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UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE AND ITS LEADER

With an Introduction by
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INTRODUCTION.

THE following pages give a short but interesting summary of the Resistance Movement in Ukraine, a movement duplicated in many other countries now enslaved by Moscow, and quite wrongly named a "Union" of Republics—the U.S.S.R.

So far from the U.S.S.R. being one solid united State, it is a collection of divergent races, united only in their abhorrence of Russian rule, and determination to end it. These races have co-ordinated their Resistance Movements into A.B.N.—Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations. None of them wishes merely to change the Russian Empire from being a Bolshevik Empire to an Empire of any kind, whether Tsarist, Socialist, or anything else.

Further, no Resistance Movement in any country will fight for any pre-conceived federation; they fight first of all collectively to destroy Moscow rule, and then for the complete sovereign independence of each nation within its own ethnographic frontiers. Whom it will ultimately federate or co-operate with, if with anyone, is a matter for each nation after liberation, not for outsiders.

It will be realised that all this entails the complete disintegration of the U.S.S.R. into its component independent States. I myself have always held this view, as I see no other way to end the Russian terrorisation of the world, which otherwise will go on as unchecked as it has done in the past. If it is objected that small states cannot prosper, and are a menace to peace, I can only reply that, between the two world wars I was closely associated with four of the smallest, Finland, Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, and for peacefulness, prosperity, progress, contentment and minding their own business, they were an example to the world and a danger to no one.

The present European chaos, misery, poverty, terror and insecurity, have resulted from the efforts of the Great Powers, whose "statesmen" have been completely ignorant of what "Europe" signified. It is time the smaller States had a chance to show what they can do within their own lands; they could not make a worse job, and after all, they do know their Europe. They do merit the whole-hearted support of the entire civilised world.

JOHN F. STEWART.

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UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE AND ITS LEADER.

STEPAN BANDERA AND UKRAINIAN RESISTANCE.

Who is STEPAN BANDERA?

Stepan Bandera is the personification of the "Ukrainian Resistance." In April he emerged from his secret Headquarters and gave an important Press interview to a large number of Press correspondents gathered from many quarters.

The name of Stepan Bandera has become a legend, but he also represents a very active Movement.

Bandera is the son of a Greek-Catholic priest, Andre Bandera. He was born in the Western Ukraine in 1909. His energetic character revealed itself in his earliest days; his intelligence was brilliant, and he qualified in husbandry. During his studies he always belonged to the Organisation of Ukrainian Nationalists, and became the chief mouth-piece of the Western Ukrainians. During this period and during the occupation of his country by the Bolsheviks, that is, in 1939, his task was to organise the revolutionary movement in Ukraine against the oppressors. After the occupation of the Western Ukraine, Bandera organised the Army of Resistance, and created the famous force which became, and still is, the "U.P.A.", the Underground Army, with General Taras Tchuprynka as its leader.

When, in 1941, war broke out between Germany and the U.S.S.R., Bandera, to thwart the plans of the Germans as well as the Bolsheviks, proclaimed the independence of the Ukraine. At the head of the Government he placed his chief collaborator, Yaroslav Stetzko, who is President of A.B.N. (the Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations). This act surprised the Germans, exposing as it did their actual position in the East, and, in particular, Ukraine. The Germans liquidated the new Government by force, and Bandera, along with Stetzko and their colleagues, were sent to the concentration camp at Oranienburg. There they were detained till 1944. During their captivity the fruits of their work began to show, because the Ukrainians, solidly organised, launched the fight against the Germans and Bolsheviks simultaneously. From 1942 the first battalions of the Resistance Army were formed in Volhynia and Polissia; this Movement was at its height in 1943, under the name of the U.P.A., and the struggle against the occupying forces goes on to this day.

In order to minimise the importance of the Ukrainian Nationalist Resistance, both Germans and Soviets gave it the name of the "Banderist Movement." Their history repeats itself. During the period in the history of Ukraine in 1709, when the Hetman Mazeppa joined forces with the Swedish King Charles XII., to throw off the Russian yoke, the Russians called the Movement "Mazepnist." The same thing happened during the independence of Ukraine, 1918-1920, when the young Ukrainian Republic was led by Simon Petlura (later shot by the Bolshevik agent Scharzbart in Paris in May 1926), the Bolsheviks, in their propaganda, called the defenders of the Ukrainian Republic "Petlurists." The object of this was, of course, to suggest to the outside world that

it was the work of one man, whereas it was the entire nation which opposed the Soviet yoke, and fought to regain its own liberty.

In July 1944 there was established, under the impetus given by Bandera, "The Supreme Council of Ukrainian Liberation" (U.H.W.R.), in which he became one of the leading figures. The Council of U.H.W.R. is today the nucleus of the Ukrainian Liberation Movement.

In the U.H.W.R. are found, not only Nationalists, but representatives of the various National Ukrainian Parties, who have all as their objective a sovereign Ukrainian State.

In the hands of Bandera, Stetzko and Tchuprynka lies not only the entire struggle of Ukraine for its independence, but the hope of everybody belonging to A.B.N. (Anti-Bolshevik Block of Nations).

The Soviet authority is sparing no effort to capture these three leaders. Bandera and Stetzko are in constant touch with the partisan activities in their country. They have escaped many attempts on their lives, and their enemies would not hesitate even to kidnap the children of Bandera. Happily, their projects have failed.

Stepan Bandera, in his interview, made a pressing appeal to the West to support the resistance of peoples oppressed by the Bolsheviks. These were no meaningless words; he is not the man to cry for help for trivialities. The conflict will blaze up one day. It is to be hoped that, at long last, the appeal will be heard.

The most sure defence that the allied democracies of the West can build up will be their support for the disintegration of the Soviet Union into national states

where the peoples are striving for their independence. This formation of national, sovereign States would ensure victory over the U.S.S.R. in ways more certain and more pleasing than atom and hydrogen bombs. Then would there be the finest slogan in the world, for which the Ukrainians and other countries belonging to the A.B.N. have striven, namely, "Liberty to all peoples."

AN INTERVIEW WITH M. STETZKO.

M. Yaroslav Stetzko willingly gave an interview to the Press, and replied to numerous specific questions put to him regarding the activities of A.B.N. M. Stetzko is the former Prime Minister of Ukraine, and is actually President of A.B.N. It is thanks to him that the country—actually under Bolshevik domination—finds its members united, strengthened, and increasing daily, to support the struggle against the Soviets, and united in their efforts for revival in their own country—the independence and sovereignty of their own State.

M. Stetzko replied to the following questions:—

What are the results achieved by the union of Europeans and Asians under Soviet control?

The A.B.N. embodies the free national organisations of all countries oppressed by the Soviets into a centralized Resistance Movement. A.B.N., which was formed in 1943 by nations subjugated by Nazis and Bolsheviks, embraces the organisations of Underground Resistance, which at the present time are committed to activity behind the "iron curtain." We recognise and acknowledge the Movement, which comprises the following:—

1. The Turkestan (Asia) Movement, with Veli Khayum Khan as its head, is known as "Basmatchi."

2. Idel-Ural (Europe) Movement, whose territory stretches from the Volga to the Ural Mountains.
3. Siberia (Asia) Movement, struggles for a Western and Eastern Siberia independently.
4. The Cossack, for an independent State which would separate the Russians of the Black Sea and Caucasus.
5. Albania.
6. Armenia.
7. Azerbaijan.
8. Bulgaria.
9. White Ruthenia.
10. Czechia.
11. Estonia.
12. Finland.
13. Georgia.
14. Hungary.
15. Lithuania.
16. Latvia.
17. Northern Caucasus.
18. Poland.
19. Roumania.
20. Slovakia.
21. Ukraine.
22. Serbia.
23. Croatia.
24. Slovenia.
25. Tartar.

What is the attitude of A.B.N. towards a United Europe Movement?

The attitude of A.B.N. towards a United Europe Movement differs in no way from the attitude of nations towards any nation enslaved by the Soviets. If the European Movement recognises the rights of all nations actually under Bolshevik domination to restore their rightful independence, A.B.N. will be happy to rally all its forces for this Movement. But, up to the present, the Heads of the European Movement content themselves with the hope of keeping the Bolsheviks beyond the "Curzon Line," and are completely disinterested in the struggles of the peoples confined in the U.S.S.R. A.B.N. would be happy to welcome efforts which strive to unite the whole world rather than the protection of one country. A.B.N. is

convinced that a perfect unity and a perfect peace could not be assured unless Russian imperialism, under whatever form it takes, is crushed and replaced by sovereign, independent States with each nation within its ethnographic limits. Unity and goodwill to all men is not possible, nor can it be a reality, unless between free states exist equal rights. A.B.N. treats all Asiatic nations with equality, creating between themselves, and on this base, a loyal co-operation. It is only when all nations have recovered their liberty that they will be able to speak of a United World. As long as some nations have lost all rights and are dominated, and other nations live in dread of losing their liberty, the root of this disaster, namely, Soviet imperialism under any guise, ought to be destroyed.

With what diplomatic means does A.B.N. justify its policy and its combative action?

Little by little A.B.N. has obtained justification in British public opinion. It is not without difficulty that its intentions were acknowledged because, if one looks at the map of both Europe and Asia, it would undergo great changes. The western world does not readily accept the idea that there will no longer be a Russian Empire in any form, but several new, independent, national States. Nevertheless, nationalism will be victorious over imperialism.

How does A.B.N. feel towards Titoism?

Our era is one of striving to attain an ideal; the struggle of religion against Atheism, of nationalism against internationalism. Titoism is purely Communistic, totalitarian, atheistic and materialistic, and is contrary to all our principles. The symbol of liberty is not to be found in Tito, nor his bands, nor his concentration camps, but in

U.P.A. and in the Underground Nations of A.B.N, who are struggling to free their peoples from Soviet enslavement. We stand for nationalism as opposed to internationalism, the Christian idea against materialism, individual liberty against violence.

As opposed to the exploitation of the individual by the State, we stand for social justice and the rights of private property. As opposed to imperialism we support every nation which has gained its right, not only by vote, but by blood shed in defence of the movement for freeing its country. This new crusade, in friendly collaboration with the Resistance groups inside the U.S.S.R., will alone be capable of saving the world from the Bolshevik menace. We send out once again an urgent call to the West *not* to ignore this Underground struggle behind the "iron curtain," because, in this struggle lies the key which will solve the problem of Bolshevism. The time is critical; when we see in the West a bowing down to Titoism we cry "*beware.*"

FOUNDATIONS OF OUR STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

We cannot conceal that the world, from a cultural, political and moral standpoint, is going through a major crisis—economic and in a sense religious. Bolshevism threatens the whole world; Bolshevik totalitarianism is the greatest enemy of humanity, of culture, of civilisation and of all the human values embodied in the words, Liberty and Justice. It is our duty to unite the efforts of all, and to give the greatest possible help in a joint action to crush this world-wide danger. The Revolution to free the nations has only honourable intentions, and springs from honest people who are perishing by the million for their ideal of justice and liberty.

Our peoples, in their countries—Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Slovakia, Roumania, Ukraine and others, have deeply rooted in their hearts and souls the ideal of their God, of liberty and justice towards each other and between their nations. This ideal possesses values which are neither to be disdained nor rejected, nor made an object of compromise, such as the nation, the family, and the individual. One defends the ideal, not by force but by faith. The national ideal is universal because every nation has a right to its own life, and to personal determination as to its own territory. Liberty is the eternal and indestructible ideal of this struggle. The Bolshevik ideal, on the other hand, is based on the denial of all these principles; its forces exist to annihilate, in the oppressed nations, not only the individual and human dignity, but all belief in liberty, justice and goodwill, replacing these by wickedness, murder, misery, robbery and destruction. Liberty and justice are the eternal ideals of humanity, and they persist, not only because they possess together the elements of complete victory, but, above all, because bad instincts are always overcome by active resistance, without fear and without reproach.

Our salvation, the salvation of all mankind, is to be found in a national anti-Bolshevik Revolution. Our allies in this struggle ought to be the Western democracies, and, as we ought to be practical in our ideas and actions, we ought to make all the efforts necessary to acquaint these countries with our ideas, and so win allies. The only means of attaining our desire is the division of the Soviet Empire into national States, and the return of the satellite States to their sovereign independence. The anti-Bolshevik revolution of the States excludes all imperialist principles and practices, and accepts the Truth of God, which teaches

that all people have the right to live and work in freedom and justice within the limits of their frontiers. The insurgent Ukrainians, Czechs, Roumanians, White Ruthenians, and all the other nations do not aspire to annex territory belonging to other nations, and are, moreover, convinced that amicable relations can only be enjoyed between nations which have regained their independence in their ethnographic limits.

The "Atlantic Charter" contained a résumé of all our aspirations, and our ideas concerning the reconstruction of Eastern and Central Europe. In the Atlantic Charter the national Government is the foundation which alone gives to the smallest nation the right of self-government according to its own aspirations. That is why the Atlantic Charter is opposed to the interpretation and application of Bolshevik imperialism. The argument (according to Imperial Russia) as to how small nations are a challenge to peace, and the assertion that millions of victims of past wars resulted from the division of the country into small States, and lastly, that the joining together of these countries into one nation was a guarantee of peace, is false. History proves that, and to cite only one example, when Sweden turned its back on imperialism it never went to war again, and the Swedish people possess a higher standard of living than the Germans or Russians have ever known.

To sum up: the anti-Bolshevik rising formally declares that a United World is only possible if based on the independence of each nation, and is opposed to a world-wide federation of Soviet nations.

THE EXPANSION OF SOVIET IMPERIALISM.

Wherein lies the Soviet danger? When one studies the history of Tsarist imperialism, one is struck by the fact

that the conquerors sought not only to annex and enslave peoples and nations, but Asia in its entirety. This same obsession has always been uppermost in the minds of the leading Soviets. They have not known how to halt in their greed, annexing always more and still more.

The Slav Block is a Utopia which exists only in the minds of politicians. Nevertheless, all those in the West under the jurisdiction of the original Slav State part of the famous "Block" which does not exist, are being controlled.

What follows undoubtedly proves where an Imperial greed can lead, the swallowing up of State after State, slowly but surely trending westwards. If the West does not wish to be engulfed in one attack, it ought to consider the following figures:—

Russia, in the 14th century, had an area of approximately, 220,000 square miles, peopled by 6,000 000 subjects. To-day, as a result of the indifference of the West, preferring to ignore Eastern Europe, the Soviet Union, up to date, has a total area of 18,000,000 square miles, and a population of 674,000,000 including satellite and subjugated States. Will not these figures rouse the Western democracies from their apathy and open their eyes? If Soviet Russia continues to advance at this rate, how long will it be before they are masters of the world? For those who know the Communist programme there remain no illusions; the principal aim is the creation of a world-wide State under the wing of Moscow.

THE U.S.S.R. SCORES A WORLD RECORD.

There exists an unenviable record, driven to new heights at the hands of the Soviet Union. It makes known the

number of its prisons; no other country in the world has such a large number. A former director of a Soviet prison in the town of B——, who later chose liberty, gave some very precise information on the subject. Up to 1941 there existed 8,650 prisons in Soviet territory. Actually the number was 11,760; the former figure did not include the prisons in the satellite States; Poland 670, Roumania 115, Bulgaria 48, Czechoslovakia 53, Tito's Yugoslavia 73, Albania 24, Hungary 43. Between *ten and fifteen million* people pass annually through these prisons—Siberian, concentration, political and forced labour.

The following gives an outline of the progress realised by the Soviet Union in its country:—

1918 - 1920,	3,450	prisons
1920 - 1925,	4,600	„
1925 - 1930,	6,630	„
1930 - 1935,	7,645	„
1935 - 1940,	8,650	„
1940 - 1945,	10,240	„
1945 - 1950,	11,760	„

In Ukraine at the end of 1949 there were 115 prisons, 24 concentration camps, 5 political prisoners' camps, and 145 forced labour camps. These last are situated in the industrial and mining districts. From time to time they change names and districts. Does there exist in the whole world another State which can boast such remarkable progress in accommodating its citizens?

