVU], whose participants are represented in the exposition. There is a portrait of the academician Serhii Yefremov, a renowned literary scholar and the vice-president of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences. The list of his published works includes more than 4,000 titles. Yefremov was accused of supporting foreign intervention, organizing murders of Communists, and heading the Union for the Liberation of Ukraine. During this show trial forty-five people were sentenced, seven hundred were arrested, and a total of thirty thousand people in Ukraine were repressed in connection with the SVU case.

In fabricating political criminal cases, the Bolsheviks assigned flamboyant code names to these cases in an attempt to circulate information concerning "enemies of the people." An example of this is displayed on panel 15—the so-called "Hrenadery" case that was initiated against Ukrainian teachers in the Poltava region. In the centre of the panel is a photograph picturing the Chekist leaders of the construction of the Belomor Canal, where tens of thousands of prisoners perished. In the upper left corner of the panel is a photograph of the participants of an all-Union meeting of court-procuratorial staffers, the very people who were administering so-called "Communist justice." Pictured in the first row, seventh from left, is the chief Stalinist procurator Andrei Vyshinsky.

There is also a photograph of Col. Yevhen Konovalts, the leader of the Ukrainian Military Organization (UVO), who became the head of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) in 1929. Nine years later, in 1938, the NKVD agent Pavel Sudoplatov assassinated Konovalts in Rotterdam. The Bolsheviks annihilated their ideological opponents by terror methods, which were enshrined as state policy and carried out even against leading Ukrainian political figures outside of Ukraine.

Also displayed on this panel are documents pertaining to the scholar

and historian Mykhailo Hrushevsky. Returning from exile to Ukraine in the spring of 1924, he immediately fell under the keen surveillance of the GPU, which lasted until his death in November 1934. Among the exhibits in this panel are surveillance reports by GPU agents and a resolution concerning the opening of a dossier on Hrushevsky, as well as one example of the countless denunciations that were lodged against the eminent historian (the archives of the Security Service of Ukraine contain eight volumes of denunciations). During the last ten years of his life this distinguished Ukrainian scholar was constantly harassed by the GPU. In 1931 he was essentially exiled from Ukraine ostensibly on work-related matters. He was later arrested, released, and forced to live out the rest of his life in Russia. The death of Hrushevsky in 1934 under unexplained circumstances is still a mystery to this very day.

1932 — 1933

Panels 16-19, 19a

The Ukrainian Holocaust

The word “holocaust” comes from the Greek word meaning “burnt whole” (annihilation). It has come to mean the deliberate destruction of huge numbers of people. A focal point of the exposition is a statement by the renowned American scholar and professor of Stanford University Robert Conquest from his book *Harvest of Sorrow*, in which he wrote that the famine was planned by Moscow to destroy the Ukrainian peasantry as a national bastion and that the Ukrainian peasants were destroyed not because they were peasants but because they were Ukrainian peasants. Conquest’s statement explains much, for Muscovite scholars frequently declare that a famine also occurred at this time in the Trans-Volga region and Kazakhstan. However, Conquest notes that a vigorous resistance to the Bolshevik regime in Ukraine lasted until the early 1930s. The year 1930 heralded the period when entire villages in Ukraine were resisting, with the peasants refusing to relinquish their property and their honour. This greatly angered the Kremlin, and in late 1932 Muscovite emissaries were dispatched to Ukraine, specifically Viacheslav Molotov, Lazar Kaganovich and Vsevolod Balitsky, the former head of the GPU, as well as a whole brigade of party workers, approximately 1,700 people, who were ordered to rectify this situation. As a result of the exceedingly savage actions of Molotov’s committee, an immense quantity of grain was confiscated from

the Ukrainian peasantry. According to Moscow's plans, Ukraine was slated to supply a quota of 360 million poods of grain [1 pood=36.11 lbs/16.38 kgs.], only 70 percent of which the country was capable of producing. These were the methods used to break the back of the Ukrainian nation and to destroy the Ukrainian peasantry.

Presented in the exposition are several unique photographs that show corpses of people who died of hunger on the streets of Kharkiv. During 1932–33 the Soviet government categorically banned all photographic documentation attesting to the famine. However, foreigners who were working in Ukraine managed to take some photographs, and the world learned about the terrible famine in Ukraine. American newspapers also reported on the famine.

However, after returning from Moscow in 1933 the famous playwright and freethinker George Bernard Shaw declared that “there is no famine [in Ukraine]”, because he had partaken of one of the finest dinners of his life—an example of the lavish displays with which the Soviet government regaled foreigners in order to isolate them from real life in Ukraine. But despite the fact that the West had information about the famine in Ukraine, the United States at this time recognized the Soviet Union as a state. Although Western countries had already recognized the true face of this regime, it would have been politically awkward not to recognize Stalin's government. After the liquidation in 1927 of the New Economic Policy (NEP), which had helped Bolsheviks to remain in power, a real threat had emerged, one that endangered the supremacy of Marxist Leninist ideology in the USSR, which was built on the premise of a new type of state and the creation of a society free from bourgeois exploitation.

In practice, however, this did not take place. The Soviet state was barely functioning, and everywhere there were signs of decay and turmoil. The Bolshevik leaders sought to prove the soundness of their socio-political doctrine at all costs. Once the Bolsheviks had squandered the gold reserves of the former Russian Empire and Anastas Mikoyan, the People's Commissar for Procurement, had sold all the valuables from the Hermitage, the only principal “currency” at the Bolsheviks' disposal was grain. It was then that Stalin, together with the semi-literate members of his Politburo, began exploiting this “currency” to the fullest capacity and hoodwinking the international community with their grandiose industrial projects.

What were these projects? The Bolsheviks had mostly destroyed or repressed the engineering corps of tsarist Russia, or had proclaimed them “saboteurs” who were not to be trusted. Here is a list of the much vaunted technical projects, which the Bolsheviks passed off as their own:

— the Moscow subway, initially named after Lazar Kaganovich, then changed to Lenin (the current name): an American project.

- the Dniprohes Hydroelectric Station: an American project.
- the Kharkiv Tractor Factory: a German project
- the Magnitogorsk metallurgical group of enterprises: an American project.
- the GAZ automobile plant in Gorky: an American project.
- the civil aviation fleet of the USSR: a German project, with planes supplied by Lufthansa.

Specialists from foreign research and development firms carried out all the important engineering work of executing these costly Western technology projects, while hundreds of thousands of “builders of a bright future” who had fled villages struck by famine were mixing concrete with their bare feet for a bowl of prison soup. Moscow paid the Western firms and specialists for these projects with the grain and lives of millions of Ukrainian peasants. Such was the price of silence.

In 1983 the Americans partially broke their silence about the Ukrainian “Holocaust” by creating a special Congressional Commission on the Famine. Displayed on these panels are two items from the materials prepared by this commission, as well as translations into Ukrainian of the commission’s nineteen conclusions that were ratified by the U.S Congress. These points condemn the inaction and deliberate silence of the American government and acknowledge that the famine was an action planned by Moscow against the Ukrainians.

The attitude of the current Ukrainian government toward the tragedy of the Ukrainian “Holocaust” is astonishing. In 1993, the sixtieth anniversary of the tragic famine, a complete copy of the research materials prepared by the U.S. Congressional Commission was solemnly handed over to the Parliament of Ukraine. However, to this day, Ukrainian scholars and researchers have had no access to these documents. As a result of an appeal launched by our Society and the assistance of the Ukrainian Diaspora, in August 2001 another copy of these materials was obtained. However, two hundred audio cassettes containing the testimony of surviving eyewitnesses of the famine are still locked away in the basement of the Verkhovna Rada.

Displayed in the upper part of panel 19 are several works on the famine of 1932–33 by Ukrainian scholars. The lower part of the stand displays works by foreign scholars, as well as two volumes of the thirty-volume collection of research materials of the Special U.S. Congressional Commission and the commission’s conclusions, translated into Ukrainian by the Memorial Society. Today the bibliography of publications on the Ukrainian famine contains more than 6,000 entries.

Among the exhibits displayed in this group of panels devoted to the horrific period of 1932–33 is a map of the famine, which shows the percentages of population losses for various oblasts of Ukraine. The map also

shows the composition of the international commission of jurists and their table of population growth in republics adjacent to Ukraine, compared to population losses in Ukraine during this period. The facts demonstrate that the results of the Soviet population census of 1937 were never published or made public. Stalin ordered them to be destroyed, and then repressed or executed the Ukrainian demographers who had cited figures in their reports indicating loss of life due to the famine and the concomitant demographic changes. The figure of 3,084,000 famine victims, which is listed in the table drawn up by the commission of jurists, is far from accurate. The commission took its statistics from Soviet sources dated 1926 and 1939, i.e., the six years before and six years after the famine. Today Moscow's secret archival reports about the relocation of entire collective farms and villages from Russian gubernias to Ukrainian villages devastated by the famine are now open. If one adds data relating to the demographic consequences of the famine, then Ukrainian losses resulting from the famine of 1932–33 total no fewer than ten million people. In order to conceal the exact number of Ukraine's losses due to the famine that was artificially created by Moscow, Bolshevik commissars, after 1933, tore through villages in Ukraine, confiscating economic management books and records from branches of the Registry of Births and Deaths for 1933. The state archive of Vinnytsia oblast somehow managed to preserve a few such records of the Sosonka village council of Vinnytsia county for the period of April–June 1933. These documents read thus in the original:

– “May 9. Stashko, Danylo Martynovych, aged 42, Ukrainian, member of collective farm, cause of death–hunger.

– 14 May 1933, Romanenko, Yakiv Levkovych, aged 52, Ukrainian, member of collective farm. Died of hunger.

– Romanenko, Todoska Mykytivna, aged 6, nationality: Ukrainian, supported by: father; trade: peasant; occupational status: private farmer. Cause of death determined by the village council and police: father killed and ate her.

– Zakharovych, Hryhorii Tymkov, aged 7. Cause of death: killed by a cannibal.

– Romanenko, Hanna Mykytivna, aged 3. Cause of death: killed by her father for food.

1934 — 1938

Panels 20-26

The Collapse of Ukrainization and the “Great Terror”

This section of the exposition features a portrait of Pavel Postyshev, who was called a “friend of Soviet children” and their teacher. But the real Postyshev was different. In early 1933 he was sent to Ukraine from Moscow. He was known as the “first and second secretary”; i.e., the man to whom Stalin had granted immense authority. Postyshev launched a campaign to blame all the consequences of the famine on Ukrainian nationalists. After all, it was crucial to accuse someone of causing the famine of 1921–23, the intervention, the drought, as well as the famine of 1932–33, and the easiest way was to accuse “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.”

One of the panels displays a photograph from the funeral of Sergei Kirov, who was assassinated on 1 December 1934 in Leningrad. This was an extraordinary event, because that very day a Central Executive Committee resolution was approved concerning the method of conducting criminal cases and the need to carry out death sentences within twenty-four hours. This document was, in fact, a “charter of terror” that was implemented in the USSR until its abolition in 1953.

Mass repressions of Ukrainian writers and university lecturers began in 1934. During 1933–34, pedagogy in Ukraine had suffered greatly, stemming from the savage criticism that was directed against “Skrypnyk’s followers” [Ukrainian Minister of Education Mykola Skrypnyk]. As a result, the sphere of education was thoroughly “purged.” Many teachers and writers began to “Ukrainianize” Siberia, the Solovetsky region, and Kazakhstan.

However, the most dramatic events lay ahead. In 1936 Mykola Yezhov, the former secretary of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik) and head of the Party Control Commission, was appointed head of the NKVD. Stalin instructed Yezhov to oversee the most odious punitive actions that were then being conducted in the USSR. This was the beginning of the “Yezhov era,” which lasted from 1936 to 1938. Yezhov’s first act was to destroy all former oppositionists, and a number of show trials of Trotskyites and “right deviationists” were held. However, Yezhov devoted particular attention to the existing camp-prison system. According to preliminary data, after his appointment in 1937 some 700–800 thousand people were arrested. The question arose: what to do with all these people. The system of GULAG camps, with masses of prisoners

already working and producing material goods, could not cope with such a huge influx of new prisoners. It was decided to establish new camps and convert large camps into small ones. Prisoners were now engaged in wood-processing tasks, which did not require any special qualifications.

It was also decided to execute the most “entrenched enemies of Soviet power.” In the summer of 1937 nearly thirty thousand prisoners were shot. But the greatest number of executions still lay in the future, as attested by the increasing numbers of prisoners in the country, where an atmosphere of hysterical denunciations was reigning. Several large-scale punitive actions were conducted. One of them is presented in the documents displayed in panel 22. The first document bears Stalin’s signature, with which he blesses the creation of troikas [triumvirates of judges]. In this document, repressed individuals are divided into categories, e.g., the first category signifying “speedy execution.” Moscow was establishing ‘limits’ (essentially quotas), “plans for executions by firing squad” for human beings as though they were no more than building materials—bricks, boards, or cement.

Next to the document establishing the troikas is another document with which the Politburo of the Central Committee extended these “limits” to national and oblast party organizations. Yezhov himself distributed these “limits” from the Moscow centre. The hunt for enemies of the people went so far afield that the republican party leadership, oblast party committees, and the Cheka leadership requested that their “limits” be increased to 6,000, 10,000 and 30,000 because the earlier designated “limit” was not sufficient to completely destroy all the “enemies of the people.” According to these documents, Moscow granted the highest “limit” to Ukraine. However, even this was not enough and the NKVD of the Ukrainian SSR later requested that its “limit” be increased by five times. On the right side of this panel are displayed four such requests for increasing the “limits” for taking human lives.

One of these mass executions took place in October–November 1937 on Solovetsky Island, the site of one of the most terrible camps in the entire GULAG system. Here the whole Solovetsky prison was “purged.” The individual in charge of this action was the Chekist Leonid Zakovsky, who began his career in Ukraine. He headed the troika that was “purging” these camps, where 1,111 prisoners were sentenced to be shot. They were transported to the boundary line of Sandormokh, in Karelia, and over several days Capt. M. Matveev personally shot approximately 250 prisoners a day. Panel 22 displays documents drawn up by Matveev, “who announces in a report [the people] whom he has executed.”

The majority of the prison population in the Solovetsky camps was comprised of Ukrainians. On the lower section of this panel are execution protocols, individual cases, orders for arrest, and sentences. Renowned Ukrainian cultural figures, including Les Kurbas, Mykola Kulish, and many

others, were executed in the Solovetsky camps. A detailed history of these camps, recounting the history of executions carried out there, is displayed in a separate exhibit consisting of fifteen panels.

Panel 24 displays documents and photographs of a site where the Communist regime carried out mass executions in the Ukrainian city of Vinnytsia. The Vinnytsia tragedy comprises a separate page in the history of Ukraine. When the Germans occupied Ukraine, they formed a commission to begin excavations in Vinnytsia. A detailed account of this crime is the subject of a book published in Kyiv in 1997 entitled “Zlochyn bez kary” [English title: *Crime without Punishment, Materials of the All-Ukrainian Conference on the “Great Terror” of Sorrowful Memory*, Stylos Publishers], based on documents of the German commission. The panel lists the names of the members of the international commission of experts who carried out the excavations and determined that the executions in Vinnytsia took place during 1937–1939. According to the data, the commission excavated ninety-one burial sites in which were found the remains of 9,432 people, whose skulls showed bullet holes in the back of the head and their bodies displaying signs of torture. The panel also shows a plan of the Vinnytsia burials and the dates when the remains excavated in 1943 were reinterred. On this land in the postwar period, the Communist authorities created a “Park of Culture and Rest”, as well as a funhouse and other recreational establishments that are still in operation. In order to further conceal all traces of this crime, after the war the Chekists made a thorough search of Vinnytsia and the surrounding villages, arresting and killing those who had testified at the international commission in 1943.

The year 1938 was noteworthy in that Stalin made a decision “to change the little fishes in the party aquarium”—bidding farewell to Yezhov and assigning the blame for all the crimes on him. One of two photographs pictures Stalin, Voroshilov, Molotov, and Yezhov on the Moscow–Volga Canal. In another (identical) photograph Yezhov is missing. The photograph was cropped. For, by 1939 he had already been arrested, and in February 1940 shot as a spy and leader of a counter-revolutionary organization within the NKVD organs.

Panel 27 presents one of the two largest mass graves ever found in Ukraine, containing victims of repressions buried in Kyiv’s Luk’ianiv Cemetery. In this cemetery in the years 1918–19 were buried residents of Kyiv who had been executed by Muravev’s Bolshevik armies and Denikin’s forces. From December 1934 and throughout the entire period of the Great Terror people executed by the Bolsheviks were buried here. Since the cemetery was already full, the Bolsheviks buried their victims underneath the cemetery pathways and flowerbeds. These facts were concealed for many decades, but witnesses have now come forward with information that the Communist regime hid the traces of its crimes here.

The facts of these burials have also been confirmed by archival documents. The last mayor of Kyiv during the Nazi occupation Leontii Forostivsky also mentions them:

“...Prior to moving the capital from the city of Kharkiv [in 1934] all those who had been executed [at the NKVD headquarters] were generally buried in Luk’ianiv Cemetery: the main and side alleys, all the roads in this cemetery, are huge mass graves of murdered people. The burial places have been carefully leveled, and the earth well tamped. Whole glades are also sites of mass graves; they have been carefully leveled and plowed, and grass has been planted on them. There are no fewer than 25–30 thousand murdered people lying in this cemetery?”

This panel also displays photographs of graves and symbolic monuments that searchers erected to eminent Ukrainian political figures, artists and representatives of the clergy who were destroyed by the Bolsheviks. Today Luk’ianiv Cemetery has been designated as a National Preserve.



1939 — 1941

Panels 27-30

The Conspiracy of Two Dictators and Its Consequences

The year 1939 began with a conspiracy hatched by the two dictators, Hitler and Stalin, and their famous Molotov–Ribbentrop Pact. These panels show precisely into what the western lands of Ukraine were transformed by the arriving military units, including the Bolshevik punitive organs of the NKVD, which set about creating its administrative structures. The conspiracy of the two dictators, despite their differing ideologies, allowed them to divide the territory of Europe at their discretion. Among the exhibits displayed in these panels are the words of Winston Churchill: “The change in Russian policy, which was completely against its nature, was a metamorphosis, which only totalitarian states are capable of achieving.” Also displayed is a photograph of a joint parade of Nazi and Soviet troops in Brest, and reference is made to a telegram in which Hitler greeted Stalin on his sixtieth birthday with these words: “Soviet–German friendship is reinforced with blood.”

Panel 29 displays another symbol of Communist terror—Bykivnia, a large village located on the northeastern fringes of Kyiv near the Chernihiv highway. In 1936–1941 mass burials of people who had been repressed and executed by the NKVD organs in Kyiv took place here. The first victims, as

a rule, were transported directly from Luk'ianivka Prison and were buried here in the late 1920s. Officially the construction of a special zone for secret burials began in 1936. From that time forward, executed victims of the Communist regime were systematically buried here in utter secrecy. Among the archival documents of the Kyiv planning and zoning commission is a document concerning a plot of land that was issued for special use by the Kyiv NKVD, which was located in Sectors 19 and 20 of the Darnytsia Forestry near the village of Bykivnia.

The first to write about the burial of victims of Communist terror in Bykivnia was P. Kolmus on the pages of *Berliner Boersen-Zeitung* in September 1941. At that time the Germans were carrying out their excavations, during which mangled human corpses were found buried a half-metre below the surface. Further excavations of the site measuring 15,000 square metres revealed that prisoners from Kyiv prisons, who had been shot at the start of the war, had also been hurriedly buried here.

In 1944–1945 a state commission working in Bykivnia to establish the facts pertaining to the evil actions of the German fascist invaders announced that it was victims of the Nazis who were buried in Bykivnia. In 1971 a second state commission began working on the burial site. It too concluded that the people buried in Bykivnia had been killed by the Germans. It was only in 1987 that, as a result of citizens' initiatives and the assistance of the Union of Writers of Ukraine, the truth of the Bykivnia tragedy gradually began to emerge. Thus, a third state commission headed by the Minister of Internal Affairs was formed to conduct an investigation of the site, where the remains of victims had been found. Shortly afterwards, announcements began appearing in the mass media that a fascist concentration camp, where Soviet citizens had died, had been located in Bykivnia. In May 1988 the authorities officially sanctioned a monument, on whose central stone were engraved the words, "Eternal memory. Here lie 6,329 Soviet fighters, partisans, members of the underground, and civilians murdered by the fascist occupiers in 1941–1945."

It was only after the appearance of numerous publications, which revealed the truth about Bykivnia, and especially after the creation of the Memorial Society that the authorities were forced to react by appointing a fourth state commission. After examining the facts and eyewitness testimonies, the commission was forced to admit that victims of Communist repressions were buried in Bykivnia. On 11 July 1989 the press announced that the committee had concluded its work, having arrived at the figure of 6,783 victims. This figure is far from complete, according to researchers who estimate that the total number of victims is no less than 100,000. After the above-mentioned press announcement, in July 1989 the inscription on the stone in Bykivnia was removed, except for the words "Eternal memory." On 10 May 1990 a large oak cross was erected in Bykivnia Forest, and in July

1990 workers from an enterprise based in the city of Brovary erected a half-ton panel at the edge of the highway, inscribed with the words, "Graves of the repressed-1 km." On 30 April 1994 the Bykivnia Memorial Complex, erected on orders of the President of Ukraine, was officially opened.

One of the panels highlights a photograph of the October Palace, the headquarters of the NKVD in the 1930s, which until the events of 1917 housed the Institute of Young Noblewomen. Alongside is a photograph of the building that today houses the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. This structure was originally built for the NKVD. A two-story, windowless building, where interrogations of prisoners were supposed to be conducted, was erected in its courtyard.

At the persistent demands and appeals of the Kyiv branch of the Memorial Society and the citizens of Kyiv, and with the assistance of the then prime minister of Ukraine Viktor Yushchenko, on 22 May 2001 the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine issued a resolution entitled "Concerning the Creation of the State Historical-Memorial Preserve of the 'Bykivnia Graves'", which was to be placed under the jurisdiction of the Kyiv civic-state administration. On 24 June 2001, Pope John-Paul II visited Bykivnia during his visit to Ukraine. However, in the last two years the powerful ministerial structures have done nothing to implement the resolution approved by the government of Viktor Yushchenko.

The actions of the new Soviet government in the Western Ukrainian lands were brutal. To the inhabitants of these western lands, who had greeted their "liberators" with bread, salt, and national flags, the new rulers brought mass terror and secret burials of their victims in villages, towns, and cities.

Panel 30 shows Dem'ianiv Laz, a suburb of the city of Ivano-Frankivsk, another of the many mass burial sites located in Western Ukraine, where victims of Communist repressions have been found. Among the exhibited items are remnants of clothing and shoes of those who had been shot. Skulls with bullet holes at the back of the head are eloquent testimony to the way longstanding Bolshevik practices in eastern Ukraine were carried out in the western Ukrainian lands.

A comparison of the excavations in Dem'ianiv Laz in 1989 and the excavations in Vinnytsia in 1943 indicates that today's excavations are carried out in a more proficient manner. These exhibits indisputably confirm the Bolshevik regime's efforts to conceal all traces of their crimes.

The destruction of people in Dem'ianiv Laz reveals indisputable evidence of blatant sadism. Among the exhibits displayed in the panel is a skull with six bullet holes at the back of the head. Next to it are bones from the rib cages of victims who had been stabbed repeatedly with bayonets to ensure that the victim was dead. Today archival documents have revealed

quite a few examples of the NKVD's attempts to conceal its crimes or blame them on the Germans. During the excavations at Dem'ianiv Laz in 1989 the Ivano–Frankivsk oblast committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine attempted to blame these crimes on the Germans or “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists.” But documents found during the excavations put an end to this attempt to falsify the evidence. In addition, the holes in the rib cages clearly indicate that they had been made by angled cruciform bayonets, which in those days were used exclusively by Russian troops.

The excavations of Dem'ianiv Laz juridically confirmed the crimes of the punitive system of the time, which also included violations of existing inhumane Soviet laws, specifically article 98 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR of 1927: exceeding authority, or functional authority, i.e., the commission of actions that clearly exceed the boundaries of authority granted by law to individuals committing them. Under article 98, senior investigators in the procurator's office in Ivano–Frankivsk oblast initiated and investigated a criminal case of the crimes committed in Dem'ianiv Laz. Newly discovered documents reveal that the victims had been sentenced from two to five years' imprisonment or were simply arrested and transported to Dem'ianiv Laz and summarily executed. During the excavations activists from the Memorial Society began distributing leaflets containing texts of unearthed documents, complete with the signatures of the NKVD agents who had signed them. As a result, dozens of families of former NKVD personnel fled to the Russian Federation in an effort to evade the peoples' wrath.

Also displayed in this panel are photographs of documents uncovered during the excavations, the conclusions of the Ukrainian experts, and statistics on murdered victims, including age and gender.

1942 — 1952

Panels 31-37

The Last Decade of Stalin's Dictatorship

With these bloody events unfolding in Ukraine, it was inevitable that some kind of resistance would emerge to defy the inhumane Soviet regime. This force was the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), created by the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN).

After the Second World War the number of war victims was estimated at 7.5 million. In the 1950s Nikita Khrushchev amended this figure to 20 million, and during Mikhail Gorbachev's rule this number grew to 27 million Soviet citizens. These figures attest to the fact that the Soviet government tried by all possible means to conceal the truth, for all the "victories" were primarily at the cost of millions of people who perished during the war.

The exhibits in this group of panels recount events in Western Ukraine, when the Bolshevik regime was conducting a war of total annihilation against the UPA—"a war after the war." This section of the exposition reveals for the first time the complexity of the situation in the postwar years. According to Soviet propaganda, the "Banderites, who were violent killers," were to blame for the hostilities. A photograph of one of those special groups that were operating in Ukraine in 1944 pictures a NKGB group headed by a Lieutenant-Colonel Zakharov, whose soldiers were dressed as Ukrainian insurgents of the UPA. These groups of bogus insurgents were trained Chekists, who had mastered the local dialect and were familiar with Western Ukrainian traditions. Former insurgents were also recruited under the threat of death to these special groups, whose members were taught in special Chekist training schools, from which they were sent forth to run amok in Western Ukraine in the guise of UPA soldiers. In June 1945, 156 of these special Soviet groups, totalling 1,783 individuals, were operating in the western oblasts, disguised as UPA fighters.

In the later years of the struggle against the Ukrainian national-liberation movement, the number of special groups and their personnel significantly increased. In addition, seventeen divisions of regular Soviet troops were sent to the Western Ukrainian oblasts to fight against the liberation movement. According to archival sources, from the time of the so-called "liberation" of the Western Ukrainian oblasts until June 1945, 86,749 people were sent there on permanent duty. These same archival sources record that during this period Soviet forces captured 93,610 "bandits," although in

1944 the ranks of the UPA were officially estimated at 45,000–80,000 men (up to 60,000, according to German sources). These discrepancies lead to the conclusion that the Soviet regime was conducting a struggle against the entire population of Ukraine's western oblasts. Thus, it is imperative to reconsider each of these Soviet crimes and understand who actually committed them.

In the years 1944–1954, half a million people were repressed in Western Ukraine, of which 230,000 were executed.

The Soviet Union's renewed struggle against Ukrainian nationalism is characteristic of the postwar situation in Ukraine. This campaign was sparked by official criticism of the filmmaker Oleksandr Dovzhenko, whose script for the film "Ukraine in Flames" was discussed at a special meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (b) during the war. The pretext for criticizing Dovzhenko was simply Stalin's comment that his film script featured only Ukrainians, to which Dovzhenko replied that he too was a Ukrainian. Stalin judged this to be a manifestation of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism."

The Kremlin rulers were extremely alarmed by the intractable and heroic struggle of the UPA, which was well organized and supported by almost the entire population of the western lands, and setting an example for all of Ukraine.

Panel 35 presents the organizational activity of the Ukrainian underground. Among the exhibits is a document entitled "The Platform of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council," the president of which was Kyrylo Osmak. Other items include agitation posters of the Ukrainian underground and examples of clandestine periodicals. The lower part of the stand displays a report of an UPA unit from April 1949 describing the features of the territory on which the Ukrainian unit is conducting its struggle, and the provocative actions and abuse that the Muscovite occupying regime was wreaking on the civilian population.

Panel 36 also displays photographs of two renowned Ukrainian poets—Maksym Rylsky and Volodymyr Sosiura—and information on the campaign against "rootless cosmopolitans," which was essentially a campaign directed against everyone who was working in the sphere of Jewish history and culture and against Jewish writers in Ukraine. This onslaught is embodied in the photograph of Illia Spivak, a researcher who died in prison during the campaign to root out "cosmopolitans"

Stalin's death concludes this terrible period. There would undoubtedly have been more repressions had the tyrant's death not altered the situation. The exposition also includes a photograph, never officially published until now, of an ailing Stalin.

The process of shedding light on this appalling postwar period would not be complete without documents attesting to the heroic armed struggle

of the Ukrainian underground, which lasted until 1956. The upper part of panel 37 displays agitation leaflets of the Ukrainian underground. These materials, which were published in a clandestine printing house located in Vinnytsia, demonstrate how analysts in the nationalist underground exposed Moscow's lies and its plans to devastate Ukraine.

The story of these documents is fascinating. In the spring of 1991, when earthwork was being carried out near the village of Voroniv in Rohatyn county, Ivano-Frankivsk oblast (the site of General Shukhevych's clandestine headquarters until 1949), the excavator shovel brought up a barrel, the lid of which was sealed with wax. The interior was packed with documents rolled up inside old newspapers. The cache of papers, dated until 1949, turned out to be the archive of General Shukhevych's headquarters. After the oblast branch of the Memorial Society obtained these priceless materials, someone broke into the society's offices one night. The assailants turned the contents of the rooms inside out, tossed around documents, and failing to find what they were looking for, used a hammer to smash the society's most expensive possession—a colour television.

Afterwards, suspicious individuals began paying increasingly frequent visits to the head of the society, Roman Krutsyk, always leading the lengthy discussions around to the mysterious archive. These people purported to be visitors from various countries—either representatives of the Ukrainian diaspora or former members of the OUN or the UPA. Some even whispered confidentially that they were members of the Central Leadership of the OUN, and demanded that the archive be handed over to them. But fully aware of the Soviet secret services' cunning and capacity for instigating provocations, the leaders of the Memorial Society did not reveal any information about the archive to these suspicious visitors.

For more than a year the archive was kept in the basement of a farmer living in a Western Ukrainian village. After the proclamation of Ukraine's independence a small portion of the archive was legally registered in the funds of the Museum of Liberation Struggles of the Sub-Carpathian Land. The rest of the documents are being studied, and in time they will reveal to the world many secrets about the crimes of the Communist system and the truth of the heroic struggle of the Ukrainian insurgents. Copies of several documents from this archive are represented in the panels.

The lower left part of panel 37 displays a photograph of one of the labour camps in the Kolyma region. From the very beginning of the Bolshevik occupation numerous deportation actions took place in both the eastern and western parts of Ukraine, the victims of which were not only individual families but also entire villages and counties. But the largest forcible resettlements (deportations) were carried out in compliance with the 30 March 1944 Resolution of the State Committee of Defense of the USSR. Displayed in the panel is a report by Major-General Fadeev, the

commander of the KGB Interior Ministry troops of the Ukrainian district, concerning the progress of deportation operations against “bandits’ families.” The report, which was addressed to the secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine L. H. Melnykov, is dated 1950, Lviv oblast.



1946 — 1947

Panels 38-39

Famine Strikes a Third Blow

Whereas panels 36 and 37 of the exposition conclude the treatment of the postwar period of the final decade of Stalin’s dictatorship, panels 38 and 39 hark back to 1946–1947, when famine struck another blow in Ukraine. The famine began with a drought that devastated the southern oblasts of Ukraine. Instead of organizing aid to this region, Stalin cynically connected this famine to manifestations of “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism.” In the spring of 1947 Khrushchev, who until Lazar Kaganovich’s arrival was the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ukraine and head of the Ukrainian SSR, wrote several letters to Moscow. According to documented proof in the form of memoirs, Stalin called Khrushchev a “Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist” and categorically forbade any assistance to Ukraine.

During this period grain was being exported from the USSR, and the president of Czechoslovakia, Klement Gottwald, whose country was one of the beneficiaries of these grain exports, declared: “The Soviet Union has saved us from starvation.” Other data indicates that at the very time that people were dying of famine in Ukraine, Poland received shipments of 200,000 tons of grain and France—500,000 tons. A horrifying but little known fact is that during this period various branches of the Registry of Births and Deaths in Ukraine alone registered nearly one million deaths by starvation. In recent years several books have been written on the famine of 1946–47. They are based on unique documents revealing the true situation in Ukraine, which was experiencing a third famine. With the aid of Ukrainian currency, i.e., Ukrainian grain, Moscow was feeding the Communist regimes that it had created in Eastern Europe.

1953 — 1964

Panels 40-43

The Thaw

The panels devoted to this period reveal that when Nikita Khrushchev came to power after Stalin's death and liquidated Lavrentii Beria, one of the most dangerous and odious figures of the Stalinist period, the nature of the Communist regime did not change. Khrushchev and his milieu resorted to a different tack: they simply blamed all the flaws of the Bolshevik system on Stalin and began energetically extolling the "good Lenin." This is the context of Khrushchev's speech at the XX Party Congress in 1956. While monuments to Stalin were being torn down, myths about Khrushchev were being simultaneously created—about his victory over Nazi Germany, his exceptional statesmanship, and his talent.

The panels present elements of Khrushchev's cult of personality, including the text and notes of a song about Khrushchev, composed by Ukrainian musicians and poets, and Khrushchev's speech at the United Nations, where he behaved in a gross and uncouth manner. Other exhibits include data on Khrushchev's order to assassinate the leader of the OUN Stepan Bandera in Munich and materials on the Hungarian Uprising of 1956, which was suppressed by the future General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union Yurii Andropov. At the time, Andropov was the Soviet ambassador in Hungary, and based in Budapest.

Part of this panel is devoted to the "theme of corn," as Khrushchev was a great fan of this agricultural crop. This theme is evident in displayed examples of verse devoted to planting corn. This poetry was part and parcel of the "folklore" of Khrushchev's era, as were Khrushchev's lengthy speeches with which the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sought to conceal its true nature.

It is entirely logical that once again resistance to this supposedly liberalized system began to emerge. In Ukraine this movement attracted young people, like Yevhen Sverstiuk, Alla Horska, Ivan Svitlychny, V'iacheslav Chornovil, and many others who in the early 1950s had already begun to reflect on what was happening in Ukraine. In the late 1950s Levko Luk'ianenko founded the Ukrainian Workers'–Peasants' Union, as a result of which he received the death sentence. Also displayed in the panels is a photograph of the intellectuals of the day who were subjected to criticism by the Soviet authorities, e.g., the Russian poet Andrei Voznesensky and the Ukrainian poet Vasyl Symonenko, whose diary and poems were circu-

lated through samvydav/samizdat (hand to hand publishing and distribution) channels.

Many people realized what would happen in the Soviet Union after Leonid Brezhnev came to power in October 1964. For this reason a panoramic view of the Brezhnev era is portrayed on these stands. For Ukraine, his ascent to power, marking the victory of neo-Stalinism, signified the intensification of enslavement, new tortures, and repressions. This is no exaggeration, as Brezhnev's actions absolutely followed the well-trodden path of old Stalinist tradition



1965 — 1985

Panels 44-50

Bloodless Totalitarianism

It was frequently said, “Brezhnev’s rule is not that terrible—it is bloodless totalitarianism.” However, this group of panels shows a tally of people who were arrested in those years. Their numbers include Ivan Svitlychny, who lived in freedom for forty years, was imprisoned for twelve years, and was paralyzed for eleven, and the artist Alla Horska, who died under mysterious circumstances in Vasylkiv, near Kyiv. There are many such examples of broken lives. In September 1965, at the premiere of Serhii Paradzhanov’s film “Shadows of Forgotten Ancestors” at the Ukraine cinema in Kyiv, V’iacheslav Chornovil, Vasyl Stus, and Ivan Dziuba held a public protest action. Also displayed on the panels are photographs of people who courageously challenged the political system and were then punished.

Among the exhibits is a photograph of the brilliant journalist and renowned human rights activist Valerii Marchenko, who died in October 1984. President Ronald Reagan and the U.S. State Department issued a special declaration in which they expressed their profound indignation to the USSR in connection with the death of this Ukrainian dissident. Also pictured are Yurii Badzio and Semen Gluzman, the head of the Ukrainian–American Bureau for the Protection of Human Rights. Gluzman was the Soviet psychiatrist who declared in his diagnosis that General Petro Hryhorenko’s mental state was normal and thus could not be incarcerated in a psychiatric hospital. The idea of using psychiatry to fight against dissidents was conceived by Yurii Andropov, who was then the head of the Soviet KGB. Gen. Petro Hryhorenko was only one of many vic-

tims of the Soviets Union's abuse of psychiatry.

In 1972 Volodymyr Shcherbytsky came to power in Ukraine. In contrast to his predecessor Petro Shelest, Shcherbytsky introduced a brutal campaign of Russification in Ukraine. This group of panels displays Shelest's book "Our Soviet Ukraine"; as a result of which the author was retroactively accused of "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism." The year 1972 launched a period of particularly savage repressions against dissidents. The ranks of Ukrainian dissidents include such figures as Yurii Lytvyn, Zynovii Antoniuk, Sviatoslav Karavansky, Mykola Plakhotniuk, and Oleksa Tykhy, to name but a few.

The last panels in this group portray an era of great change marked by the deaths of Communist Party leaders Konstantin Chernenko and Yuri Andropov and the rise to power of Mikhail Gorbachev.

The panel entitled "Lost Memory" presents for the first time a chronological survey of architectural monuments that were destroyed throughout Ukraine: sixty monuments prior to 1914, seven during 1914–1918, and 251 in the years 1918–1941.



1986 – 1991

Panels 51-53

The Collapse

This is the era known as perebudova, or perestroika [reconstruction]. The exhibits in this group of panels focuses on the attempts of certain groups to restore the Soviet Communist regime, e.g., the participants in the putsch of 1991. Here visitors can read the text of Nina Andreeva's famous article entitled "I Cannot Renounce My Principles." Today Andreeva is the leader of the Stalinist All-Union Communist Party (Bolshevik).

Also noteworthy is a copy of the October 1990 decision of the presidium of Chernihiv oblast and the municipal council, which characterizes the preparatory period for launching the state coup of 19 August 1991. These types of documents were drawn up in every oblast of Ukraine, and if the coup had succeeded, it is clear that the implementation of these decisions, which called for the power structures to arrest all the leaders of the new organizations, except for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Young Communist League of the Soviet Union [Komsomol], would have caused rivers of blood to flow.

Today, those politicians who supported the Soviet regime are still try-

ing their utmost to convince people that the coup attempt would not have resulted in any danger to citizens. Finally, the last panel reflects the situation in Ukraine in 1991 and displays the Proclamation of Independence.

In summarizing this catalogue of exhibits, we must note that varying estimates are put forward for the total number of victims in the USSR and Ukraine in particular. According to data published by the researcher of Soviet Communism and its victims, Academician Alexander Yakovlev, head of the Demokratiya (Democracy) International Fund, thirty-two million people were repressed during the years of Bolshevik rule, ten million of them in Ukraine. In our opinion, this figure is far too low and even deliberately minimized, for even today the Muscovite government and Russian political democrats, like their predecessors, often refute or at the very least play down the crimes of imperialist Russia against Ukraine.

The exposition ends with the Proclamation of Independence. It is extremely difficult to live without truth, and still harder to build a state. Indeed, this is a corollary of the idea behind this exposition. No matter how uncomfortable the truth may be, we must know the truth and present it in a systematic, accessible fashion. Thus, the principal goal of the Memorial Society is to struggle against the historical and political myths that were created by the Communist regime. We must never forget that the blood of so many innocent people was shed. We believe that through our activities the time will soon come when the Ukrainian government will finally pass historical, political, and legal judgment on the totalitarian past in Ukraine. Only then will we have a guarantee that the past will never be repeated.

This text was prepared by the historian Dr. Yurii Shapoval, head of the Institute of Political and Ethnic Studies (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine) and member of the board of the Memorial Society; the jurist Roman Krutsyk, head of the Kyiv branch of the Memorial Society and People's Deputy of Ukraine of the Second Session; and Oleksandr Yeremenko, deputy head and responsible secretary of the Memorial Society. The text was translated from the Ukrainian by Marta D. Olynyk and edited and formatted for publication by Borys Potapenko.

Memorial Society Address:
**vul. Stelmakha, 6-A,
Kyiv-40
Ukraine 03040
Tel/Fax: (044) 258-0071
E-mail: osta@ln.ua,
Web Site: <http://www.memorial.kiev.ua>**

