

B y I v a n B A H R Y A N Y

Why I do not want to go „Home“

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Why I do not want to go „Home“

(This pamphlet had been printed in English at first in 1946 in the magazine „The Ukrainian Quarterly“ Vol. II. — No. 3 from where it was reprinted now without any changes and even together with the note of the editor of the said magazine.)

Ivan Bahryany is one of the outstanding Ukrainian writers of the younger generation. He was born in Soviet Ukraine and educated in the Soviet schools. He has spent many years in Soviet prisons and concentration camps for his Ukrainian connections. Now as a political refugee in Germany, he is Executive Officer of the Association of Ukrainian Writers and Artists in Western Europe and one of the leaders of the Ukrainian Artistic Movement (Mystetsky Ukrainsky Rukh--MUR). — EDITOR

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I AM one of those hundreds of thousands of the Ukrainian people who do not want to go home under Bolshevism and so startle the whole world.

I am a Ukrainian, 38 years old, born in the region of Poltava of laboring parents and now I am living with no fixed residence, in constant want, wandering like a homeless cur around Europe—hiding from the repatriation committees of the USSR, who want to send me "home."

I do not want to go "home." There are hundreds of thousands of us who do not want to. They can come for us

with loaded rifles, but we will put up a desperate resistance—for we prefer to die in a foreign land rather than go back to that "home" I put that word in quotation marks, for it is filled for us with horror, for it shows the unparalleled cynicism of the Soviet propaganda directed against us: the Bolsheviks have made for 100 nationalities one "Soviet home" and by that term they are building the terrible "prison of peoples." the so-called USSR.

They call it a "home" and complain about us to the whole world so as to take us back on a halter to that "home." At the mere thought that they can catch me and take me back, my hair turns white and I always carry with me a dose of cyanide as the last method of self-defence against Stalinist socialism, against that "home."

For Europeans and citizens of all parts of the world (except the USSR), it is strange and incomprehensible how a person can flee from his native land and not want to return to it. Perhaps it is because he is a desperate criminal who is afraid of punishment for his

major crimes against his native land. Perhaps they accuse us of such.

It is natural that those should wander, to whom the word "native land" has a holy meaning. What can be dearer than one's own native land, the land where he was born and played as a child, where there are the bones of his ancestors, the grave of his mother?

For us the word "native land" is filled with the same holy meaning, perhaps more than for any one else. But it is not the Stalin "home." I dream at night of my native land. My native land is Ukraine, one of the republics with "equal rights" in the federation called the USSR. I am not only a criminal against my native land, but — to help it, I have spent one third of my life even before the War in Soviet prisons and concentration camps.

I dream of it every night and yet I do not want now to go back to it.

Why?

Bolshevism is there.

The civilized world does not know what that means and cannot believe it. The person who listens to us must pay attention. We have spent there a quar-

ter of a century and in telling now the horrible truth about that world, we do it with the full knowledge that we are placing under the threat of death, terror and prison, all our friends and relatives, because they are still there and because Stalin will take out on them his boundless spite and his bloody hate against us Ukrainians.

But this does not stop us from trying to tell the world only a small part of that terrible truth, which follows us every day in want, cold and hunger and drives us on like a horrible nightmare, — that truth about that “home,” about the extreme Stalinist socialism and about our Ukrainian tragedy under it.

And so :

I

Pick up the Small Soviet Encyclopedia, edition 1940, open it and under the letter "U" read what is written in the article "UkSSR."

It is a document and there you will see in black and white, although in fine print, that Soviet Ukraine according to the census of 1927 had a population of 32 million and in 1939 (twelve years later ... 28 million.

Only 28 million? What happened to 4 million people after 1927? Where is the natural increase which in 12 years should have been at least 6-7 million?

That means more than 10 million? What happened to those 10 million of the Ukrainian population? What happened to them in the "land of flourishing socialism"?

That is why I do not want to go back under Bolshevism.

I walked over the whole road to Calvary with my people and I was a living witness of what happened to those millions. I cannot tell it in detail in a short article, but at least I want to give a short summary.

I want to emphasize in this that I am the son of a workman (a proletarian), that is, a member of the ruling class in the USSR, in the name of which Stalin and his party operate their so-called "proletarian dictatorship." But I am the son of a Ukrainian proletarian and also my mother is of peasant origin, the daughter of the peasant farmer Ivan Krivusha of the village of Kuzemeny in the region of Poltava — and that is the misfortune of my whole life in the ultrademocratic USSR.

Trough the fact I have been not only a witness of what happened to those

10 millions of the Ukrainian population but also a part of those other millions who with them were murdered and impoverished systematically through all the years of Bolshevism.

II

I was a little boy, only ten years old, when Bolshevism impressed itself upon me like a bloody nightmare and the murderer of my people. That was in 1920. I was living with my grandfather in the village among the bee-hives. Grandfather was 92 years old and had only one arm but he made his living by looking after the hives. He reminded me of Saints Zosima and Savvaty whose ikons were hanging on an old linden tree among the hives.

One day towards evening a band of armed men appeared, speaking a

strange language and before my eyes and the eyes of my cousins and despite our yells and cries, they murdered grandfather and one of his sons (an uncle of mine). They stuck them again and again with their bayonets and to be sure of their success they shot at the bloody bodies on the ground with their pistols and laughed. The sound was awful. Under the old linden among the beehives, around the ikon of Saints Zosima and Savvaty, the ground was all sprinkled with blood. That was St. Bartholomew's Eve in our village. There had been many such nights in Ukraine and small as I was, I had heard of them but I had never seen them. Then I did. That night there were murdered in our village all substantial farmers and the priest and Bolshevism was organized that night (as only one of many such) in the form of a representative of the Cheka and a Bolshevik murder gang.

I did not know then that it was a prelude to my whole life under the Soviets and a symbol of the fate prepared by Bolshevism for my whole nation. They tortured my grandfather

to death because he was a rich Ukrainian farmer (he had 80 acres of land) and he was against the "commune," and my uncle, because he had been during the national struggle for independence in 1917-1918 a soldier of the national army of the Ukrainian People's Republic, that is, he had fought for the freedom and independence of Ukrainian people.

My other uncle who had hidden and escaped death was later arrested and without trial sent to Solovki for ten years, then for ten years additional and he died there. Later I and my entire family went on the same road.

That is the way. I first observed Bolshevism at first hand. At the beginning of my life and the origin of the UkSSR, I saw Ukraine crushed under the Soviet regime and colonized by the Red Moscow imperialism. Later I saw that all life there was as bloody and cruel.

III

Having mastered Ukraine, Bolshevism set as its goal the task of denationalizing it, destroying it spiritually and nationally by proceeding to make of the multi-national USSR a single Red Empire. Since Ukraine was the richest republic of the USSR and the second in size after Russia, Bolshevism decided to subdue it at any cost. Since the population would not consent to this, Moscow Bolshevism entered upon the path of provocation, terror and the physical annihilation of whole masses of the people, a policy which

it has followed during the entire period of its domination and which it is still continuing. This annihilation was carried on a grandiose scale, as befits a people dominated by the mania of greatness.

In the years 1929-1932, Bolshevism declared war against the entire wealthy farming class with the slogan of "the annihilation of the kulak as a class." in reality this meant the annihilation of a colossal mass of people, the hard-working dirt farmers. That means the annihilation of the Ukrainian country population. The annihilation of the "kulak as a class" was in reality for us the annihilation of Ukraine as a nation, for the Ukrainians were 70% agricultural. Through this slogan of physical annihilation there were destroyed literally millions of Ukrainians, not only of the so-called "kulaks" but of the poor people, intellectuals and workmen.

In Ukraine the annihilation was carried out not on the social plane but on the political and national. The "kulaks" were destroyed, because they were rich, because they were "kulaks."

long after they lay down themselves with the same fate.

With the bones of these Ukrainian children and mothers, Stalin has paved all the roads and wilderness of the "unconquered home."

That is how many of my relatives perished. But it made live no easier for any one in Ukraine.

That is why I hate Bolshevism and do not want to go "home."

IV

In 1933 the Bolsheviks artificially organized a famine in Ukraine. Before the eyes of the whole world the Ukrainian village population died out in whole villages and regions. More than 5 million Ukrainian village people died that terrible death by famine at that time. No one in the Kremlin raised a finger to save this unfortunate people. On the contrary; Stalin refused the assistance which was organized in Western Ukraine under the leadership of Metropolitan Sheptitsky, brotherly assistance from that part of the Ukra-

inian people; which was living outside the boundaries of the USSR in Poland, and he even made no statement about the perishing Ukrainians in the USSR. Why? It was dangerous, for it showed that national solidarity so feared by Bolshevism. Stalin doomed the Ukrainian agricultural population to death by famine deliberately to compel it to obey and be reconciled to the Kolkhoz slavery which he had introduced.

Elevators in the whole USSR were bursting with Ukrainian grain, grown by the Ukrainian people and with the produce of that people the Bolsheviks were depressing the world markets by dumping, and they were using it to support the Chinese revolution, etc. At that same time, when the dying Ukrainian farmers went to the capital to beg for alms on the streets, the red gendarmerie, called the "workmen's and peasants militia," tracked them down and threw them outside the city to perish along the roads.

In that terrible tragedy the Ukrainian people were forced to cannibalism. Mothers, insane from hunger, ate their own children.

You mothers of the entire world!
Can you visualize a position and a regime under which you would be forced to eat your own child?

No.

You cannot conceive it or believe it.
It happened in Ukraine in 1933.

Perhaps you think that our mothers, our wives, our sisters are savages or Bushmen or like the other wild tribes of Africa?

No, our mothers and sisters are of eastern Europe and of the same race as the Grand Princess Olga who introduced Christianity at the dawn of European civilization.

Our mothers and sisters are of one of the most noble Slavonic tribes, of Ukraine and are as noble and beautiful as the wives and maidens of Italy, France, or England. But... they were brought to this tragic situation by Bolshevism. To the most extreme condition of human tragedy which takes away the functioning of the normal mind. They were placed before the ghastly alternative of dying a terrible death by famine, or... and this "or" was the result of the insanity of the dying. And death

just the same stood behind this second "or." Bolshevism put it there, and was the symbol of it. Cannibalism is its origin and essence and is the symbol of it. It is possible to collect a whole mass of facts and materials and living witnesses who can well illuminate this terrible page in our history.

It is for those who are interested. But no one in the whole world is interested and in that is the greatest tragedy of us, the Ukrainian people. This artificially prepared famine demanded colossal sacrifices from a people who wished for nothing but freedom and independence. That is why I hate Bolshevism and do not want to go "home."

V

In the years 1932-1939, the Bolsheviks annihilated the entire Ukrainian intellektual class: scholars, writers, artists, military men, political workers and thousands and tens of thousands of thinking people, who formed the highest stratum of the people. Many of them were Communists who had fought heroically in the October Revolution, for its slogans of liberty and justice, equality and brotherhood, and who had during the entire time been true to these slogans

Stalin, trampling upon all these slogans with his anti-national policy, destroyed those people who remained true to them to the end.

Bolshevism annihilated them to rid the Ukrainian people of its spiritual elite, who were aiding them toward freedom and social justice. It annihilated them, after first subjecting them to a terrible inquisition and such tortures as were only known in the Middle Ages, and then shot them or sent them to prison in distant Kolima, Solovki, Franz Joseph Land, etc.

Thus perished many of my friends and comrades: Thus perished the writers, Irihori Kosynka, D. Falkivsky, B. Antonenko-Davydovych, E. Pluzhnyk, B. Teneta, D. Zahul, M. Yohansyn, M. Kulish, S. Pylypenko, O. Slisarenko, Brasyuk, Dray-Khmara, M. Ivchenko, H. Shkurupi, Yu. Shpol, Hr. Epik, Pidmohylny, M. Vorony, M. Zerov, and others...

Artists: I. Padalka, Sedlyar, Vrona, and others.

Army officers: Yakir, Dubovy, Tyutyunyk, etc.

Thus perished the professors: Hermayze, S. Efremov, Doroshkevych, etc.

This list is as long and endless as is our tragedy. Many active Ukrainian Communists ended their lives by suicide as the narkom (People's Commissar) Skrypnyk, the Communist writer Khvylovy, the head of the Council of People's Commissars of the UkSSR, Lyubchenko, etc.

Among all these tortured leaders of the Ukrainian art, literature and science, there were many great names and men of undoubted talents, known and honored not only in Ukraine.

Many of them were my companions and friends and I can certify that they were not "enemies of the people," but on the contrary were ardent patriots, highly intellectual and honorable sons of workmen and peasants and inflexibly honorable people. That is why they were annihilated

With them I passed over the thorny path of Bolshevik prisons and concentration camps. With many I sat in one cell where I was beaten and tortured with them.

I call upon all the Ukrainians in America to mark my words, and especially the Ukrainian Communists: thus perished among others your well-known Communist author, M. Irchan, thus perished all the Galician Ukrainian Communists, who had believed Stalin and had come to the USSR to build Soviet Ukraine in a "brotherly union" with red Moscow. They were annihilated because they were Ukrainian Communists and believed in the hypocritical Bolshevik talk about the right of the nations to "freedom"... even to "separation," and hoped to carry that "right" into practice. Many living witnesses can say where the bones are lying of such men as Hritsay, Badan, Krushelnytsky, etc.

And if the American Ukrainian Communists today come out against us, Ukrainian fugitives from Bolshevism, and try to send us back, they are carrying out the role of Cain. Let them go themselves to that "Stalin's paradise" and stay there a few years. Then, if they wish, let them speak.

Besides the prominent and well-known members of the higher intellec-

tual class, there were murdered during these same years a mass of unknown intellectuals. And all because they were Ukrainian and because by some mere word spoken perhaps 20 years before, they had expressed their dislike for the occupying regime of Moscow. For that they were declared "enemies of the people" and were murdered in such a manner that even Hitler could admire and copy. The terrors of Dachau and Buchenwald do not surpass the horrors of countless NKVD torture chambers and concentration camp of those years.

As a consequence of all this vivisection of the Ukrainian people, there perished even by Soviet statistics, about which we have spoken, between the years 1927 and 1939 more than 10 million of the population.

But Soviet statistics do not merit confidence. The census at the end of the thirties was made twice. Once in 1937. After it was finished, it was destroyed and it was planned to make a new census but to postpone it for a longer time, for the results of the census were too terrible.

After the postponement hurried measures were taken to correct the tragic number of the population in the various republics and in Ukraine. Laws were hurriedly passed, forbidding abortions and granting rewards for large families, to increase the growth of the population.

Then there was undertaken the census of 1939 and in this they even listed people condemned to death but whose sentences were postponed until the completion of the census. Even so in Ukraine there was a drop of several million in comparison with 1927, even on the basis of this so-called "census."

That is why I do not want to return under Bolshevism and will never be taken alive, vor Stalin's satraps to take me back to the "Soviet home."

VI

I passed through that "home" from Kiev to Kamchatka, to Bering Strait and back. I passed through it under the protection of the oprichnicks of the GPU-NKVD, and I underwent in succession all the martyrdoms, until I escaped to Europe. It lasted for 8 years. Half of my adult life has been spent in the prisons and concentration camps of Bolshevia. My whole youth has been buried there. The rest of my life has been passed in that great concentration camps, the name of which is the USSR, where a whole category of people (the

category of the politically unreliable) are deprived of the right of speech and are doomed to an eternal condition of moral depression, without mentioning the fact that it is often deprived of work and means of livelihood and constantly threatened with new arrests and imprisonments.

It is not for nothing that there has been developed there that type of person so widely spread—a person terrified, suspicious, silent and fatalistic.

A European or an American, hearing that his author has passed 8 years in prison in the land of "socialism," thinks that he is at least a confirmed murderer, an abuser of young children, or a bandit on the high roads, to deserve such a punishment.

No, the author is a Ukrainian artist with high education and has never killed even a chicken. His whole misfortune has been that in that land of "Stalinist socialism" and of the "widest democracy in the world," he dared to say a word of protest and that was concealed in the form of a fable. For that he passed his youth in prisons and hard labor, envying even the bandits,

for they had a lighter regime and had privileges, but artists had no privileges, as "political criminals," because they were patriots on behalf of their people and their native land.

That is the paradox.

VII

I do not want to return to my native land, because I love my native land. And love for one's native land, for one's people, that is, national patriotism in the USSR is the greatest crime. It was so 25 years ago, it is so now. This crime is called in Bolshevik language—in the language of red Moscow fascism—"local nationalism."

Why is it regarded as the greatest crime?

The USSR, as it known, is a federation of republics with equal rights, of peoples with equal rights, who "ac-

according to the constitution of Stalin" have the right to national freedom, even to separation from the USSR. That means, each representative of each nation has the right to his own patriotism and to love for his own people.

But this is only in theory.

In fact, if any republic wished to leave the federation, it would be crushed with fire and sword by its ally with "equal rights"—Bolshevik Russia. It has always been held down and dominated by terror in this "free" alliance. Bolshevism is striving to create one totalitarian red empire, with one administration, one language, one culture, one ideology and politics.

The slightest demonstration of its own will by any of the nations "with equal rights" in the USSR (except Russia) is suppressed by a terrible moral and physical terror.

By the use of that terror the Russian red fascism (Bolshevism) is striving to refashion 100 nationalities into the so called "one Soviet people"—that is actually into the Russian people.

Therefore local patriotism, that is, the patriotism of each of the 100

nationalities, — striving for national freedom and independence, is regarded as the greatest crime and is heavily punished accordingly.

Therefore love for one's people and one's native land (not for the USSR, the prison of nations, but let us say for Georgia, for Ukraine, for White Russia, etc.) is regarded as the greatest evil. Therefore they give no peace to the Ukrainians even beyond the borders of the USSR, and strive by force and provocations to drag them back and destroy them.

Then in order that the world may not be aroused but may rather assist Bolshevism in its work, Bolshevism tries to prove to every one that the Ukrainians are war criminals, enemies of Bolshevism.

Yes, the Ukrainians are enemies of Bolshevism but they are not war criminals. They fought alike against Hitler and against Stalin. They fought against both before this war and they fought against both in the war.

Many of us after the prisons and concentration camps of Stalin passed through the concentration camps of

the Gestapo— through Dachau, Belsen, Buchenwald, Auschwitz, and others. More were hung and tortured by Hitler, the ally of Stalin in 1939. Bolshevism knows it. But it is trying to blacken us in the most shameful manner so that no one in the world will sympathize with us and help us.

Why?

Because we are a danger to it—we are the bearers of that truth, which the world does not know and must learn—That is what Bolshevism fears.

VIII

I do not want to go back to the Stalin "home," because the baseness, cynicism and cruelty of the Bolsheviki know no bounds. The party slogan which is expressed by the proverb, "the end justifies all means," actually does not overlook any means. Since the goal of the Bolsheviki has changed several times during the years of its domination (from the goal of building socialism with the cult of Karl Marx to the goal of building a Russian fascist empire with the cult of Tsar Peter I, or from the goal of atheism to the goal

of supporting the Russian Orthodox Church, etc.), it is not hard to show what utterly, contradictory and utterly surprising means the Bolsheviks have adopted. Now to build this goal, now to destroy it; now to root out religion as "the opium of the people" by shooting priests and ruining churches, now to restore the Russian Church by shooting the unbelievers (as Yaroslavsky) and sending to prison at hard labor representatives of other religious denominations.

Now punishing for opposition to Ezhov and "Ezhovshchina," and now for support of that same Ezhov and "Ezhovshchina" etc. etc.

And all this has been done with open cynicism and cold cruelty and all on a "grandiose" scale.

A man under this regime is deprived of human dignity and the most elementary human rights. When the NKVD arrests a citizen (without regard to his age, status, or services to the people), no one can intercede for him or defend him. The true institution of defenders in court actually does not exist. There have not been open trials for

political prisoners. Millions of people have been put to death, when they did not know what they had done.

The responsibility for the father (and that not only if he has been a real criminal, but if he has only been arrested) is laid at once upon the children and the family, and they are subjected to persecution and terror.

As an example:

When they arrest a father (and they have arrested all where formerly they broke their ribs and tortured them in their inquisitions, and then have shown—sometimes after two years—the order for their arrest and the charges brought with no date, to carry on the case legally; it has happened that they have shot a person and then have determined that there was no reason to shoot him, for they were seeking another person with the same family name), so when they arrest the father of a family and do not name the charges, they throw his family out on the street, term them "enemies of the people," organize persecutions of them in society, deprive them of work and means of livelihood.

That is the way my children perished just like the children of many of my friends in prison.

Or they have laid on the children all the crimes of their fathers and even of their grandfathers, by not admitting them to the higher schools or to work, only because a grandfather was a kulak, or an officer, or even private in the army of the Ukrainian National Republic, or of another.

That is the style of life under Soviet rule.

That is what I endured for a long while.

It is the same in relation to mothers. A mother can die at the doors of the NKVD, praying for news about her son, but they will tell her nothing, give her no information, and will increase the wound in her heart with dirty insinuations and threats. They will ask the unfortunate mother to tell them with whom her son was acquainted. And they will terrify the uneducated illiterate, old woman and drive her out of this life. That is the way my mother perished

After crippling the prisoner in the torture and racking him in the cell, they give him no medical assistance. The physician of the NKVD puts to his victim who is half insane from torture: "Confess everything that you know and then I will help you, or die." And then you must take into consideration the fact that this victim is guilty of no crime.

IX

I do not want to go to the USSR, because a human being there is not worth as much as an insect. In destroying people for nothing and for trifles, for a spoken word, an anecdote, a complaint at the hardness of life and in doing it with open cynicism, the Bolsheviks put forward this formula:

“In the USSR there are enough people and there is no need to be fussy“ an “it is better to break the ribs of one hundred innocent people rather than allow one guilty person to escape.“

It is not surprising then that in the prisons and camps in the USSR in the years 1936-1939 there were about 11 million people. The prisons were so overcrowded that in individual rooms (with space for one person) there were 25-30 and they sat—or rather stood—that way for 10 months and more „under investigation“—that is before the explanation of what crime they had actually committed. It entered the head of no one, that these people were perishing alive. Besides each of them was murdered in the investigations.

All this was done according to a definite plan and the instructions from the Kremlin. That was the so-called “five year plan for the reconstruction” of “man.” That was the way they reconstructed him. But when the process was carried to an absurdity, when there was no family in the USSR, which was not seized with terror, because there had been discovered in it an “enemy of the people,” when the sea of petitions and written prayers of the children and mothers of the imprisoned and condemned “enemies of the people” flooded the Kremlin and especially N Krupskaya

(the wife of the late Lenin), then Stalin, to quiet the thoughts of the citizens, proclaimed at the 18th meeting of the Party that 'The enemies of the people had penetrated into the NKVD, had mastered the honorable «party and non-party» Bolsheviki» and had beaten them for so many years and on such a gigantic scale .. And having said this, he ordered Ezhov to be removed and sent into retirement.

What can be greater cynicism and mockery over a human being? Mockery over millions of people... And the provocative murder of Kirov? — Is it a second "burning of the Reichstag?" Inspired to direct further terror against all opportunists and all the dissatisfied. A certain right opportunist Nikolayev killed Kirov. Is he only Van der Lubbe No 2?

In vengeance for Kirov they shot people of the "right," the "left" and all others in masses and not only party opportunists but many (and most) people who had no relation to the party or to the opposition. Thus they shot the Ukrainian artists and writers. The wave of mass executions rolled from Odesa

to Vladivostok and the number of those shot was so great that it would have been a high return not only for Kirov but also for Stalin. And they did not count those sent to prison at hard labor.

Examples of such mockery, cynicism, falsity, provocations, sadism and totally unjustified cruelty, mark the whole practice of Bolshevism for 27 years. They are not examples of "a spot on the sun." They are the very pattern of Bolshevism, its nature. That is why I do not want to go to the "socialistic home" of Bolshevism.

X

I do not want to go back under Bolshevism, because I have been in prison with priests of various religious denominations and I have seen how they were beaten and murdered. At the order of Stalin they were destroyed in the USSR and the churches were ruined. For the whole of 25 years they beat out of human souls the slightest signs of the Christian religion and in a brutal, loathesome manner.

Then in 1943 Bolshevism yielded to religion and began to appear in the role of defender of the Orthodox Church.

Europe and the whole world could not believe that Stalin was actually supporting Christianity, and his party had returned sincerely to religion. And we do not believe it. The ghosts of the tortured priests still stand before our eyes, and their bones have not yet turned to dust.

The Biblical King Herod could more easily return to Christianity than his representative in the 20th century. Stalin has made of religion a tool for his political machinations and that is all. If religion was rooted out in the USSR, it is and will be rooted out.

XI

I do not want to go back to the USSR, because the Stalinist "socialistic" USSR is a social concentration camp of the enslaved people of 100 nationalities—people without rights, terrorized, frightened, hungry, poor.

After a quarter of a century under Bolshevism they have obtained nothing except prisons, rivers of blood and tears ... And they will obtain nothing, so long as Bolshevism continues to exist.

Bolshevism is violence to the human being, it is slave labor, it is modern serfdom, it is physical and spiritual terror, it is poverty, it is famine, it is war.

XII

I do not want to go back to my native land, so long as Bolshevism reigns there, because Stalin destroyed Ukraine in alliance with Hitler. Stalin was the ally of Hitler in 1939. But for us, Ukrainians, he was the ally of Hitler from the earliest times. Hitler had as his goal our annihilation in the name of the rule of fascism Germany over our land. Stalin destroyed and is destroying us in the name of the rule of his party, the Russian red fascism over our land and the whole world in the name of the so-called "Marxist-Leninist doctrine."

Stalin helped Hitler and murdered us in Siberia and in the barracks Hitler helped Stalin by murdering us in Dachau and in harsh captivity.

We have not laid down our arms in the struggle against our attackers and we will not lay them down, even though our 40 million Ukrainian people be wiped from the face of the earth.

That is why I and hundreds of thousands of us do not want to go home to the „land of socialism.“

XII

I will return to my native land with millions of my brothers and sisters, who are here in Europe and there in concentration camps in Siberia, when the totalitarian bloody Bolshevik system is wiped out like that of Hitler. When the NKVD follows the Gestapo, when the red Russian fascism disappears as German fascism has disappeared. When we, the Ukrainian people, have restored to us the right to freedom and independence in the name of Christianity and justice.

* * *

It is hard for a person who has grown up in normal human conditions, to believe all that has been done there in a sixth part of the world, behind a Chinese wall.

The world cannot believe us. Well.

Let them try us. Let the Bolsheviks try us, but in Europe, before the eyes of the whole world. Let them accuse us of what they wish and let Stalin and his oprichniks judge us, but in Europe, before the eyes of the whole world and with the participation of representatives of the civilized world.

All the hundreds of thousands of us, fugitives from Bolshevism, will sit on the bench of the accused.

Let the court pronounce judgment upon us.

But Stalin will not come to that trial.

We do not fear the trial but he fears it, he „the father of nations,“ „the wisest of the wise,“ „the most democratic of democrats“ fears such a trial, for it would be a trial of him and all his Bolshevism, it would be the most unprecedented and most interesting scandal in history.

Stalin knows it and is hastening to wipe us out as rapidly as possible, now employing methods of kidnapping and the physical annihilation of individuals in the ruins of the Hitler Reich.

The devil is evil and such are his methods. P. S. TO THE EDITOR:

In sending this to the publications of the world, I am well aware of the fact that when this letter appears in the press, the Bolsheviks through the hands of the NKVD will murder the rest of my family, if any are still alive. But I ask you to print it and sign it with my full name.

All that I have to lose, I have lost, and what is left is entirely doomed to destruction
